

BLOWING CHANGES

Researching the socio-economic position and the motivation of jazz musicians in the Netherlands

Chiria da Luz Fortes

Chiria da Luz Fortes ID 314869 Supervisor: prof. dr. Hans Abbing Rotterdam, 2011 Cultural Economics & Cultural Entrepreneurship Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication Erasmus University Rotterdam

Foreword

This Master thesis was created as a final product of my study in Cultural Economics and Cultural Entrepreneurship. Blowing changes is a jazz terminology which signifies the chords used for improvisation. In a labour market that seems to be ever changing jazz musicians need their ability to improvise not only in their music but also in their socioeconomic position.

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Introduction

I was listening to a jazz radio station when I stumbled upon an article which was a result of a seminar on income and career perspectives of jazz musicians in the Netherlands. During that seminar people from the jazz sector i.e. programmers, musicians, teachers and researchers were discussing the jazz musician's socio-economic situation. According to them there are many factors causing for the poor living conditions of the Dutch jazz musician.

Since the introduction of jazz in the Netherlands in the 1920's jazz music has been omnipresent in the Dutch music scene. In the 1970s musical education in jazz became possible and in mid 1980s almost all of the conservatories had a subject in jazz or light music. Jazz café's, festivals and other venues arose and today music students from all over the world come to study jazz music in the Netherlands¹. I thought it would be interesting and also relevant to investigate whether jazz musicians are really not very well off and why. From this I conducted the following research question.

Research question

"What is the current socio-economic position of jazz-musicians in the Netherlands and what motivates them?"

I would like to investigate the socio-economic position of jazz musicians in the Netherlands but also the motivation for being a jazz musician. If indeed jazz musicians are experiencing poor living conditions then perhaps there is a relation between these immaterial aspects, motivation and the socio-economic position of jazz musicians? In the study of the artistic labour market the immaterial aspects are characteristic and

^I http://www.jazzarchief.nl/geschiedenis/

probably just as important as the material aspects. In this thesis I will establish an understanding of the values and attitudes of jazz musicians.

As the market for jazz is smaller than for i.e. pop music the circumstances in which jazz musicians work are probably more difficult, this is one reason why in this thesis I will investigate jazz musicians and not all musicians in general.

Definition of a jazz musician

Before starting the research a clear definition of a jazz musician is required. Making a clear cut definition is a complex matter especially when conducting an economic research in a social or cultural field. In economics, criteria are made quantifiable to enable measurement in the form of the amount of hours spent per month/per year or the amount of income earned. Researches in the arts have applied these types of criteria before, for example the amount of time spent as an artist, the amount of income, reputation, recognition, quality of the artistic work, membership in professional bodies, a professional qualification and the self evaluation of being an artist (Frey & Pommerehne, 1989; 47). Most of these criteria are quantifiable but some are more difficult to measure like reputation, recognitions and quality of artwork as they imply qualitative values which on their turn also need defining. Most artists meet with only one or two criteria and few meet with all of them. UNESCO defines an artist as any person who creates or gives creative expressions to, or recreated works of art, who considers his artistic creation to be an essential part of his life, who contributes in this way to the development of art and culture and who is or asks to be recognised as an artist, whether or not he is bound by any relations of employment or association (Towse, 1996; 5).

In perspective of this socio-economic research I will be researching those who practice jazz music as a profession which would comply mostly with the criterions of time spent and income generated from being an artist. There have been comparable researches like this before. The most important one is *Kwinten en Kwartjes* (Ijdens & Van der Velden, 1998) a research also specifically on jazz musicians in the Netherlands. The thesis can be seen as a repeat researched as the same population – jazz musicians - and mostly the same variables are researched. Other comparable researches are *Pop wat levert het op?* (Ijdens et al., 2009) in which the income of pop musicians in the Netherlands were researched and *Measuring Creativity* (Creigh-Tyte, 2005) in which employment in the cultural sector in the UK was researched.

Derived from *Kwinten en Kwartjes* (IJdens & Van der Velde; 1998) I will use the following definition: a professional jazz musician is (or aims to be) actively working as an artist for at least 12 hours a week, who is (or aims to be) making a wage out of it and focuses primarily on jazz music and other related types of jazz like soul jazz, bebop, dixieland, fusion, improvised music and world music (IJdens & Van der Velde, 1998; 10).

Socio-economic positioning

The socio-economic position of a worker is related to welfare and social status. How well an occupational group is doing can be determined by several factors like labour, income, education and amount of responsibility as these factors directly influence welfare and also how an occupational group is viewed by society. Social status, or how a group is viewed by society, is usually parallel to the socio-economic position. However, social status is quite subjective and may differ depending on who in society is making a judgement so, social status can be an issue of discussion. In my analysis I will primarily take into account the measurable factors like labour, income and education.

A good socio-economic position would imply that one has an education, continuous employment that provides sufficient - or a lot of - income to provide for oneself and

one's family. There is a positive relation in terms of socio-economic position and either of the above mentioned factors. This means that the socio-economic position increases with the increase in income, educational degree and level of importance or responsibilities of the occupation. Basically, the higher the income, educational level and the extent of responsibilities the better the job, it's socio-economic position and social status. There are some exceptions in occupations that do enjoy a high social status but which have a low socio-economic position. An example of that is that of primary and high school teachers. Although they are very well educated and have a significant contribution to society their income is quite low. Still, it is known as respectable profession and has a considerable amount of social status.

Preview

In this thesis I will establish the working conditions of jazz musicians and to develop a clear description of their socio-economic position in the Netherlands. In addition to the mapping of the current socio-economic position is the review of the immaterial aspects and motivation of the occupation; the motivation and the immaterial aspects in being a jazz musician as this should have a correlation with their socio-economic position.

In the following chapter I will start with the characteristics of the artistic labour market based on the available theory. Then, on the basis of theory the hypotheses will be laid out in chapter 2. In chapter 3 the method of research will be explained followed by the socio-economic analysis in chapter 4 and the motivational analysis in chapter 5. Chapter 6 entails the conclusion of this research and in chapter 7 I will evaluate the process and the execution of this research.

1. The artist's labour market

As explained before the socio-economic position of an occupation is determined by several factors. How these factors build up to a socio-economic position is different for every occupational group and their labour market. In the artist's labour market there are certain characteristics that differentiate them from other occupational groups that can either have a positive or negative influence on their socio-economic position. In this chapter I will elaborate on these characteristics to give an understanding of what this labour market looks like and how it influences their socio-economic position.

1.1 Employment

Through the years the need for more flexible employment relations and thus the ability to adapt to changing economic and social environments increased. More and more labour relations differ from "normal" full-time or part-time employment to increase flexibility and employability for both the employer and employee. "Flexibility is the ability to adjust the amount and shape of the factor labour to changes in the environment" (Langenberg, 2008: 9-10). According to Boyer (1988: 156) "flexibility became the official objective of economic policy, with the aim of adapting production to foreign competition and to the increased cyclical instability of demand that had a great effect on power relations in the work place in terms of productivity, dismissals and wages". These days have been called post-Fordism where the importance of flexibility increased, in contrary to Fordism where capitalist economy was based on systemizing production (Gielen, 2008; 5). The transformation from Fordism to post-Fordism characterizes itself, amongst other things, by the transformation from material labour to immaterial labour and from material products to immaterial products. The symbolic or aesthetic value of immaterial labour and products has exceeded the material or functional value (Gielen, 2008; 7). This is guite characteristic and could be the reason why, in terms of flexibility and post-Fordism, the artist's labour market is ahead of other labour markets.

As part of the cultural sector the artist's labour market is known to be an example of flexibility compared to labour markets in other sectors. This flexibility is expressed by the high rate of self-employment, part-time contracts and temporary contracts. In 2005 the self-employment rate in the cultural sector in the Netherlands was 35% and only 11% in the overall labour market. Especially free-lance artists like authors and visual artists are well presented amongst the self-employed. Between 2004 and 2006 this rate was 76% with visual artists (Creigh-Tyte & Thomas, 2001; 259). Another example is that of musicians in Great Britain; in 1999 musicians had a self-employment rate of 78,9% (Creigh-Tyte & Thomas, 2001; 259). Also, an indication of flexibility is the high rate of part-time employment and temporary employment. In part-time employment the Dutch cultural sector had the highest rate compared to other European countries in 2005 namely 59% followed by Denmark with 33% and Austria and Germany with 30% (Eurostat, 2007:51). In that same year the rate of temporary cultural workers was 20% compared to 14.3% in the total labour market. In addition, there is a considerable amount of work done in the informal circuit which consists of single performances at small cafe's and venues, usually through oral agreement in which no taxes of social contributions are paid (Oostveen, 1998; 208).

Flexibility is unavoidable in the cultural sector for several reasons. One important reason is because of discontinuity of activity, switching from one job to another, which is a result of the many temporary and part-time employments. Full-time employment is more an exception than common practice. Also the necessity of having multiple jobs which contributes to, amongst other reasons, reputational building and competition. Another reason is that flexibility is a consequence resulting from the property of 'infinite diversity' (Benhamou, 2003: 70) or 'infinite variety' (Caves, 2000; 6) of the great supply of cultural goods that are often produced on a project-by-project basis. With this extent of flexibility it is inevitable to be in-between jobs and without any employment from time to time.

Using the term unemployment is tricky in the artist's labour market for the following reasons. A criteria used to measure unemployment is the number of people on unemployment benefit (Langenberg, 2008; 26) (Towse, 1996;18). Self-employed by definition can't be unemployed so this term does not apply to them at all. Artists are not always eligible for unemployment benefit as their labour relations are often too short to be able to apply.

1.2 Work preference

Multiple job holding is a commonality amongst artists. In the Netherlands 14% of the cultural workers had a second job opposed to 6% in the total labour force. When working multiple jobs we can distinguish three different types of income as the following; arts income, arts-related income, non-arts income and unearned income (Throsby, 2001: 121) i.e. next to their artworks artists might teach art education, give workshops or do other arts related income. Having non-arts related income, like dish washing or waiting tables, occurs just as frequently. Having several jobs in a single year has several functions. As many people in this sector work in part time and temporary labour relations and/or are not highly paid, secondary jobs are taken in order to extend their curriculum, to build up a good reputation, creating a network that can be useful for future careers, financial support, to avoid unemployment, for artistic satisfaction and self-development; things that they might not derive from their primary occupation (Langenberg, 2008; 55-57) (Menger, 2006; 766). This way artists protect themselves against the risk of failure by balancing their multiple jobs also known as risk management (Menger, 2006; 766). Joining in Menger's supposition I believe this behaviour is a reflection of the artist's rational choices throughout their professional

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career rather than their multiple job holding just being a result of some kind of whimsical nature, it is a rational choice in an artist's labour market decisions (Menger, 2006; 766) (Throsby, 1994; 76).

If the opportunity is granted to do more artwork opposed to non-arts work they would do so as artists have a preference to work in their artistic profession over many other activities. An example is the outcome of a research done by Throsby where he found that the average division of working time of the arts was as follows; arts income (54%), arts related income (28%) and non-arts income (18%) (Throsby, 1994; 73-77). A survey done with Australian artists in 2003 shows that only 41% of the respondents spend 100% of their working time on art work. 80% of the respondents would like to work more time in the arts and 59% had a non-arts job out of necessity rather than preference. An artist often stands for the choice between activities that are artistically rewarding but less paid or less artistically rewarding and better paid. Supposedly the expectations regarding working time on the arts changes with experience; more experienced artists tend to have more control over their career as they are more likely to be established and therefore have a better idea of their time spent on work while upcoming artists have yet to establish themselves but also tend to be over-optimistic and less realistic (Throsby, 2007; 396 -397).

Another example to explain work preference amongst artists is the former WIK (Wet Inkomen Kunstenaars), a law for artist's income provision in the Netherlands. This provision was designed to increase the income of an artist to an average level compared to other professions (Abbing, 2002: 439). The counter effect was that artist's stopped working at their secondary jobs so that they could dedicate themselves to creating art because they had the WIK provision to compensate for it. This way the average level of income did not increase but remained the same.

1.3 Income

The income of artists has always been a point of discussion. Theory regarding artist's income state that the average income of artists are relatively lower than average in the general labour market. In Abbing's "Why are artists poor?" this is up to 30% lower compared to other professions (Abbing, 2003: 438) and many artists earn so little from their profession that they cannot make a proper living out of it which would justify using the term poverty (2003: 439). However, other theories would suggest that this low income is arguable because in most studies the focus is only on arts-income while an artist usually has more sources of income as in the paragraph on multiple job holding we distinguished arts income, arts-related income and non-arts income. It has been said that when we look into this 'broader income definition' the total income of these three types of income combined would suggest that the idea that even though the average income level is relatively low, real poverty amongst artists is slightly exaggerated (Langenberg, 2008: 38).

Also, unlike with most professions musicians do not have a minimum wage except for music teachers and those with a fixed contract at an orchestra. Minimum wages are conducted by the government or by union forces to maintain a minimum standard of living for the worker. However, this is absent for musicians as most of them are selfemployed negotiating their tariffs which results in it being a different amount every time. The research of Oostveen (1998; 3-4) shows that the fees are easily lowered when a venue is high in demand or beneficial for reputational and PR reasons to perform at. One of the interviewed artists even said to have lowered their price occasionally for a performance with their band at a popular venue or event.

Then there is the unequal distribution of income where a small group earns a lot of income and the majority earns a relatively low income. This is also seen in the number of performances of jazz musicians where a small group of people, say 20%, get to

perform more than 40 times a year while the remaining of them only have 10 to 20 performances a year (IJdens & Van der Velde, 1998; 10-13).

Another characteristic is the difference of income between the highest incomes and the lowest incomes where a lucky few generate very high 'winner-take-all' incomes while others have a much lower average income (Frank & Cook, 1995) (Langenberg, 2008; 47) (Towse, 2010; 306). This is usually the case with superstars where the choice for an artist causes for a considerable price increase even without an increase in demand because his talent is perceived unique and irreplaceable (Towse, 2010; 306). An example of this is the A-list/B-list of actors in the Hollywood scene (Caves, 2000; 7). According to Adler (1985) consumers behaviour - or rather consumer knowledge - determine who become superstars, dominate the market and earn the according income. I will elaborate more on the superstar effect later on in this chapter.

1.4 Education versus work experience

University graduates have completed first or second stage of tertiary education at a university or equivalent. The number of university graduates within the cultural sector in Europe was 40% in 2005. When looking at university graduates, workers in the cultural sector are better educated than the total European labour force which was 24% in 2005 (Eurostat, 2007:58). Also, in each of the European member states the rate of university graduates in the cultural sector was higher than in the total labour force. In the Netherlands this was 39% opposed to 25% in the total labour market (Eurostat, 2007:58). Although throughout the years the level of education and the number of highly educated has increased, work experience and reputation are still considered very important. Where and whom a person has worked with might even outweigh education. Also, according to the 'learning-by-doing-principle' the arts is subject to innovations and developments that one can only keep up with through practise (Menger, 2006; 790).

This fact automatically subordinates education as a key to success (Langenberg, 2008: 61).

Whether taught at a conservatory, private school or through learning-by-doing, being a professional jazz musician requires a great amount of human capital. Human capital is the set of skills and competences that people have. In the labour market these skills and competences can be rented out to employers. The human capital theory implies that investments are made in order to increase skills, productivity and earnings by means of education and training (Kaufman & Hotchkiss, 2008: 325) Acquiring human capital gives social and private rates of return. Private returns are received by the person making the investment i.e. the musician who derives material or immaterial rewards from their investment. The social rate of returns are externalities received by society in the form of good music or even a thriving cultural climate. Some people invest more in their human capital than others and it is generally accepted that one with a higher education will most likely earn a higher wage because of increased chances of getting a better paid job compared to someone with a lower education (Kaufman & Hotchkiss, 2008: 325-334). From this paragraph and previous ones on income, multiple job holding and work preference we know that jazz musicians invest a great deal on their human capital but this does not always result in a higher income.

1.5 Superstar effect

The superstar effect arises when one person, or a relatively small group, makes an enormous amount of money in the activity or occupation that they are engaged in who is, or are, not necessarily much more talented than others. You would think the most talented artist should be the most successful artist. However, controllable variables like talent or experience are not a necessity for stardom although small differences in talent can cause for great differences in success (Caves, 2000; 78). The superstar effect can be quite unpredictable as 'Nobody knows'^{II} in advance what is going to be a success and who will become a superstar. As explained earlier in paragraph 1.3 on income the winner takes it all which means that one winner, or the few winners are rewarded with a disproportional increase in income (Frank & Cook, 1995). An important aspect in this is the influence of information and accumulated knowledge known as consumption capital on consumers. This consumption capital is accumulated by listening to music and discussing it with others (Adler, 1985; 208). Basically, stars are artists with whom everyone is familiar with because they are the artists people have a common knowledge about. The supply of artists is indeed tremendous and consumers cannot acquaint themselves with all of them. The consumer can only absorb so much, in a figurative way you could call it the limited shelf space one could have. Furthermore, in a transaction cost economy the gathering of information on artists and their work is costly, in terms of both time and money, and therefore people choose for the information that is easily accessible and widely available. In this, following trends saves the consumer time and money and increases the success of superstar artists.

1.6 Oversupply

In the performing arts and also specifically in the jazz sector people, on the supply side, complain that there are too many artists in the market. There has been said that the oversupply of artists is one of the causes for the socio-economic issues that artists may have. The economic definition of oversupply is that the quantity of supply of a certain good exceeds the demand (Towse, 2010; 303). Also, according to the law of demand and supply oversupply would cause for bottom prices. However, very low prices that do not cover costs rather indicate the willingness to work for low income than oversupply. To indicate oversupply unemployment rates or underemployment rates are often used as these rates show that there are more artists willing to work than the market can take. These rates also show the willingness to work for lower incomes. The large number of

^{II} Demand uncertainty exists because the consumers' reaction to a product are neither known beforehand, nor easily understood afterward (Caves, 2000; 3).

volunteers in this sector could also indicate oversupply as this shows people are eager to work in this sector even without pay in return (Langenberg 2008; 50-51). Other studies would derive the oversupply by looking at the relative size of income sources i.e. a musician could receive 60% arts income, 30% arts related income and the remaining 10% from dish washing and subsidies. The parts where income is not derived from the arts would indicate oversupply (Langenberg 2008; 50-51). However, knowing that there is rational reasoning in labour market decisions as explained in paragraph 1.2 I am more reluctant in using the relative size of income sources as an indication of oversupply.

Not all occupational groups in the artistic labour markets deal with oversupply. There has been argued that in some occupations there is a shortage in supply i.e. with sound technicians. Others say that even though there is an oversupply of some artists there is always a shortage of 'top talent' (Towse, 2010; 303). The term oversupply should therefore be nuanced as it does not apply for all parts of the artistic labour market (Langenberg 2008; 50-51). Although oversupply might have implications on the supply side resulting in increased competition, on the demand side the large supply of artists should result in a considerable amount of available art. For the sake of art some degree of oversupply can be seen as an advantage.

1.7 Professionalization

When workers of an occupation increase common characteristics of their occupation to enhance the performance of their profession and their competitive advantage compared to other occupations it is called the process of professionalization (Hofstede, 1991: 21). The professionalization of cultural occupations is quite complex. The most important organisational and institutional aspects in this process are education, unionization, protection of occupation and job title, recognition of the job by the state and continuity of work. Professionalization of an occupation has several advantages that should increase, amongst other things, its socio-economic position. The prospect or

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pursuit of a reasonable income, social security, legal advice and good working conditions are part of the scope of the professionalization process. Unionization, by means of professional bodies or unions can support occupational groups in this process (Benhamou, 2003; 73). Firstly, an occupation has to be recognized by the state as being an official occupation (Hofstede, 1991: 67-68). When this is the case there is the protection of the occupation where the use of the title or practice of the occupation is protected by law for quality reasons, distinguishing professionals from amateurs, and in some cases even for public health and safety reasons in e.g. healthcare occupations (Hofstede, 1991: 24) (Verdaasdonk, 1990:3-4). In the arts anyone can pick up a paintbrush and call themselves an artist, both the professional title and the practice of an artist are not protected so for many cultural occupations this last criterion would not apply.

Another characteristic of professionalization are the guidelines for social behaviour through professional ethics and professional culture (Hofstede, 1991: 27). An example of this is the professional code of practitioners or lawyers. Again, this is a characteristic that is difficult to apply as many 'free' occupations, in the artistic labour market, especially for those who are self-employed' evolve around artistic freedom which could also reflect in how the occupation is practised.

Education is also used as a factor in professionalization. Although the artistic labour market is generally highly educated, work experience is considered most important. So, in a work experience inclined labour market, education is least likely to be part of a professionalization process.

Lastly, there is also the necessity of continuity (Verdaasdonk, 1990; 9-10). This is only possible when one is able to work frequently enough and generate sufficient income from practising their occupation. Also, in order to be able to claim social security or to

become a member of a trade union a continuous activity as an artist is required. As explained in the paragraphs on employment and multiple job holding we know that employment is seldom continuous so continuity is rare in the artistic labour market. There are many more possible factors in professionalization however, the above mentioned are in my opinion most typical to display the lag of professionalization in the artistic labour market.

In addition to this institutionalized process of professionalization I need to refer to the informal barriers that influence the profession of an artist as explained by Abbing (2002; 259-278). The theory around informal barriers basically says that the arts are more exclusive than they appear to be. I explained earlier that anyone can pick up a paintbrush, start painting and call themselves an artist but apparently this is more complex. Being allowed in the informal barrier goes beyond talent, picking up the brush and working hard. Informal barriers are admission criteria or qualification parameters like quality, reputation, personal style or image created by gatekeepers. Gatekeepers can be anything or anyone that have an (influence on the) opinion in the art world, of consumers or on grant issuing institutions. These gatekeepers often implicitly decide which artists, groups or organisations are the top of the line by means of those criteria and who are not. As the criteria in professionalization can be accounted for as formal barriers, a reason that could be why most artistic occupations show a lag in professionalization is "The arts would lose its sacred status if the entrance to the arts was formally limited (..) The arts resists a formal control of (the) number of artists" (Abbing, 2002; 265). I agree with this stance and believe that formal control might even compromise the natural process of creativity that is particularly important in the artistic labour market. Instead, informal barriers seem to be more influential on the profession of an artist than formal professionalization.

1.8 Immaterial aspects

Lastly, there are the immaterial aspects that characterise the artistic labour market. Workers in the artistic labour market are highly motivated and rewarded with returns other than economic or material values. Some important immaterial values are that of social recognition, reputation, status, personal satisfaction, artistic freedom and self development (Langenberg, 2008; 70). These immaterial aspects would make up for a lower financial income and possibly a lower socio-economic position. It has been argued that people show risk-taking behaviour (Towse, 1996; 15) (Towse, 2000; 307) and settle for lower income for the immaterial aspects of their artistic profession.

An interesting theory regarding immaterial aspects is that of Csikszentmihalyi (1999) in his book on creativity. According to his theory and his empirical research there are characteristics that have a positive influence on intrinsic motivation e.g. curiosity, openness and broad-mindedness as these are the basis for the desire or necessity for progress and development. These characteristics can reveal themselves from an early age. The author explains how current successful writers, scientists and painters were already writing, testing and painting as a child. Specializing later in life is also possible but the interest for some kind of field is necessary for the development of creativity in that field. Certain extrinsic factors are considered highly influential on intrinsic motivation. One of them is ones childhood with events like for instance a disruptive family, discrimination, poverty and loneliness could cause for the necessity for creativity to improve one's life or to at least make it more pleasant. Times of adversity in adult life can have the same effect. Furthermore, intrinsic motivation needs support from the environment, from family or a role model in the field, for motivational and inspirational reasons. In developing an above average talent the possibilities and the given opportunities by means of cultural education or on-the-job-learning are necessary (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999; 344-348). An example of this is the development of classical music in the 18th and 19th century. For a large part this was attributable to the fact that many aristocracies had their own orchestra. With the great demand for new musical

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talents there was a lot of opportunity for musicians to play their music. Csikszentmihalyi states that the lack of classical composers today is definitely not because of the lack of talent but due to the lack of platform to exhibit their music (1999; 352). Other factors that can be accounted for as possibilities and opportunities are the availability of material and money. Without material or money to invest in the necessary material it is not possible to practise and to develop a talent.

As mentioned earlier there is 'art for the sake of art' in which people are intrinsically motivated for the quality, originality, inspirational and spiritual values of the arts (Caves, 2000; 3-5). When in an activity, a person can experience 'flow' which is "a state of intrinsic motivation in which people get fully immersed in difficult tasks for the sake of the activity itself" (Bauman & Scheffer, 2010; 1). Going into another level of intrinsic motivation 'flow', in which the engaging in the activity provides a personal profound state of consciousness, is characterized as, amongst other things, a merging of action and awareness, sense of control, high concentration, loss of self-consciousness and transformation of time (Csikszentzentmihalyi, 1999; 123-125 & 333). A musician would be completely focussed on his music, feeling exactly which notes to play and losing track of time while doing it. Making music would become a goal of its own (Csikszentzentmihalyi, 1999; 123-125). A reward for, and the reason for engaging in this activity, is mastering it and overcoming the challenge or achieving a goal (Bauman & Scheffer, 2010; 16) (Csikszentzentmihalyi, 1999; 123-125).

Wrapping up; significant factors that can contribute to one's motivation are not only a person's own interest and curiosity but also childhood events, support from the environment, available means, education, inspiration and motivation and given opportunities. Creativity begins with both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and flourishes with the rewards. The artistic labour market cannot escape the necessity of motivation as it is the starting point of any creativity that characterizes the cultural and

creative sector, or any other sector for that matter. But, in a labour market in which the monetary rewards could be less than in other labour markets the immaterial aspects and motivation are even more important.

1.9 The role of the government

The government has for a great part taken responsibility for the overall national labour market. Contributing through social, fiscal and cultural policy the government has an influence on the socio-economic positioning of artists and any other worker in the labour market.

1.9.1 Social & fiscal policy

In the Netherlands labour market policy, employment policy and working conditions policy which together are part of social policy, are conducted by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment and the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs. Recognising that labour situations may differ for every occupation there are also different kinds of regulations, legislations and arrangements to ensure incomes, social security, to ensure good relationships between employer and employee and by protecting the rights of employees.

The artist's scheme (artiestenregeling) is one of the arrangements specifically for artists. This scheme was adjusted in 2001 from the initial version in 1940 and was created for artist's who do not have a normal labour relation but who do have an adjusted agreement for a period shorter than three months (Koedooder e.a., 2004: 54- 56). This scheme is to protect the artist and to ensure them of social security but also to ensure the employer of certain insurances and benefits. During the introduction of "artiestenregeling 2001" there was much resistance in the music scene because the changes from the original 1940 version caused for administrative and fiscal

consequences, especially for the employers of artists. If so, it could then have a direct influence on the artists. For artists who are self-employed this does not apply; for them a different construction applies as self-employed don't get a wage but send an invoice for their performance. This construction is a declaration in which income is seen as profit.

Another arrangement is the legislation for work and income (Wwik) which is set up for artists who do not have sufficient income. The Wwik provides the artist with an additional income to increase the average level of income for a period of time. In order to be able to apply there are several conditions the artist has to comply with e.g. the artist is an arts education graduate or works as an established artist, has an income that is below the social assistance level but has made at least 1200 euro's within twelve months. By setting these conditions the provision is only applicable to artists that meet the criteria decreasing the risks of others taking advantage of the provision. This is one difference with the former setup of this construction which was formerly called Wik; the rules are stricter making it a better solution in raising the average level of income than it used to be.

For some artists it is possible to claim unemployment benefits (WW) when unemployed. The term 'unemployment' is a tricky one for artists since it is hard to define when they can be called unemployed because they are often in-between projects or assignments and hardly ever working a fixed period of time. In 2004 the regulations in the calculation of this benefit has been has been adjusted which is an assurance of income protection for artists and other workers in the labour market who depend on temporary contracts (www.szw.nl^{III}).

^{III} www.szw.nl>onderwerpen>uitkeringen>kunstenaars>pers & nieuwsberichten> 16 feb. 2004 Aanpassing regels berekening WW biedt werkloze kunstenaars volwaardig inkomen.

Finally, an important trend is the emergence of activating labour market policies striving to make workers less dependent on subsidies and other kinds of financial support, activating workers to become financially independent and preventing long-term unemployment. The aim is to enforce an entrepreneurial attitude not only with musicians but for the largest part of the labour market (Van der Ploeg, 1999: 52) (Europees Sociaal Fonds, 2000; 8-11).

1.9.2 Cultural policy

Cultural policy in The Netherlands is constructed by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OC&W). As this is an arts policy and not an artist's policy it is not specifically designed to improve the socio-economic position of musicians however, a thriving cultural sector is beneficial for anyone who works in this sector.

According to Muziek Centrum Nederland most jazz activities occur in the free market and jazz is only incidentally subsidized. Although the number of central government subsidised ensembles increased greatly compared to ten years ago, this is allegedly not in comparison with the number of classical ensembles, orchestra's and other performing arts (Muziek Centrum Nederland, 2008; 1). In other areas, like theatres, there has been a decline in jazz programming due to declining subsidies. However, overall there has been an increase in subsidies since many new applicants were granted a structural subsidy (Smithuijsen, 2007; 199).

When it comes to international cultural policy there is also a subsidy at the ministry of foreign affairs that enables travel and lodging cost reimbursement for performances abroad. The Homogenous Group for International Cooperation Culture (HGIS) is a budgetary construction to finance activities to profile and distribute the Dutch (cultural) capital abroad (Van der Marck, 2003; 2). This construction is available since 1997 and since then the number of international activities – of HGIS in general – has increased (OC&W, 2004; 19).

Cultural education has been on the agenda of cultural policymakers with the aim to stimulate the acquired taste and – in the long run – stimulate demand. As early as primary school children are stimulated to get in contact with arts and culture. Also the number of institutes like conservatories offering music education has increased over the last decade which has caused the number of students to increase as well. Teaching

young art students about entrepreneurship and about taking opportunities to have practical experiences should give them a better position when entering the labour market (Van der Ploeg, 1999: 26).

However, the future in cultural policy does now, in year 2011, look very grim. As for economic reasons the government is planning to make budget cuts totalling of €1 billion (Vinkenburg; 2011; 3). The most important institutions and organisations like The Rijksmuseum and De Nederlandse Opera will be spared but many subsidies and funds, supporting and facilitating organisations and smaller companies will be effected. This prospect is evidently to have a negative effect on jazz musicians and their socio-economic position.

2. Hypotheses

The theory in the previous chapter reveals the specific characteristics of the artistic labour market; features that make the artistic labour market in many aspects different than the average labour market. The theory raises some expectations of what the socioeconomic position of jazz musicians could be and what could motivates them. As follows I have conducted two hypotheses on the basis of theory.

Research question

"What is the current socio-economic position of jazz-musicians in the Netherlands and what motivates them?"

Hypotheses 1: The average income is not in comparison to the amount of working hours.

The socio-economic position of jazz musicians differs from the average worker in the labour market by showing even more flexibility in their work relations. I expect that this flexibility is expressed in the time spent per week on art work but I also expect that the time spent on their profession is not in comparison to the income earned; their workweek contains many more hours compared to the average worker in the labour market while the monthly income is just around or even below the average.

Hypotheses 2: Immaterial values are the most important motivation.

I expect that the immaterial values derived from being a jazz musician are the most important driving force in motivating the jazz musician. Since jazz is such a versatile and complex style of music I expect that the excitement of mastering the skills, exploring different styles and self-development are the most important motivational factors. I expect that the immaterial values are the most important reason for the great extent of work preference that jazz musicians have.

3. Methods of research

Now, the most exciting part of this thesis is the actual execution of the data analysis built upon the preceding theory and hypotheses. The strategy to be able to answer the research question is by generating data from both quantitative and qualitative research. The quantitative analysis measures the income, education, labour relations, membership with professional organisations and other socio-economic variables while the qualitative analysis, by means of semi-structured interviews, should reveal the motivations and other subjective experiences of jazz musicians regarding their profession. In the following paragraphs the methods used to conduct quantitative and qualitative research will be elaborated.

3.1 Population

The exact number of jazz musicians is not known but according to the literature the size is roughly estimated at 1300 to 1800 musicians (IJdens & Van der Velde, 1998: 9) or approximately 1500 (Van der Marck, 2008: 3). For practical reasons I will take the median of 1500 musicians as the size of the population. As used in the research that I am repeating, of IJdens & Van der Velde (1998), the population is actively working as an artist, or want this, for at least 12 hours a week, who are, or aims to, make a wage out of it and focus primarily on jazz music and other related types of jazz like modern, dixieland, fusion, improvised music and crossovers with modern composed music, world music and pop music.

3.2 Cross-sectional design

The first method of research that has been chosen to investigate the research matter is a cross-sectional design. This will be done through a self-completion questionnaire of

which a copy can be found in the appendix. To achieve a reasonable quantity of filled in surveys in a short period of time I decided to make the questionnaire available online. In order to reach my target group I needed a contact list of jazz musicians. With the knowledge that other similar researches had successfully done this by contacting professional organisations, unions and other networks I did the same. To be exact the participating organisations were Muziek Centrum Nederland, Ntb, Stichting JazzNL and De Jazzwinkel. For privacy reasons these organisations could not provide me with these contact lists but distributed the invitation letter including the URL to the survey and/or placed the link on their website. The number of musicians that have been contacted is roughly estimated at 800 (table 1). The survey was online for a period of three weeks in September 2009 of which the response peaked in the first week with 80 respondents, at the end of the second week a reminder was sent that resulted in the final 40 inputs in week 3. The result was a total of 158 filled in surveys. There were several surveys with missing values and some entries were deleted because they were filled out by respondents other than the targeted group resulting in 115 useful surveys. The response rate is 15% which is not too bad. Online surveys are known to have this kind of response rates. Also, considering the fact that the response rate in the research of IJdens & Van der Velde (1996) was the same and to have generated a workable dataset I am satisfied.

3.3 Sampling

The sample is random as the questionnaire was sent to all registered jazz musicians in the database of the participating jazz organisations. This makes that no human judgement could have affected the sample. This probability sample should therefore give everyone in the population the same chance of being included in the survey. This type of sampling is very likely to produce a representative sample of the population which I believe is also the case in my research. In my research the average age is 47 while in the research of IJdens en Van der Velde (1998) the average age was 34. In hindsight using the contacts of the participating organisations could have caused a bias as younger jazz musicians might not yet feel the need to join any organisation yet.

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However, the data shows that the largest part of the respondents have a conservatory degree. It is also evident that the younger generations are predominantly highly educated while the older generations are more often autodidactic - see table 10 in chapter 4 which is exactly how theory explains it should be. Also, there are some resemblances when looking at the results of my data analysis and that of "Pop, wat levert het op" (IJdens e.a., 2009). This research was conducted in the same year, but on pop musicians in the Netherlands. Concluding, despite a slightly higher average age there is no reason to assume that the data is not representative.

Table 1: Breakdown of the sample jazz musicians	Number	Percentage
Estimated total population	1500	100%
Research population	800	53%
Response	158	11%
Incomplete/invalid	43	3%
Total	115	8%

3.4 Semi-structured interviews

Having conducted quantitative analysis I will also execute qualitative analysis. The most important reason for this qualitative part is to contribute to the understanding of the socio-economic position in relation to the motivation of jazz musicians. In the form of a semi-structured interview the interviewee is able to express his opinion, his experiences and, most importantly, his motivation for his profession. It is a flexible research method as the interview can deviate from my predefined interview guide but with all relevant topics addressed. This way the interviewee can give rich and detailed answers that are needed to identify their motivation (Bryman, 2008; 437). I have used an interview guide, or a protocol if you will, to prepare the interviews. In this interview guide I have

included several topics of discussion to make sure the most important themes are researched. These themes will structure the qualitative analysis.

I have interviewed 8 jazz musicians who had also contributed to the survey. In order to reflect the population I have selected the interviewees in terms of age, income and education. The selection was based on how the population is composed according to theory and my data. So amongst the interviewees are two women, some jazz musicians with lower than average income, a couple of superstars, a few who are auto-didactics and others who had finished their conservatory education. The results have been processed into a thematic framework, which has been included in the appendix, to display the topics and the answers of the interviewees. In the framework a few boxes are left with only "n/a". This means that there was no answer available as the subject was not discussed. These two categories were added later on – starting from interview 3 as the questions were still in development. In the following chapters you will find the results of the conducted research.

4. Socio-economic analysis

The data proved to be a rich source of information regarding the current socioeconomic position of jazz musicians in the Netherlands. The age of the respondents ranged from 22 to 75 with an average age of 48. 84% of them were male, the remaining 16% was female. A top five of their main instruments are the piano, saxophone, contrabass, trumpet and guitar. When looking at just the female respondents the most frequent main instruments are vocals and the saxophone. All the specific socioeconomic characteristics they are classified by; employment, income and education.

4.1 Employment

Labour relations. Looking at the labour relations of jazz musicians (figure 1) the largest parts are self-employment and single performances, each take up 40.4% of the pie. Please note that single performances can be conducted while having any other type of labour relation i.e. next to full-time or self employment so single performances are not really a type of labour relation. Notable is that indefinite employment, be it full-time, part-time or temporary contracts, take up only 5.6% and 4.5%, altogether the extent of flexibility is significant. As explained in paragraph 3.1 self-employment was only 11% in the overall labour market in 2005 and 35% in the cultural sector so the self-employment rate is high and is predominant for jazz musicians.

Performances per genre. Table 2 shows that 58% of the performances are in modern jazz and improvised music, on average this is performed 30 times in 2009. Rock & pop follows with 12% which was performed 17 times on average. Old style and dixieland took up 6% or 11 performances on average and the category 'other' can be account for 21% with 22 performances. So on average, modern jazz & improvised music are performed the most followed by pop/rock. Again, in the category 'other' world music is the predominant style.

Figure 1: Type of labour relations of jazz musicians in 2009

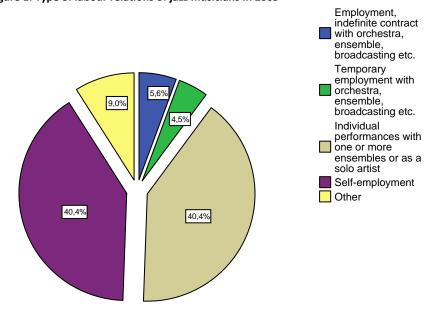
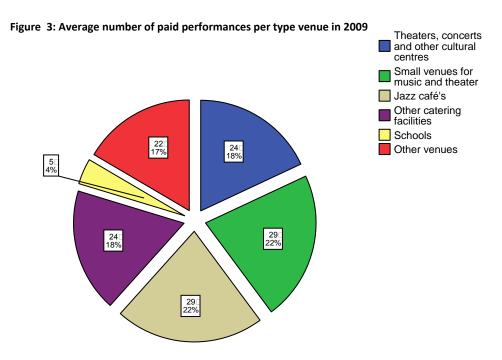


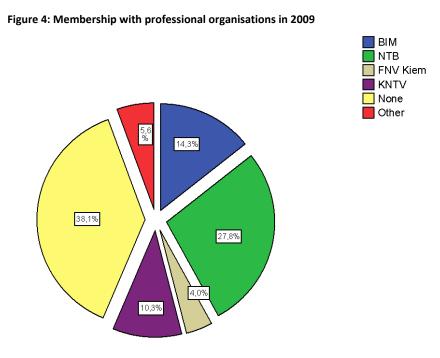
Table 2: Average paid performances of jazz musicians per genre in 1996 and 2009 in percentages and mean			
	1996	2009	
Modern jazz &	44%	58%	
improvised	22 (m)	30 (m)	
Old style, dixieland	11%	6%	
	5 (m)	11 (m)	
Other genres	46%	(35%)	
	29 (m)		
Modern and classical		3%	
composed		6 (m)	
Rock and pop		12%	
		17 (m)	
Other		21%	
		22 (m)	

Number of performances per type of venues. Figure 3 shows that apart from the venue 'school' all other categories are almost equal in size – between 17%-22% - jazz café's and small venues taking up the largest shares of 22% each. From this I think it is likely that jazz musicians take all opportunities given to perform at every possible location.



Time spent. Amongst the respondents the time spent on activities per week as a musician (including studying, rehearsing, composing, performing, teaching and organisational activities to arrange i.e. a performance) is on average 33 hours. Almost 25% of the respondents spent less than 12 hours on work as a musician, 32% worked between 24 and 40 hours and 30% worked more than 40 hours per week as a musician. An average of 19 hours per week is spent on other type labour activities.

Performances abroad. When looking at the number of performances abroad you see that Dutch jazz musicians are not restricted to their national territory as many performances took place abroad. The greater majority of at least 75-80% did have at least one performance abroad. 25% of the respondents had between 1 and 10 performances, another 25% between 10 and 30 performances and another25% had performed more than 30 times abroad in the EU. 25% of the respondents had performances outside the EU, three quarters of them had between 1 and 8 performances and only a quarter of them had more than 8 performances outside the EU.



Professional organisations. Figure 4 shows the rate of memberships with professional organisations. Ntb has the largest share of members with 27,8% followed by BIM with 14,3%, KNTV with 10,3% in 2009 and FNV Kiem has a 4% membership and 38.1% is not a member of any organisation. In the category other, with 2,6%, Buma/Stemra was frequently mentioned. When looking at the organisational rate in the Dutch labour market between 1996 and 2009 you see a decrease throughout the years where it started with a 28% membership and decreased to 22% in 2009 (CBS, 2010). There is also a decrease if you would compare the membership rates with the rates of 1996 (IJdens & Van der Velde) so it is very likely to have a declining trend there but still an

organisational rate of 60.1% with jazz musicians is considerably higher compared to the 22% in the overall labour market.

4.2 Income

Average and modal income. From the 158 respondents only 72 included their answers about their average income per month in 2009. The average total net income was €1565 per month, which is an increase of 16%; in 1996 this was on average €1350^{IV} per month (IJdens & Van der Velde, 1998:10). Please note that this increase is in relative terms. 10% of them earned less than €500, 25% earned between €1000 and €1500 and 12% earned between €2000 and €2500. The majority, 75% , earned less than €2000 a month. These amounts are net income, including arts-related and non-arts income. The modal income, in the Netherlands referred to as the most occurring income, was approximately €2000 net per month in 2009^V. In the overall labour market this was €1900^{VI}. The fact that the average income of jazz musicians is so much lower than the modal income indicates that there are some musicians with much lower incomes that pull down the average. However, the modal income shows that it is possible to earn an income around the modal income of the overall labour market.

Time expenditure related to the total net income. Table 5 shows a concentration of musicians in the range of more or less ≤ 1000 to ≤ 3000 total net income for a workweek of 0 to 60 hours. It also reveals that more time spent as a musician does not necessarily mean more income. There are a few respondents with a very high income and also with these respondents the time range as a musician may vary between 0 and 60 hours a week.

^{IV} Converted from Dutch guilders (*f*) to Euro's (€), and including a 32% increase in consumer price index. Source: statline.cbs.nl> consumentenprijzen; inflatie vanaf 1963

 ^v http://www.cpb.nl/cijfer/kortetermijnraming-maartapril-2011-economie-groeit-maar-niet-uitbundig
 ^{vi} The modal income in the Netherlands in 2009 was €32.500 before taxes. Deducting approximately 30% taxes and dividing by 12 months makes €1900

Table 5: Working hours per week as a musician in 2009

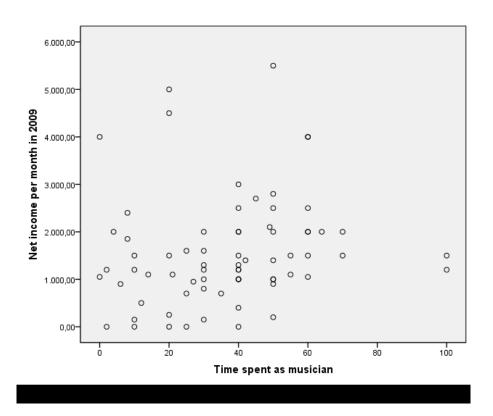


Table 6: Working hours per week on non-arts work in 2009

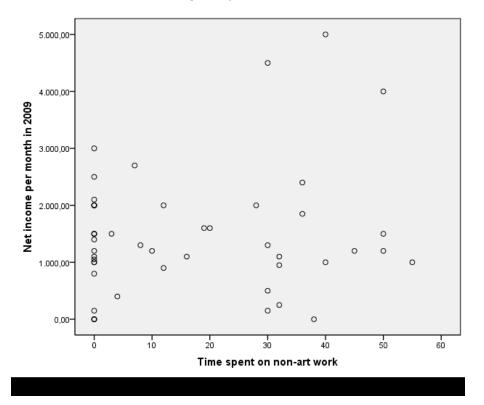
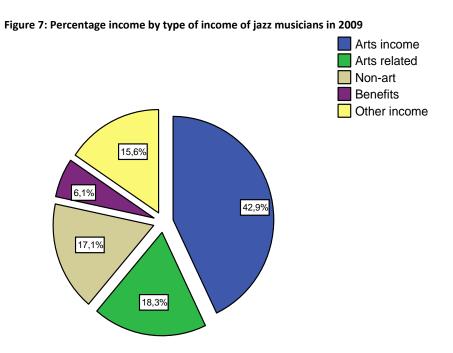


Table 6 shows that time spent on non-art activities do not really have a relation with the amount of income. Even when more than 40 hours a week is spent this results in more or less the same total income between €1000 and €3000. There are three respondents that make €4000-5000 that work 30 to 50 hours a week. But still most people that work 30 to 60 hours a week earn the average €1000 to €3000. Notable is that there are quite some respondents that work 0 hours a week on non-arts but still make €1000 and €3000 which means that the income can be attributed to arts and arts-related work. Please note that this is an "average" week. Perhaps there are only one or two fixed things like teaching class on two evenings, practising and studying for several hours, doing administration and if possible, performing at least once a week but the reality is that there is no average week and every week can be completely different.

Income by type work. Figure 7 shows the share of arts income, arts related and non-arts income but also benefits and other. 'Other' income could be support from relatives or Maecenas. Almost 43% of the income is derived from art, 18.3% comes from arts related work, 17,1% from non-art, 15.6% comes from other sources of income and the remaining 6% consists of benefits.



Sources of income. Table 8 displays how activities in arts and arts related income relate to each other, presented in percentages, measured in 2009 and in 1996. Because the data from 1996 were conducted from another research it cannot exactly be compared however, I will use it to demonstrate that the income derived from each activity has changed. In 1996 the most important types of income was performing with 53% and teaching/workshops with 34%, composing and other types of art or arts related activities – as suggested by the respondents; arranging, conducting, sound engineering, producing, PR or marketing, organising music events and management in the arts – provided for 8% and 5% of the income. In 2009 performing still provided most of the income with 40% but less than in 1996. When looking at teaching/workshops, composing and other activities you see this has evened out with percentages between 18% and 22%. So, overall it seems that in 2009 sources of income other than performing and teaching have become equally important in contributing to their arts and arts related income.

Table 8: Type of musical income in 1996 and 2009 in percentages			
	1996	2009	Mutation
Performing	53,0%	40,2%	-12,8%
Composing	8,0%	22,0%	+14,0%
Teaching – workshop	34,0%	19,5%	-14,5%
Other music activities	5%	18,3%	+13,3%

Income per type of music. Also interesting is figure 9 where the percentage of income by five types of jazz music and the category other are displayed. Almost 56% of the income was earned through modern jazz and improvised music followed by pop/rock with 20.7% and other types of music with 20.4%. Worthy of mentioning is that the majority of the respondents who generated income from 'other' types of music

mentioned world music as a source of income. Other styles like old style jazz / dixyland and modern and classical composed provided for only 2.3% and 0.7% of income.

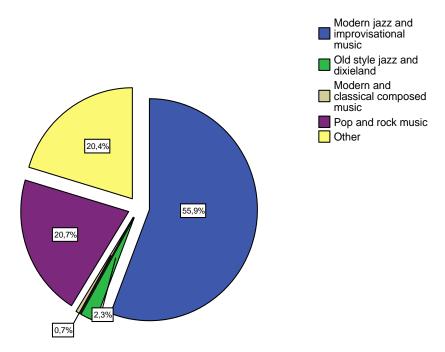


Figure 9: Percentage income of jazz musicians per music type in 2009

Subsidies. An addition to a musician's income can be a subsidy or provision like the WIK, which is considered as benefits and/or unearned income. 83 of the 158 respondents answered the subsidy question: 41% confirmed having received a subsidy from a fund, foundation or government while the remaining 49% did not receive any or at were not aware whether they received any or not.

Worth mentioning is that there seems to be a positive relationship between subsidies and performances in modern jazz and improvised music. Subsidies were increasingly issued with the increase of performances in this style of jazz. This trend does not show in the other styles of jazz.

4.3 Education

Conservatory education. In 2009 63% had one or more years of conservatory education. 33% practised through self study, 27% through private lessons and 23% through music schooling. These could be either be with or without a combination of one or more years of conservatory education. Table 10 displays the rate of conservatory education grouped by age. The rate of conservatory educated musicians is indeed generally higher in the younger age classes and decreases with a higher age. With the 20+ this rate is 80% in 2009 while the rates decline rapidly from 50+ to an average of 42% (combining age 50,60,70+). The younger generations still account for the most time spent in conservatory education. The older generations are mostly educated through self-education or practice, the rate of auto-didactics increases with each older generation.

Relationship between education and income. Respondents with one or more years conservatory show the same patterns in terms of height and distribution of income as those who did not have conservatory education. Education does not seem to make any difference in terms of income so it is likely that there is no positive relationship between education and income when working as a jazz musician.

Table 10: Jazz musicians with conservatory education in 1996 and 2009			
Age	1996 %	Age	2009 %
20-29	85%	20-29	80%
30-39	85%	30-39	70%
40-49	70%	40-49	75%
50+	30%	50-59	60%
		60-69	42%
		70-79	17%

5. Motivational analysis

The interviews with the jazz musicians were interesting and shed a different light on the data collection and gave it a more human dimension. Although the responses have been diverse the interviews gave a clear idea of how the jazz musicians experience their profession, what motivates them and how motivation relates to their socio-economic position.

As explained before, I have used an interview guide to prepare the interviews. In this interview guide I have included several topics of discussion to make sure the most important themes are researched. These themes will structure the below analysis. The interviews have been analyzed by means of a thematic analysis. In the appendix a framework of the thematic analysis can be found in which the most important statements have been categorized in eight main subjects to systematically analyze their motivation. When looking at the framework in the appendix, some boxes were left empty because the categories were not discussed during that interview. As for the other filled in boxes in category "values" only the values that were discussed were inserted. Evidently it does not mean that artistic freedom is not important for another respondent, it is just a reflection of what was discussed during the interview and what apparently was most important for the interviewee at that moment.

Motivation for jazz. For all of the interviewees the interest for jazz music started at a young age listening to the records of parents or older siblings and learning their first instrument. They all remember the first time hearing a jazz record that made a great impression and rooted in the very existence of their being. To this day jazz evokes certain emotions or a state of mind that are not in comparison to anything else. Jazz music is almost a spiritual experience where people follow their intuition, enter a zen-

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like state, or flow as one of them calls it. Everything goes by itself without thinking of anything. Jazz is said to have many layers, it allows to have depth and many possibilities for self development. Jazz has also been considered freedom music and allows you to communicate with other people who you could otherwise not communicate with, a powerful means to mirror society's problems, a source of inspiration, stimulating and never boring thanks to its versatility, flexibility, excitement and artistic freedom.

Positive aspects of the job. Every interviewee has explained their most positive aspects of being a jazz musician. The adventure of every week being different, reaching higher levels of the already high quality of craftsmanship, the ability to create and imagine a more beautiful world, making things you love and maybe even adding a social meaning to it. The artistic freedom to make challenging content and inspiring, connecting to the audience and their enthusiasm for the music. Because of this, most of the musicians work really hard, work much more hours than a full-time worker and do not see this as work but as something they love to do.

Difficulties. For the happy few who have built up a great reputation for themselves receive a lot of offers for exciting solo or collaboration projects while others have to work really hard to arrange performances or to get a new project. Jazz musicians are mostly already involved in their own projects but to get new ones requires a lot of promotion, networking, sending out demo's, making phone calls, sending out emails, maintaining a website, putting video performances on Youtube, perhaps using social media like Facebook and Twitter. Myspace used to be a big source but this tool has declined in popularity over the years. This can take up a few hours a day, every day. One musician even travels with a tablet to not only be available by phone but also by email as being in available around the clock is important in a fast paced and competitive market. Not being available can cost you a performance, people just move on to the next. Then there is the travelling between locations for performances, rehearsals,

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networking etc. There is a lot of stress involved and a lot of business and administration that needs to be taken care of.

Entrepreneurship. Only a few of them enjoy the entrepreneurial part as they like to make new deals, seeing opportunities and selling it for a good price. However, being entrepreneurial is an important part of the job and those who struggle with this might have a difficult time arranging new gigs and may experience more stress than others. Funds, professional bodies and grant giving institutions are said to be unreliable in their assistance and do not help when and where they are really needed. Applying for funds has become extremely difficult due to stricter criteria and bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is a difficulty in any aspect of the job, in applying for additional funds or in when working on administration.

Recognition. The atmosphere in the jazz sector is getting grim as many jazz venues has disappeared since the 80's. Local clubs choose local musicians and every once and a while, when their budget allows it, a big name in the industry is invited to perform. Any other kind of artist in-between has to struggle to make arrange a performance in a club and often have to go abroad for more luck. Apparently, in the rest of Europe everything is arranged better and there still is a certain respect for the jazz musician. One interviewee said that in Germany they are called "Herr Musiker", a respect that you do not have to expect in the Dutch club scene anymore, apart from the big festivals like North Sea Jazz which is very well arranged. Another musician addressed the lack of respect issue by the recent developments of the Dutch cultural policy. Politicians has been calling artists leftwing hobbyist, opportunists holding up their hands to receive subsidies. With some parts of society copying these populist statements the social status of jazz musicians and all other artists is compromised but also, what is to remain of the recognition of the artistic job titles if the state does not seem to take them seriously?

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Competition. The heavy competition and the declining number of venues that program jazz is a big problem for any jazz musician. This only increases the competition amongst jazz musicians and a problem that arises is that many are willing to play for less money and venues are taking advantage of that. This only makes competition and earning a descent income more difficult. This development forces a jazz musician to take up less artistic projects because these are more of a financially risk.

Due to declining subsidies it has become more difficult for Dutch venues and smaller festivals to book foreign jazz musicians as they are not always able to afford the high wages foreign musicians might ask. The coming budget cuts in the cultural sector is said to make the situation even worse than they already are. The number of venues will decline together which will increase the competition amongst jazz musicians.

Values. The most important values that jazz musicians derive from their job are self development, excitement, adventure, diversity, quality and artistic freedom. Only one of the interviewees named financial security. The difference between him and the other interviewees was that he had a well paying primary job in retail from which he derived his financial security and only started to become a full-time jazz musician when he was 40-50 years of age.

Education. The majority has started with music school, playing in a big band, fanfares or other kinds of ensembles at a younger age. After high school all of them, apart from two of them, went to the conservatory to study light or, if light music was not yet available in their time, classical music. It was common practise to have bands or projects while in conservatory. Some interviewees were having difficulties going through conservatory because they were too busy with performances in the evenings and during the weekends that they did not spend much time attending classes. Even those who did not finish their education still enjoy the merits of having learned the basic skills. Most important and useful aspects of the conservatory education was learning the basic skills,

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learning how to compose and arrange music, how to teach music, how to master the instrument and creating a network that would prove to be useful even years after graduating. However, all of these things can also be accumulated while working in the scene and having a good mentor.

Income. As explained in the previous chapter the average income of jazz musicians is below the overall average income, but the modal income is higher than the modal income on a national level. Some of the jazz musicians find it hard to make ends meet and were having a hard time in 2010 and are worried for the future considering the budget cuts. Most of the interviewees had an average income but at the end of the month there is usually nothing left. Two of the interviewees even said that if they were paid by the hour, considering the amount of work that they do, they would be millionaires. Three of the interviewees have a well above average income.

Success factors. The most important success factor is having the drive and the motivation to work hard and to master the skills. Everybody is really skilled when it comes to playing their instrument so you have to be at least as good or even better. You have to be able to do every kind of music but also able to create your own sound to stand out from all the other jazz musicians. Networking is important as well as being able to teach, organise events, produce or other types of arts related jobs. According to some of the interviewees fellow students have dropped out because all the hustle, paperwork etc. drove them mad. Taking an active role in promotional activities i.e. by sending out demo CD's to induce reviews and free publicity, going to network events, using social media are important entrepreneurial aspects of the job. There are no guarantees for success but when you are really good you will make it one interviewee said.

Career highlights. Lastly we discussed what has been their career highlights. The first time achieving something big like a debut solo CD, the first time performing at a prestigious venue like Carnegie Hall in New York especially when it is sold-out, experiencing great historical events like The Soweto Uprising or the fall of the Berlin Wall playing for an ecstatic audience, touring for months in the United States without a day of rest, deeply connecting with the audience or getting an applause of 20 minutes. These experiences remind them of what they are working so hard for.

6. Conclusion

The most important socio-economic factors have been researched in the previous two chapters and provide a good possible answer for the research question.

Flexibility. It comes with a great diversity of activities during the week which makes every week or every month different but also entails a lot of insecurity with no guarantee for work. Most projects are only temporary and seldom on a part-time or a full-time basis but most jazz musicians motivate the choice to have many different projects or labour relations mostly for diversity, self-development, artistic freedom and reputational reasons. Being a jazz musician means having an extremely flexible job which shows in their labour relations. The rate of self-employment and the rate of single performances together take up 80% of the pie. With this rate it is very likely that jazz musicians are one of the most flexible workers in the labour.

Type of performances. The category modern jazz and improvised music is performed the most in 1996 and was the only genre to have increased in 2009. Considering the fact that an earlier research (IJdens & Van der Velde; 1998) already concluded that there possibly is a relationship between subsidies and modern jazz and improvised music I have the impression that the large share in this genre, and the increase over the years is caused by subsidies. This shows the great influence that subsidies have on the market. As jazz musicians are able to play all kinds of jazz and willing to occasionally play another kind than preferred for economic reasons, this mutation is therefore a logical effect.

Work preference. Jazz musicians show a tremendous willingness to work which shows in the time spent on being a musician. Jazz musicians want to work because their work is their business card. Of course working provides income but a more important reason to work is to find more work. Their last performance, CD or composition is a reason for programmers to book an artist or for radio stations to select them for a new project. In addition, working as much as possible is beneficial to quality and self-development. For most jazz musicians it is a constant struggle to find new projects so to be able to work continuously, hard work and being able to sell your work is essential.

Activating labour market policy. The government's labour activating policies have very likely been contributing to the increasing entrepreneurial and labour activating attitude. In addition, stricter criteria to apply for funds and bureaucracy has made it extremely difficult to arrange subsidies. As the income from non-arts has decreased and income from arts and arts related work has increased it is likely that jazz musicians have indeed become more active in generating income from arts and arts-related work.

Performances abroad. This rate has increased, this is likely because it has become easier to make connections abroad and to disseminate your material to foreign countries thanks to the internet, social media and networking events. With the recent developments in the jazz sector i.e. declining number of venues and subsidies, looking for a market abroad has become a necessity. However, the availability of HGIS, a subsidies to reimburse costs for performances abroad, has been available throughout the years and I expect that this also has contributed to the number of performances abroad. Concluding from this and the fact that modern jazz and improvised music has been played more often it is very likely that jazz musicians tend to still be sensitive to subsidies. In addition, it has been said that performances abroad are often better arranged and that there is a greater respect for musicians in foreign countries. For this reason I have the impression that recognition and appreciation are also important motivational factors to perform abroad.

Organisational rate. This rate is much higher with jazz musicians compared to the rate in the overall labour market. It is my impression that due to the great flexibility, the great insecurity of the job and the sensitivity to subsidy changes this great need for professional assistance has emerged.

Relation between income and working hours. Most jazz musicians earn an income of €2000 which is around the modal income - €1900 - in the overall labour market. The average net monthly income was €1565 in 2009 which is higher than it was in 1996. So, the income of a jazz musician does not have to deviate so much from the income in the overall labour market. Notable is the fact that most jazz musicians earn something around the modal income no matter how much time is spent on their profession as a musician. Musicians can spend between 12 and 60 hours per week working on art however, 75% of the musicians earn less than €2000. There is no relation between nonarts work and working time; the income derived from non-arts work can be variable. From this I conclude that as a musician there is a glass ceiling in terms of income, even when working more than full-time in arts. Concluding, hypotheses 1 is correct: the average income in not in line with the amount of working hours. In order to make an above average income it not only many working hours in arts work but also in other types of work. This is clear as 43% of the income consists of arts-income, the remaining 57% needs to be collected from other types of income. According to the interviewed musicians it is getting harder to make arts-income, especially the previous years has been difficult. With the budget cuts that have been planned the amount of arts-income is likely to decline.

Education. Both theory and data analysis show that conservatory education is not really needed to have a career as a jazz musician. I am not implying that conservatory education is useless as it provides knowledge, skills and a useful network. Considering the fact that conservatory education does not seem to make a difference in income as

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there seems to be no relationship between income and education the only socioeconomic variable that could be relevant is that of social status.

Motivation. Jazz musicians are clearly strongly motivated in their profession. All of the musicians got in touch with jazz music at an early age and from that young age they seem to have a tireless passion for jazz. Jazz music gives the ability to imagine a more beautiful and better world, it is deep and layered and enables to produce certain emotions. It is inspiring, stimulating and is never boring. The most important values are self-development and artistic freedom. So, choosing to become a jazz musician is primarily to meet with certain immaterial motivations and needs, of course earning an income is important but it does not come up as a motivation to choose this profession. Obviously, because it is not that lucrative no matter how many working hours are spent. The amazing career highlights that one might have and the immaterial rewards received from the job make it all worthwhile. Therefore, hypotheses 2 is correct; immaterial values are the most important motivation in being a jazz musician.

Relation between motivation and socio-economic position. It is definitely the case that motivation resulting in drive, hard work and the desire to keep developing yourself is necessary and decides how far you will get as a jazz musician. Building up a good reputation and the according repertoire are time and money consuming. Furthermore, being a jazz musician involves many activities like networking, promotion, PR and others things that are not always the activities that jazz musicians like to do. However, these activities separate the professional jazz musicians from hobbyists. Also, as explained before there seems to be a "glass ceiling" in terms of income related to time spent on the arts so an increased motivation is unlikely to unlimitedly increase income but it is likely to only increase to the level of the glass ceiling. But the fact that so many are willing to keep working as a jazz musician and accepting the glass ceiling of income is a reflection of their motivation and dedication for their work.

Final words. So, questioning what is the current socio-economic position of jazz musicians in the Netherlands it can be said that they are not doing too bad when looking at their modal income which is around the modal income of the overall labour market. However, there are many of them earning a less than modal income so for them it is hard to make ends meet. Classifying jazz musicians as poor is slightly overrated but looking at the investment in terms of working hours the balance between working hours and income is off. If jazz musicians were paid by the hour they would be millionaires. As said earlier I conclude that there is a glass-ceiling in the income of jazz musicians. I think that this "glass-ceiling effect" is related to the activities jazz musicians dedicate their time to, of which many things do not provide income directly. Activities like studying, rehearsing and composing are necessary in the profession of a musician but it is not possible to calculate all hours invested in these activities in wages or performance fees. This matter could be interesting to examine in another research.

Professionalization could provide for more structure and more security but this is something that might never happen. Any formal control on how the profession should be executed by means of professionalization is most likely to be resisted by artists as it could compromise the way they want to execute their profession and thus compromise their artistic freedom. Also, how should professionalization be executed when the current running government does not seem take the profession of artists seriously?

Contemplating the conclusions regarding types of performances and activating labour market policy, jazz musicians are sensitive and adaptive to labour market and subsidy changes. The question is how much more adaptive they can be, especially with the planned budget cuts in the cultural sector. The motivations to be a jazz musician are primarily immaterial and explain the reason why it is still interesting to work in a profession that does not provide any stability or security of income. But as one jazz musicians said; "If you are looking for security you should not become a jazz musician". Not knowing what the future will bring can be part of the adventure and the charm of the job. There is little that can compare to making music, performing and connecting to the audience. When looking at the career highlights they sometimes experience events that other workers might never experience. Experiences that make the difficult times worthwhile.

7. Discussion

During the research there were a few main points that had or could have had an effect on the research and its results, these I have summarised below.

- The reason why I chose for an online survey is that it had proved successful in my
 previous experiences and because the distribution points of the survey, namely the
 professional organisations like MCN, have a great database of email addresses.
 However, the survey was only online available so those who do not have and/or use
 the internet are excluded from the research. Also, the fact that I did not have access
 to the distribution list it was not possible to control the representativity of the data
 or to prevent any kind of bias.
- 2. Looking at the open answers people do not always understand the question and therefore give a wrong answer. This is a disadvantage in online surveys that you don't have when taking the surveys from people in person. Often it is also that people do not read the questions very well. Formulating the questions clearly and being consistent in each question is an important task. For example, in one of the questions "Paid performances" should have been performances in general. It would have been good to know the difference between all performances and paid performances. Then, in another question later on in the survey I do not specifically ask for 'paid' performances. This could cause the respondent to insert two different kinds of answers; one including voluntary performances and the other including only paid performances.
- 3. At the time of the research the year 2009 was not yet finished; the survey asks for the respondent's income in 2009. This might have an effect on the result of the

income, because some periods might be busier than others in terms of performances and other income.

- 4. The data from the survey were collected in 2009 while the interviews were done in 2011. In the time between a lot has happened i.e. budget cuts, increased V.A.T. for tickets which have had an influence on employment and income of jazz musicians. These could not have been taken into account in the survey.
- The interviews were a great asset in the understanding of the socio-economic figures as it explained a lot of the underlying issues in being a jazz musician.
 Although it takes up a lot of time, it was worth the extra time and effort.

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Appendix

- 1. Online survey (in Dutch)
- 2. Framework of thematic analysis

Appendix 1

Online survey (in Dutch)

Korte vragenlijst Jazz- en improviserende musici

In het kader van mijn doctoraalscriptie voor de studie Kunst en Cultuurwetenschappen aan de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam doe ik onderzoek naar de huidige sociaal economische positie van jazz en improviserende musici in Nederland. Om zicht te krijgen op de huidige situatie is deze vragenlijst tot stand gekomen en wordt deze in samenwerking met o.a. Muziek Centrum Nederland en stichting JazzNL verspreid. Het is mogelijk dat u deze vragenlijst van meerdere organisaties ontvangt, wij vragen hiervoor uw begrip. De vragenlijst hoeft u natuurlijk maar 1 keer te vullen. Als dank voor uw medewerking worden er belevenisbonnen t.w.v. €25,00 onder de respondenten verloot.

De enquête is anoniem en zal ongeveer 5 minuten in beslag nemen. U wordt vriendelijk verzocht op alle vragen antwoord te geven. Mocht u vragen of opmerkingen hebben kunt u deze aan het einde van de enquête aangeven.

1.		
	Wat is uw geboortejaar?	19

2.	Wat is uw geslacht?	
	•	Vrouw
	٠	Man

3.	Wat is uw huidige woonplaats?

verder...

4.		
	Wat is uw hoofd instrument?	

5.	Heeft u één of meerdere jaren een opleiding aan het conservatorium gevolgd in Nederland of in het buitenland?		
	•	Ja	
	٠	Nee	

6.	Welke (andere) muzikale scholing heeft u gehad? Meerdere antwoorden mogelijk.	
		Muziekschool
		Privéles
		Harmonie en fanfare
		Zelfstudie
		Geen
		Anders, namelijk:
		verder

7.	Wat is uw maatschappelijke positie op dit moment?	
	Ik verricht voor minimaal 12 uur per week betaald werk in de muziek (incl. freelance of zelfstandige)	
	Ik ben student	
	Ik ben werkzoekende	
	• Andere situatie, namelijk:	

8.	Welke soort betaalde werkzaamheden op muziekgebied verricht u? Meerdere antwoorden mogelijk.	
		Uitvoerend musicus
		Componist
		Docent (ook workshopleider)
		Overige activiteiten op muziekgebied, namelijk:

9.	Hoeveel tijd besteedde u de afgelopen drie maanden gemiddeld aan uw werkzaamheden als musicus en, indien van toepassing, hoeveel tijd aan ande kunt hierbij uw agenda als hulp gebruiken.	er werk? U
	Uren per week aan werkzaamheden als musicus (incl. studeren, repeteren, componeren, optreden, organisatorische werkzaamheden, lesgeven etc.)	
	Uren per week aan andere betaalde werkzaamheden	
		[<mark>0</mark>]
		[100
]

10.	Op welke wijze beoefende u het beroep van musicus in 2009 uit? Meerdere antwoorden mogelijk.	
		d.m.v. een arbeidsovereenkomst voor onbepaalde tijd met orkest, ensemble, omroep e.d.
		d.m.v. een tijdelijke arbeidsovereenkomst(en) met orkest ensemble, omroep e.d.
		d.m.v. losse optredens met één of meer ensembles of als solist op diverse podia
		Als zelfstandig beroep of bedrijf
		Anders, namelijk

11.	Bent u lid van een beroepsorganisatie op muziekgebied? Meerdere antwoorden mogelijk.						
		Beroepsvereniging van Improviserende Musici (BIM)					
		Nederlandse Toonkunstenaarsbond (NTB)					
	FNV KIEM Koninklijke Nederlandse Toonkunstenaars-Vereniging (KNTV) Nee						
Anders, namelijk							

verder...

12.	Hoeveel betaalde optredens had u in 2009 ongeveer, in Nederland en in het buitenland, verdeeld naar de volgende muzikale genres.					
	Moderne jazz- en improvisatiemuziek					
	Oude stijl jazz en dixieland					
	Moderne en klassiek gecomponeerde muziek					
	Rock en popmuziek					
	Overige muziek					
		[0]				
		[100]				

13.	Hoeveel van deze optredens vonden plaats in het buitenland?					
	Binnen de EU					
	Buiten de EU					
	[0]					
	[100]					

14.	Op wat voor soort podia vonden uw openbare jazz en geïmproviseerde muziekoptredens in 2009 in Nederland plaats? En hoe vaak trad u daarbij op?				
	Aantal optredens				
Schouwburgen, concertgebouwen en grote culturele centra					
	Kleinschalige podia voor muziek en theater				
Jazzcafé's					
	Andere horecagelegenheden				
	Scholen				
	Overige podia (niet eerder genoemd)				
	[0]				
	[100]				

verder...

De laatste vragen...

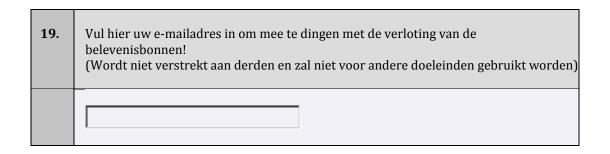
15.	Hoeveel bedroeg uw gemiddelde netto-inkomen per maand sinds januari 2009? Dit betreft dus het totaal van alle netto-inkomsten. Netto betekent hier: na aftrek van ingehouden loonbelasting en sociale premies.					
	Gemiddeld per maand: [0] [100]					

16.	Wat was in 2009 het procentueel aandeel van uw inkomsten als musicus uit de volgende werkzaamheden? Vul s.v.p. een 0 in als u geen inkomsten uit de desbetreffende bron had.					
	Werk als uitvoerend musicus					
	Ander betaald werk (muzikaal) %					
	Ander betaald werk (niet muzikaal)					
	Uitkeringen 🥢					
	Overige inkomsten, niet eerder genoemd%					
	[0]					
	[100]					

17.	Wat was in 2009 het procentueel aandeel van uw inkomsten als musicus uit de volgende muziekgenres?					
	Moderne jazz- en improvisatiemuziek	%				
	Oude stijl jazz en dixieland	%				
	Moderne en klassiek gecomponeerde muziek	%				
	Rock en popmuziek	%				
	Overige muziek	%				
		[0]				
		[100]				

18.	Ontving u in 2009 (of één of meer jazz- of improvisatie-ensembles waarmee u optra- subsidie van de overheid, een fonds of stichting?							
	٠	Ja						
	•	Nee						

verder...



20.	Wenst u geïnformeerd te worden over de resultaten van dit onderzoek vul dan hier uv e-mailadres in. (Wordt niet verstrekt aan derden en zal niet voor andere doeleinden gebruikt worder					

21.	Opmerkingen of vragen over de enquête?				

Appendix 2

Framework of thematic analysis

	Jazz music	Positive job experiences	Challenges	Values	Education	Income	Success factor	Career highlight
Interviewee 1	Producing sounds, feeling or hearing a certain feeling other than random daily emotion. Achieving what you wanted. Letting yourself go, like a child. Depth, harmony, melancholy and other profound emotions. Fascinating, many layers, goes deeper. Anything is possible, always learning new things. Diversity & personal developments.	The thrill of performing, reaching a higher level with your band. Adventure, not knowing what it will bring you. In teaching I can lose myself when a student makes a great progress. Every week is different.	Work very hard to make your way. Uncertain prospects regarding performances or number of students. Being based in the North of the Netherlands is like the Wild West → little development and few venues.	Quality, challenge, adventure, self development. Otherwise it would be boring.	Conservatory makes a musician very critical, it took years to let this go and become a free - child like - musician. Most beneficial was learning basic music skills and creating a network.	Difficult to make ends meet. Budget cuts are immediately noticed for both artist and venue. State of economy very important. Last year very difficult.	Mastering skills, networking and continuous self development. Diploma is not necessary. Contribute to creating more interest for jazz through workshops and organising events. Some business skills. Being able to do every kind of music but also teaching, organising etc. to prevent becoming a hobbyist.	n/a
Interviewee 2	Different every time depending on who you play it with. It can be intuitive and free with one person, fixed and arranged with the other. You don't think about anything, a zen-like emptiness. Doesn't work while thinking, you have studied the techniques, now you have to enter a state of flow. Develops in an organic way.	There are many pianists, this makes that everyone is really good. The level of craftsmanship is high. Playing music is the best thing in the world.	Bureaucracy is awful. 90% of the busy planning and doing paperwork. Arranging performances extremely difficult, have to make compromises. The market is saturated I.e. BIM huis receives 500 requests a day - heavy competition. Selling your product feels strange, too personal. Professional organisations not helpful.	Self-development, diversity.	The quality level increased over the years. You learn a lot but you are not finished after 4 years. Should be longer to develop oneself. Network is very useful. Still plays with musicians from that time.	Wife is also a classical singer, together they have a good salary. The coming budget cuts are worrying.	n/a	n/a
Interviewee 3	Does not like average or clean music, prefers different, anarchist, raw or free music. Jazz is freedom music. Influenced at a young age at home but also Soweto Uprising in South Africa and its music.	Fantasy and luxury to imagine a better and more beautiful world. The responsibility to make the world a more beautiful place. Adding value to beauty by giving it a social meaning. Always makes things he loves. Playing with other good musicians and doing your best to make something good. Manages current company as if it were a band.	Always difficult to arrange performances. Foreign venues more hospitable towards musicians and gives better opportunity to play in higher segment of the market than in the Netherlands, often poorly arranged.	Social awareness, self development, helping new talents, Knowledge and integrating it in society	Having one particular teacher to bring out best in you. Quickly started skipping class, very selective of what was useful for career. Did a lot of networking. Not fond of going to school. Gap between education and European labour market.	Was always able to make ends meet, only had benefits for 1 month but in economic crisis or when taking risks this is more difficult. You will not become rich but it is not bad nowadays. Also manages a company subsidized by OC&W.	Drive, eager to learn and having a very good teacher. Hard work. Determination. When you are really good, you will make it.	Politically involved during the end of the Apartheid in South Africa. Sold out Carnegie Hall in New York. Playing at Jimmy Hendrix Festival. 1st big NOS radio project
Interviewee 4	A source of inspiration, a combination of different styles like groove, soul jazz and improvised music inspire to create your own sound.	Artistic projects, doing things that are challenging, inspiring.	Breaking through conservatory bodice and finding new inspiration, creating a new sound. Artistic projects are less profitable than commercial ones. Having to play in a bar for little money just to have food on the table.	Soul-searching, challenge, inspiration, quality content, self development	Gave insight in music, to master an instrument, making choices were you want to go with your music. Learning school for the craft but artistically unilateral. Look for your own style after conservatory. Learning how to teach music.	Average income. Gets a lot of offers but also has to do a lot to get new projects. Prefers more artistic projects but are hard to make a living from.	gatekeepers. Very active in PR, networking and promotion. Become very	1st project at a prestigious location, a good performance with good quality content and was appreciated by audience. 1st own CD presentation. Intimate living room concert where people understand and appreciate what you're doing
Interviewee 5	Music is an international language. You do what your feeling tells you, not influenced by what people think or say.	Has built a good name/reputation. People know you, book you, write good reviews. Happy with being a jazz musician, still very enthusiastic.	Jazz clubs closing down. Artists, venue owners, volunteer have been impacted by cuts. Venues became more commercial. Incredibly hard work, a government that thinks low of you. Competition willing to work for less money and	Enthusiasm, doing what you love, excitement, challenge	Studied classical. Good teachers, learnt basic principles, refined techniques but quit conservatory before exams because the diploma would not mean anything for a jazz career and was already		Has 10 people to assist in mailing's and sending CD's. Travels with a tablet so always available by phone, email to respond in case of a booking. Many promotion and PR activities. Staying enthusiastic, having fun in	Performance in Berlin just after the fall of the Wall in '89, chaos in country, euphoria in audience left a great impression. The Big Change in South Africa, very long and impressive tour.

			venues taking advantage of that. Difficulty booking foreign musicians as they are to expensive for Dutch programmers.		involved in cabaret and nightclubs. Many fellow student quit due to inability to make a living, with others still in contact.		what you do. Perseverance. Follow your intuition if you want something.	
Interviewee 6	Unleashes emotions. Especially jazz and classical provide certain stimulus. It is a thrill to not be bored after all these years.	Ability to combine jazz with job as interior decorator, never had to do things he didn't like. Enthusiasm of audience to music. Diversity in work. Going to network events.	Arranging performances at clubs as they either choose local musicians or occasionally a famous musician in consideration of their budget. Pop music has a much larger market than jazz.	Excitement, Active, Financial security	Had education other than conservatory so learned mostly in the field and self- study. Took quite some years to refine skill in instrument, learn chords and techniques.	Had always combined jazz with a job as interior decorator so made a good living. Now only works jazz and has found a sponsor. Worried for new generations as new musicians sometimes immediately need welfare. Will cause for decline, artists get desperate and willing to perform for lower prices. Making a living will be impossible.	Plays unique instrument so competition is low. The drive to learn to play instrument like a good trumpet player plays a trumpet. Do 2 professions so you have 1 to fall back on. Not possible to live from just music.	A performance during Queens day where music was created and improvised with help from the audience. Performances in USA and Canada; audience were emotional, thrilled, euphoric. Applause took 12 minutes.
Interviewee 7	Does not make jazz music but people music. Wants people to have fun, jazz is a too limiting category. Improvising and adding your own taste.	Does a lot of projects, receives many offers and able to do projects of his own. Works hard but does not see work as work. Many solo performances	Administration, emails, stress, very busy, making sure that business side is taken care of. Funds and foundation often unreliable when it comes to granting funds. Everybody needs a push in the good direction, even the successful ones. Structure of subsidies does not work; the atmosphere is getting grim and people are getting richer, poor are getting norer.	nice." Artistic freedom, happiness.	Did light music at conservatory but never felt just a jazz musician. Started with carnival band, fanfare and all kinds of ensembles.		Very hard work, without getting a burn out. Survival of the fittest. Networking, PR.	n/a
Interviewee 8	The possibility to improvise, the excitement en flexibility to improvise on the spot. Doing the same concert every evening would be boring.	Continuous projects to work on, opportunities to play and give master classes abroad. Developed the ability to select interesting, creative and free project from the less interesting projects. Playing with other jazz musicians, classical musicians, dancers, choreographers etc. Tours in USA and Canada: people are happy you are coming.	Very busy with several projects at the same time, a burn-out is around the corner. Musicians are willing to play for less which is a worrying situation. The booming club circuit of the '80s are being demolished. Interest comes often from abroad, like USA, Canada or Germany. Competition with a total oversupply of artists.	Artistic freedom, doing own thing, diversity in work and music. Excitement	Started as a hobby during teenage years trying several different instruments and became professional at age 20. Studied social geography but played in bands after school.	Below average and on benefits. Thinks of moving out of the country as life has become to expensive. The '90s and beginning of year 2000 was very bad as club scene collapsed and the effects are still noticeable. Small venues and theatres will be next, but we will continue playing jazz. Will not take a different job as he does not know any better.	Knowing the right people, luck. Skills. Staying optimistic during difficult times. Do you own thing and have fun playing. Being open, trying new things. Networking and making new connections. Standing out from the rest.	Improvisational project with National Ballet. Being part of his orchestra. A very successful tour in the '90s in the USA, performing every day and giving 100% was madness. You were worn/out after a month but it was great.