

(Not) just to make a living?

A study of multiple jobholding amongst choreographers of contemporary dance in the Netherlands.

Master Thesis Cultural Economics and Cultural Entrepreneurship
Erasmus School of History, Culture & Communication
Erasmus University Rotterdam

Author: Monique Bleichert
E-mail: 267879mb@student.eur.nl
Student number: 267879

Thesis supervisor: Dr. B.J. Langenberg
Second reader: Prof. Dr. H. Abbing

March 2012

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1. Introduction

It is one of the distinctive characteristics of artists' labour markets that many artists hold several jobs at the same time. They do so much more often than is the case for other workers. Interestingly, these jobs are often of different nature. Someone may work as a choreographer one day, as a dance teacher the next, and maybe even in a non-arts job like fitness trainer on another. It is exactly this phenomenon that is the subject of this thesis. The main question it aims to answer reads as follows:

To what extent do choreographers of contemporary dance working in the Netherlands hold multiple jobs and how can this be explained?

The approach will be a primarily economic one. The literature on labour economics in general and cultural economics in particular, offers a few explanations. The most prominent theory on multiple jobholding artists is Throsby's (1994) work preference theory. According to this theory, artists have such a strong preference for artistic work, that they will only do other kinds of work to supplement their (often) too low income from artistic work. As soon as they earn enough from their artistic work to make a living, they will drop any other activities to be able to devote all of their work time to their arts work. While this theory, and in particular its distinction between arts, arts-related and non-arts work, has been much applied in research of artists' labour markets, it has not been subjected to much empirical testing itself. Moreover, research as well as casual observation indicates that things may be more complex than this theory allows. Even very experienced and successful choreographers, as well as other artists, often have second jobs. Alternative theories, like those of risk-diversification and role versatility may offer a more suitable explanation, but are under researched.

The aim of this thesis is twofold. First and foremost, it aims to contribute to our knowledge and understanding of artists' multiple jobholding behaviour by assessing the relative merits of the work preference theory on the one hand and other explanatory theories on the other. Also, other possible explanations will be explored. We will do so by studying the multiple jobholding behaviour of a specific artistic profession: choreographers. More specifically, those of contemporary dance. This is a profession that has not received much attention from researchers of artists' labour markets so far. However, it may be a profession of multiple jobholders par excellence. The secondary aim of the thesis therefore is to gain insight into choreography as a profession and the labour market position of choreographers of contemporary dance in the Netherlands.

To achieve this, initially, a single survey was done in 2006 of individuals who had worked as choreographers in the Netherlands in 2005. Because a few years went by between this initial survey and the final completion of the thesis, the opportunity presented itself to add a longitudinal perspective. Hence, a second survey amongst the respondents to the first survey was done in 2011.

This thesis consists of six chapters. The two chapters following this introductory chapter form the theoretical framework of this thesis. In chapter two, we will first briefly look into the most relevant insights from general labour economics. Then, we will focus on what makes artists' labour markets differ from markets for other workers. Particular attention will be paid to what is known from previous research on labour markets for choreographers and dancers. A separate, third, chapter is devoted to theories and research on multiple jobholding. Based on this, the research question introduced above is further specified and hypotheses are formulated in chapter four. This chapter also outlines the design of the empirical research. The research results are presented in the fifth chapter, culminating in the conclusions and recommendations in the sixth and final chapter.

2. Theory and practice of choreographers' labour markets

The aim of this thesis is to gain a better understanding of choreographers' multiple jobholding behaviour. To accomplish this, it is important to first take a look at how labour markets work in general and for artists in particular. As we take an approach which is primarily economic, we will look at how labour markets are viewed in 'general' labour economics first. Next, the special characteristics of artists' labour markets will be discussed. Finally, we will outline the properties of the demand and supply side of the labour market for choreographers in the Netherlands.

2.1 The economic theory of labour markets

Labour economics studies the processes of interaction between different actors on the labour market(s), and their outcomes. Generally three kinds of actors are discerned: suppliers of labour, demanders of labour and the government. A simple model of the labour market in a situation of perfect competition broadly looks as follows: On the demand side, workers choose to offer their labour to employers, driven by a desire to maximize their wellbeing. On the supply side, employers, driven by profit-maximisation, seek to hire these workers' labour which they need to produce goods and services to sell to consumers. Labour demand is therefore known as a 'derived demand', derived from the preferences of consumers for goods and services. Mediated through the market mechanism, a situation of equilibrium is reached at a price where labour demanded and supplied are equal. The market mechanism thus 'balances out' the conflicting interests of supply and demand. This process may be intervened by the government, setting policy and legislation to regulate transactions on the labour market or influence equilibrium (Borjas, 2008).

In this thesis the focus will be on the supply side, more specifically the labour supply decisions of individual choreographers. The argument in this section, as well as the remainder of this chapter, will therefore focus on the processes and determinants of labour supply. Labour demand, as well as the role of the government will be merely treated as context to and factors that may influence workers' labour supply decisions and their outcomes. Broadly speaking, four dimensions of labour supply can be distinguished: participation, hours of work, effort and skill (Filer, Hamermesh and Rees, 1996; Borjas, 2008). Because of their importance as a background for understanding artists' labour supply decisions, two of these dimensions will be dealt with in further detail: the choice of the amount of hours supplied and the choice to invest in the development of skills. Furthermore, we will deal with an, for our purpose, important refinement of the neoclassical model of the supply of (hours of) labour: psychic income. Finally, as a basis for the description and characterisation of the labour market for

choreographers, the theory of market segmentation, or internal labour markets, will be briefly discussed.

2.1.1 Hours of work: the neoclassical model

At the core of the analysis of labour supply is the neoclassical model of labour-leisure choice (Borjas, 2008; Filer et al., 1996). Starting point, as with economic analysis in general, is the scarcity problem. People have only limited time available, which they have to divide over work and leisure. How people divide their scarce time depends on their relative preferences for income and leisure on the one hand and the wage rate they can achieve on the other. It is generally supposed that people value income and leisure positively and time spent working negatively. Furthermore, the value of both income and leisure is supposed to decline as people have more of it and increases as they have less of it at their disposal. This implies that ever greater increases of income are required to induce them to give up one additional hour of leisure, i.e. the marginal rate of substitution of leisure for income is not constant. The wage rate, on the other hand, is usually constant and individuals will supply additional hours until the marginal income/wage rate equals the marginal utility of leisure. It is of course possible that the wage rate is not high enough to induce someone to give up any leisure time at all. In that case, the wage rate does not exceed that person's so-called reservation wage and he or she will (at least theoretically) not supply any labour at all.

However, as with all theory, practice can be much more complex. For example, both workers and jobs are not uniform, perfectly interchangeable things. Also, there may not always be a direct relationship between wage and labour time. For example, self-employed often receive performance-related pay instead of an hourly wage. But most importantly, the decision if and how many hours to work is usually to only a very limited extent a matter of choice. First of all, people need a certain amount of income and leisure in order to survive. Besides that, there are social and legal norms and customs that further limit one's freedom of choice. What's very important for our purpose, the proposition that leisure is always valued positively and work negatively is debatable. As will be discussed below, people may very well enjoy the work they are doing and too much leisure may not be experienced as very satisfying either. However this may be, as argued by Borjas (2008), the model has nonetheless proven useful and correct in predicting and understanding actual labour market behaviour as observed on a daily basis and forms a solid basis for further development and refinement of theories of labour supply.

2.1.2 Compensating differentials and psychic income

Economic theory usually explains human behaviour as a reaction to external, mainly monetary, incentives. Indeed, in the theory outlined above workers' behaviour is guided by a careful weighing of

(monetary) costs and benefits. However, wages are not the only form of compensation workers receive. Jobs have many other characteristics which are valued (positively or negatively) by workers. In exchange for an attractive job characteristic, workers may be willing to accept lower wages. In effect, they thus 'buy' such a characteristic. In the case of unattractive job characteristics on the other hand, employers (other things equal) will either have to pay higher wages to compensate workers for this or try to remove that characteristic. If this were not the case, employers offering relatively unattractive jobs would have great difficulty attracting workers. Such a reduction or increase in pay in return for an attractive or unattractive job characteristic is known as a compensating differential (Filer et al., 1996; Borjas, 2008) and the benefits (and costs) that are derived from these job characteristics are also called psychic income (Thurow, 1978) or procedural utility (Benz & Frey, 2008). The latter can be viewed as a specific form of psychic income, referring to the value people may attribute to not so much actual outcomes (like for example a paid wage), but the process(es) by which they are generated.

The introduction of psychic income has important implications for the theory of labour supply as outlined above and subsequently. One of the basic assumptions of this theory is that people generally derive disutility from work. With the introduction of psychic income however, this no longer needs to be the case. If a particular job generates positive psychic income, labour supply may be positive even at a zero wage. This explains for example the existence of volunteer work (which is not classified as labour in an economic sense). According to Thurow (1978), introducing psychic income generates an economy with two currencies, psychic income and money income, which are imperfectly exchangeable. "An individual's net economic position cannot be reduced to one money number ... individuals may be out of equilibrium in the money area to be closer to their optimal position in the psychic area" (ibid., p.144). As we will see below, this seems to apply to artists very much.

The valuation of job characteristics, and thus their effect on wages, is of course highly subjective and depends not only on people's tastes, but also on social valuations and the supply and demand for that characteristic (Thurow 1978; Filer et al., 1996). Furthermore, the number of possible job characteristics that might have an effect on wages is almost infinite. Unfortunately, in practice, the simultaneous existence of multiple positive and negative characteristics makes it difficult to ascribe wage differentials to a specific job characteristic. Studies of this theory have therefore mainly focused on characteristics that are likely to be viewed as undesirable by most workers, like risk of death and injury on the job (Filer et al., 1996, p.384). More recently, some research has been done on psychic income / procedural utility in relation to self-employment and intensity of hierarchy within firms (e.g. Benz & Frey, 2008). As we will see below, psychic income plays an important role in understanding the peculiarities of artists' labour markets.

2.1.3 *Human capital theory*

Like jobs, workers vary in their characteristics as well. The possibilities open to them on the labour market largely depend on their personal characteristics, skills and abilities. These can be inborn or acquired, but most characteristics that are valuable on the labour market are acquired through either schooling, training or experience. The acquisition and development of skills costs time and money, but is expected to generate higher future earnings. It can thus be seen as an investment: an investment in human capital. The decision making process involved in such investments and their effects are subject of the human capital theory.

Workers, but also employers, investing in schooling and training will carefully weigh its expected costs and benefits and strive to optimise the difference between the two. For an investment to make sense, its expected future returns will at least have to equal those of alternative investments. Whether these returns are the result of actual increases in productivity due to schooling or training has been subject of discussion. According to adherents of sorting models, like the screening hypothesis, education primarily has a signalling or filtering function in that it sorts individuals according to their (innate) abilities and traits, rather than to actually develop skills (Borjas, 2008; Filer et al., 1996).

In order to fully understand the considerations involved with investments in training on the job and its effects, it is important to distinguish between two types of human capital and training: general and specific. General human capital concerns skills that are of equal value for many different employers. Specific human capital on the other hand, is valuable for a specific firm or occupation only. Hence general training/experience will have a positive effect on wages even if one changes job and employer. Firm-specific training/experience, however, only raises wages as long as one stays with the same employer, because the skills thus obtained are worthless to other employers (Filer et al., 1996). Of course whether a skill is general or specific is a matter of degree rather than strictly distinguishable alternatives.

Human capital can also be specific to one or more particular occupations. An occupation can be defined as “a line of work in which those employed use a particular combination of skills to contribute to the production of some marketable good or service” (ibid., p.125). Most occupations require at least some occupation-specific skills. Investments in human capital are therefore closely related to occupational choice. Changing occupations can be very costly and the choice for a particular education and hence profession, should be the result of a careful weighing of alternatives.

Although research generally supports this theory, there has been significant criticism as well. First, there is the difficulty of estimating the exact costs and returns of investments in human capital, both from a methodological and a personal (individual worker) point of view. Furthermore, the theory neglects the role of customs, social influence and mere irrationalities or coincidence as opposed to supposedly rational decision making in human capital investments. Also, non-wage returns are not taken into account (Filer et al., 1996, p.96-110).

2.1.4 *The theory of internal labour markets*

As we have seen above, both workers and jobs differ in their characteristics, which makes them imperfectly interchangeable. Based on such properties, we can distinguish various more or less separate market segments. The labour market for choreographers can be considered as one such segment. Doeringer and Piore (cited in IJdens, 2002, p.24-25) distinguish three types of labour markets. On the one hand, there is what they call the ‘competitive, unstructured market’ or ‘external market’ and on the other hand there are two kinds of so-called ‘internal’ labour markets: ‘enterprise markets’ and ‘occupational’ or ‘craft markets’. The latter two market types are called internal markets to reflect that there are barriers of entry to such markets, whereas these do not exist in the former. These barriers of entry are based on respectively the firm-specific and occupation-specific human capital they require. As we will see in the next section, the labour market for choreographers, as well as that for most other artists, is a typical example of an occupational market.

2.2 Special characteristics of artists’ labour markets

Labour markets not only for choreographers, but for artists in general are considered to differ more from the ‘standard’ labour economics theory and from markets for other kinds of labour than is the case for such other markets. Within the field of cultural economics, over the past few decades a substantial body of work has been devoted to what may be called ‘the special characteristics of labour markets for artists’. The most important (as summarised by e.g. IJdens, 2002; Langenberg, 1999; Menger, 2006; Throsby 1994b; Towse, 2001 and 2010) are:

- A structural oversupply of labour
- A relatively high number of self-employed
- Mainly short-term contracts
- Multiple jobholding
- A highly skewed income distribution
- Human capital theory does not seem to (fully) apply to artists

As the primary subject of this thesis, a separate chapter will be devoted to multiple jobholding. The rest of these characteristics will be discussed in the subsequent sections, with special attention to the research that has been done on artists working in the Netherlands and particularly on choreographers and dancers. Furthermore, the market segmentation theory as introduced in the previous section, will be further refined in relation to the labour market for artists. First though, we will look at a definitional issue that is of great importance for all research on artists’ labour markets: the definition of who is an artist.

2.2.1 *Definition of artists*

Anyone who takes a closer look at research of artists' labour markets and of multiple jobholding in particular, inevitably runs into problems of definition. Definitions of central concepts like: artist, occupation, job, multiple jobholding (and related terms) and different categories or types of work. Because the (differences in) definitions employed are important for the interpretation of the research results discussed in the subsequent sections and chapters, we will take a closer look at these definitions first. Probably the first problem someone wanting to research artists' labour markets runs into is that of determining who should be included in the research population. There is no clear definition of who is an artist and who is not. Frey and Pommerehne (1989, p.146-147) list the following criteria which may all be used to determine who is an artist:

- 1) The amount of time spent on artistic work
- 2) The amount of income derived from artistic activities
- 3) The reputation as an artist among the general public
- 4) Recognition among other artists
- 5) The quality of the artistic work produced
- 6) Membership of a professional artists' group or association
- 7) A professional qualification in the arts
- 8) The subjective self-evaluation of being an artist

Which definition is used varies greatly among the studies discussed below. Official government statistics usually employ a combination of the first two criteria. The Dutch Enquete Beroepsbevolking (EBB) for example, classifies workers according to the occupation to which more than 50 percent of (paid) work time is devoted. However, excluding someone because he or she works more hours in or earns a higher income from a different profession, leads to a less complete picture of the profession studied. According to Towse (2001, p.54), most surveys of artists' labour markets adopt the latter criterion, that of self-definition. However, all of these definitions have been used to some extent and many studies have employed a combination of them (ibid.). We will look further into this and other definition and methodological issue that are of importance to studies of multiple jobholding in the next chapter. First, we will take a closer look at the characteristics of artists' labour markets as outlined above.

2.2.2 *A structural oversupply of labour*

As pointed out by Towse (2001, p.59), it is problematic to gain accurate figures of both employment and unemployment in the arts. Official statistics do not give a realistic picture for a number of reasons.

First, they include only those whose primary occupation is artistic. Also, self-employed are not included in unemployment statistics, as they are not eligible for unemployment benefits. Moreover, multiple jobholding may significantly mask unemployment and underemployment in the arts. However, as we will see later on, many studies of artists' labour markets have found that the majority of artists did not spend as much time on their artistic work as they would have liked to, which is a clear indication of underemployment in the arts.

Unfortunately, there is no official statistic available for unemployment amongst artists in the Netherlands. The HBO-monitor, a research of recent hbo graduates in the Netherlands, shows greatly varying (ranging from 6,5 percent in 2002 to as much as 18,3 percent in 2005 in the period of period 1998-2009) but consistently higher employment rates for graduates from art schools than for hbo graduates in general at 1,5 years after graduation. In 2005 these unemployment figures were 18,3 for graduates of art schools versus 4,6 percent for all hbo graduates. In 2009 these figures were 8,9 and 5,4 percent respectively (HBO-monitor 2007 and 2009). Of the Dutch dancers in Lispet's (2001, p.61) survey, 31 percent had received unemployment benefits at some point in the year 2000.

Various explanations for this can and have been given. Abbing (2002, p.114, 136-142) for example, lists a number of possible explanations for both low income and oversupply in the arts:

- The attraction of the high rewards (both financial and non-monetary) of superstars.
- Artist may feel that they are 'unfit' for other professions.
- An orientation towards non-monetary rewards, which are perceived to be higher, available and/or more fit to their preferences in the arts sector.
- An above average inclination to take risks.
- Artists are overly confident about their on abilities and chance to succeed.
- Artists are less well-informed than other workers.
- Subsidies, the availability of low-priced education and social benefits for artists signal that is safe to become an artist, because in case of need, the government will take care of them.

According to Borjas (2008, p.493-494) structural unemployment in a market segment exists when the characteristics of the workers offering their labour do not match the requirements of employers and these characteristics cannot be readily altered. While in other markets this situation would balance itself out in the long run, because workers adjust their skills to fit other industries and occupations and new entry is reduced by the deterring effect of unemployment rates and a decline in wages, this does not seem to be the case for artists. On the contrary, in many countries a trend has been observed for many years, with the number of artists steadily increasing at a higher rate than labour demand (Menger, 2006, p.778). The list above offers some pointers to why this may be the case.

2.2.3 A high number of self-employed

Artists are much more often self-employed than workers in other sectors. According to data from the EBB, between 2004 and 2006, about 55 percent of all artists were self-employed, compared to only 11 percent of all workers. For the categories of Theatre & Dance and Music, this was 52 percent (Jenje-Heijdel & Ter Haar, 2007, p.9, 28). Eurostat (2011, p.72) reports a figure of around 32 percent non-employees in the cultural sectors (which includes non-artists working in these sectors), compared to around 13 percent of all workers in 2009.

Data on dancers and choreographers indicate that self-employment is less common here than for certain other artistic professions. Of the dancers in Lispet's (2001, p.66) survey, 'only' 20 percent worked freelance. 56 percent of Australian dancers/choreographers are self-employed versus 72 percent of all artists. Only actors and community artists more often work as employees (Throsby & Zednik, 2010, p.53). However, Throsby and Zednik's (ibid.) data reveal that creative artists are generally much more often self-employed (up to as much as 93 percent for composers) than performing artists. As the above figure is for dancers and choreographers combined, the self-employment figure for choreographers only is likely to be higher.

2.3.4 Short term contracts

Labour relations in the arts are often based on short term contracts. In 1995 for example, more than an estimated 60 percent of labour relations in the Dutch audiovisual and performing arts sector could be classified as either temporary, freelance or flexible work (IJdens, 2002, p.9). Of the dancers in Lispet's (2001, p.66) survey, only 16 percent were employed on a permanent contract, 60 percent was employed on a temporary contract and the rest was either self-employed (20 percent) or worked as a volunteer (4 percent). Surprisingly, the figures provided by Eurostat (2011, p.73) reveal that the prevalence of short term contracts is even slightly lower in cultural sectors than in other sectors in the Netherlands (respectively 15 and 18 percent). However, these data include non-artists working in the cultural sectors and exclude self-employed.

2.2.5 A highly skewed income distribution

Whilst there is some income inequality in most professions, this is generally considered to be much greater in the arts. The general picture is that there are a couple of so called 'superstars' who earn exceptionally high incomes, while the majority of other artists earn relatively low incomes. Research (e.g. Filer, 1986; Towse, 2001, 2006 and 2010; Wassall and Alper, 1997) of artists in different countries generally confirms this picture, as does Jenje-Heijdel and Ter Haar's (2007) study of Dutch artists. They found that in 2005, 28 percent of artists working in the Netherlands earned less than

€10.000, compared to 19 percent of all workers and 7 percent workers with similar education levels. For artists in the categories of Theatre & Dance and Music, this was true for even as much as 36 percent. Moreover, a third of all self-employed artists earned an income of zero or less from their business. On the other hand, only 17 percent of all artists (and of artists in the categories of Theatre & Dance and Music) earned an income of € 40.000 or higher and 5 percent € 60.000 or above, compared to respectively 19 and 6 percent of all workers and 43 and 16 percent of workers with similar education levels. This with average weekly work-hours similar to those of other workers (Jenje-Heijdel and Ter Haar, 2007, p.11, 28-29).

Income differentials are likely to be more pronounced in the more commercial art forms like pop music, commercial opera and musical and in movie and television production. As pointed out by Towse (2010, p.307), it is the size of the market for such artistic products that enables the huge income differentials we find here. Explanations lie in the heterogeneity of artists as workers (artists are imperfect substitutes for one another to a much greater extent than is the case for most other professions), consumer preferences and the spread of mass media technology (Towse, 2010, p.301 and 306). Indeed, Alper and Wassall (2006, p.840) found that of the top 15 occupations in the USA with the greatest earnings inequalities, nine were artistic, with actors and musicians ranking first and third respectively in the year 2000. Dancers on the other hand, though still in the top 15, ranked among the three artistic occupations with the lowest earnings inequalities. Unfortunately, from the available research, it is difficult to make comparisons or draw judgments on the degree of skewness found relative to other studies and professions.

A related discussion is that of the allegedly 'poor artist'. It is believed by many that artists on average earn much less than workers in other occupations. This image has been challenged by a number of researchers (e.g. Filer, 1986; Wassall and Alper, 1997). In conclusion, it can be said that most studies find that artists on average earn less than workers with comparable education levels, but the degree to which this is the case depends on factors like country, period, data source, artistic professions included and particularly the definitions used in sample selection and data analysis. Furthermore, the difference is greater when only income from arts work is taken into account. As will be further addressed in the next chapter, multiple jobholding tends to raise artists' income to a level closer to that of other workers. The income figures of Dutch artists as listed above indicate that a large proportion of these artists earn incomes below the so-called 'modest but adequate' variant of the poverty norm used by the CBS and SCP (Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau), which amounted € 870 net income per month for a single person in 2005 (SCP, 2007, p.22). Unless these persons have some other source of income, like for example income from a spouse, they can thus be considered poor.

2.2.6 The limited explanatory role of education

The human capital theory, as outlined earlier in this chapter, does not seem to (fully) apply to artists. Although there have been relatively few true econometric studies on this subject, those who have researched the subject (e.g.: Filer, 1986; Throsby 1992, 1994a and 1996; Wassall and Alper 1997 and 2006) generally find little relationship between age or years of schooling and earnings (Towse, 2010, p.330). However, when the distinction between arts, arts-related and non-arts work is taken into account, basic human capital variables have been found to influence wages differently in each of these markets. Throsby (1996) for example, has found, among others, that while arts training may not affect arts earnings very much, it has a much greater influence on arts-related earnings than on earnings from artistic work. Experience on the other hand, has a much stronger influence on artistic earnings and also affects arts-related earnings. Non-arts earnings on the other hand, are strongly influenced by both the level of general education and age.

Montgomery and Robinson (2003), found that graduate education in dance and dance experience have a strong positive effect on both employment and earnings in the field of dance. These results are consistent with human capital theory. They did however not distinguish between arts and arts-related work, which may explain the positive relation they found between education and earnings. They further found that education in dance and non-dance related education “are forms of specific human capital that do not have positive effects on earnings outside the field” (Montgomery & Robinson, 2003, p.67). Age on the other hand has a negative effect, which is probably due to the high physical demands of the dance profession. Netzer and Parker (1993) found a positive relationship between experience and income too, but noted that a plateau is reached rather quickly, at around 7 to 10 years of experience. More experienced choreographers were also less likely to hold second jobs. Remarkably, they found a negative relationship between level of education and income, with the average income of choreographers with a college degree being much lower than for those with lower levels of education. Unfortunately, no explanation for this was given.

As discussed in the first part of this chapter, one of the main problems and points of discussion related to human capital theory is the difficulty of determining the relative importance of innate and acquired characteristics of workers. Innate characteristics, or talent, are generally considered to be of particular importance for artists. However, this is based rather on general beliefs and a lack of evidence on the effect of other explanatory factors, than on actual empirical evidence. As Towse (2006, p.878) notes, the concepts of ‘talent’ and ‘creativity’ have not gotten much attention from cultural economists so far. This may have to do with the relative vagueness of such terms. It is difficult to come up with a workable and widely accepted definition, measurement or indicator of talent.

While there may be little evidence supporting the human capital theory, what can be said about sorting models? Various studies have found that a large part of all artists are self-taught, although in dance the percentage of artists with formal training lies much higher. Moreover, as Jenje-

Heijdel and Ter Haar (2007, p.13) have found, only 30 percent of all workers in the Netherlands who have received formal arts education, actually have an artistic profession as their primary occupation. We have also seen that there has been a debate going on in the Netherlands for years about both the quantity and quality of graduates from Dutch dance colleges. Too many graduates do not live up to the requirements of employers and consumers, which depreciates the value of formal qualifications from such colleges to potential employers. Moreover, employers often use alternative screening and signalling mechanisms, like auditions and awards. In the case of creative artists like choreographers, there probably is no better signal of their talent and ability than the visible products they have created in the past and the reputation this has earned them. All of this speaks against sorting theories.

Finally, it should be added that, while there may be little evidence in support of both the human capital and sorting theories, this does not mean that (aspiring) artists do not benefit from formal training. As Towse (2006, p.881-883) points out, there are 'craft', professionalisation and socialisation elements to arts training as well. The latter is likely to be particularly important for artists, considering the relative importance of informal search channels in artists' labour markets.

2.2.7 *Structure of artists' labour markets*

In section 2.1 we have seen that labour markets can be typified as external, enterprise, or occupational markets. The labour market for (most) artists is a typical example of what was introduced there as an occupational market. Choreographers, as well as other artists, usually take care of the development and maintenance of their skills themselves and these skills are generally of more or less equal value to many employers in the field.

Following the same principles as Doeringer and Piore did, IJdens (2002, p.58) further divides the occupational market for artists into three subtypes. First, there is the unstructured occupational market. This is the market segment in which artists work in loose, short term employment arrangements for a diversity of employers or bring their artistic products to the consumer market through their own company. Second, there is the structured occupational market. In this segment, companies active in the arts sector (or one of its branches) hire artists for a short or longer period of time. There exists a system of positions within individual companies and/or the industry as a whole that determines the possible career path(s) of the workers employed in it. In the third type of market, the skills of employees are company-specific in nature. This latter type is very rare in the practice of artists' labour markets.

While such a distinction has proven useful, particularly in research on the flexibilisation of labour, it does not cover certain aspects of the labour market for artists, like for example the above mentioned skewed income distribution. IJdens (2002, p.60-61) therefore introduces an additional typology of artistic occupational labour markets, which is based on two dimensions: control of the exchange relationship (supply vs. demand) and the level of negotiation (individual vs. collective). The

latter basically determines whether we are speaking of a structured or unstructured market, while the former further subdivides these markets based on the locus of control of the exchange relationship. Hence, he distinguishes four types. First, there is the pure spot market, where demand dominates supply and relations are based on individual arrangements. This is the external, unstructured occupational market mentioned above, but without the small numbers exchange. The latter is the second type, which is characterised by individual arrangements and dominance of the supply side. This is the market for so-called ‘superstars’. Third, the protected or sheltered market, which is dominated by demand and collective arrangements. In the Netherlands, this is the market which is regulated by collective labour agreements. Fourth, professionalism, which is characterised by collective arrangements and dominance of supply. As IJdens recognises, this latter type is an ideal that has not been achieved yet, at least not in the Netherlands. In the subsequent section, we will see how this typology fits the labour market for choreographers.

2.3 Characteristics of the labour market for choreographers

As we have seen, the labour market for artists is best characterised as an occupational market. This applies to the labour market for choreographers too. In this section, we will assess how this market can be further characterised, using the typology of artistic occupational markets outlined above. To be able to do so, we will briefly outline the characteristics of both the supply and demand side of this market first.

2.3.1 The supply side: what do we know about choreography as an occupation?

Here we immediately run into the question of who is an artist, or in this case more specifically: a choreographer? No matter what definition is chosen, there are no recent and exact figures available on the number of choreographers or dancers working in the Netherlands. Jenje-Heijdel and Ter Haar (2007) analysed data from the Dutch ‘Enquete Beroepsbevolking’ (EBB) over the period of 2004-2006. In these years there were on average around 96.000 people with an artistic profession (including architecture and design) as their primary occupation working in the Netherlands. Five percent of these had a profession in the SBC (Standaard Beroepen Classificatie) category of Dance and Theatre. The EBB, while recognising ‘choreographer’ as a distinct profession, does however not report separately on the size of occupational groups with less than 5000 employed¹ (IJdens, 1999, p.87). It is therefore unknown how many of these are dancers or choreographers. According to an estimate of Bureau Driessen (1999, p.37), there were around 80 professional choreographers working in the Netherlands at the end of the 1990’s. It is not clear though how this estimate came about and what criteria they

¹ Only those who do at least twelve hours of paid work and for whom this is their primary occupation are counted.

used for 'professional choreographer'. Counting all persons who are marked as choreographers in one or more of the productions listed in the Dutch Theatre Yearbook (TIN) in the seasons 1990-1991 until 1999-2000, we gain a figure as high as 1081 persons (own calculation)! As we will see in chapter 5, using the same method but with a more narrow definition of genres and producers included and a more limited time frame, we still find a number of 224 choreographers for the year 2005.

There is not much research that specifically focuses on choreographers. Only the following two studies were found:

- Shinkansen (2001): Choreographers based in London and Yorkshire (UK).
- Netzer and Parker (1993): Choreographers based in New York City, Washington D.C., San Francisco and Chicago.

More is known about dancers and choreographers as a group. The Australian studies of Throsby et al. (1994c, 2003 and 2010) distinguish dancers and choreographers together as a separate group in their analyses. Also, the following studies were found that focused specifically on dancers/choreographers:

- Bennett (2009): Australian dance artists.
- Montgomery and Robinson (2003): Graduates of the Five College Dance Department in Western Massachusetts (USA).
- Lispet (2001): Dancers working or training (professionally) in Rotterdam (NL).
- Jackson, Honey, Hillage and Stock (1994): Individuals working in dance in the UK.

Relevant findings from these studies in relation to the labour market for dancers and choreographers, will and have been addressed throughout this thesis. In the remainder of this section, we will focus on those results that may give us an indication of some basic characteristics of choreographers as a professional group. It should be noted that almost all of the above mentioned publications are about choreographers and dancers in countries other than the Netherlands.

From the two studies on choreographers, we find that first, the choreographers in these studies are predominantly female (respectively 68 for the former and 72 percent for the latter). Furthermore, compared to the age distribution in the general workforce, relatively few choreographers are younger than thirty years old, while the largest age-category is between 30 and 40 years old. In general, the labour market in the dance sector seems to be very internationally oriented, in the sense that many workers within it are active in different countries throughout their careers. IJdens and Langenberg (2008, p.20) found that around 62 percent of the dancers employed by European dance companies were of a non-native nationality. The same was true for 50 percent of the respondents to Lispet's (2001, p.51) survey of dancers working in the Netherlands. Unfortunately, the studies on

choreographers do not report on this, but it can be expected that the same will apply to choreographers as well.

Contrary to many other artistic professions, the vast majority (81 percent) of the US choreographers attended some formal higher education in dance. 77,6 percent of them had studied choreography, though it is not clear what the nature or level of this education was (Netzer & Parker, 1993, p.39-44). The US study did not distinguish between performance and choreography programs. This is not surprising, as the latter are, at least in the Netherlands, a relatively recent phenomenon. Currently there are six higher education programs in choreography in the Netherlands: three hbo bachelor programs (in Amsterdam, Tilburg and Rotterdam) and three hbo master programs (in Amsterdam, Arnhem and Tilburg), all of which are of very small-scale.

A final and important characteristic is that choreography seems to be a post-performance career for the majority of its practitioners. This can actually be considered as an additional special characteristic of artists' labour markets, which is specific to dance only: the relatively short duration of a dancer's career. Due to the great physical demands of the profession of dancer, most of them have to end their performance career in their early to mid thirties (Baumol, Jeffri and Throsby, 2004, p.4). Choreography is one of the professions that is often attempted as a post-performance career. As many as 80,7 percent of the respondent to Netzer & Parker's study on US choreographers had started out their careers as dancers. Interestingly, 86,5 percent of them still danced as well. It thus seems that dancing and choreographing may go hand in hand for quite some time. Indeed, in a survey of former dancers in the USA, Switzerland and Australia, Baumol et al. (2004, p. 49) found that between 32 and 52 percent had worked as choreographers after ending their performance career. Unfortunately, they do not report on how many of them actually succeeded in building a long-term career in choreography. They did however find that between 47,5 and 59,2 percent of former dancers had ever worked as a choreographer during their entire career (ibid., p.248), which indicates both that many choreographers start choreographing while still dancing and that not all of them persist until after their performance careers have ended.

2.3.2 The demand side: outline of the Dutch dance sector

When we speak of the labour market for choreographers, we adopt a supply-centred orientation. As our focus is on choreographers of contemporary dance and these find employment primarily within the 'formal' dance sector, we will focus the discussion here on this sector. On the supply side of the labour market for choreographers in the Netherlands, the following types of employers can be distinguished (Bureau Driessen, 1999):

- Multi-year (by the central government) subsidized dance companies
- Project-based companies ('productiekernen')

- Workshops ('werkplaatsen') and production houses ('productiehuizen')
- Festivals

Besides these companies, dancers and choreographers may also find employment in other branches of the (subsidized) arts, like for example theatre and opera, but also in the commercial creative industries like television, musicals, music video's etc and in arts education. The labour market for choreographers thus actually extends beyond the dance sector as outlined above. It is however unclear how many choreographers actually find employment in such other sectors and disciplines. Shinkansen (2001, p.14) speaks in this respect of two 'economies': the subsidized and the commercial, between which there is not much mobility. As an important explanation they notice that there is an "anxiety that 'commercial success' will jeopardise a choreographer's chances of attracting public subsidy". The Dutch sector organisation for dance companies, the 'Directie Overleg Dansgezelschappen' (DOD), too notices that activities outside of the strict artistic domain enjoy low status and may even cause reputational damage (DOD, 2007, p.52).

In the subsidy-period of 2005-2008 there were 23 structurally (for a period of four years) by the central government subsidized companies in the Netherlands, of which 15 dance companies, 3 workshops/production houses, 4 festivals and 1 company that provides dance training for freelance dancers (www.cultuursubsidie.nl). The exact number of project-based companies in this period is unclear. For the year 1997, it was estimated that about 53 project-based dance companies were active (Bureau Driessen, 1999, p.36-37). According to Baumol et al. (2004, p.177), around 89 percent of the dance produced in the Netherlands can be characterized as modern/contemporary, which is the focus of this thesis.

What kinds of employment do these companies offer? Unfortunately, no data on contract types and numbers of jobs are available. Even the two recent CBS reports on Dutch artists, despite their elaborateness, do not report on this. From observation, we can draw some conclusions on the kinds of choreographers that find employment here though. The structurally subsidized dance companies hire mainly experienced choreographers who have already built a solid reputation for themselves. Besides their regular productions, some of these companies also organise so-called choreography workshops in which the company's dancers, but sometimes outsiders as well, can make and present a small piece of their own choreography work. The project-based companies are small groups, often centred around a particular choreographer, which depend on project subsidies in order to get by. Choreographers of such companies can be of varying degrees of experience and reputation. For choreographers in the early stages of their careers there are, besides the workshops of the larger dance companies, a couple of permanent independent workshops and production houses. Besides the means to produce and present dance pieces, such organisations also offer artistic as well as business advice and sometimes also provide training facilities to freelance dancers. Finally, there are festivals that hire choreographers or commission work to experienced as well as beginning choreographers.

2.3.3 *Supply and demand together: characterisation of the labour market for choreographers*

We have now outlined the basic characteristics of both the supply and demand side of the labour market for choreographers. What conclusions can we draw from this in terms of the typology of artists' labour markets presented above? We have already concluded that the labour market for choreographers can be characterised as an occupational market. Furthermore, the conclusion that company-specific human capital is very rare in the arts, probably applies here as well. Differences between dance companies are by many not considered to be substantial enough (Bureau Driessen, 1999; DOD, 2007) that the skills required by one company would not be of any value to another. Moreover, it is the (style of the) choreographer's work that determines the image of a company rather than the other way around. We are thus left with the structured and unstructured occupational market types.

As we have seen, IJdens' (2002) extended typology on these two market types is based on two dimensions: dominance of demand vs. supply and of individual vs. collective arrangements. Let's consider the former first. Although from the literature very little is known about the labour market for choreographers, it is probably safe to say that the oversupply that has been observed for artists in general, applies to choreographers as well. Hence, demand will be dominant here. An exception would be the so-called superstars, though probably just a few, if any, exist in choreography. What about the second dimension? In the Netherlands, dance companies that are a member of the DOD (mostly structurally subsidized dance companies) are bound to collective labour agreements (CAO). The same may or may not be true for companies in and outside the formal arts where choreographers may find employment. Hence, we predominantly find two types of markets for choreographers: the pure spot market and the protected (or sheltered) market. Generally speaking, all employers who are bound to a CAO operate in the protected market and all others operate in the pure spot market. It is hard to say to what extent a true small numbers exchange really exists for choreographers in the Netherlands. Not much is known about this, at least not formally. As far as it does exist, it will be limited to only a very small number of choreographers.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have covered the most relevant insights from (labour) economics that serve as a context for understanding our subject. As a starting point, we have looked at some basic theories from general labour economics. Next, we have seen that research within the field of cultural economics has revealed a couple of distinctive characteristics of labour markets for artists. These have been illustrated as much as possible with examples from research on Dutch artists and on choreographers and dancers

working in other countries. Finally, we have outlined some basic characteristics of the labour market for choreographers in the Netherlands. Now we can turn to our actual subject: multiple jobholding.

3. Theory and practice of multiple jobholding

Probably the most striking feature of artists' labour markets, and the primary subject of this thesis, is the widespread phenomenon of multiple jobholding. A large percentage of artists have been found to hold multiple jobs at the same time. What's particularly interesting about this, is that second jobs may be outside of an artists' primary artistic occupation (PAO) or even outside of the artistic field altogether. Various explanations for this phenomenon can and have been given. Before turning to the statistics on multiple jobholding and these explanatory theories, we will first put multiple jobholding in artists' labour markets against the context of recent developments in other labour markets. Also, we will look further into some important methodological and definition issues involved with research of multiple jobholding.

3.1 Multiple jobholding: a special characteristic of artists' labour markets?

In the previous chapter, multiple jobholding was presented as a special characteristic of labour markets for artists. The heading of this section may therefore at first sight seem a bit of a rhetorical question. However, as becomes more and more clear, artists should in this respect rather be viewed as forerunners of more general labour market trends (IJdens, 2002). With the increasing flexibilisation of labour and the increase of self-employment in particularly the past decade, multiple jobholding has become more important in other labour markets as well. This is reflected in a recent growth of interest in the subject in other fields of economics and social sciences other than just cultural economics.

Multiple jobholding, dual jobholding, moonlighting, boundaryless careers, portfolio careers, proteian careers: all of these terms can and have been used to describe the phenomenon we are concerned with here. What exactly do we mean by these terms? Dual jobholding and moonlighting are terms that are commonly used in older research as well as textbooks on labour economics as applied to the general workforce. Filer et al. (1996, p.71) for example, define moonlighting simply as "working at two jobs". More recently, terms like 'boundaryless career', 'portfolio career' and 'proteian career' have been introduced to reflect changes in labour market characteristics and careers (e.g. Bridgstock, 2005; Bennett, 2009; Throsby & Hollister, 2011). As an increasing number of workers more frequently change jobs, become self-employed and/or work in different roles/occupations simultaneously, the concept of a 'job' in the traditional sense of working for a single employer for a longer period of time becomes less important. This development will be dealt with in greater detail in the section about portfolio theories. In cultural economics, the term multiple jobholding is the most commonly used term.

3.2 Statistics

Over the years quite a body of research on artists' labour markets has been established that provides us with data on artists' multiple jobholding. As we have seen in the previous chapter, differences in the definitions used can have a great impact on the research results. Besides the definition of who is an artist and of artistic occupations, there are a couple of other such issues that are of great importance for studies of multiple jobholding: the definition of jobs, multiple jobholding, types of work, and the time frames used. Before turning to actual figures on the prevalence of multiple jobholding, we will therefore take a further look at these issues first.

3.2.1 *Methodological and definition issues*

The differences and changes in the terms used to describe multiple jobholding are reflected in the ways it is measured and analysed in research. While government statistics and surveys of moonlighting or dual jobholding focus on actual jobs (usually one 'main' job and one second job) held simultaneously in a certain time period, as we will see below, in research of artists' labour markets the focus has become on combinations of different types of work or 'roles' rather than 'jobs'.

In research of artists' labour markets, it has become common practice to distinguish between three different types of work: arts work, arts-related work and non-arts work. These types of work can be defined as follows:

- *Arts work* (also called 'artistic' or 'creative' work): All 'creative' labour that is related to the production of a work of art, including activities like "thinking, dreaming, hunting for ideas, searching for materials, rehearsing, practising and so on" (Throsby, 1996, p.332).
- *Arts-related work*: Labour "which is not directly related to producing creative output, but which is nevertheless associated with being a professional artist" (ibid.).
- *Non-arts work*: All other work that is not arts or arts-related work.

As one may have noticed, these definitions are not exclusive and leave some room for interpretation and overlap. Is promotion of one's own work for example artistic or arts related work? And what about the daily dance classes dancers take to maintain their skills? Is this arts, arts-related or not work at all (as it is often unpaid)? It is not always clear how different researchers have dealt with this. To make things even more complicated, some researchers use different categories altogether. To illustrate this, we have attempted to compile some of the most relevant studies into a single table. An attempt at best, because even after reducing the categories used to as few as possible without losing the essential differences, the result was still very complex and difficult to read. In practice, roughly the following sets of categories can be distinguished:

- Arts (incl. arts-related) and non-arts work (sometimes work in PAO² is added as a distinct category)
- Arts, arts-related and non-arts work (sometimes work in PAO is added as a distinct category)
- Work in primary artistic occupation (PAO work) and non-PAO work
- PAO work, PAO-related work and non-PAO work
- Work within a particular art form and work outside of that art form

The latter three sets of categories are often used in research of specific art forms or occupations. This is understandable in light of the specific goals of these studies, which usually have a much broader orientation than just multiple jobholding.

In reality, the variation in categories used is even greater and often not entirely clear. In itself, such variations would not be a problem if only the categories had been constructed in such a way that it is clear what is included in them and what is not, and that they could be added up to the categories of arts, art-related and non-arts work. Unfortunately this is not the case. The closer one looks at how the categories used in some studies have been constructed, the more fussy things often get and the greater the numbers of different categories found becomes. While there are broad definitions of the categories of arts, art-related and non-arts work available, it is often unclear how these other categories are defined. Also, there is a significant overlap between categories. For example, Montgomery and Robinson (2003) use the categories dance (incl. dance-related) and non-dance work. The former category is broader than PAO-work, but more narrow than just arts work. The latter category on the other hand, may even include arts and art-related work in an artistic discipline other than dance. There is no way to adjust the data to come to any of the basic categories of arts, arts-related and non-arts work.

Again, all of this would not be much of a problem either if artists would generally not work in other artistic occupations. However, this is not the case. Throsby and Zednik (2010, p.35) for example show that artists frequently cross over between art forms. They asked their respondents in which other art form they had worked at any point in their career. For dancers and choreographers, they found that the most frequently practised other art forms were in the performing arts as well: acting (21 percent), directing (20 percent) and singing (14 percent), though other art forms like writing (11 percent) and visual arts (10 percent) were not uncommon as well). Other PAO's display a similar diversity. Crossovers from artists with a different PAO to dancing or choreography are however rare, with the

² Some researchers use work in the 'primary artistic occupation' (PAO) as a separate category. This category is used to reflect that artists often work in more than one artistic occupation. The one to which most time is devoted is then called the PAO. Studies that focus on a specific artistic occupation usually do not use the term PAO, but incorporate the name of that occupation in the category-names. IN essence, this is the same though.

exception of community cultural development workers, 11 percent of whom have worked as a choreographer at some point.

From a theoretical perspective, the distinction between arts, arts-related and non-arts work is important because conditions in each of these markets are supposed to differ considerably and labour supply decisions and earnings are supposed to be influenced by different factors in each of these markets, as was already discussed to some extent in the previous chapter. While the arts market generally involves insecure and irregular employment opportunities and relatively low wages, the non-arts market offers much greater regularity and higher wages (Throsby, 1996, p.331). Arts-related work probably holds an intermediate position, although this is not entirely clear from the existing literature, as will be discussed later on.

Another important issue when researching or interpreting data on multiple jobholding is the time period concerned. Because of the common presence of short-term contracts and self-employment in the arts, simultaneity and successiveness may be difficult to distinguish here. While the Dutch ‘Enquete Beroepsbevolking’ (EBB), as well as official statistics in many other countries, counts the number of jobs per week, most studies of the cultural sector are based on data over the period of one year (Langenberg, 2004, p.41). Measuring multiple jobholding over the period of just one week does not do justice to the complexity of artists’ working patterns, which are likely to vary considerably throughout the year. Indeed, most of the studies discussed in this chapter measure variables over the period of one year as well. However, it should be noted that, as Paxson and Sicherman (1996, p.363) point out, extending the period studied dramatically increases the rate of multiple jobholding found, because “workers move into and out of second jobs over time.” The longer the period studied, the greater the probability that someone has had a second job at some point in time. Hence the low multiple jobholding rates found by Alper and Wassall (2000). Moreover, the fact that time frames and other definitions used differ from those used outside of cultural economics, makes it difficult to draw comparisons to other occupations and to the general workforce.

3.2.2 *Statistics of multiple jobholding*

With this in mind, what conclusions can be drawn about the prevalence of multiple jobholding amongst artists? We will focus here on those studies that are most relevant for our present subject and which have been published in 2000 or later, as well as older research that focuses specifically on dancers and/or choreographers. (For a review of older research, see for example Alper & Wassall, 2000.) In line with the observation that artists often supply different types of markets and due to the specific characteristics of these markets are multiple jobholders almost by definition, research of artists’ labour markets has focussed on artists’ time allocation over these markets rather than on the actual number of different jobs they hold. Statistics on the different types of work that artists do, essentially come in two forms: actual numbers of workers who do different types of work and

averages of artists' time distribution (often combined with income distribution) over these types of work. As we will see below, this latter form has become prominent in research of artists' labour markets.

We will take a look at what we know about the actual prevalence of multiple jobholding among artists as well as the general workforce first. As indicated above, we have compiled the results from various studies into a single table. For reasons stated above however, the result was unsuitable to publish it in the main text and was placed in appendix B. Despite this, some general conclusions can be drawn. First, only a few studies report on the actual prevalence of multiple jobholding in the strict sense of holding more than one job (irrespective of its nature). In line with what was observed in chapter two, we notice that studies using census data find much lower multiple jobholding rates than those who do not. Both Alper and Wassall (2000) and Schreven and de Rijk (2011) found that the vast majority (86-93 and 84 percent respectively), though still less than amongst the general workforce or other professional workers, had only one job. Comparing different (categories of) artistic professions, Schreven and de Rijk (2011) found that holding more than one job is much more common (1,75 times as high) amongst artists in the performing arts though. Alper and Wassall (2000) furthermore found that artistic occupations are amongst the occupations most frequently held as a second job. Throsby and Hollister (2003) and Throsby and Zednik (2010) on the other hand found figures of respectively 31 and 37 percent of artists holding only one job. It is interesting to see that in his later work, Throsby (Throsby & Zednik, 2010) does not report on numbers of jobs any more. Apparently, it has become an obvious feature of artists' work life. These differences can probably largely be explained by the fact that the latter applied less strict definitions of artists and used longer reference periods than census-based studies did. Finally, something that is not always clear, is if and how self-employed have been included in these figures.³ Considering the high prevalence of self-employment amongst artists, this is of particular importance here though.

More, though certainly not all studies provide information on the numbers of artists who do different types of work. None of these are based on census data. The following can be observed. First, despite the apparent differences in definitions employed, the different studies display a surprising similarity in particularly the percentages of artists who work in their PAO only. Only a small minority do not do any other type of work (figures range from 6 to 22 percent). Second, a large part of artists does non-arts work. Figures vary considerably amongst the different studies but are, other than might be expected, generally not higher when not strictly non-arts categories like 'non-dance' are used. Variations may again at least partially be explained by differences in definition. Bijkerk (2003) for example included only musicians that were employed by subsidised Dutch symphony orchestras. These probably have a much more stable employment and income from their arts work than for

³ Eurostat for example speaks in his respect of 'persons employed', which should include self-employed. As the number of workers with more than one job is however much lower than the number of self-employed alone, it is not possible that they have been included as multiple jobholders, except when self-employment is per definition counted as one single job.

example the total population of classical musicians or all graduates of a music college, and are thus less likely to (need to) do non-arts work. Third, both the position and definition of arts-related work are the most unclear. In many cases, only the figures on PAO work and arts and arts-related work combined are published. The figure for arts-related work can not simply be calculated by subtracting the former two categories, as artists may also do non-PAO arts work. Finally, comparisons of different artistic professions are difficult to draw from these surveys' data, as the criteria used to select the research populations are quite divergent. Only Throsby and Zednik (2010) en Throsby and Hollister (2003) have distinguished between different PAO's in their work. Figures for different occupations vary somewhat in both years but there are no marked differences between dancers/choreographers and other PAO's.

Many researchers have also looked at artists' time distribution over different types of work. These data too, were compiled in a single table. The result was somewhat more readable than that for data on the prevalence of multiple jobholding and is displayed below. It should be noted however, that the actual differences in categories used are greater than the table indicates.

Table 3.1: Average time distribution over different types of work: overview of research published 2000-2010.

		All artists		Dancers/ chorographers			Chor-eogra- phers	Other artists
		Throsby & Zednik (2010): AUS	Throsby & Hollister (2003): AUS	Throsby & Zednik (2010): AUS	Throsby & Hollister (2003): AUS	Lispet (2001): dancers (NL)	Netzer & Perker (1993): choreographers (USA)	Von der Fuhr et al. (2010): actors (NL)
Arts work	Work in PAO	47	47	42	49	n/a	n/a	64,7
	Dance work	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	53	n/a	n/a
	Other arts work	6	6	8	6	n/a	n/a	n/a
	Arts work (total)	53	53	50	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Arts-related work	Other work related to PAO	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	20,6
	Dance-related work	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	29	n/a	n/a
	Arts-related work	27	27	40	33	n/a	n/a	n/a
	Choreography and choreography-related work	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	50	n/a
Non-arts work	Work not related to PAO	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	14,7
	Non-dance work	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	17	n/a	n/a
	Non-choreography work	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	50	n/a
	Non-arts work	20	19	10	12	n/a	n/a	n/a

The data show a clear hierarchy, with on average most time (mostly around half) spent on arts work and least on non-arts work. However, it should be noticed that these are averages of all artists and not just of artists who do any arts-related or non-arts work. This pattern is not surprising, as the same

hierarchy can be seen in data on numbers of artists who do these types of work. It would be interesting to see the time distribution of only those artists who actually do arts-related and/or non-arts work.

3.2.3 Specifics of dancers' and choreographers' multiple jobholding

Now what kinds of arts-related and non-arts work do choreographers and dancers do? Of all possible arts-related jobs, teaching seems to be the most commonly practiced. The dancers in Lispet's (2001, p.55) survey on average spent 19 percent of their time on teaching, which is more than the 10 percent spent on other kinds of arts-related work. 95 percent of Australian dancers/choreographers who did art-related work, worked as teachers, 21 percent in arts administration, 11 percent did community arts work and 5 percent did some other type of arts-related work (Throsby & Hollister, 2003, p.100). In their later work, Throsby and Zednik (2010, p.123) found percentages of 88, 12, 8 and 11 for these same types of arts-related work. What's interesting about this, is that the percentages add up to more than 100 percent, indicating that artists do not only do different kinds of artistic work but different kinds of arts-related work as well.

Much less is known about non-arts work. The classical picture is that of the struggling artist needing to work a second job as a for example a waiter or taxi-driver. But to what extent is this really the case? Alper and Wassall (2000, p.6) found figures of between 55 and 75 percent of artists holding second jobs in professional and technical occupations (incl. work as an artist), but less than 20 percent in sales, clerical or service occupations. In a somewhat confusing attempt to shed some more light on this, Throsby and Zednik (2010 and 2011) have asked artists if they applied their artistic skills in work in non-arts industries. This appeared to be the case for 36 percent of all artists, but only 18 percent of dancers and choreographers. While the latter score lowest of all artistic professions, writers (53 percent), actors (49 percent), visual artists (41 percent) and community cultural workers (42 percent) score the highest. Which are these 'other industries' artists find employment in? For dancers and choreographers these were advertising, hospitality/tourism/travel, charity/community/non-profit and retail, but most often health & welfare (25 percent) and fitness (31 percent). As Throsby and Zednik (2011, p.19) recognise, it is debatable whether such work should be classified as arts, arts-related or non-arts work, or whether this may even be a separate, 'fourth category' of work. While certainly an interesting thought, an important argument against it is that work types and industry types get mixed up here.

3.3 The 'standard' economic explanation: hours constraint

In an ideal world, people would be free to allocate their time as they please. Unfortunately, reality is much more complex and, as was discussed above, the number of hours people work is only to a very limited extent a matter of choice. An important restriction is that the number of hours that someone

can work on a particular job are often more or less fixed. People who are confronted with such an hours constraint and want to work more hours than they are able to on their regular job, can either change to a another job that does offer the desired hours or take a second job. However, changing jobs can be costly and desired work hours may change over time. Therefore, even when the wage on the second job is much lower, as is often the case, workers may be better off moonlighting than not (Filer et al., 1996, p.71-74; Paxson & Sicherman, 1996, p.358-359).

While empirical research has found evidence for the hours-constraint hypothesis, it has also shown that in many cases the hours constraint theory cannot fully explain this phenomenon (Paxson & Sicherman, 1996; Wassall and Alper, 2000). Paxson and Sicherman (1996, p.375-378) for example found significant evidence that hours constraints are positively related to taking a second job. However, this was only true if the wage on the second job was lower than the main job wage. Workers with higher second job wages seem to have other reasons for holding these jobs. Furthermore, the majority of multiple jobholders hold second jobs in a different profession than their main job (ibid., p.361; Alper & Wassall, 2000, p.20). While this may not necessarily contradict the hours constraint theory, it sure indicates that other motivations might play a role as well. Data from the US census confirm this: in most years between 1974 and 1991, around 45 percent of multiple jobholders indicated not one of the predefined and mostly financial motivations, but ‘other’ as their primary reason for holding second jobs (Alper & Wassall, 2000, p.27). Alternative theories have been developed to explain such divergences. These will be discussed below.

3.4 Work preference theory

As discussed in the previous chapter, economists generally do not include psychic income as a factor in labour supply decisions. The concept does however play an important role in theories of multiple jobholding artists. Artists are often considered to have somewhat different utility functions than other people. While other workers derive utility from income and leisure time, artists are generally supposed to be driven only, or at least primarily, by their desire to create art. This behaviour is depicted in Throsby’s (1994a) ‘work-preference’ model of artists’ labour supply. According to this theory, artists have such a strong ‘work-preference’ for artistic work, that they will only do other types of work to supplement their (too) low income from artistic work. They will only supply the non-arts market up to the point where they earn enough to meet their so called ‘survival constraint’, a minimum income needed for their basic living requirements (Throsby, 1992 and 1994a).

In this brief outline, we can already discern two important aspects of the work preference theory: the relationship between wages and time spent on different types of work, and the survival constraint. We will take a closer look at these in the following sections.

Relationship between wages and time spent

The work preference has been tested mainly by the estimation of labour supply functions. Throsby (1992, 1994a and 2011) himself has done so using data from his surveys on Australian artists. He concludes that the relationships he finds between wages/income and hours/percentage of time supplied to arts and non-arts work are broadly consistent with the theory. Rengers (2002) too finds that non-arts wages have a positive effect on the number of hours supplied to arts work and a negative effect on the hours supplied to non-arts work. Surprisingly however, arts wages are found to have a negative effect on the supply of artistic work hours, particularly for those artists working in the arts only. He therefore concludes that the work-preference model “does not accurately account for those artists whose PAO-work can be regarded as a ‘regular’ job’ (Rengers, 2002, p.44).

An important underlying assumption of the work preference theory is that artists (or at least those who do non-arts work) can earn higher wages from such work than from their artistic work. According to Throsby (1994a, p.76), the majority (80 percent) of the artists in his survey could actually earn higher wages outside the arts than they were able to working in the arts. Nonetheless, only two percent of these artists did not do any artistic work in the year of the survey and 66 percent exclusively worked in the arts. However, the non-arts wage was supposed to be equivalent to the average hourly wage for other professional and technical employees in 1968-87. It is questionable whether this is a valid assumption, as a degree in arts does not necessarily qualify someone for work outside the arts that requires similar levels of educational attainment. Rengers (2002), using data from Throsby and Thompson’s (1994c) survey of Australian artists, finds that actual wages do not differ very much between arts and non-arts work. Lispet (2001, p.59), finds similar results, with the somewhat surprising exception that wages for both choreography and dance-related work are much lower. Montgomery and Robinson (2003, p.63) on the other hand find a mean hourly non-dance wage that is twice as high as the mean hourly dance wage.⁴ This is particularly interesting considering that they found no effect of a degree in arts on non-arts wages. At the same time, those graduates working in dance only on average worked less hours while earning higher incomes than those who also held non-dance jobs. While Rengers’ and Lispet’s findings could be seen as a violation of one of the basic requirements of the work-preference model, as Rengers argues, the model is still useful because artists may be forced to work outside the arts because there simply is not enough artistic work available.

Indeed, several researchers have found evidence that this is the case, at least to some extent. Throsby and Zednik (2010) and Lispet (2001) for example asked their respondents what prevented them from spending as much time on their arts work as they would have liked to. Economic factors clearly ranked first: 67 percent of the Australian artists indicated ‘insufficient income from that work’ as a reason and 56 percent as the primary reason; ‘work in occupation not available’ was a reason for

⁴ Most of the studies (at least those of Throsby, Rengers and Lispet) discussed here compute hourly wages from data on total annual gross income, the (estimated) percentages of income derived from each type of work (instead of actual amounts) and (estimated) average hours per week spent on each type of work (instead of actual annual hours). The degree of accuracy of the figures thus obtained may be somewhat questionable.

27 percent and the most important reason for 24 percent (Throsby & Zednik, 2010, p.43). Similarly, 36 percent of the dancers in Lispet's (2001, p.62) survey reported 'a lack of employment opportunities' as the primary reason for working outside their main occupation. Also, 73 percent of the dance graduates in Montgomery and Robinson's (2003, p.62) study who had both dance and non-dance jobs reported that they needed their non-dance job to make a living.

Survival constraint

The key question remains whether artists would actually give up their non-arts and arts-related jobs if they were able to. According to the work-preference theory, artists earning more than the survival constraint from their arts work, would supply only the arts labour market, no matter what the wage rate in any of the other markets and artists who also do non-arts work should (in total) not earn much more than the survival constraint. However, so far the concept has not actually been used in research testing the work-preference hypothesis. The problem is just how to determine or measure this 'survival constraint'. Throsby and Hollister (2003) and Throsby and Zednik (2010) have asked their respondents what their minimum income requirements were and found that only a small minority (around one fifth and one third respectively) could not make a living from their arts or their arts and arts-related work combined. Moreover, slightly under a half of artists could not make a living from all types of work altogether and relied on some other source of income (mostly their partner's). However, figures obtained by simply asking people about their income requirements are highly subjective and could even serve as an indicator of work-preference themselves. The higher the income required, the higher the preference for a high standard of living, possibly at the cost of spending less time on arts work. A more objective measure might be a national minimum income norm like the Dutch 'Bijstand'.

Nonetheless, there are data that suggest that the answer to the question posed above is no, not all artists would give up their arts-related and non-arts work if they could make a living from their arts work. Of the twenty percent of Australian artists for whom the arts wage was higher than the non-arts wage, 20 percent on average spent around 64 percent of their working time on non-arts work (Throsby, 1994a, p.77). Von der Fuhr et al. (2010, p.22) found that income from acting on average accounted for only 75 percent of the total income of the actors who could make a living from their work as an actor alone. Several researchers have asked their respondents about their preferred time distribution over different types of work. While these consistently find higher average preferred than actual percentages of time spent on arts work, preferred time spent on arts-related and non-arts work is far from zero. Throsby and Zednik (2010, p.39-43) for example found that 67 percent of artists and 58 percent of the dancers/choreographers who did arts-related and/or non-arts work indicated that they would like to spend more time on their arts work, respectively 62 and 78 percent of whom would preferred not to do any non-arts work if they had the choice. This leaves a considerable portion of artists who are apparently satisfied with doing arts-related and non-arts work! Unfortunately there are no data supplied on whether they would like to work more or less on arts-related work. Lispet (2001)

found that her dancers on average would have liked to spend more time on both dancing and choreographing. Surprisingly however, they still wanted to spend on average 8% of their time on non-arts work, though it is not clear for how many of the respondents this is actually the case. Particularly interesting, in this context, is that they on average wanted to spend much more time on choreography while the average hourly wage for choreographing was only about half of what they received for dancing and non-arts work. This indicates a particularly high work preference for choreography.

Conclusion

Empirical research supports the work preference theory only to a certain extent. There is still plenty of scope for further testing and refinement of the theory. The studies discussed above indicate that both artists in general and dancers/choreographers in specific have a preference for arts work to at least some degree and that economic factors play a key role in them not being able to devote as much time to their arts work as they would have liked to. However, this is by no means absolute. It seems that a substantial part of artists would continue doing other types of work even if they did not have to. The question is whether this is simply because they like to, or if there are other reasons.

3.5 Portfolio theories

An alternative, or complementary explanation may be offered by another set of theories, which could be grouped under the heading of ‘portfolio’ theories. These theories have been developed not so much to explain multiple jobholding in the more traditional sense of holding a second job next to a main job, but in the sense of a new type of career in which workers are multiple jobholders more or less by definition. As we have seen above, different terms have been introduced in (mostly) the nineteen eighties and nineties to describe this new career type and way of working: the boundariless career, the post-corporate career, the portfolio career (or ‘portfolio working’) and the proteian career (Bennett, 2009; Bridgstock, 2005; Clinton et al., 2006). As the use of term ‘career’ indicates, multiple jobholding is seen as a long-term way of working, of building a career. In this sense, it differs from the hours constraint and work preference theories, which view multiple jobholding more or less as a necessary evil rather than a normal or even desired way of working. Another difference is the emphasis on the active role of the worker in shaping his own career. As Bridgstock (2005, p. 40) notices, a common theme of work on this subject is what she calls a trend towards “security in employability” instead of job security and the active career management this requires from individual workers.

Although the difference between these concepts is not exactly clear-cut, ‘Portfolio’ and ‘proteian’ are the ones that most explicitly encompass multiple jobholding and have been most applied to artists. According to Bennett (2009, p.311) the proteian career can more or less be seen as an extreme form of the portfolio career. Specific to the latter is the emphasis on working in different

‘roles’ (the term ‘proteian’ was inspired by the Greek god Proteus, who could change his appearance if the circumstances required so) and on internal/psychological motivation and measures of success. As we have already seen, the latter is generally supposed to apply particularly to artists and is central to the work preference theory. From an explanatory perspective, three sets of (often) interrelated reasons for portfolio working can be distinguished: ‘risk diversification’, ‘role versatility’ or ‘complementarity’ and other benefits that can be derived both from different jobs and from portfolio working itself (Menger, 2006, p.797-798; Paxson and Sicherman, 1996, p.361; Alper and Wassall, 2000, p.20). These will be discussed below.

3.5.1 Risk diversification

From a risk diversification (also called ‘portfolio choice’) perspective, workers can be seen to “choose packages of jobs so as to optimize over the mean and variance of income” (Paxson & Sicherman, 1996, p.361). Such behaviour has also been compared to that of investors holding a portfolio of financial assets (Menger, 1999, p.563). Workers may choose to work not only for various employers, but also in different occupations and/or sectors of industry in order to reduce the impact of downswings in one of these. Also, he or she may combine jobs that entail a relatively high income risk and a relatively high degree of uncertainty or discontinuity of employment with jobs that offer greater security and a more stable income, in order to reduce the earnings risk associated with the first job. Finally, engaging in a variety of employment relationships can have a signalling effect to (potential) employers: “hiring calls for hiring” (Menger & Gurgand, 1996, p.356).

This seems to apply very much to artists’ work patterns. In a labour market which is characterised by predominantly short term employment relationships, an oversupply of labour and intense competition between workers, artists may spread income risks by holding multiple jobs. This not only reduces their dependence upon individual employers, arts-related and non arts jobs are usually supposed to offer more stable employment and higher wages. Unfortunately, this theory has been far less researched than the theories discussed above. Menger and Gurgand (1996, p.357-358) found that French performing artists holding multiple jobs were financially better off and survived longer. In a research of Dutch dancers, 18 percent indicated security as the most important reason for doing work outside their field⁵ (Lispert, 2001, p.62). Of the dance graduates in Montgomery and Robinson’s (2003, p.62) study who had both dance and non-dance jobs, 41 percent got health insurance and 29 percent retirement benefits from their non-dance job.

Throsby and Hollister (2003) and Throsby and Zednik (2010) find some evidence for greater job-security in arts-related and non-arts work. But no matter what the type of work, the majority of artists still do this as self-employed, which is generally considered to be the most insecure of

⁵ This probably means dance and dance-related work, but it is not clear what is meant by ‘field’ (in the original Dutch tekst called ‘vakgebied’).

employment arrangements. Von der Fuhr et al. (2010, p.11) on the other hand find a higher rate of self-employment and lower rate of employees for other work in theatre, film and television than for work as an actor. Also, it is unfortunately not clear if and how individual artists combine different contractual arrangements for different types of work. However, if arts-related and/or non-arts work were more readily available than arts work, this could also be a source of security. While there is no direct evidence on artists' position on the non-arts labour market, we have seen above that there is an oversupply of artists and that insufficient availability of artistic work is the primary reason for artists to do other types of work.

3.5.2 *Role versatility/complementarity*

A related theory is that of role versatility (Menger 1999 and 2006; Nash, 1955) or complementarity (Paxson & Sicherman, 1996). As was discussed above, jobs may provide more than just income. Nash (1955) observed how American composers engaged in different roles involved in the process of music production, enabling them to exert greater control over the performance of their own work. This works both directly, through playing different roles simultaneously, and indirectly, because the process of socialisation and contacts built through previous roles facilitate interaction with the other roles in the process. Furthermore, some jobs may require the skills or credentials that come with another job. Examples of this are the psychologist giving expert testimony in court or the choreographer who also teaches at a dance college. Also, different jobs may provide training, networking or other opportunities that the other job(s) does not offer. As informal search channels are very important for artists and considering the importance of experience and training on the job as well, multiple jobholding artists maximise their opportunities to accumulate skills and experience and develop themselves as artists.⁶

As with risk diversification, there is not much research on role versatility in the arts (Menger (2006) for example mentions only three). In an attempt to shed some more light on this, Schuring (2007) found that many of the deejays in her study thought that jobs as a manager and organizer/programmer of parties had helped them get hired as a deejay. Many other studies of artists' labour markets provide some information on the different roles in which groups of artists engage, but do not on how these roles are combined by individual artists both simultaneously and over time, and on the processes of interaction between these roles. As we have seen before, a large percentage of artists engages in multiple artistic, arts-related and non-arts occupations over the course of their careers. In dance, work as (amongst others) a dancer, choreographer, artistic company director and /or teacher are frequently combined. Some researchers therefore argue for more broadly defined occupations like for example 'dance artist' (Bennett, 2009, p.312).

⁶ A related theory, which focuses on the importance of networks, is the social capital theory. Some researchers (for example Langenberg, 2004) view this as a separate type of motivation.

In the reasons stated by artists for their holding multiple jobs, some indications towards complementarity can be found as well. For example, for 18 percent of the dancers in Lispet's (2001, p.62) study, the development of other capabilities was the primary reason for undertaking work outside of their field. Similarly, in the US census, between 6 and 17 percent indicated 'for the experience' as the most important reason for holding a second job (Wassall and Alper, 2000, p.27). As we have already seen, about half had some other, unspecified reason for doing so.

3.5.3 Other benefits

As we have seen in the previous sections, different jobs and particularly different types of work may provide benefits that are different in nature. Besides financial, security or role versatility considerations, multiple jobholding may provide workers with other benefit(s). As we have seen, studies that ask artists about their reasons for holding multiple jobs find a broad range of other reasons besides financial ones. Lispet (2001, p.62) for example found that 18 percent of Dutch dancers indicated changed/broadened interests as the primary reason for working outside of their specialty. Abbing (2002) argues that an increasing number of artists value multiple jobholding simply for the diversity of experiences it offers them. Research on the experiences of portfolio work in other sectors of industry has found some common features that attract people to this type of work organisation. Among them are a greater level of autonomy and control over one's own work and career, greater versatility in work experiences and a greater quality of life (Clinton, Totterdell and Wood, 2006). Finally, different jobs and types of work may provide people with challenges of a different nature. This may explain why for example Bijkerk (2003) finds that even musicians with a fulltime employment at a symphony orchestra have other musical and non-musical jobs, or why many performing artists also work as creative artists.

3.6 Conclusion

Although there has undoubtedly significant progress been made in our understanding of artists' labour supply decisions, there are also limitations and there is still plenty of scope for further research. The overall conclusion would be that several theories on multiple jobholding of workers in general and artists in particular have been developed, but that empirical evidence is fragmented and thorough testing of the different theories and particularly their relative importance is scarce. Moreover, as has been pointed out above, the definitions, data sources and methods used vary greatly among studies of artists' labour markets. This lack of uniformity clearly affects the results, thereby reducing not necessarily their individual merit, but certainly their comparability.

We have seen that over the course of one calendar year, the vast majority of artists in various countries and occupations hold multiple jobs. These jobs can be artistic, but are also in arts-related and

to a lesser but still substantial extent in non-arts occupations. For choreographers, the picture that emerges is one of a mixed work practice, in which several artistic as well as arts-related and non-arts occupations are combined by many in order to sustain a career. While there is evidence in support of the traditional economic explanation of the so-called ‘hours-constraint’, there is also a significant body of work suggesting that other reasons may play a role as well. A couple of alternative theories have been developed to form a more comprehensive explanation of particularly artists’ multiple jobholding. It can be concluded from the discussion in this chapter that artists’ multiple jobholding behaviour is the result of the interaction of a complex of factors. There usually is not one single theory that offers the ‘truth’.

One of these other theories is the work-preference theory. With its distinction between arts, arts-related and non-arts labour markets, this theory has proven useful and has been adopted by many researchers of artists’ labour markets. However, as Rengers (2002, p.12) has pointed out, the model itself has not been subjected to much critical examination. Three main points for further refinement can be perceived. First, the main question seems to be not whether artists indeed have a preference for artistic work, but how strong this preference really is and under what circumstances artists may choose other kinds of work over spending more time on their arts work. In particular, it might be interesting to see whether there is some sort of ‘treshold’, a minimum amount of time spent on arts work after which the work preference declines and other types of work or leisure time become more attractive. Second, it is unclear how artists’ alleged work-preference influences their labour supply decisions in relation to arts-related work. Finally, the concept of a survival constraint could take a more central place in testing the work-preference theory.

Another set of theories form a possible explanation for exactly why artists may consciously choose to do non-arts and particularly arts-related work, even when they are able to earn sufficient income from their arts work to survive. Most notably the portfolio choice or risk diversification theory, which focuses on risk-diversification through multiple jobholding and the theory of role versatility or complementarity, according to which different jobs may provide workers with different kinds of benefits and success in one job may influence or even be a prerequisite for success in another. These theories have been under-researched, particularly in relation to the arts and in relation to each other and other theories of multiple jobholding.

This research aims to make a contribution to the points outlined above. In particular, the extent of choreographers’ work preference and the relative importance of other theories and motivations in explaining choreographers’ multiple jobholding will be a focus point. Also, as most studies of artists’ multiple jobholding are cross-sectional, based on comparisons of artists at a single point in time, we will put multiple jobholding in a longitudinal perspective, questioning the same artists twice in a period of five years. This way we hope to shed some light on how their multiple jobholding behaviour changes over the course of their careers and how these careers may be impacted by different patterns or strategies of multiple jobholding.

4. Research design

Now that we have reviewed the relevant literature on (choreographers') labour markets and multiple jobholding, we can further specify the research questions and hypotheses that guide the empirical part of the thesis. Next, the research design will be outlined in terms of population and sample selection and the methods of data collection applied. The results are presented in the next chapter.

4.1 Research questions

In the introductory chapter, the following main research question was formulated:

To what extent do choreographers of contemporary dance working in the Netherlands hold multiple jobs and how can this be explained?

Based on the discussion of the different theories and empirical research on artists' labour markets and multiple jobholding, the following sub-questions can be formulated:

- 1) What are the characteristics of choreographers of contemporary dance working in the Netherlands, their profession and labour market?
- 2) To what extent do choreographers hold multiple jobs and how do they divide their time over arts, arts-related and non-arts work? How does this change over the course of a choreographer's career?
- 3) To what extent does artists' (supposed) 'work-preference' explain choreographers' multiple jobholding behaviour? Is there some sort of 'threshold', a minimum of artistic work after which the work-preference declines and other (arts-related) jobs or leisure time become more attractive?
- 4) To what extent do other factors/explanations like hours constraint, risk diversification and role versatility play a role in determining artists' multiple jobholding behaviour? Is there a difference in motivations for holding multiple artistic jobs, doing arts-related work and doing non-arts work?

Unfortunately, it is impossible to test all of the theories discussed in the previous chapter extensively in a research for a master thesis. From the discussion of theories and empirical evidence in the

previous chapter, it can be concluded that it is artists' alleged work preference that is most likely to be the central driving force behind artists' labour supply behaviour. However, the extent of artists' preference for artistic work may be overestimated and other factors are likely to play a role as well. In the previous chapter, concrete points for further sophistication and testing of the work preference theory have been formulated. The emphasis of this research will therefore be on the work-preference theory. Other theories will only be researched so far as to get an indication of their relative importance in explaining the multiple jobholding patterns found.

4.2 Hypotheses

Because of the focus on the work-preference theory, a couple of hypotheses have been formulated to guide the testing of this theory. Put briefly, the theory argues that:

Artists only do arts-related and non-arts work to supplement their (too) low income from their artistic work.

Based on the discussion in the previous chapter, this can be further specified into the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: The number of hours choreographers spend on arts work is positively related to arts, arts-related and non-arts wages.

Hypothesis 2: The number of hours choreographers spend on arts-related work is negatively related to both arts and arts-related wages.

Hypothesis 3: The number of hours choreographers spend on non-arts work is negatively related to arts, arts-related and non-arts wages.

Hypothesis 4: Choreographers who earn more than their survival constraint from their arts work, do not do any arts-related and/or non-arts work.

Hypothesis 5: Choreographers would give up their arts-related and non-arts jobs if they could earn sufficient income from their artistic work to make a living.

Hypothesis 6: Choreographers derive more satisfaction from their artistic work than from arts-related and non-arts work.

All of these should be supported for the work-preference theory to be correct in explaining the multiple jobholding patterns found for the choreographers in this research.

Because we were able to collect longitudinal data, these hypotheses can be tested both cross-sectional, by making comparisons across the artists in the survey, but also for individual artists over time. For example, from a longitudinal perspective hypothesis 1 would imply that artists who earn higher wages from their arts, arts-related or non-arts work five years in time, would spend more time on their artistic work than they did five years earlier. Where possible and relevant, both perspectives will be taken into account in the analysis of the survey data.

4.3 Research population and sample selection

As we have seen in chapter 2, various criteria can and have been used to determine who qualifies as an artist and who does not. In order to increase comparability, it would make sense to either use criteria that are similar to those used in the EBB or to those used in other research of the profession as well as of other Dutch artists. Netzer and Parker (1993, p.29) use the following definition of choreographer: “an individual who has presented a dance work of his/her own creation before a solicited audience of 50 or more people during the previous three years”. Shinkansen (2001) uses membership of a professional association as a criterion. These are not only far from identical criteria, the choice is also somewhat limited by the availability of a list of choreographers to which these criteria apply. The same true for the EBB criteria. A criterion that comes closest to that of Netzer and Parker’s (1993), that is complete and guarantees a certain degree of professionalism (which Netzer and Parker’s not necessarily does), and offers the possibility of compiling a list of choreographers, is the following:

Anyone who has worked as a choreographer on a dance production of a professional theatre producer in the Netherlands in the year 2005.

Such a list is unfortunately not readily available, but can be compiled using data from the online database of the Theater Instituut Nederland (TIN). This contains information on all professional theatre productions that have been performed in the Netherlands since 1940. In the database, the name(s) of the choreographer(s) of the productions are clearly stated. The following criteria were used for the selection of dance productions from the TIN database:

- The premiere was in the year 2005.

- Genres modern ballet, modern dance, movement theatre (=contemporary dance).⁷
- It has been produced by a Dutch professional theatre producer.⁸

The list of choreographers was then compiled by simply writing down the name(s) of the choreographer(s) involved in each of the selected productions. This resulted in a list of 224 choreographers. The criteria for inclusion in the TIN database can be found in appendix A

Because the population is rather small and response rates to surveys are generally low, the entire population was included in the survey.

4.4 Data collection

Existing studies of multiple jobholding generally take an empiricist stance and focus on quantitative data and methods. The aim of the present research is to test (and possibly extend) existing theories and look for ‘laws’ in choreographers’ behaviour, but also to explore more subjective motivations and interpretations as possible explanations for choreographers’ labour supply behaviour. The research problem thus contains aspects of both empiricist and interpretivist approaches. There is therefore much to say for using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. For practical considerations, as

⁷ The genre restriction was added because the focus of our research is on choreographers of contemporary dance. The TIN database does not use the term ‘contemporary dance’. All of these three genres can be characterized as contemporary dance and were therefore included in the selection.

⁸ The following categories have been excluded:

- Productions of art schools or art school students (‘trefwoorden’: ‘amateurs’, ‘studententheater’ (student theatre)). This because the persons involved can (in most cases) not be considered professionals (yet).
- Choreography workshops of the larger dance companies (Het Nationale Ballet, Nederlands Dans Theater and Introdans). The purpose of these workshops is to provide dancers of these companies (and sometimes aspiring choreographers from outside the company as well) with an opportunity to try out their choreographic aspirations. Most cases participants in these workshops do not seem to have any serious choreographic ambition or talent, as they do not work as a professional choreographer outside the workshop in the same or later years (this has been checked for a number of randomly selected participants of workshops in earlier years).
- Co-productions with foreign producers. A practical reason for doing this is that it makes it easier to distinguish between productions of Dutch and foreign producers (which are both included in the database). Productions involving foreign producers can be recognized by the indication ‘buitenlandse gezelschappen’ (foreign companies) and/or the name(s) of the country(s) the producer(s) is from in the catchword-section. However, it is not clear which of the producers involved is/are Dutch and if there even is a Dutch producer involved. Finding out would be very time-consuming and might not always be possible. Another reason is that in many cases the choreographers involved were employed by the foreign company. These were mostly co-productions with festivals.

well as the choice made to focus on the work preference theory (which lends itself well for quantitative testing) we will take a mainly quantitative approach. As existing data sources are either not available or contain too limited information, the data will be collected through a (quantitative) survey in the form of a self-completion questionnaire. This is a frequently used method in research of artists' labour markets

Because a research for a master thesis is subject to time restrictions, the initial plan was to collect data at a single point in time only. As a couple of years went by between the initial data collection and the eventual completion of the thesis however, the opportunity presented itself to collect additional data and hence enrich the insights gained through the first survey. As we will see, based on the results of the first survey, it would have been valuable to add personal interviews to get some further clarification of the results of the 2005 survey. Due to the significant time lag however, we have chosen to do another survey of the same respondents. Another reason is the, for a master thesis, unique opportunity to gain a longitudinal perspective on the choreographers' multiple jobholding behaviour. A second survey was therefore executed amongst the respondents to the first survey.

4.4.1 Period

For reasons discussed in chapter three, the period studied was set at one calendar year, namely the year 2005. The choice for 2005 was made because data concerning choreographers' income and working patterns are likely to be more readily available if they are more recent and because it will probably be easier to get a hold of choreographers if they have recently worked in the Netherlands. 2005 was the year before that in which the first survey was undertaken. Similarly, the second survey was executed in 2011, collecting data on 2010.

4.4.2 Questionnaire design

When designing a questionnaire, there is always a trade-off to be made between the degree of elaborateness and detail of the data to be gathered and ease of completion for the respondents. Ideally, we would have asked the respondents to list all of the jobs they had in the survey years and for each of these jobs ask for further information like type of work, income, time spent, contract type, motivations, etc. This would however require such an elaborate questionnaire, that it would be very unlikely that a substantial response could be achieved. As response rates are generally rather low for surveys, in particular those for master theses, we have chosen a more 'compact' questionnaire design. This is broadly outlined below. The full questionnaires can be found in appendices B and C.

2005 version

The questionnaire consisted of 31 questions divided into four categories:

- *Personal characteristics:*
In this section questions were asked about the respondents' gender, year of birth, nationality, living situation and in which country they lived.

- *Education and experience:*
Here the respondents were asked if they had completed any formal education in arts, what was the level of this education and for which profession they were formally educated. They were also asked about the level of other (non-arts) education they had completed, in what years they first worked as respectively a professional choreographer and a professional dancer and if and in what year they had ended their career as a dancer.

- *Work and income:*
The questions in this section were asked to gain insight into the respondents' work patterns and income. They were asked about what they considered to be their primary occupation, the number of weeks and the number of hours per week they had worked in 2005, their time distribution over different types of work, the number and type of contracts under which they had done different types of work, gross annual income, social security benefits, the number of works they had produced as a professional choreographer in 2005 and work abroad in 2005.

- *Motivations/opinions:*
In the next series of questions the respondents were asked about their reasons for holding multiple artistic jobs, for doing arts-related work and for doing non-arts work. Answering options were formulated to reflect all possible explanations indicated by the theories discussed in chapter 3. Respondents were also asked to rank the reasons they had selected in order of importance. Next, they were asked to arrange different types of work in order of the amount of personal satisfaction they derived from it. Finally, they were asked whether they agreed with a number of statements.

The questions are based on the hypotheses outlined above. The questionnaires used in the researches discussed in chapters two and three were used as a point of reference (most notably those of Throsby and Thompson (1994c) and Lispet (2001)). Whenever possible and appropriate, questions have been formulated similarly to those used in these other researches, in order to enable comparisons to those

studies. However, as mentioned before, researchers of artists' labour markets have used very diverging definitions and categories. Moreover, the present study aims to be elaborate on and be critical of those previous studies and the theories that were derived from them. The questionnaire therefore differs from these other questionnaires on certain points.

2010 version

In order to achieve maximum comparability of the data found, the questionnaire on 2010 (see appendix 2) was broadly identical to the 2005 version. The main differences are:

- To increase the likelihood that recipients will fill in the questionnaire, it is generally considered to be important to keep it as short as possible. A couple of questions that were not very relevant from a longitudinal perspective (for example those on international work) were left out.
- The questions concerning education were altered in the sense that we only asked about additional education completed after 2005.
- A question was added asking those who did not work as a choreographer in 2010 about the reason(s) for this.

As will become clear in the discussion of the results, it turned out during the analysis of the 2005 data that a couple of questions were not clear enough and had been interpreted differently by the respondents. In hindsight, these questions should have been formulated differently. The reason why they were nonetheless not altered in the 2010 questionnaire is twofold. First, due to time restrictions most of the analysis of the 2005 data was done after the 2010 questionnaire had been sent out. Second, altering the questions would reduce the comparability of the results of the two surveys, which was the purpose of doing a second survey.

4.4.3 Distribution

2005 version

Unfortunately, the TIN database contains only addresses of producers and not of individual choreographers. Contact addresses for the choreographers in the survey were searched online and through the organisations they had recently worked with. Fortunately most of these organisations were very helpful and provided e-mail addresses of the choreographers or offered to forward a message through either e-mail or mail. This way, contact addresses could be retrieved for 194 (86,7%) of the 224 choreographers.

In July 2006, a questionnaire was sent to all of these 194 choreographers. Depending on the kind of address available, the questionnaires were sent by either mail or e-mail. If both a mail and an e-mail address were available, the questionnaire was, in first instance, sent by mail only. 102 questionnaires were sent by mail, 92 by e-mail. The mailing consisted of the questionnaire, an introductory letter and a stamped⁹ return envelope. In the e-mailing, the questionnaire was attached as an MS Word document.

In August 2006, a reminder accompanied by the original questionnaire, was sent to all choreographers who had not responded yet or responded anonymously. Due to financial considerations, reminders were sent through e-mail only.

2010 version

The second questionnaire was sent by e-mail in October 2011 to the 39 non-anonymous respondents of the total of 45 respondents to the 2005 survey. Recent addresses were searched online and the questionnaire was sent to both the 2005 and the possible alternative address(es) found. In December 2011 a reminder was sent to those who had not responded yet.

4.5 Conclusion

Now that we have specified our research question, formulated hypotheses, and outlined how the research was done, we can turn to the core of this thesis: the results. These are presented in the next chapter.

⁹ Only when sent to a Dutch address.

5. Research results

In this chapter the results of the empirical research are presented. In the subsequent sections, we will first do a brief assessment of the response and data quality. Next we will look at some background characteristics, the income, and the employment and prevalence of multiple jobholding of the choreographers. Then, the applicability of the explanatory theories which were introduced in chapter 3 will be analysed. Finally, a separate section will be devoted to the longitudinal perspective on the subject. The main focus will be on the results of the 2005 survey. Unless specifically indicated otherwise, the data presented concern the year 2005.

5.1 Response

Before turning to the results, we will first take a look at the response to both surveys. We will furthermore assess the representativeness of this response for the total population and the general quality of the data gathered through both surveys.

5.1.1 2005 survey

Of the total population of 224 persons, for 194 some contact address was found. Of these, 45 actually filled in and returned the questionnaire, resulting in response rate of 20,1 percent. 14 respondents did so anonymously, eight of whom informed me about this through a separate e-mail. We thus know for the vast majority of the respondents who they are.

Because few is known about the total population, it is difficult to assess the representativeness of the response. The TIN database does not provide any information on the personal characteristics of the choreographers of the productions it contains other than their names. It does however state which producers these choreographers worked for. Hence it is possible to classify both the total population of choreographers and the (majority of the) respondents according to the type of producer(s) they worked for in the survey year 2005. The results are depicted in the table below:

Table 5.1: *Population and response of choreographers according to the type of producer(s) they worked for in 2005*¹⁰

Type of producer	Number of choreographers	Percentage of total population	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Structurally subsidized company	63	26,3%	7	14,9%
Project-based company	126	52,5%	23	48,9%
Workshop / production house	47	19,6%	11	23,4%
Festival	4	1,7%	0	0%
Unknown	0	0%	6	12,8%
Total ¹¹	240	100%	47	100

From these data it can be cautiously concluded that choreographers working for structurally subsidized companies were underrepresented and the few working for festivals¹² were not represented at all. However, for 12,8 percent of the respondents, we do not know who they are and hence cannot determine for what organisation types they worked.

5.1.2 2010 survey

Of the 45 respondents to the 2005 survey, 39 persons were sent an additional questionnaire concerning their situation in 2010. One e-mail was returned as undeliverable, without an alternative address available. 15 persons filled in and returned this second questionnaire, resulting in a response of 33,3 percent, which is 6,7 percent of the original operational population. These persons are quite similar to all respondents of the 2005 survey in terms of background characteristics like age, gender and experience, but not in terms of income and multiple jobholding. The response for the 2010 survey can thus not be considered entirely representative for the respondents of the 2005 survey and certainly not for the entire 2005 population of choreographers. The results will therefore be presented in a separate section.

5.1.3 Reasons for non-response

For most of those who did not respond to one or both of the surveys, we do not know the reason why they did not participate. Only a few informed me that they were not going to participate. The following reasons were given: lack of time, questions considered too detailed/complex and hence too

¹⁰ Organisations were classified using information from the Dutch ‘Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen’ (<http://cultuursubsidie.nl>). Organisations that did not receive structural subsidy under the ‘Cultuurnota 2005-2008’ and were not a festival, were classified as ‘project-based’.

¹¹ The total number of persons in the second and fourth column of this table are higher than the total number of persons in the research population and response respectively, because some choreographers worked for more than one type of organisation.

¹² See remark about festival productions in the previous chapter for an explanation of the low number of choreographers in the research population working for festivals.

time-consuming to answer, research subject not interesting. Another possible reason is that some choreographers may simply not have received the questionnaire because either the contact address was incorrect or if they were contacted through an employer, the questionnaires may not have been passed on. Particularly for the second survey, some of the e-mail addresses may have been dated and not in use any more.

For the 2010 survey, two additional reasons can be discerned that may have contributed to the rather low response. First, three persons let me know that they did not currently work as a choreographer. After informing them that their contribution would still be valuable, two of them filled in the questionnaire after all. Second, it turned out that some recipients who used a mac computer could not properly view and fill in the document. In the reminder e-mail this was included as a comment. In response two persons reported that this was the case for them and were offered a hard copy of the questionnaire.

5.1.4 Data quality

Unfortunately, some important cautionary notes need to be made concerning the quality of the data gathered through the two surveys. First, the questionnaires appear to have been completed with varying degrees of accuracy, detail and completeness. This applies particularly to some central questions like those concerning contract types and time and income distribution over different types of work. Second, certain questions turned out to be insufficiently clear, which in some cases has led to unusable data. These matters will be further addressed in the applicable sections of this chapter. On the upside, some respondents added valuable and sometimes elaborate comments and personal stories that both helped track the problems mentioned above and enriched the insights gained through the basic survey data. Both of these factors limit both the representativeness of some of the analyses, but also the possibilities of executing them, particularly for the 2010 survey.

5.2 Background characteristics

The questionnaire started out with some basic questions on demographics, education, and experience. The results are briefly presented in the sections below.

5.2.1 Demographics

Gender:

60 percent of the respondents are female, 40 percent are male. This is almost exactly the opposite of the proportions of males and females of all Dutch artists, but in line with what other researches of dancers and choreographers found (see chapter two).

Age:

The average age of the respondents was 38 years in 2005. The men were on average slightly older than the women, with a mean age of 36 for the women and 40 for the men. The youngest respondent was 26 and the oldest 59 years old in 2005. Almost half of the respondents were between 25 and 34 years old. In this respect, they differ considerably from other Dutch artists, less than half as many of whom belong to this age group, but are comparable to choreographers in other studies (see chapter two).

Nationality:

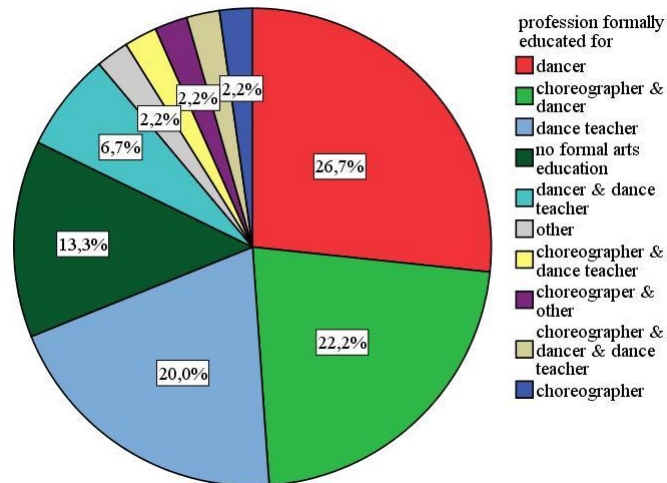
Only half of the respondents had the Dutch nationality. 22,7 percent had some other European nationality, 16,6 percent was Northern American and the rest originated from Asia or South-America. Again, the respondents in this respect deviate much from both other Dutch artists and the general workforce (Schreven & de Rijk, 2011), but not from other choreographers and dancers. The observation is also in line with the international orientation of the dance sector, as discussed in chapter two. With one exception, all choreographers lived in the Netherlands during most of the year 2005 though.

Living situation:

36 percent were single, 64 percent were living with a partner. 20 percent had dependent children, all of whom were living with a partner.

5.2.2 Education

Similar to what other studies of dancers and choreographers have found, the vast majority (86,7 percent) of the respondents completed some formal arts education. The profession(s) these education programs formally educated for, are displayed in the graph below.



Graph 5.2: *Profession formally educated for*

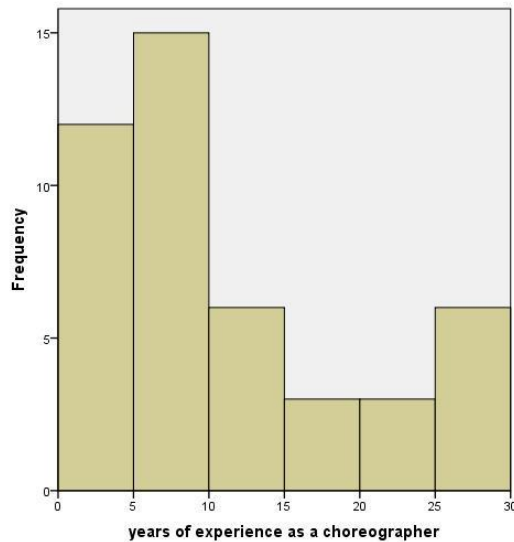
Only around one third were formally educated as choreographers. The majority were educated as dancer or dance teacher or both. Unlike dancing, choreography thus seems to be a profession which is acquired largely in practice. Other than might be expected, given that choreography is often practised as a post-performance career and choreography education is often at hbo master level, those who were educated as choreographers did not display higher education levels than those who did not. Of all of those educated in arts, the highest level of arts education received was at a bachelor level for 69 percent, at a master level for 21 percent and at some other level (one ‘professional degree’, the rest unspecified) for the remaining 10 percent.

42,2 percent completed some non-arts education after high school. 2,2 at mbo degree, 24,4 at bachelor degree, 15,6 at master degree and 2,2 at another level. Unfortunately, only three respondents further specified what kind of non-arts education they did: acrobatics, theatre sciences and international business and management. Interestingly, as we will see later on, not nearly as many did any non-arts work in 2005. This begs the question if and how this non-arts education is put to use. One possibility would be in arts-related work, like arts management. Unfortunately however, we do not know.

5.2.3 *Experience*

With two exceptions, all respondents started their dance careers as dancers. They started dancing professionally at a mean age of 23 and choreographing at a mean age of 27 years old. This supports the common assumption that choreography is a profession that dancers pursue as a post-performance career. The data also show that dancing and choreographing are combined for quite some time before the performance career is ended. 20 percent of the respondents had ended their career as a dancer by

2005, at an average age of 34 and after a performance career that had lasted an average of 13 years. Of these, with one exception, all had started choreographing later than dancing, but on average eight years before ending their dancing career. Some choreographers indicated that they only performed in their own pieces. Hence, choreographing may very well function as a means to prolong a performance career as well.

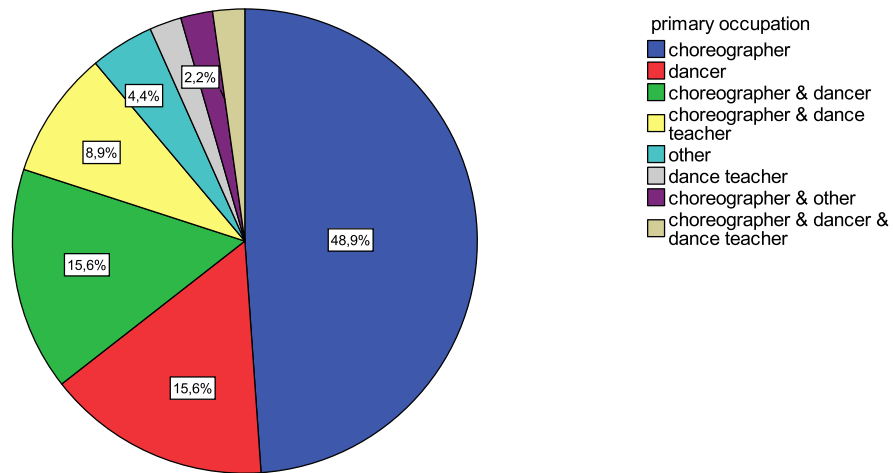


Graph 5.3: Years of experience as a choreographer until 2005

In 2005, the majority (60 percent) had less than ten years experience as a choreographer. Only 13 percent had 25 or more years of experience. In this respect they do not differ much from the choreographers in Netzer and Parker’s (1993) study. Experience as a dancer shows a more even distribution, with a mean of 12,5 and a median of 12 years of experience as a dancer for those who did work as a dancer at some point in their career. Only 11 percent had less than five years of experience as a dancer. This is in line with the observation that dancers start choreographing at a later point in their careers.

5.2.4 Principal occupation

As we have seen in chapter two, there is a lot of disagreement concerning who should be counted as an artist and who should not. There are many possible criteria to determine what someone’s (main) occupation is. To find out how the respondents themselves felt about this, they were asked what they considered to be their primary occupation. The results are displayed in the graph below.



Graph 5.4: *Primary occupation*

Around half of the respondents considered choreographer to be their primary occupation. For a further 29 percent this was a combination of choreography and some other profession. Only 22 percent did not consider themselves primarily as choreographers. This is a marked difference with the professions they were formally educated for. Those who chose ‘other’, described themselves as ‘dance artist’, ‘artistic director’, ‘assistant artistic director’ and choreographer/artistic director respectively. This is the self-definition criterion discussed in chapter 2. Looking at the time and income criteria, we get a quite different picture. Only 22 percent spent half or more of their working time on choreography and only 11 percent earned half or more of their income from choreographing.¹³ Moreover, only slightly more than half of the respondents spent half or more of their work time on all of their artistic work. As we will see later on, most respondents combine various kinds of both artistic, arts-related and in some cases also non-arts work.

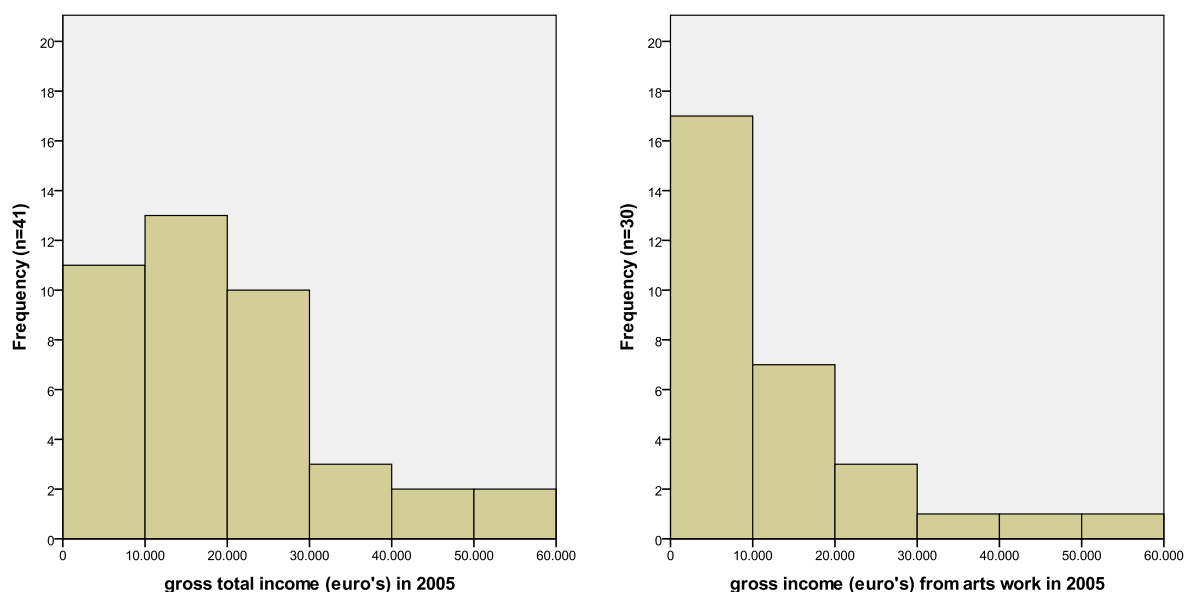
5.3 Income

In this section, data on the choreographers’ incomes and use of social security are presented. Following the observation that artists are often thought to be poor, we will also compare their incomes to both objective and subjective norms.

¹³ Important arguments can be made for reducing our research population to only those who meet the CBS criterion of more than 50 percent of (paid) work time devoted to choreography. This would however have left us with such a small number of respondents that no sensible analyses could have been done. For the same reason, we have chosen not to report separately on this restricted group of respondents either. Moreover, as will become clear later on, we have found indications that choreography should be viewed as part of a more broadly defined occupation, of which other types of work are an essential part too.

5.3.1 Income distribution

Respondents were asked about both their gross total income and which percentage of this income was earned from different types of work (estimates) in both years. Hence, it is possible to calculate arts, arts-related and non-arts income as well. The graphs below depict the income distribution for respectively the total gross income and gross arts income in 2005.



Graph 5.5: Income distribution for gross total income and gross arts income in 2005 (euro's)

The graph for gross total income displays an only slightly skewed income distribution, with a mean gross income of € 18.855 and median of € 15.500 in 2005. The skewness is 1,092, which means that the income distribution is only slightly skewed and around a relatively low median income. Looking at income from arts work only, we find a more skewed picture (skewness=1,758), with a mean of € 11.3871,01 and median of € 7.250.¹⁴ What's striking is that gross arts income is on average much lower than total gross income, indicating that most choreographers have some other source of income. This is in line with what is known from previous research on artists. We will come back to this further on.

Compared to other Dutch artists as well as other workers in the Netherlands, the choreographers on average earned lower incomes in 2005. 75,6 percent of the respondents earned less than € 30.000. In comparison, in the period 2004-2006, the same was true for 62 percent of artists working in the performing arts, 56 percent of all artists, 47 percent of all workers and 22 percent of people working at higher education level (Schreven & de Rijk, 2011, p.73). As explained before, these

¹⁴ Even though the arts income is known for a smaller number of respondents than is the case for total income, this does not seem to influence the results much. Calculating the distribution of total gross income for only those whose arts income is also known, alters the picture presented above only marginally.

differences may in part be due to the stricter definition of who is an artist employed by the CBS. As predicted in chapter 2, the range between the lowest and highest incomes is smaller for the choreographers in our survey than those for (some) other artistic professions. None of the choreographers in our survey earned more than € 60.000 . According to the CBS however, 12 percent of all artists did so in the period 2004-2006 (ibid.).

5.3.2 Poverty

As discussed in chapter two, artists are often considered to be relatively poor. In the previous section, we have already concluded that the respondents on average earned less than other artists and the general workforce. This does however not necessarily mean that they are poor. To determine to what extent this is the case, the respondents' incomes have been compared to the poverty norm that was introduced in chapter 2.¹⁵ The results are depicted in the table below.

Table 5.6: Cross tabulation of gross income compared to poverty norm (CBS) and living situation in 2005

			living situation in 2005			Total
			single, no dependent children	married/ living with partner, no dependent children	married/ living with partner, with dependent children	
Total income higher than minimum income norm?	Unknown	Count	2	2	2	6
		% within living situation in 2005	12,5%	10,0%	22,2%	13,3%
	no	Count	4	14	6	24
		% within living situation in 2005	25,0%	70,0%	66,7%	53,3%
	yes	Count	10	4	1	15
		% within living situation in 2005	62,5%	20,0%	11,1%	33,3%
Total		Count	16	20	9	45
		% within living situation in 2005	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

What is striking is that only one third of the respondents earned an income greater or equal to the poverty norm, slightly over half earned less and for the remaining 13 percent we have insufficient data

¹⁵ The poverty norms used by the CBS are net household incomes. Because the questionnaire for this research asked about gross income, the CBS norms have been converted to gross income using the gross-net converter on Loonwijzer.nl: <http://www.loonwijzer.nl/home/salarischeck/brutonetto> . The gross and net income figures can be found in appendix E.

Two respondents did not live in the Netherlands in 2005. Because living cost may differ in their home countries, the CBS norms may not be adequate for them. In all analyses comparing incomes to the poverty norm, these persons have been included in the category 'unknown'.

available. The proportion earning less than the norm is lowest amongst singles with no dependent children and highest amongst those living with a partner. However, the difference may at least partially be caused by the fact that the poverty norms are total household incomes. The income data we have collected are individual incomes. It is unlikely that all of the choreographers who are living with a partner are sole breadwinners, as this is neither the case among the general population in the Netherlands. From the available data it can only be concluded that whether they are able to meet the poverty norm or not depends on the incomes of their partners for two third of those living with a partner. When we compare the incomes of all choreographers, regardless of their living situation, to the poverty norm for a single household, the percentage of those who earn less than this norm is indeed reduced to around one third. In comparison, in 2005 ‘only’ slightly over six percent of all Dutch households lived below the poverty norm (CBS, 2007, p.23).

5.3.3 *Social security*

In 2005, 6,7 percent received social security benefits in the form of the Wet Werk en Inkomen Kunstenaars (WWIK). They all received this benefit during the entire year. 17,8 percent received unemployment benefits (WW), during a period varying between 10 and 35 weeks. 1 person received both WWIK and WW benefits. These percentages are all much higher than is the case for all Dutch artists as well as the general workforce, respectively ‘only’ 10 and 5 percent of whom received social security benefits in the period of 2004-2006 (Schreven & de Rijk, 2011, p.66). This difference may however be caused by the fact that the latter figures are based on census data, rather than an actual difference between our respondents and other artists.

5.4 Employment and multiple jobholding

In this section, results on length of the workweek, number of works and, most importantly, the prevalence of multiple jobholding are presented.

5.4.1 *Length of the workweek*

To gain insight into the choreographers’ employment and workload, they were asked how many weeks a year and how many hours (on average) per week they had worked in both survey years.

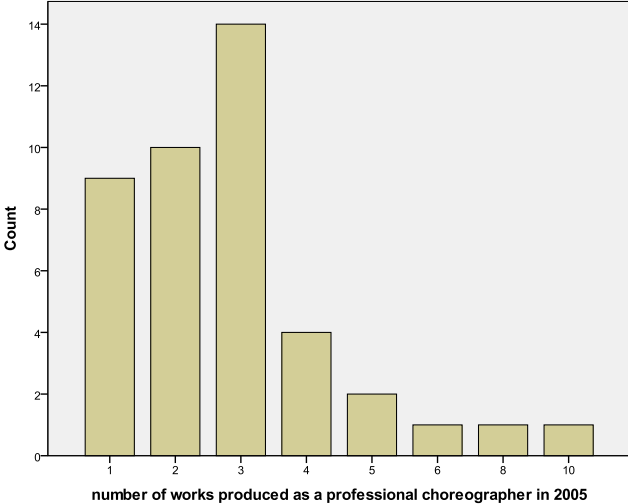
Unfortunately, we had to conclude that the results were subject to interpretation to a degree that makes them not useable. The problem lies in the distinction between paid and unpaid work they were asked to make in their answers to these questions. First, this distinction should not have been made in the question about number of weeks worked, or should have been formulated differently. Amongst other reasons, the fact that for some respondents the number of paid and unpaid weeks adds up to more than

52, makes it impossible to come to reliable and comparable data on total numbers of weeks worked. This is particularly regretful, as these data are an important input for some of the analyses in the subsequent sections. A second, though not as problematic point, is that particularly for those who were self-employed, it seemed difficult to distinguish between paid and unpaid work. For employees, paid hours are simply contract hours, but for self-employed the distinction is more of an intuitive matter. As a result not all did make this distinction. Furthermore, some remarked that work weeks varied so much throughout the year that they found it difficult to estimate an average numbers of hours. As a result, 8 persons did not do so. For these reasons, we will only report on length of the workweek here.

The average weekly number of hours worked in 2005 varied between as little as 8 and as many as 90. On average, the respondents worked a total of 43 hours a week. The 22 respondents who reported any unpaid hours, on average worked 20 unpaid and 24 paid hours a week.

5.4.2 Number of choreography works

In 2005, the respondents on average produced three works as a choreographer. The number of works varied between one and as many as ten, but more than five works were rare, with ninety percent producing five works or less.



Graph 5.7: Number of choreography works produced in 2005

The high number of works produced by a few choreographers does not necessarily mean that these choreographers were the ones who earned the highest incomes from choreography or spent the most time on it however. There is only a weak and not statistically significant relationship with percentage of time spent on choreography and no relationship with income from choreography. The reason for the higher number of works may therefore rather lie in the nature of the works, for example relatively

small/scale or short pieces with few performances. Indeed, one respondent who produced as many as ten pieces indicated that nine of these were improvisation-based one time performances. Unfortunately, we do not have further information on the nature of the works of the other choreographers.

5.4.3 *Prevalence of multiple jobholding*

We can now turn to the core subject of this thesis: multiple jobholding. Before turning to the analysis and explanation of the choreographers' multiple jobholding behaviour, it is important to first gain insight into the actual prevalence and forms of multiple jobholding amongst these artists. As we have seen in chapter three, studies of artists' multiple jobholding usually focus on their time distribution over different types of work rather than the actual number of jobs they had in a certain period. Because I consider both measures to be interesting, the initial intention was to gather data on both.

To measure the actual number of jobs the choreographers had in 2005, respondents were asked to indicate both the number and type of contracts under which they had done different types of work in 2005. Unfortunately, the data gathered this way turned out to be insufficient to report on numbers of jobs here. First, most respondents filled in the contract type(s), but not the number(s) of contract(s). Second, in the design of the questionnaire the possibility that different types of work may be performed under one single contract (for example arts management and choreography or choreography and dancing) was not properly taken into account. The numbers found may consequently be an overestimation of the actual number of jobs, as some comments indicate. We will therefore limit the analysis here to the different types of work the choreographers did and their time distribution over these types of work. When we speak of multiple jobholding in the subsequent sections, unless explicitly stated otherwise, we mean doing different types of work.

Before turning to the results, it is important to briefly return to the definition matter. As discussed in chapter 3, differences and vagueness concerning the definition of work categories is an important shortcoming of previous research on this subject. It is a shortcoming that could not really be resolved for this research either. In the questionnaire, respondents were asked to estimate what percentage of their total working time they spent on different types of work. To enable comparisons to previous research on artists, the categories used were chosen so that they can be added up to the most commonly used categories of arts work, arts-related work and non-arts work. As a clarification to the question, definitions of these three types of work were given, based on those used by Throsby (1996). As these definitions are by no means exclusive and there are no better agreed upon alternatives available, it was left largely to the own interpretation of the respondents what activities they considered to fall under the different work categories. While at first glance, the division in different work types may seem pretty clear, the comments many of the respondents made indicate that in reality they are not. Particularly, the division between arts and arts-related work is not as clear-cut to them as

it may seem. As one respondent remarked: “it is difficult to say where the art begins and ends...”. As we will see later on, for many respondents different types of work were part of the same job. Work types thus do not necessarily correspond to occupations or jobs. Also, it was not clear to some whether and under which category to include activities like training. We do not know how most of the respondents have dealt with such issues. Furthermore, some respondents remarked that their work patterns varied considerably throughout the year and the figures they supplied were rough estimates at best. This should be kept in mind when interpreting the results to be presented hereafter.

From the available data we know both how many of the respondents actually did different types of work and how much of their time they devoted to these types of work. The results are compiled in the table below. Following my comment in chapter three, I have calculated not only the average time distribution of all respondents, but also that of those who had actually done different types of work and compared these.

Table 5.8: Average time distribution over different types of work in (2005)

Type of work		Percentage of respondents who did this type of work	Average time distribution (% of total work time)			
			All respondents (n=42 ¹⁶)	Did arts work only (n=3)	Did arts & arts-related work only (n=33)	Did any non-arts work ¹⁷ (n=6)
Arts	<i>Choreography</i>	100	32,3	56,7	29,7	34,2
	<i>Dancing</i>	59,9	17,7	40,0	17,4	8,0
	<i>Other arts work</i>	37,7	5,2	3,3	5,1	6,3
	All arts work	100	55,1	100	52,3	48,5
Arts-related	<i>Teaching dance</i>	57,7	12,7	0	14,0	12,3
	<i>Arts management</i>	55,5	23,4	0	27,8	10,8
	<i>Other arts-related work</i>	24,4	5,1	0	6,0	2,8
	All arts-related work	84,4	41,2	0	47,7	26,0
Non-arts	Non-arts work	13,3	3,4	0	0	23,8

The first thing that stand stands out, is that only a very small minority (6,7 percent/ 3 persons) of the choreographers devoted all of their work time to their artistic work. The vast majority (84,4 percent) did arts-related work as well and some (13,3 percent) also did non-arts work. Not surprisingly, those who did arts work only, devoted the greatest percentage of their time to choreography.

Looking at what (sub-)types of arts and arts-related work the respondents actually did, it can be concluded that the ones that were predefined, being choreography, dancing, teaching dance and arts management, are clearly the ones that were practiced most frequently. The categories ‘other artistic work’ and ‘other arts-related work’ score much lower, but were practiced by still a substantial part of these choreographers. Unfortunately, only a few of them specified what kinds of other artistic, arts-

¹⁶ Results are for 42 of the 45 respondents. 3 respondents did not supply information on whether they did any work other than choreography.

¹⁷ 1 respondent who did only arts and non-arts work is included in this category.

related or non-arts work they actually did. Those who did, listed as diverse activities as ‘coaching’, ‘developing concepts’, ‘directing’, ‘musician’, ‘performing’ and ‘study/writing’ as other artistic work, ‘teaching choreology’ and ‘studio administration’ as other arts-related work and ‘bar/babysitting/modelling/tourism officer’ and ‘volunteer work for charity’ as non-arts work.

Now that we have some basic insight into the prevalence of multiple jobholding and the kinds of work the choreographers undertake, we can turn to the analysis of the factors that may influence their multiple jobholding behaviour. Following the discussion of the different explanatory theories in chapter three and the research questions and hypotheses that have been formulated in chapter four, the hours constraint theory, the work preference theory and portfolio theories will be tested on their relative merits for explaining the multiple jobholding behaviour of the choreographers in the survey in the subsequent sections. Before doing so, it should be noted that the very low numbers of respondents who did arts work only or did non-arts work limits the possibilities and value of some of the analyses in the subsequent sections, particularly where those who did arts work only, those who did both arts and arts-related work and those who also did non-arts work are compared. The reader should keep this in mind when interpreting the results presented hereafter.

5.5 Hours constraint

As discussed in chapter three, the explanation for multiple jobholding commonly used in labour economics is that of an hours constraint on the main job. To get an indication of the extent to which different factors played a role in the choreographers’ multiple jobholding and their relative importance, they were asked to indicate whether a number of predefined reasons played a role in their decision to hold multiple artistic jobs, do arts-related work and do non-arts work respectively and to rank these reasons in order of importance. The results for the individual reasons will be presented in the section that deals with the theory to which they apply. An overview of the results for all factors can be found in appendix E2.

To test the possible role of an hours constraint, ‘inability to work desired hours on main job’ was included as an answer possibility in these questions. This turned out to be a reason for 28,1 percent of the respondents for holding multiple artistic jobs, for 15,8 percent for doing arts-related work and for 33,3 percent for doing non-arts work.¹⁸ It was the most important reason for respectively 12,5 , 7,9 and 33,3 percent. It was thus not considered as an (important) reason for holding multiple jobs by the majority of the respondents and can certainly not explain multiple jobholding in itself.

¹⁸ Percentages are of those who actually did these types of work only.

5.6 Work preference

As explained in the previous chapter, the focus of the research is on the work preference theory. To test this theory, a couple of hypotheses have been formulated, which will be discussed in relation to the research results in the subsequent sections.

5.6.1 *Relationship between wages and time spent*

An important aspect of the work-preference theory is the relationship between wages earned for and hours spent on different types of work. Originally, three hypotheses (hypotheses 1-3) were formulated to reflect the relationships between the number of hours devoted to respectively arts, arts-related and non-arts work and arts, arts-related and non-arts wages:

Hypothesis 1: The number of hours choreographers spend on arts work is positively related to arts, arts-related and non-arts wages.

Hypothesis 2: The number of hours choreographers spend on arts-related work is negatively related to both arts and arts-related wages.

Hypothesis 3: The number of hours choreographers spend on non-arts work is negatively related to arts, arts-related and non-arts wages.

The hourly wages used in testing such hypotheses are typically calculated from data on gross annual income, the number of weeks worked, the average hours worked per week and the percentage (estimate) of income earned from different types of work. The degree of accuracy and hence the value of the figures thus obtained is however somewhat questionable. This becomes particularly apparent when looking at the problems surrounding our own survey data on these variables. As explained there, the data on numbers weeks cannot be used and hence it is not possible to calculate reliable hourly wages either. We therefore cannot test these hypotheses.

We can however formulate an alternative hypothesis, which reflects the basic assumption underlying these hypotheses:

Alternative for hypothesis 1-3: Choreographers who do arts-related and non-arts work, earn higher wages from these kinds of work than they do from their arts work.

To test this hypothesis, an alternative measure will be used:

$$\text{income-time ratio: } \frac{\% \text{ of income}}{\% \text{ of working time}}$$

This measure reflects the relative magnitude of wage rates for different types of work for *individual* choreographers (but not between different choreographers). For this alternative hypothesis to be correct, the income-time ratio would need to be lower than 1 for arts work and higher than 1 for arts-related and non-arts work, for those who do arts-related and/or non-arts work. It becomes clear from the table below that this is not the case for a large part of the respondents.

Table 5.9: *Income-time ratio's for different types of work for respondents who did arts-related and/or non-arts work in 2005*

Type of work:		Percentage of choreographers who did arts-related and/or non-arts work for which income-time ratio is ¹⁹ :			
		< 1	=1	>1	Unknown
Arts	<i>Choreography</i>	33,3	15,4	23,1	28,2
	<i>Dancing</i>	40	16	20	24
	<i>Other arts work</i>	56,3	12,5	6,25	25
	Total arts work	38,5	15,4	17,9	28,2
Arts-related	<i>Teaching dance</i>	19,2	19,2	34,6	26,9
	<i>Arts management</i>	40	16	8	36
	<i>Other arts-related work</i>	45,5	0	27,3	27,3
	Total arts-related work	28,9	15,8	26,3	28,9
Non-arts	Non-arts work	50	16,7	33,3	0

The alternative hypothesis is thus not supported by the research results. A substantial part of the respondents earns higher or equal wages from their arts work than they do from their other work. Furthermore, there seem to be substantial differences between the different types of arts-related and non-arts work. For example, arts management is relatively low-paid for the vast majority of those who did this type of work, while teaching dance is relatively well paid. The table also shows that of the artistic types of work, choreography seems to be relatively well paid for a larger part of its practitioners than the other types of arts work. Looking at the causes for an income-time ratio greater than one for arts work, we find: unpaid arts management (2x), unpaid work (1x) or ratio <1 for teaching, unpaid other arts-related work (1x), unpaid non-arts work (1x) and non-labour income (1x).

Again, some caution is in order, as these figures are based on personal estimates of the respondents and not actual figures. As was the case for time distribution, many respondents indicated that they found it very difficult to make accurate estimations of what percentage of their income was

¹⁹ Figures for subtypes of work within the 'main' categories of arts, arts-related and non-arts work are only of those who did any arts-related and/or non-arts work and actually did these subtypes of work. Those who did arts work only are not counted in any of the figures.

earned from different types of work. The reason is that according to them certain activities are so intertwined and are part of the same job. This seems to particularly apply to choreography and arts management, but also for choreography and dancing. Let's take for example the case of a choreographer who runs his own project-based dance company, with no office staff and who dances in his own pieces as well. Not an uncommon situation for choreographers, as it seems. Is it even possible to determine how much income can be attributed to the different work types involved here? Respondents seem to have dealt with this differently. A substantial part of them did not fill in percentages of income. Others have simply equalled the percentage of income to the percentage of time, leading to the relative high percentages in the '=1' column in table 5.9 above. Furthermore, as many as 32 percent of those who did any arts management, said they did not earn any income from this work. The same is true for fifty percent of those who did any other artistic work. We will further elaborate on the roles of these different work types in the section on portfolio theories. First, let's continue with another central, but under-researched concept of the work preference theory: the survival constraint.

5.6.2 *Survival constraint*

According to the work preference theory, artists only do arts-related and non-arts work up to the point when they earn sufficient income to cover their basic living costs: their survival constraint. In chapter 4 we have therefore formulated the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 4: Choreographers who earn more than their survival constraint from their arts work, do not do any arts-related and/or non-arts work.

To test to what extent this true for the choreographers in the survey, two possible measures of survival constraint will be used.

First, as an objective measure, the poverty norm of the CBS, as introduced in chapter 2, will be used. As we have already seen, a substantial part of the respondents earned an income below this norm. In addition to this analysis, the respondents' arts income and their income from arts and arts-related work combined were compared to this norm as well.²⁰ Even with the cautionary notes made in section 5.3.2, it becomes clear from these analyses that the ability to meet the poverty norm from arts income or arts and arts-related income combined does not by definition determine whether someone does arts-related or even non-arts work or not. Of the only 8 persons who could meet the poverty norm by their arts income alone, only 2 devoted their work time exclusively to arts work. Furthermore, of the six respondents who did any non-arts work, still two earned sufficient income from their arts work

²⁰ A complete picture of the results can be found in appendix E3.

alone to meet the poverty norm. These persons thus either have different preferences or higher income requirements than the work preference theory would predict. Indeed, one respondents maybe somewhat surprisingly states “more cash to live the lifestyle I prefer” as a reason for doing arts-related work.

Second, as a more subjective measure, respondents were asked if they earned sufficient income from respectively their work as a choreographer, their artistic work, their artistic and arts-related work combined to meet their basic living expenses. As with the objective norm, the answers were compared to whether they did any arts, arts-related and or non-arts work. The results for arts income and arts and arts-related income combined are depicted in the cross tabs below. The results for income from choreography can be found in appendix E3.

Table 5.10: *Cross tabulation of percentage of working time spent on arts work and ability to meet basic living expenses with arts income*

			I can earn sufficient income from my artistic work to meet my basic living expenses			Total
			no	no opinion	yes	
Percentage of working time spent on arts work	Unknown	Count	0	1	2	3
		% within I can earn sufficient income from my artistic work to meet my basic living expenses	,0%	33,3%	10,0%	6,7%
	100	Count	0	0	3	3
		% within I can earn sufficient income from my artistic work to meet my basic living expenses	,0%	,0%	15,0%	6,7%
	less than 100	Count	22	2	15	39
		% within I can earn sufficient income from my artistic work to meet my basic living expenses	100,0%	66,7%	75,0%	86,7%
Total		Count	22	3	20	45
		% within I can earn sufficient income from my artistic work to meet my basic living expenses	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 5.11: *Cross tabulation of percentage of working time spent on arts and/or arts-related work combined and ability to meet basic living expenses with arts and arts-related income combined.*

			I can earn sufficient income from my artistic and arts-related work combined to meet my basic living expenses			Total
			no	no opinion	yes	
Percentage of working time spent on arts and/or arts-related work combined	Unknown	Count	0	1	2	3
		% within I can earn sufficient income from my artistic and arts-related work combined to meet my basic living expenses	,0%	12,5%	8,0%	6,7%
	100	Count	9	4	23	36
		% within I can earn sufficient income from my artistic and arts-related work combined to meet my basic living expenses	75,0%	50,0%	92,0%	80,0%
	Less than 100	Count	3	3	0	6
		% within I can earn sufficient income from my artistic and arts-related work combined to meet my basic living expenses	25,0%	37,5%	,0%	13,3%
Total		Count	12	8	25	45
		% within I can earn sufficient income from my artistic and arts-related work combined to meet my basic living expenses	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The first thing that strikes the eye, is the substantially higher numbers of choreographers who are able to meet their survival constraint from their arts and arts-related incomes respectively. This may mean that they have lower income requirements than other Dutch households, or that the household incomes used by the CBS are indeed not a good comparison for individual artists who are living with a partner, as discussed above.

However this may be, the conclusions based on the subjective minimum income norm are similar to those using the objective norm. The majority of those who indicated that they can earn sufficient income from their work as a choreographer, their arts and/or arts-related work, do other types of work despite this. 15 percent of the choreographers indicated that they could earn sufficient income from their work as a choreographer, only one of whom devoted his entire work time to choreography. 20 choreographers said that they could earn sufficient income from their arts work, 75 percent of whom did arts-related and/or non-arts work anyway. Of the six respondents who did non-arts work, none considered their income from arts and arts-related work combined sufficient to meet their basic living expenses (half of them had no opinion on this though).

Hypothesis 4 is thus false for the vast majority of those who did arts-related work, but correct for most of those who did non-arts work. For non-arts work, there is a clear difference depending on which norm is used. It seems that those who did non-arts work despite being able to earn sufficient

income from their arts and/or arts-related work combined to meet the CBS minimum income norm, have higher income requirements than should be expected based on the work preference theory.

Besides comparing the choreographers' time distribution over different types of work to their ability to meet their survival constraint from these types of work, it is also interesting to find out whether they would give up their arts-related and/or non-arts jobs if they were able to earn sufficient income from their other work.

Hypothesis 5: Choreographers would give up their arts-related and non-arts jobs if they could earn sufficient income from their artistic work to make a living.

To this end, respondents were asked whether they would give up:

- Their other arts work if they were able to earn sufficient income from their work as a choreographer.
- Their arts-related work if they were able to earn sufficient income from their artistic work.
- Their non-arts work if they were able to earn sufficient income from their arts and/or arts-related work combined.

Here again, we have left it to the respondents' own judgement what income they considered 'sufficient'. The results are depicted in the table below:

Table 5.12: *Inclination to give up other artistic, arts-related and/or non-arts work*²¹

	Would give up other arts work		Would give up arts-related work		Would give up non-arts work	
	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
no	28	87,5	18	47,4	1	16,7
no opinion	2	6,3	7	18,4	1	16,7
yes	2	6,3	13	34,2	4	66,7
Total	32	100,0	38	100,0	6	100,0

It becomes clear from the data above that the percentage of choreographers who would give up their other artistic, arts-related or non-arts work if they could earn sufficient income from respectively their choreographic, artistic and arts and arts-related work combined, increases exponentially from the former towards the latter. While only 2 of the 32 choreographers who did any other artistic work would give up this kind of work, around one third would give up their arts-related work and two third would give up their non-arts work.

²¹ Percentages are of respondents of whom is known that they actually did this type of work.

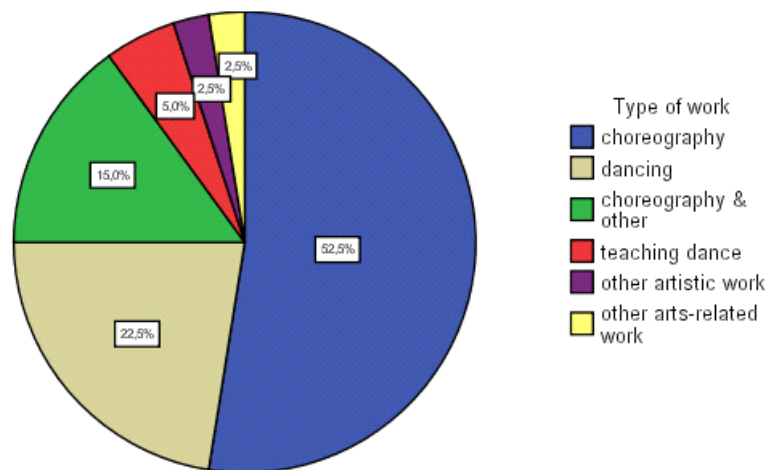
Hypothesis 5 is thus correct for most of those who did non-arts work, but incorrect for the majority of those who did arts-related work.

5.6.3 Work satisfaction and preference

The basic premise of the work preference theory is that artists prefer their artistic work above anything else. We therefore formulated the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 6: Choreographers derive more satisfaction from their artistic work than from arts-related and non-arts work.

To test whether this is true for the choreographers in this survey, they were asked to arrange different types of work in order of the amount of personal satisfaction they derived from it. Graph 5.13 below represents the types of work that were ranked as most satisfying.



Graph 5.13: *Most satisfying type of work*

Choreographers clearly gain most personal satisfaction from their choreographic work. 52,5 percent of the respondents who answered this question indicated choreography as the most satisfying type of work. This figure rises to 67,5 percent when we add the 15 percent who put both choreography and another type of work in first place. Second is dancing, which was ranked as most satisfying by 22,5 percent of the respondents. Very few considered arts-related work to be most satisfying and none did so for non-arts work.

When we take for each rank (most satisfying, second most satisfying, etc.) the answer most often given, we get the following order of types work:

- 1: Choreography
- 2: Dancing
- 3: Teaching
- 4: Other artistic work
- 5: Arts management
- 6: Other arts-related work
- 7: Non-arts work

This order is very much in line with the work-preference theory, which assumes that artists gain most personal satisfaction from their artistic work. As expected, non-arts work was ranked last by most respondents. 73,9 percent of those who included all types of work in their answer, indicated non-arts work to be the least satisfying. Surprisingly, the other 26,1 percent considered arts management to be worse. As will be discussed later, many respondents said that they experienced management and administrative work as unpleasant and time consuming, but necessary to enable their artistic work.

Hypothesis 6 is thus correct for the vast majority of the respondents.

5.6.4 *Threshold*

As becomes clear from the analyses above, there are limits to the choreographers' preference for artistic work. As indicated before, it would be interesting to find out if there is some sort of 'threshold', a minimum amount of time spent on arts work, after which the work preference declines and other kinds of work become more interesting. In order to get an indication of the height of such a threshold, the choreographers were asked indicate how much time they would prefer to spend on different types of work. The results are displayed in the table below.

Table 5.14: Preferred time distribution over different types of work²²

		Percentage of respondents for whom preferred percentage of time > 0	Preferred percentage of time	
			Mean	Median
Arts work	<i>Choreography</i>	100	50,1	50,0
	<i>Dancing</i>	63,9	18,7	20,0
	<i>Other arts work</i>	38,8	9,0	0
	Total arts work	100	77,9	80
Arts-related work	<i>Teaching dance</i>	55,6	9,0	5,0
	<i>Arts management</i>	50	9,5	2,5
	<i>Other arts-related work</i>	22,2	2,2	0
	Total arts-related work	75	20,7	20
Non-arts work	Non-arts work	8,3	1,2	0
Total	Total	n/a	100	n/a

Choreographers clearly prefer a mixed working practice. Only 8,3 percent wanted to spend all of their time on choreography and just 22,2 percent preferred to spend all of their working time on arts work. As the table shows, the respondents would have liked to spend an average of 78 percent on their arts work. Most of them preferred to focus on choreographing and dancing in their artistic work, while around one third wanted to do some other form of artistic work as well. 75 percent would also like to do some arts-related work and would on average like to spend 21 percent of their working time on it. There is some variation in the kind of arts-related work they would like to do, with teaching being slightly more popular than arts management and other arts-related work chosen by only around one fifth of the choreographers. Very few preferred to spend any time on non-arts work.

5.7 Portfolio theories and other explanations

Even though we have chosen to focus on the work preference theory, we did collect some data to gain an (at least indicative) insight into the extent to which other explanatory theories and additional motivations may play a role as well. The results are presented in this section. It should be noted up front however, that most of what is said here is based on the respondents' own valuations of the role of different factors in influencing their multiple jobholding behaviour and not on more objective data. The reasons for this have been already explained. The focus here will be on the portfolio theories, more in particular those of risk-diversification and role versatility.

²² Nine persons did not fill in their preferred time distribution and were not included in the analysis.

5.7.1 Risk diversification

According to the portfolio choice, or risk-diversification theory, artists hold multiple jobs to reduce income risks. As discussed in chapter three, this can work in different ways. In relation to artists doing different types of work, it is often supposed that they hold arts-related and non-arts jobs because they offer them greater security than artistic jobs do. Based on the available data, we can test this in two ways. First, we have asked the choreographers under what type of contract(s) they performed different types of work. The results are presented in table 5.15.

Table 5.15: *Contract forms for different types of work (2005)*

	Percentage that worked under contract form:						Percentage with multiple contract forms
	Employee permanent contract	Employee temporary contract	Self-employed	Volunteer	Other	Unknown	
<i>Choreography</i>	20	37,8	57,8	13,3	2,2	2,2	24,4
<i>Dancing</i>	3,7	37	74,1	25,9	3,7	3,7	29,6
<i>Other arts work</i>	17,6	11,8	70,6	17,6	0	11,8	11,8
Arts work (all)	15,6	42,2	57,8	22,2	4,4	2,2	35,6
Arts-related work	10,5	28,9	47,4	15,8	2,6	15,8	13,2
Non-arts work	16,7	50	33,3	50	0	0	50

Supposing that a permanent and to a lesser degree a temporary employment contract as well, offers greater security than the other contract types do, it can be concluded that arts-related and non-arts jobs generally do not offer greater security than artistic jobs do. Arts and non-arts jobs are performed under permanent and temporary employment contracts by around the same percentage of the respondents who did these types of work, but in the case of arts-related work by a far lesser percentage. Self-employment is the most frequently used contract form for all kinds of work except non-arts. Furthermore, a substantial part of the choreographers use more than one contract type for the same kind of work, particularly for artistic work. Temporary employment and self-employment is the most common combination, often combined with volunteer work as well.

Despite this, arts-related and non-arts work may still offer greater security, for example because such work is more readily available or labour demand is more stable than is the case for artistic work. As a more subjective measurement, the choreographers were therefore also asked whether they did arts-related work because it offered them greater security than their artistic job(s). This was the case for only 21,1 percent of those who did any arts/related work and for one of the six respondents who did non-arts work. Moreover, for none of them it was the most important reason for doing so.

Even though arts-related and non-arts jobs generally do not seem to offer greater security and are not undertaken for such, do choreographers with a permanent contract for their artistic work less

often hold arts-related and/or non-arts jobs? The table below displays per contract type how many of the respondents how used them spent all of their time on art work and how many did not.

Table 5.16: Crosstabulation of percentage of time spent on arts work and contract type(s) for arts work in 2005

			Contract type for arts work						Total
			unknown	employee permanent contract	employee temporary contract	multiple	other	self-employed	
Percentage of working time spent on arts work	unknown	Count	1	1	0	0	0	1	3
		% within contract type for arts work	100,0%	16,7%	,0%	,0%	,0%	7,1%	6,7%
	100	Count	0	0	2	0	0	1	3
		% within contract type for arts work	,0%	,0%	28,6%	,0%	,0%	7,1%	6,7%
	less than 100	Count	0	5	5	16	1	12	39
		% within contract type for arts work	,0%	83,3%	71,4%	100,0%	100,0%	85,7%	86,7%
Total		Count	1	6	7	16	1	14	45
		% within contract type for arts work	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Only a few of the choreographers in the survey did arts work only or held non-arts jobs. Most combined arts and arts-related work. None of the six choreographers with a permanent employment for their arts work devoted all of their time to their artistic work. Of the three choreographers who spent all of their time on arts work, two had a temporary employment contract and one was self-employed. Of the six choreographers who also did non-arts work, one had a permanent employment contract, one was self-employed and the other four combined various contract types for their arts work.

It can thus be concluded that risk diversification, in the sense of arts-related and non-arts jobs offering greater security than artistic jobs, is not an important factor in determining the respondents' multiple jobholding behaviour. This does however not mean that the risk diversification should be abolished for these choreographers altogether. As explained before, its functioning may be much more complex than the data gathered can account for. Menger and Gurgand (1996) for example, found that multiple jobholding artists were financially better off and survived longer as artists than those who did not. The longitudinal data would ideally have enabled us to test whether this is the case for our choreographers as well. Unfortunately, it turned out that we cannot. As explained above, we cannot say anything about multiple jobholding in the sense of actual numbers of jobs. Also, the numbers of

respondents who did arts work only and who did any non-arts work, are so low that no sensible comparisons can be made.

5.7.2 *Role versatility / complementarity*

As explained in the previous chapter, the focus of this research lies on the work preference theory and other theories cannot be tested as extensively. To really research the functioning and role of role versatility would require a study of its own and a somewhat different approach. To get an indication as of whether role versatility and complementarity play a role in the labour market for choreographers, we have asked the choreographers whether they agreed with a couple of statements. Also, we have asked them whether a couple of pre-phrased reasons played a role in their decision to hold multiple jobs. The results are compiled in the table below.

Table 5.17: *Reasons for doing different types of work (2005)*

Reason:	Percentage of artists for whom reason applies for ²³ :		
	Holding multiple artistic jobs	Doing arts-related work	Doing non-arts work
It complements work as an artist	n/a ²⁴	63,2	16,7
Development of other abilities	53,1	34,2	33,3
The networking opportunities the job(s) offer(s)	n/a ²⁵	23,7	0
It enhances the reputation as an artist	43,8	18,4	0

From these data it can be concluded that role versatility / complementarity considerations clearly played a role in the multiple jobholding decisions of the majority of the choreographers, particularly those concerning arts and arts-related work. Around half of the respondents said that they held multiple artistic jobs because these enabled them to develop other abilities and because they thought that doing so enhanced their artistic reputation. As we will see later on, these were not the most important reasons for doing so though.

The same reasons also played a role in their decision to do arts-related work, as did networking opportunities, though for a smaller part of those who did such work. By far the most often stated reason for doing arts-related work was complementarity to artistic work. In line with this, 81 percent of those who taught dance considered this an essential part of being an artist. Furthermore, the vast majority of those who selected ‘other’ (26,3 percent) as a reason for doing arts-related work, specified that they did arts management because it was inseparably connected to their work as a

²³ Percentages are only of those who actually did these types of work.

²⁴ In the literature, complementarity and networking are treated mainly in the context of explaining why artists do arts-related and/or non-arts work. They were therefore not included in the questionnaire as a possible reason for holding multiple artistic jobs.

²⁵ Ibid.

choreographer. From the additional comments many of the respondents made, it becomes clear that this particularly applies to those who had their own dance company but no support staff to do the administrative work for them. Without the management part, there simply would be no artistic work either and vice versa. In this respect, there may be a fundamental difference in terms of both the context and content of arts management work between those choreographers who do arts management in support of their own choreographic work only and those who work as artistic directors for larger dance companies and who have support staff to the administrative part for them. Unfortunately we have insufficient information to distinguish between these two groups here.

Role versatility considerations do not seem to be very important in the case of non-arts work. Of the six choreographers who did such work, only one said that it complemented their artistic work and two did so to develop other abilities. For neither of them was it the most important reason for doing non-arts work. Finally, 35,6 percent said that holding multiple jobs better enabled them to reach their artistic goals. The same percentage did not believe so though and 28,9 percent had no opinion. Depending on how it is interpreted, this answer could however also be seen as a confirmation of the work preference and risk diversification theories. In conclusion, role versatility/complementarity plays a potentially important role in choreographers' multiple jobholding behaviour and certainly deserves further investigation.

5.7.3 *Other portfolio aspects*

In chapter 3.5, a couple of other reasons for holding multiple jobs have been discussed. One of these could be summarised as enjoyment of variety in work content and environments. This turned out to be an important motivation for holding multiple jobs, particularly for doing arts-related work, for many choreographers. 71,9 percent said that they enjoyed working in a variety of artistic occupations and 40,6 percent enjoyed working for a variety of employers for their artistic work. 42,1 percent of those who did arts-related work, indicated that they did so because they enjoyed doing this type of work and for about a quarter, it was amongst the two most important reasons. For non-arts work, enjoyment seems to be less of a motivation. Only 2 of the six respondents who did this type of work indicated that they enjoyed this work.

5.8 Five years later: careers and multiple jobholding in a longitudinal perspective

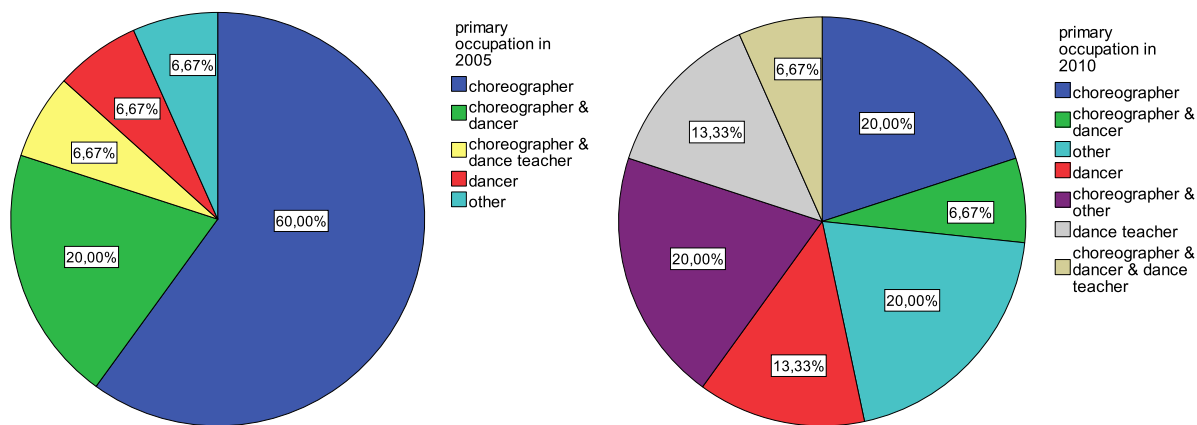
We now have gained a basic insight into some general characteristics of choreographers as a professional group and their multiple jobholding behaviour. Before concluding, we will first take a look at how things have changed five years later in time. How many of them are still working as choreographers? How have their careers, income and multiple jobholding developed? How can a longitudinal perspective add to the analyses already done in the previous sections? As remarked at the

beginning of this chapter, the respondents to the 2010 survey cannot be considered representative in some respects. The comparisons of both survey years made in this chapter will therefore be of the respondents to the 2010 survey only. The reader should be warned beforehand though that the opportunities to really execute valuable longitudinal analyses, particularly of multiple jobholding behaviour, turned out to be very limited.

5.8.1 Career development

11 of the 15 respondents were still working and living in the Netherlands in 2010. The other four had moved to other countries. The majority still worked as choreographers in 2010. Only three respondents (20 percent) did not do so. All three of them had completed additional education after 2005, one (remarkably!) a master in choreography, one an unspecified master in arts and one an unspecified non-arts post-hbo program. Of these persons, one now worked as a life coach, one as a dance teacher and one did dance research. This does however not necessarily mean that they had given up on choreography and will not return to it in the future. As a reason for not doing choreography work, one respondent reported insufficient availability of work opportunities. For two persons, financial considerations were a reason. Furthermore, two persons indicated that their interests had changed, which had moved one of them into a different artistic occupation and one into a non-arts occupation. The latter also applied to one more of the respondents of the 2005 survey, who did not fill in the 2010 questionnaire, but informed me that she did not currently work as a choreographer any more. As she put it “sometimes life just pushes you into a different direction”. She could not find the fulfilment that she was looking for in dance anymore and was working as a yoga teacher now.

How about the number of works these choreographers made? This has not changed substantially. Some produced one more or less, some equal. Besides the above mentioned three respondents, two more did not produce any new works in 2010 however. They had just toured with existing work and/or were working on a new piece. One of them barely spent any time on choreography any more. Despite this, the self-perceived primary occupation of the respondents had changed considerably. The 2005 and 2010 situation are depicted in the graphs below. To enable a direct comparison, the picture of 2005 as presented in section 5.2.4 was recalculated to represent only those who responded to the 2010 survey.



Graph 5.18: Primary occupation in 2005 vs. 2010 (respondents of 2010 survey only)

At an individual level, only one third listed the same occupation or combination of such as their primary occupation as they did in 2005. At an aggregate level, the different categories in the graph have become more evenly distributed. Still 53,3 percent considered themselves primarily as choreographers, though more often in combination with some other profession. In turn, the percentage of those who considered themselves (at least partially) as teachers had increased to 20 percent and the category ‘other’ had increased to 20 percent as well. The latter development is partially caused by those who moved on to become a dance researcher and life coach respectively. One more person now primarily worked as a tourism officer and indicated this as her primary occupation. Somewhat surprisingly, the percentage of those who considered themselves as dancers did not decrease. All of this may indicate that working practice has become more mixed for many of the choreographers. We will see whether this is actually the case later on.

5.8.2 Income

How about the respondents’ financial position? For most of them, income had much increased. Both the gross total income and arts income show a median nominal increase of respectively 60 and 92 percent. Remarkably, the only two for whom gross total income had decreased did not work as choreographers in 2010. Also, the income distribution has become much more even, particularly for arts income. The mean and median incomes for both years and the skewness of the income distribution are compiled in table 5.19.

Table 5.19: *Gross total income and gross arts income (euro 's) in 2005 and 2010*²⁶

	N=	Mean	Median	Skewness
Gross total income 2005	15	€ 14.906,67	€ 10.000,00	1,267
Gross total income 2010	15	€ 25.200,00	€ 18.000,00	0,572
Gross arts income 2005	13	€ 9.523,85	€ 6.720,00	1,900
Gross arts income 2010 ²⁷	11	€ 15.590,91	€ 14.400,00	0,263

Despite these changes, the self-perceived ability to make a living from their arts work has barely changed. Just one person who said that he did not earn sufficient income from his arts work to meet his basic living expenses in 2005, became able to do so in 2010. Similarly, 2 persons now became able to make a living from their arts and arts-related work combined.²⁸ A possible explanation for so little change may be that one third of the respondents had become parents between 2005 and 2010.

In line with these observations, the percentage of respondents who received social security benefits had decreased a little, to 20 percent. Also such benefits were used for shorter periods of time. Combined with the increases in income we have found, this indicates that as artists become more experienced, they generally become less reliant on social security.

5.8.3 Prevalence of multiple jobholding

Other than we would have expected from the changes in self-perceived occupation we have seen above, the prevalence of multiple jobholding in terms of how many respondents did different types of work, differs only marginally when calculated for 2010, certainly when only those who still did any choreography work are counted. On an individual level too, a change in self-defined occupation is not necessarily connected to an actual change in income or time distribution. The other way around however, a drastic change in percentage of income earned from or time spent on a certain type of work (though applicable to only a few respondents) is indeed reflected in a change of self-perceived primary occupation. Again, this shows that identification with a certain occupation seems to be a highly subjective matter that often does not correspond to more objective measures and may vary over time.

5.8.4 Explanations for multiple jobholding

The analyses in the previous sections of this chapter were based on comparisons of different respondents at a single point in time. Ideally, the longitudinal data would have provided us with the opportunity to assess how the choreographers responded to changes in factors like wages, ability to

²⁶ Income figures for 2005 have been recalculated to reflect only those respondents who participated in the 2010 survey as well.

²⁷ Figures are only of those who still did any arts work in 2010.

²⁸ For three persons we do not have data on ability to meet basic living expenses from arts income for both years though. The same is the case about arts-related income for 5 respondents.

make a living, and increased security and maybe even how different multiple jobholding strategies had impacted their ability to sustain a career as an artist. As already indicated in the introduction to this section however, this turned out to be barely possible. There are a number of reasons for this. First, the number of respondents to the 2010 survey is very low and the response is not representative for the population of respondents to the 2005 survey and certainly not for the entire 2005 population of choreographers. Moreover, many of the returned questionnaires are incomplete on a number of questions, either in one of the two survey years or both. Furthermore, as we have concluded above, the actual changes in multiple jobholding behaviour have barely changed. The same is true for the motivations the respondents themselves gave for their multiple jobholding behaviour. We have therefore chosen not to include any additional analyses on explanations for multiple jobholding at this point.

5.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, the results of the empirical research were presented. We have gained insight into some of the basic personal and labour market characteristics of choreographers. Even though we were not able to determine the number of actual jobs the respondents held, we did gain insight into the kinds of work they did and could conclude that almost all respondents did more than one type of work. We have explored several possible explanations for this, with a primary focus on the work preference theory. A couple of hypotheses were tested to determine the value of this latter theory for explaining the choreographers' multiple jobholding behaviour. A number of alternative and complementary explanations and theories were researched in a more explorative way. Finally, choreographers' careers and multiple jobholding were put in a longitudinal perspective. Based on this, we are now ready to answer our research questions and draw our final conclusions. These are presented in the next chapter.

6. Conclusion and recommendations

In the introductory chapter to this thesis, the following main research question was introduced:

To what extent do choreographers of contemporary dance working in the Netherlands hold multiple jobs and how can this be explained?

In the second and third chapter, a literature review was done. Based on this, the main research question was then further specified, hypotheses were developed and the empirical part of the research was outlined in chapter four. This empirical research consisted of a quantitative survey, in the form of a self-completion questionnaire, and was done amongst all of the 224 people who worked as a choreographer on a professional contemporary dance production for a Dutch theatre producer in the year 2005. This survey asked them about their situation in 2005. To gain a longitudinal perspective on the subject, a second survey was done among the respondents to the first survey, asking the same questions about the year 2010. The results of both surveys were presented in chapter five. In this chapter, we present our final conclusion. It is divided into three sections. First, a few factors which limit the strength of the results will be briefly addressed. Second, a conclusion will be formulated on the main research question by addressing the sub-questions formulated in chapter four. Finally, some recommendations for further research will be made.

6.1 Limitations

Before presenting the final conclusion, a couple of limitations of our empirical research should be mentioned. First, as with many surveys, the response to both surveys was rather low, in terms of both absolute numbers and response rate. Furthermore, as not much is known about choreographers as a professional group, it was difficult to determine the representativeness of the response. It was cautiously concluded though that choreographers working for structurally subsidised companies were underrepresented. All of this limits both the degree of certainty with which conclusions can be transferred to the entire population and the possibilities to do certain analyses, as was explained in greater detail in chapters five. This is reinforced by the fact that many respondents did not complete all the questions in the questionnaires. Finally, a couple of questions and concepts turned out to be insufficiently clear and had been interpreted in different ways by the respondents. This particularly applied to the questions in which different categories of work were used, as will be further discussed below. Furthermore, the data on number of hours and weeks worked turned out to be unusable and hence important variables like hourly wages could not be calculated either. The same was true for numbers of contracts and, hence, jobs.

6.2 Conclusion

We can now answer our research questions.

- 1) *What are the characteristics of choreographers of contemporary dance working in the Netherlands, their profession and labour market?*

The choreographers in our survey were differed in some of their personal characteristics from other artists and the general work force. They were more often female (60 percent), had a higher average age (38) and around half had a non-Dutch nationality. Furthermore, most respondents were highly educated. 87 percent had completed formal arts education, at least 90 percent of which was at higher education level. 42 percent had also completed some form of non-arts education after high school, most of which was at higher education level as well. These characteristics are in line with previous research of the profession though. Despite their relatively high average age, the majority (60 percent) had less than ten years experience as a choreographer in 2005. This can be explained by the fact that, with only two exceptions, all choreographers started out their careers as dancers. The results indicate that choreography serves both as a post-performance career for dancers and as a way to prolong ones dancing career. Many combined dancing and choreography for quite some time.

The latter is also reflected in the fact that almost all respondents did other kinds of work besides choreography. As we will further discussed below, choreography seems to be a somewhat mixed profession. Asked what they themselves considered to be their primary occupation, slightly less than half answered 'choreographer'. For a substantial part of the respondents this was a combination of choreographer and some other occupation (or occupations) like dancer, dance teacher or artistic director. Only 22 percent did not consider themselves primarily as choreographers. Remarkably, this was not reflected in the amount of time spent on work in these occupations or income derived from them. Taking time or income as criteria for the assignment of professions led to a drastically different picture. Only 22 percent of the respondents devoted half or more of their work time to choreography and just 11 percent earned half or more of their income from it. Had we adopted the CBS criteria to limit our research population, we would have been left with such a small number of respondents, that no sensible analyses could have been done.

To what extent do the (special) characteristics of artists labour markets, as outlined in chapter two, apply to choreographers as well? The research data allow us to draw some broad conclusions on this. The first characteristic was oversupply. Even though only those who had actually worked as choreographers were included in the research population, we nonetheless found some indications of both unemployment and underemployment. For example, the use of social security benefits was much higher than among both other Dutch artists and the general workforce. Also, the majority of the

respondents indicated that they would have preferred to spend more time on their choreography work than they actually did.

The second characteristic is a high number of self-employed. This applies to our choreographers as well. Self-employment was by far the most frequently used contract form for all types of work except non-arts work (58 percent for choreography and 75 percent for dancing).

The third characteristic is that the majority of labour relations are based on short-term contracts. This is correct in the sense that permanent contracts for employees are relatively rare, varying between 20 percent for choreography and 4 percent for dancing. It is unclear how self-employment should be characterised in this respect. The fourth characteristic, multiple jobholding, will be discussed below.

The fifth is a skewed income distribution and relatively low average incomes. This was not convincingly supported however. The research results showed an only slightly skewed income distribution for total income. As expected based on previous research, we found a more skewed picture when only arts income was taken into account. However, income differentials (in terms of the range between the highest and lowest income) were much smaller than was the case for other artists as well as the general workforce in the same period. We did however find evidence that supports the often stated thesis that artists can be considered relatively poor. At least 25 percent of singles without dependent children earned less than the so called 'modest but adequate' variant of the poverty norm used by the CBS. The position of those who were living with a partner was more difficult to determine, as the CBS norms are based on household incomes and we only had information on individual incomes. We could however conclude that at least 70 percent of them depended on their partner's income in order to be able to meet the CBS norm.

The sixth characteristic is that education cannot explain variations in income and employment for artists. This was supported by our results. Besides that almost all respondents completed some form of formal arts education and most of this was at a higher education level, we did not find a relationship with either total income or arts income.

Finally, in the second chapter, we have characterized the labour market for choreographers as primarily a pure spot market (project-based companies) and partially as a protected market (the structurally subsidised companies). Though this is not something that was explicitly researched, we found some indications that this is indeed correct. First, the majority of the choreographers worked as self-employed for their choreography work and hence did not fall under any CAO. Also, we did not find any extraordinarily high incomes, which indicates that there are indeed no signs of a small numbers exchange (at least not for the respondents to our survey).

- 2) *To what extent do choreographers hold multiple jobs and how do they divide their time over arts, arts-related and non-arts work? How does this change over the course of a choreographer's career?*

If anything, this research clearly demonstrated the importance and impact of the definitions used, particularly those of multiple jobholding and of work types/categories. As introduced in chapter three, there are two main ways in which multiple jobholding is measured. First, the number of actual jobs someone has during a certain period of time (in research of artists typically one calendar year) and second, the extent to which artists do different types of work. While studies of artists' multiple jobholding usually focus on their time distribution over different types of work rather than the actual number of jobs they had in a certain period, I consider both measures to be relevant. The initial intention therefore was to gather data on both. Unfortunately however, the data on numbers of jobs turned out to be insufficient to use. We therefore focused on multiple jobholding in the sense of doing different types of work.

The definition of these different work types is clearly the main weak point of current research of artists' multiple jobholding, including my own. While, from a theoretical perspective, it has become common practice to distinguish between arts, arts-related and non-arts work, we have seen that in practice many different and not always comparable categories are used. Also, there are no clear, distinctive and agreed upon definitions of these work types available. While we did construct the categories used in our study in such a way that they added up to the commonly accepted categories of arts, arts-related and non-arts work, the definition problem remained unsolved and it was (consciously) partially left to the interpretation of the respondents what activities they considered to fall under the different work types. The comments many of the respondents made about this, made it clear that the theory does not fit their work practice in certain respects. First, work types often did not correspond to jobs. Different types of artistic, but also arts-related work could very well be part of one single job. A common situation was that of the self-employed choreographer who had his own project-based dance company, who danced in his own works and had to do (most of) the business part himself due to a lack of support staff. In such a case it was virtually impossible for the respondents to determine what part of their income was earned from each of these types of work. The division between (particularly) arts and arts-related work is thus not as clear-cut as it may seem.

This is supported by the more objective results of our survey. In contrast to other research of artists' labour markets, we found that virtually all respondents did different types of work. Just one single person devoted his entire work time to choreography. Moreover, only three of the 45 respondents did arts work only. Also, few did any non-arts work. The latter is interesting, considering that forty percent of the respondents had completed some non-arts education after high school, most of which at higher education level. It seems that this education was either not (currently) put to use by most of them, or applied in arts-related jobs. For the vast majority, their work practice consisted of a combination of artistic and arts-related types of work. Besides choreography, dancing, teaching dance, and arts management were practiced by around sixty percent of the respondents. A substantial part also did other, mostly unspecified, types of artistic and arts-related work. Neither the number of

respondents who did different types of work nor the percentage of time they devoted to each of these types of work changed in any substantial way in 2010 as compared to 2005. The exception are three respondents who did not work as choreographers in 2010 anymore. All of this greatly limited the possibilities for analyses concerning the different explanatory theories of multiple jobholding, as these often require comparisons between those who do different types of work and those who do not and/or comparisons of the same persons at different points in time.

Altogether, this begs the question whether choreographer can actually be considered a distinct occupation in itself or should rather be viewed as part of a broader occupation which also includes other types of work. My conclusion would be the latter.

3) *To what extent does artists' (supposed) 'work-preference' explain choreographers' multiple jobholding behaviour? Is there some sort of 'threshold', a minimum of artistic work after which the work-preference declines and other (arts-related) jobs or leisure time become more attractive?*

The work preference theory is generally considered to be the primary explanatory theory of artists' multiple jobholding. It has however not been subjected to much empirical testing. The main focus of this study was therefore on the work preference theory. The basic assumption underlying this theory is that artists prefer artistic work above all else and will only do other types of work to supplement a too low income from their artistic work. Based on some of the central concepts and assumptions of this theory, a couple of hypotheses were formulated to test the value of this theory for explaining the choreographers multiple jobholding behaviour. First, it is supposed that artists who do arts-related or non-arts work earn higher wages from these types of work than from their artistic work.

Unfortunately, we were not able to calculate hourly wages from the available data, but by using a ratio of the percentage of income earned from each type of work and the percentage of time spent on that work, we were able to determine the relative magnitude of wage rates for different types of work for individual choreographers (though not amongst different respondents) anyway. From this we could conclude that a substantial part of the respondents earned higher or equal hourly wages from their arts work as they did from other types of work, which speaks against the theory.

Next, the concept of a survival constraint, a minimum income required to meet one's basic living expenses, was tested. It is supposed that artists who cannot meet this survival constraint from their arts income alone, will do arts-related and non-arts work only up to the point when they meet their survival constraint. This was tested in two ways. First, we looked at whether persons who were and were not able to meet their survival constraint from respectively their arts work and their arts and arts-related work combined, did any arts-related and non-arts work. To do so, we used two different measures to determine a persons survival constraint, an objective one, using one of the poverty norms of the CBS, and a subjective one, asking the respondents themselves whether they earned sufficient

income from respectively their work as a choreographer, their arts work, and their arts and arts-related work combined to meet their basic living expenses. Even though a substantially higher number of choreographers appeared to be able to meet their survival constraint according to the subjective norm compared to the objective norm, the conclusion remains similar: the majority of those who could earn sufficient income from their work as a choreographer, their arts and/or arts-related work, did other types of work despite this. As a second way of testing, the respondents were asked whether they would give up their arts-related and/or non-arts jobs if they were able to earn sufficient income from their other work. What they considered to be sufficient was left to their own interpretation this time. It turned out that the percentage of choreographers who would give up their other artistic, arts-related or non-arts work if they could earn sufficient income from respectively their choreographic, artistic and arts and arts-related work combined, increased exponentially from the former towards the latter. While only 2 of the 32 choreographers who did any other artistic work besides choreography would give up this kind of work, around one third would give up their arts-related work and two third would give up their non-arts work. This indicates that the work preference theory applies more to non-arts work than to arts-related work.

A third assumption is the preference for artistic work itself. The choreographers were asked to rank different types of work in order of the amount of personal satisfaction they derived from them. We concluded that the vast majority of the respondents clearly gained most personal satisfaction from their choreographic work (sometimes in equal rank with another type of work, most often dancing). Taking for each rank (most satisfying, second most satisfying, etc.) the answer most often given, we got the following order of types work: choreography, dancing, teaching, other artistic work, arts management, other arts-related work, non-arts work. This is in line with what might be expected.

Finally, we were interested in whether some sort of ‘treshold’ could be discerned, after which the choreographers’ work preference for choreography and other artistic work declined and other types of work became more attractive. To determine this, we asked them about their preferred time distribution over different types of work. From this, it can be concluded that most of the choreographers clearly prefer a mixed working practice. Only 8,3 percent wanted to spend all of their time on choreography and just 22,2 percent preferred to spend all of their working time on arts work. They would however on average have liked to spend 78 percent of their time on arts work, which is substantially more than they actually did. As many as 75 percent preferred to do some arts-related work, very few preferred to spend any time on non-arts work though. Apparently the psychic income derived from arts-related work is still sufficiently high to offset the often not (much) higher wages for this type of work. It is also possible though that the inclusion of arts-related work, particularly arts management, is influenced by a certain degree of ‘realism’. This is supported by the fact that many respondents indicated that such work was inextricably linked to their work as a choreographer.

From these analyses, it can be concluded that the work preference theory was not supported by the research results on some primary aspects. This is particularly true when arts-related work is

considered. A substantial part of the respondents earned equal or higher incomes from their arts work as they did from their other work. Also, the survival constraint is not an indicator of whether someone will do arts-related work. As far as non-arts work is concerned, the work-preference theory applies to the majority of those who did such work, though there are exceptions here too. Even though most of the choreographers have a clear preference for artistic work (and choreography in particular) and derive greater personal satisfaction from it than from other types of work, the vast majority prefers a mixed work practice in which different types of artistic and arts-related work are combined. Even though many would have preferred to spend more time on their arts work, they would only to a certain extent substitute time spent on arts-related work to do so. Overall, it can be concluded that the work preference theory alone cannot grasp the factors behind the choreographers' multiple jobholding behaviour. This leaves ample room for other factors in explaining their multiple jobholding.

4) *To what extent do other factors/explanations like hours constraint, risk diversification and role versatility play a role in determining artists' multiple jobholding behaviour? Is there a difference in motivations for holding multiple artistic jobs, doing arts-related work and doing non-arts work?*

Other possible explanations and theories were primarily tested by asking the respondents whether a number of predefined reasons had played a role in their decision to hold multiple artistic jobs, do arts-related work, and non-arts work respectively and to rank these in order of importance. The results generally supported what was concluded on the work preference theory: that financial considerations and unavailability of sufficient artistic work opportunities were a much more important factor of influence in their decision to do non-arts work, than was the case for arts-related work.

Multiple jobholding patterns in the sense of holding multiple artistic jobs and doing arts-related work are clearly the result of a complex interaction of factors. For artistic work, diversity was clearly the most important reason for holding multiple artistic jobs. The respondents enjoyed working in a variety of artistic occupations and, to a lesser extent for different employers. They also wanted to develop other abilities by doing so.

For arts-related work, complementarity to artistic work and enjoyment were clearly the most stated and as most important ranked reasons. The former applies particularly to arts management. Many respondents indicated that such work was inseparably connected to their work as choreographers. In this respect there may be a difference between those who had their own project-based company and those who worked as artistic directors for larger, structurally subsidised dance companies. Other aspects, like development of other abilities, networking opportunities, and enhancement of artistic reputation played a role for around a quarter to a third each, but with varying degrees of importance. All of this indicates that role versatility/complementarity plays an important role. The more traditional economic explanation of an hours constraint on the main job on the other hand, seemed hardly a

factor, at least not in the traditional textbook meaning of the term. This is not surprising considering that self-employment was the dominant form of employment for all types of work. Furthermore, other than might be expected, greater perceived security of arts-related work was a reason for doing such work for only around one fifth of those who did such work and was considered most important by none. This was supported by more ‘objective’ analyses. For example, it could be concluded that arts-related and non-arts work generally did not offer greater security in the sense that they were not more often performed under permanent or temporary employee contracts than artistic work. Also, those who did arts work only, did not more often work under permanent contracts than those who did not. This does however not mean that risk-diversification does not play a role, as its functioning can be much more intricate than our measurements allowed for. As Bridgstock (2005, p.40) has noticed, seeking security through enhancing ones employability may be a more successful strategy than looking for job security in the more traditional sense. It would require further, more qualitative research to find out.

Overall, it can be concluded that the choreographers’ labour supply decisions are (in many cases) determined by a complex interaction of factors. Multiple jobholding appears to be a fact of life for the majority of them and none of the theories can in itself explain the choices that were made in this respect. While we did find evidence that most choreographers derived most personal satisfaction from arts work, their preference for such work seemed by no means absolute. In particular, we did not find much evidence in support of the survival constraint concept, certainly not when an objective measure is used. It seems that artists, like everybody else, make a trade-off between monetary and non-monetary benefits when deciding how to employ their labour and that the latter, at least to some degree, can be found in other types of work besides pure arts work as well. That in this process artists seem to be driven by non-monetary rewards more than others may be, does not fundamentally change this. Portfolio choice considerations may play a (potentially) important role. This can take the form of risk diversification, role versatility/complementarity and other considerations like enjoyment of diversity in work environments and content. These are all part of the trade off. It would require further research to gain a greater insight into their relative importance and functioning.

6.3 Recommendations for further research

In light of these results, I would make the following recommendations for further research. First, the use of different definitions impedes the comparability of present research on artists’ labour markets and multiple jobholding, both with each other and with research of other occupations and the general workforce. The primary matter of definition is that of who is considered an artist (or a choreographer, dancer, etc.) and who is not. As the goals of many studies of artists will require different in- and exclusion criteria for determining the research population than those used by government censuses, it would be valuable to include information on what percentage of the population and/or respondents

fulfil the latter criteria and how this more narrowly defined population scores on key variables of the study.²⁹

Another definition matter, which is of great importance for studies of artists' multiple jobholding, is that of work categories or work types. Based on both the results of the literature review and the empirical research, I consider it important to come to clear, agreed upon and exclusively defined categories of work. A few points deserve attention in this process. First, it is important that these categories are not just relevant from a theoretical point of view, but artists should be able to recognise them and match them to their own work practice. Second, it should be possible to tailor them to specific research interests without reducing comparability. Conversely, such more specific or narrow categories should be constructed in such a way that they add up to these basic categories (currently arts, arts-related and non-arts work). Furthermore, there should be a clear distinction between work types and industry types. There seems to be a little confusion concerning this, both in the literature and amongst some of the respondents to my survey. Throsby and Zednik's (2011) suggestion of a fourth type of work, being creative work in non-arts sectors, in my view does not really offer a solution to this. If we add sector as a dimension of work categories, it might be wiser to alter the existing distinction between arts, arts-related and non-arts work altogether and instead classify work types based on two dimensions: the nature of the work (creative or not) and the sector in which it is performed (arts or non-arts). Hence, we would come to (at least) four categories: creative work in arts sectors, creative work in non-arts sectors, non-creative work in arts sectors, and non-creative work in non-arts sectors. As it is somewhat unclear how work like for example teaching arts would fit into these categories, additional categories may be required to fit this type of, currently classified as arts-related, work. To determine whether any of this makes sense requires further research though. The use of the concepts of different work types is based on both the assumption that market conditions are different for each of these work types, and that artists value these work types differently and hence their labour supply decisions come about differently for each of them. As far as the latter is concerned, it depends on the subjective valuation of work in arts vs. non-arts sectors by artists whether such a distinction is theoretically relevant. In my research however, this would still not have resolved the problem that different types of work can be part of one single job. It therefore seems wise to pay much more attention to actual jobs instead of just work types.

This leads us to a third recommendation. The results of the empirical research raise the question to what extent choreography can be as considered a distinct occupation in itself. It seems like, for most of its practitioners, it rather is a work type which is part of another, broader occupation. In

²⁹ Considering this recommendation, it may seem a bit odd to the reader that I did not do so myself. The reason for this is that, as we have seen, only 22 percent of the respondents met the CBS criterion of more than fifty percent of (paid) work time devoted to choreography. This would have left us with too few respondents to make sensible analyses. Furthermore, the results indicate that for many choreographers other types of (arts and arts-related) work are, together with choreography, part of one single job and hence choreography should rather be viewed as part of a broader profession. In that case, more of the respondents would fulfil the CBS criterion. Based on the available data, it is however not possible to determine to what extent this is the case.

this respect, I would support Bennett's (2009) call for more broadly defined occupations like 'dance artist'. Interestingly, this is exactly what one of the respondents called herself. A subject for future research would be to determine which types work should be part of such a broader definition of choreographer.

Finally, the research showed that, in most cases, no single theory could in itself explain the choreographers' multiple jobholding. Therefore, further research is required to determine the relative importance and interaction of different factors in determining artists' labour supply decisions and multiple jobholding. While the work preference theory lends itself well to quantitative testing, other theories like risk diversification and role versatility require more qualitative methods. In my research, the additional comments and stories many respondents made, in certain respects led to greater insight than the information the questionnaire strictly asked for.

6.4 Recommendations for policy

Ideally, scientific knowledge is not an end in itself, but should have some practical value too. A better insight into the characteristics of choreographers as a professional group, of their labour market position, and particularly the ways in which they are able to sustain their artistic careers, may help the government in developing better informed policy. In the years that have passed between the start and completion of this thesis, a thorough change in public support for the arts has been put into motion. The Dutch government has recently announced drastic cuts in its subsidies for the arts and culture. The aim is to save 125 million euro's on the yearly budget by the year 2015, which is about 26 percent of the current budget. As a consequence, so the Raad voor Cultuur estimates, "a couple of thousands of artists will be directly impacted in their ability to sustain a career" (Raad voor Cultuur, 2011, p.11). On top of this, the government had decided to abolish the Wet Werk en Inkomen Kunstenaars (WWIK) as of January 1st 2012 and raise the applicable value added tax rate (BTW) on arts consumption from 6 to 19 percent as of July 1st 2011.

In light of these developments, it should be expected that multiple jobholding will become even more important. Also, as employment in the structurally subsidised segment of the Dutch dance sector will decline, self-employment is likely to increase. I would therefore join Benz and Frey (2006) in their recommendation to reduce (bureaucratic) barriers to self-employment as much as possible. Similarly, any barriers (as far as any exist) to multiple jobholding should be reduced. On the other hand, the lack of social security constructions for self-employed is a major point of concern. In light of this, the Sociaal Economische Raad (SER) has recently advised a couple of reforms (SER, 2010). Finally, the research results suggest that many choreographers in the non-structurally subsidized segment have a need for support in the business part of their work practice. A stronger support structure in terms of for example joint production facilities and (business) staff could certainly add value here. In light of the intended budget cuts however, this is not likely to improve any time soon.

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Sources

Theatre production database on : www.tin.nl

Websites

www.cultuursubsidie.nl

Appendix A: Criteria for professionalism (TIN)

In order to be included in the TIN database, a theatre production needs to meet at least one of the following requirements³⁰:

1. It is produced by an organisation which is subsidized by the ‘Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen’ (OCW; Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences), including the ‘Fonds voor de Podiumkunsten’ (Performing Arts Fund).
2. The majority of the performers are graduates of a government approved performing arts school.
3. Theatre or dance performer is the primary occupation for the majority of the performers.
4. It has been performed publicly for at least twenty times within a period of three months.
5. It has been performed at more than two by OCW subsidized (theatre) festivals.
6. It is a graduation production of a government approved performing arts school.

³⁰ Source: e-mail TIN, received 04-01-2012.

Appendix B: Appendices chapter 3

Table B1: Percentage of artists who different types of work: overview of research published 2000-2010.

		All artists				Dancers/choreographers			Choreographers		Other artistic professions	
		Schreven & de Rijk (2011): NL	Throsby & Zednik (2010): AUS	Throsby & Hollister (2003): AUS	Alper & Wassall (2000): USA	Throsby & Zednik (2010): AUS	Throsby & Hollister (2003): AUS	Montgomery & Robinson (2003): USA	Shinkansen (2001): UK	Netzer & Parker (1993): USA	Von der Fuhr et al. (2010): actors (NL)	Bijkerk (2003): orchestra musicians (NL)
All work	Has only one job	84	n/a	37	86-93 ³¹	n/a	31	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	22,4
Arts work	Works in PAO only	n/a	12	15 ³²	n/a	6	16	n/a	15 ³³	n/a	17 ³⁴	n/a ³⁵
	Does arts work only	n/a	n/a ³⁶	n/a*	n/a	n/a*	n/a*	n/a	79 ³⁷	n/a	n/a	n/a
Arts-related work	Does any arts-related work	n/a	43*	43*	n/a	58*	43*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	Does any other work related to PAO	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	50	46,8
Arts & arts-related work combined	Does PAO and/or PAO-related work only	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	39	n/a	15	n/a	n/a
	Does arts and/or arts-related work only	n/a	55	59	n/a	64	59	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Non-arts work	Does any non-arts work	n/a	45	42 ³⁸	n/a	36	41 ³⁹	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	Does any work not related to choreography	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	80	n/a	n/a
	Does any work not related to PAO	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	61	n/a	80	33	23,7

³¹ Highest and lowest figure for the period 1970-1997.

³² There are inconsistencies in the published data: 15 percent of artists and 16 percent of dancers/choreographers are able to spend all of their working time on their PAO (Throsby & Hollister, 2003, p.100). However, 32 percent of artists and 31 percent of dancers/choreographers are reported to hold only one job, which is in their PAO (ibid., p.38 and 99).

³³ Percentage who work as a choreographer only.

³⁴ Work as an actor, though this may not necessarily be their PAO.

³⁵ Percentage above is of artists with one job in their PAO only. 66 percent of the respondents had one or more other jobs as a performing musician as well. It can however not be computed from the published data how many did work in their PAO only.

³⁶ *=Data on other arts work should be available, but are not published in the research report. Figure for arts-related work therefore includes other artistic work (non-PAO).

³⁷ It is not clear whether this figure includes art-related work or not. The term 'other arts work' is used. (Categories are not defined.)

³⁸ There are inconsistencies in the published data: 59 percent of all artists are reported to spend 100 percent of their working time on either arts or arts-related work or both combined (Throsby & Hollister, 2003, p.101). It follows that the other 41 percent of artists also spent time on non-arts work. However, at page 38, it is stated that 'only' 32 percent of artists do non-arts work (ibid., p.38).

³⁹ Ibid.

Appendix C: Questionnaire version 2005

All questions are about your situation in 2005

Background/personal characteristics

1. Gender:

- Female
 Male

2. Year of birth: _____

3. Nationality: _____

4. Living situation in 2005:

- Single, no dependent children
 Single, with dependent children
 Married/living with partner, no dependent children
 Married/living with partner, with dependent children

5. In which country did you live during most of 2005? _____

Education and experience

6. Have you completed any formal education in arts?

- No (continue with question 9)
 Yes

7. What was the level of this education?

- MBO
 HBO/University, bachelor degree
 HBO/University, master degree
 Other: _____

8. For which profession were you formally educated?

- Choreographer
 Dancer
 Dance teacher
 Other: _____

9. What was the highest level of other (non-arts) education you have completed?
- Elementary school
 High school
 MBO
 HBO/University, bachelor degree
 HBO/University, master degree
 Other: _____
10. In what year did you first work as a professional choreographer? _____
11. In what year did you first work as a professional dancer? (if applicable) _____
12. In what year did you end your career as a dancer? (if applicable) _____

Work and income

13. What do you consider to be your primary occupation?
- Choreographer
 Dancer
 Dance teacher
 Other: _____
14. How many weeks did you work in 2005? (if possible, please distinguish between paid and unpaid work)
Paid: _____ Unpaid: _____
15. How many weeks would you have *preferred* to work in 2005? _____
16. How many hours did you work per week (on average) in 2005? (if possible, please distinguish between paid and unpaid work)
Paid: _____ Unpaid: _____
17. How many hours per week would you have *preferred* to work in 2005? _____
18. What was your total *gross* income in 2005? (estimate) € _____
19. Did you receive a form of social security benefit in 2005?
- No (continue with question 21)
 WW (unemployment benefit)
 WIK
 Bijstand
 Other: _____
20. During how many weeks did you receive this benefit? _____

In the following questions a distinction is made between artistic work, arts-related work and non-arts work. With artistic work we mean all 'creative' labour that is directly related to the production of a work of art. Examples of this kind of work are dancing, choreographing, acting, etc. Arts-related work concerns all other labour within the arts sector, which is not directly related to producing a work of art.

Examples of such work are teaching and management positions in arts organisations. Finally, non-arts work concerns all labour outside the arts, for which no artistic skills are needed.

21. Can you estimate what percentage of your total working time (paid and unpaid) you spent on the following types of work, what percentage of your working time you would have preferred to spend on them and what percentage of your income you earned from each of these types of work in 2005? (please make sure the column percentages add up to 100%!)

	Actual percentage of working time	Preferred percentage of working time	Actual percentage of income
Choreographing			
Dancing			
Other artistic work:			
Teaching dance			
Arts management			
Other arts-related work:			
Non-arts work:			
Non-labour income	X	X	
<u>Total</u>	100	100	100

22. Under which number and type of contract(s) did you do the following types of work in 2005?

	Employee, temporary contract	Employee, permanent contract	Self-employed (free-lance)	Volunteer	Other:
Choreographing					
Dancing					
Other artistic work					
Arts-related work					
Non-arts work					

23. How many works did you produce as a professional choreographer in 2005? _____

24. In which country(s) other than the Netherlands did you work in 2005? (work for a foreign employer)

25. How many weeks did you work outside the Netherlands in 2005? _____

26. What kind(s) of work did you do there?

- Choreographing
- Dancing
- Other artistic work
- Arts-related work
- Non-arts work

Motivations/opinions

27. If you had more than one artistic job in 2005, what was the reason for this? (multiple answers possible)

- 1. Inability to work as many hours per week as I would like to on my main job
- 2. My artistic jobs were under temporary contracts
- 3. To increase my income
- 4. I enjoy working in a diversity of artistic occupations
- 5. I enjoy working for different employers
- 6. It enhances my reputation as an artist
- 7. Development of other abilities
- 8. Other: _____

Can you rank the reasons you have selected above in order of importance? (starting with the most important reason)

28. If you did any arts-related work in 2005, what was the reason for this? (multiple answers possible)

- 1. Inability to work as many hours per week as I would like to on my main job
- 2. Insufficient availability of artistic work opportunities
- 3. Insufficient income from my artistic work to make a living
- 4. My arts-related work offers me greater security than my artistic work (for example: a stable income, insurance)
- 5. The networking opportunities the job offers me
- 6. It complements my work as an artist

- 7. It enhances my reputation as an artist
- 8. Development of other abilities
- 9. Because I enjoy my arts-related work
- 10. Other: _____

Can you rank the reasons you have selected above in order of importance? (starting with the most important reason)

29. If you did any non-arts work in 2005, what was the reason for this? (multiple answers possible)

- 1. Inability to work as many hours per week as I would like to on my main job
- 2. Insufficient availability of artistic and/or arts-related work opportunities
- 3. Insufficient income from my artistic work to make a living
- 4. My non-arts work offers me greater security than my artistic and/or arts-related work (for example: a stable income, insurance)
- 5. The networking opportunities the job offers me
- 6. It complements my work as an artist
- 7. It enhances my reputation as an artist
- 8. Development of other abilities
- 9. Because I enjoy my non-arts work
- 10. Other: _____

Can you rank the reasons you have selected above in order of importance? (starting with the most important reason)

30. Can you arrange the following types of work in order of the amount of personal satisfaction they give you? (1=most satisfying, 7=least satisfying, etc.)

- Choreographing: _____
- Dancing: _____
- Other artistic work: _____
- Teaching dance: _____

- Arts management: _____
- Other arts related work: _____
- Non-arts work: _____

31. Do you agree with the following statements?

- I can earn sufficient income from my work as a choreographer to meet my basic living expenses
 yes no no opinion
- I can earn sufficient income from my artistic work to meet my basic living expenses
 yes no no opinion
- I can earn sufficient income from my artistic and arts-related work combined to meet my basic living expenses
 yes no no opinion
- I could earn a higher income if I did not work as an artist
 yes no no opinion
- If I could earn sufficient income from my work as a choreographer, I would not do any other artistic work anymore
 yes no no opinion
- If I could earn sufficient income from my artistic work, I would not do arts-related work anymore
 yes no no opinion
- If I could earn sufficient income from my artistic and/or arts-related work combined, I would not do non-arts work any more
 yes no no opinion
- Teaching is an essential part of my work as an artist
 yes no no opinion
- Holding multiple jobs better enables me to reach my artistic goals
 yes no no opinion

32. If you would like to receive a summary of the research results, please fill in your name and (email) address here (if you would like to remain anonymous, you can also send me an e-mail):

Name: _____
 Address: _____

33. Would you like to add anything?

End of questionnaire. Thank you very much for your help!

Appendix D: Questionnaire version 2010

All questions are about your situation in 2010.

Background/personal characteristics

1. Gender:
 Female
 Male
2. Year of birth: _____
3. Nationality: _____
4. Living situation in 2010:
 Single, no dependent children
 Single, with dependent children
 Married/living with partner, no dependent children
 Married/living with partner, with dependent children
5. In which country did you live during most of 2010? _____

Education and experience

6. Have you completed any additional formal education in arts after the year 2005?
 No
 Yes, MBO level: _____
 Yes, HBO/University, bachelor degree: _____
 Yes, HBO/University, master degree: _____
 Yes, other: _____
7. Did you complete any additional non-arts education after the year 2005 and what was the level of this?
 No
 Yes, MBO level: _____
 Yes, HBO/University, bachelor degree: _____
 Yes, HBO/University, master degree: _____
 Yes, other: _____

Work and income

8. What do you consider to be your primary occupation?
 Choreographer
 Dancer
 Dance teacher
 Other: _____

9. How many weeks did you work in 2010? (if possible, please distinguish between paid and unpaid work)
Paid: _____ Unpaid: _____
10. How many weeks would you have *preferred* to work in 2010? _____
11. How many hours did you work per week (on average) in 2010? (if possible, please distinguish between paid and unpaid work)
Paid: _____ Unpaid: _____
12. How many hours per week would you have *preferred* to work in 2010? _____
13. What was your total *gross* income in 2010? (estimate) € _____
14. Did you receive a form of social security benefit in 2010?
- No (continue with question 16)
- WW (unemployment benefit)
- WWIK
- Bijstand
- Other: _____
15. During how many weeks did you receive this benefit? _____

In the following questions a distinction is made between artistic work, arts-related work and non-arts work. With artistic work we mean all ‘creative’ labour that is directly related to the production of a work of art. Examples of this kind of work are dancing, choreographing, acting, etc. Arts-related work concerns all other labour within the arts sector, which is not directly related to producing a work of art. Examples of such work are teaching and management positions in arts organisations. Finally, non-arts work concerns all labour outside the arts, for which no artistic skills are needed.

16. How many works did you produce as a professional choreographer in 2010? _____
17. Under which number and type of contract(s) did you do the following types of work in 2010? (For example: 2 contracts as a freelance choreographer and 1 permanent contract as a dance teacher.)

	Employee, temporary contract	Employee, permanent contract	Self- employed (free-lance)	Volunteer	Other:
Choreographing					
Dancing					
Other artistic work					
Arts-related work					
Non-arts work					

18. Can you estimate what percentage of your total working time (paid and unpaid) you spent on the following types of work, what percentage of your working time you would have preferred to spend on them and what percentage of your income you earned from each of these types of work in 2010? (Please make sure the column percentages add up to 100%!)

	Actual percentage of working time	Preferred percentage of working time	Actual percentage of income
Choreographing			
Dancing			
Other artistic work:			
Teaching dance			
Arts management			
Other arts-related work:			
Non-arts work:			
Non-labour income	X	X	
<u>Total</u>	100	100	100

Motivations/opinions

19. If you had more than one artistic job in 2010, what was the reason for this? (multiple answers possible)

- 1. Inability to work as many hours per week as I would like to on my main job
- 2. My artistic jobs were under temporary contracts
- 3. To increase my income
- 4. I enjoy working in a diversity of artistic occupations
- 5. I enjoy working for different employers
- 6. It enhances my reputation as an artist
- 7. Development of other abilities
- 8. Other: _____

Can you rank the reasons you have selected above in order of importance? (starting with the most important reason)

20. If you did any arts-related work in 2010, what was the reason for this? (multiple answers possible)

- 1. Inability to work as many hours per week as I would like to on my main job
- 2. Insufficient availability of artistic work opportunities
- 3. Insufficient income from my artistic work to make a living

- 4. My arts-related work offers me greater security than my artistic work (for example: a stable income, insurance)
 - 5. The networking opportunities the job offers me
 - 6. It complements my work as an artist
 - 7. It enhances my reputation as an artist
 - 8. Development of other abilities
 - 9. Because I enjoy my arts-related work
 - 10. Other: _____
-
-

Can you rank the reasons you have selected above in order of importance? (starting with the most important reason)

21. If you did any non-arts work in 2010, what was the reason for this? (multiple answers possible)

- 1. Inability to work as many hours per week as I would like to on my main job
 - 2. Insufficient availability of artistic and/or arts-related work opportunities
 - 3. Insufficient income from my artistic work to make a living
 - 4. My non-arts work offers me greater security than my artistic and/or arts-related work (for example: a stable income, insurance)
 - 5. The networking opportunities the job offers me
 - 6. It complements my work as an artist
 - 7. It enhances my reputation as an artist
 - 8. Development of other abilities
 - 9. Because I enjoy my non-arts work
 - 10. Other: _____
-
-

Can you rank the reasons you have selected above in order of importance? (starting with the most important reason)

22. If you did not work as a choreographer in 2010, what was/were the reason(s) for this?

- Insufficient availability of work opportunities as a choreographer.
 - Changed / other artistic interests.
 - Financial considerations.
 - I have chosen to move on into a different occupation.
 - I retired.
 - Other: _____
-
-

23. Do you agree with the following statements?

- I can earn sufficient income from my work as a choreographer to meet my basic living expenses
 - yes
 - no
 - no opinion

- I can earn sufficient income from my artistic work to meet my basic living expenses
 yes no no opinion
- I can earn sufficient income from my artistic and arts-related work combined to meet my basic living expenses
 yes no no opinion
- I could earn a higher income if I did not work as an artist
 yes no no opinion
- If I could earn sufficient income from my work as a choreographer, I would not do any other artistic work anymore
 yes no no opinion
- If I could earn sufficient income from my artistic work, I would not do arts-related work anymore
 yes no no opinion
- If I could earn sufficient income from my artistic and/or arts-related work combined, I would not do non-arts work any more
 yes no no opinion
- Teaching is an essential part of my work as an artist
 yes no no opinion
- Holding multiple jobs better enables me to reach my artistic goals.
 yes no no opinion

24. Can you arrange the following types of work in order of the amount of personal satisfaction they give you? (1=most satisfying, 7=least satisfying, etc.)

- Choreographing: _____
- Dancing: _____
- Other artistic work: _____
- Teaching dance: _____
- Arts management: _____
- Other arts related work: _____
- Non-arts work: _____

25. Would you like to add anything?

End of questionnaire. Thank you very much for your help!

If you would like to receive a summary of the research results, please fill in your name and (email) address here (if you would like to remain anonymous, you can also send me a separate e-mail):

Name: _____

E-mail: _____

Appendix E: Appendices chapter 5

E1: Poverty norms

Table E1: *Gross and net monthly household poverty norms (euro's)*⁴⁰

	Net monthly household income (euro's)	Gros monthly household income (euro's)
Single person household	870	1.032
Couple with no children	1.190	1.537
Couple with 2 children	1.640	2.432
Single parent with 2 children	1.310	1.776

E2: Relative importance of different reasons in choreographers' multiple jobholding

Table E2.1: *Reasons for having more than one artistic job in 2005*⁴¹

	A reason (%)	Most important reason (%)	Second most important reason (%)
Enjoyment of working in a variety of artistic occupations	71,9	21,9	18,8
Artistic jobs were under temporary contracts	62,5	21,9	6,3
To increase income	59,4	6,3	21,9
Development of other abilities	53,1	9,4	12,5
It enhances reputation as an artist	43,8	0	0
Enjoyment of working for different employers	40,6	0	0
Inability to work desired hours per week on main job	28,1	12,5	3,1
Other	6,3	6,3	0
No answer	12,5	21,9	25

⁴⁰ Source: CBS (2007, p.22). The poverty norms used by the CBS are net household incomes. Because the questionnaire for this research asked about gross income, the CBS norms have been converted to gross income using the gross-net converter on Loonwijzer.nl: <http://www.loonwijzer.nl/home/salarischeck/brutonetto> .

⁴¹ In the questionnaire, respondents were asked for their reasons for having more than one artistic job. For reasons explained before, it is not possible to calculate the actual number of jobs. In the table, percentages are therefore of those who did any artistic work other than choreography only.

Table E2.2: *Reasons for doing arts-related work in 2005*⁴²

	A reason (%)	Most important reason (%)	Second most important reason (%)
It complements work as an artist	63,2	13,2	18,4
Enjoyment of arts-related work	42,1	15,8	10,5
Insufficient income from artistic work to make a living	42,1	7,9	10,5
Development of other abilities	34,2	5,3	7,9
Other	26,3	13,2	5,3
Insufficient availability of artistic work opportunities	23,7	13,2	2,6
The networking opportunities the job(s) offer(s)	23,7	2,6	0
Arts-related work offers greater security than arts work	21,1	0	7,9
It enhances the reputation as an artist	18,4	0	2,6
Inability to work desired hours per week on main job	15,8	7,9	2,6
No answer	0	21,1	31,6

Table E2.3: *Reasons for doing non-arts work in 2005*⁴³

	A reason (%)	Most important reason (%)	Second most important reason (%)
Insufficient income from artistic and/or arts-related work to make a living	83,3	50	16,7
Inability to work desired hours per week on main job	33,3	33,3	0
Enjoyment of non-arts work	33,3	16,7	0
Insufficient availability of artistic and/or arts-related work opportunities	33,3	0	16,7
Development of other abilities	33,3	0	16,7
Non-arts work offers greater security than arts work	16,7	0	16,7
It complements work as an artist	16,7	0	0
The networking opportunities the job(s) offer(s)	0	0	0
It enhances the reputation as an artist	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0
No answer	0	0	33,3

⁴² Percentages are of those who actually did arts-related work.

⁴³ Percentages are of those who actually did non-arts work.

E3: Survival constraint

Table E3.1: *Cross tabulation of percentage of working time spent on arts work and arts income higher than poverty norm*

			Arts income higher than minimum income norm?			Total
			un-known	no	yes	
Percentage of working time spent on arts work	Unknown	Count	3	0	0	3
		% within Arts income higher than minimum income norm?	17,6%	,0%	,0%	6,7%
	100	Count	0	1	2	3
		% within Arts income higher than minimum income norm?	,0%	5,0%	25,0%	6,7%
	less than 100	Count	14	19	6	39
		% within Arts income higher than minimum income norm?	82,4%	95,0%	75,0%	86,7%
Total		Count	17	20	8	45
		% within Arts income higher than minimum income norm?	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table E3.2: *Cross tabulation of time spent on non-arts work and arts-related income combined higher than minimum income norm*

			Arts & arts-related income higher than minimum income norm?			Total	
			un-known	no	yes		
Percentage of working time spent on arts and/or arts-related work combined	Unknown	Count	3	0	0	3	
		% within Arts and arts-related income higher than minimum income norm?	17,6%	,0%	,0%	6,7%	
	100	Count	14	13	9	36	
		% within Arts and arts-related income higher than minimum income norm?	82,4%	76,5%	81,8%	80,0%	
	Less than 100	Count	0	4	2	6	
		% within Arts and arts-related income higher than minimum income norm?	,0%	23,5%	18,2%	13,3%	
	Total		Count	17	17	11	45
			% within Arts and arts-related income higher than minimum income norm?	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table E3.3: *Cross tabulation of percentage of working time spent on choreography and ability to meet basic living expenses with income from choreography*

			I can earn sufficient income from my work as a choreographer to meet my basic living expenses			Total
			no	no opinion	yes	
Percentage of working time spent on choreography	Unknown	Count	0	0	3	3
		% within I can earn sufficient income from my work as a choreographer to meet my basic living expenses	,0%	,0%	20,0%	6,7%
	less than 100	Count	29	1	11	41
		% within I can earn sufficient income from my work as a choreographer to meet my basic living expenses	100,0%	100,0%	73,3%	91,1%
	100	Count	0	0	1	1
		% within I can earn sufficient income from my work as a choreographer to meet my basic living expenses	,0%	,0%	6,7%	2,2%
Total		Count	29	1	15	45
		% within I can earn sufficient income from my work as a choreographer to meet my basic living expenses	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%