



Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication

Master Arts, Culture and Society

Supervisor: PhD. L. Braden

Master Thesis

Sociological and Economic Insights from the Performing Arts:

Towards the Construction of Valuation of Professional

Dancers in a Changing Dance Art World Climate



Written by: *Dorottya Kiss* - Student number: 336548 - Email: contact@dekiss.info

Datum: 12.06.2015

Word count: 33707 (Excluding abstract, table of content and references)

Source Photo: www.dekissmoves.com, 2015

“Nowadays people know the price of everything and the value of nothing”

-Oscar Wilde -The Picture of Dorian Gray (1890, pg 53).

Abstract

The thesis aims to present a framework for understanding the valuation of performing artists and more specifically professional dancers. To answer the question how the (artistic and financial) valuation is constructed within the Dutch dance art world, a selection of mainly sociological, and (cultural) economic theories are discussed, in combination with empirical insights in the field. To shed light on the underlying aspects/criteria of the valuation process of professional dancers within the Dutch (dance) art world, the opinion of an interconnected thread of players within the field is taken into consideration: The research bases its results on 20 structured online interviews (including 79 both close-, and open-ended questions) with dance artists (9), intermediaries/gatekeepers (7) and audience members (4). The valuation of an inherently unquantifiable performing arts work and the dance artist, who embodies the art, is a cumbersome task. It is not a recent phenomenon that (dance) artists and the (dancing) profession, is both from an artistic and financial perspective ‘not valued according to its worth’. In addition, -besides historically embedded conventions-, recent (cultural-,) and socio-economic developments, and changes within the dance sector, present new ‘classification systems’ (DiMaggio, 1982,1987; Janssen, 2005) for the (dance) art(s). The researcher concludes that the value of dancers is seemingly ‘lost in society’. The aspects/criteria and valuation processes need to be reinterpreted, and attention must be given to the ‘undervalued’ nature of these performing artists, if – while aiming for a long-term sustainable sector, Dutch society wishes to ‘keep (the evolution of professional) dance(rs) alive’.

Keywords: Valuation; Performing Artists; Dutch Art World, Professional Dancers, Construction of Value; Artistic Value, Financial Value, Genre Division, High art, Popular art, ‘Dehierarchisation’

Table of Content

Abstract and Keywords	3
Table of Content	4
1. An Introduction to the Research	6
2. Theoretical Framework	9
2.1. Introduction	9
2.2. The Context	10
2.2.1. <i>The Different Perspectives of ‘Griswold’s Modified Cultural Diamond’</i>	10
2.2.2. <i>‘Becker’s Art World’</i>	11
2.2.3. <i>‘The Romantic Myth’ and ‘Becker’s Four Type of Artists’</i>	13
2.3. A Framework for Defining and Valuating the Contemporary Professional (Dance) Artist	16
2.3.1. <i>‘Behind Genre Division’: Institutionalization and the Aspect of Education</i>	17
2.3.2. <i>The Artistic Labor Market and Complaints from the Field</i>	20
2.3.3. <i>Reputation, Success and Visibility: ‘The Wow Effect’</i>	25
2.3.4. <i>An Artwork itself: The Dancer</i>	27
2.3.5. <i>The Aspect of Demographics</i>	28
2.4. Valuation of Professional Dancers: Complexity Dominates	31
2.4.1. <i>Blurring Boundaries</i>	31
2.4.2. <i>The Role of Intermediaries/ Gatekeepers in the Valuation Process</i>	32
2.4.3. <i>The Role of Audiences in the Valuation Process</i>	34
2.4.4. <i>Conclusion: A Multidimensional and Multilayered Valuation Process</i>	36
3. Data and Methods	40
3.1. Research Question and Sub Questions	40
3.2. Research Design	40
3.2.1. <i>Population, Sample and Research Units</i>	40
3.2.2. <i>Research Method and Reason of Choice</i>	41
3.3. Research Method	45
3.3.1. <i>Conceptualization and Operationalization of Theoretical Concepts</i>	45
3.3.2. <i>Data Collection</i>	46
3.3.3. <i>The Analysis</i>	54
4. Results	58

4.1. Identifying the Interviewees	58
4.2. Defining and Valuing Professional Dancers	64
4.2.1. <i>Defining Professional Dancers</i>	64
4.2.2. <i>The Valuation of Professional Dancers</i>	70
4.2.3. <i>Highlighted Aspects/Criteria of the Valuation Process</i>	79
5. Conclusion	95
5.1. Findings and Discussion.....	95
5.2. Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research	100
6. References	103

Appendices

Due to its extensive nature, please find the appendices attached as a separate document.

1. An Introduction to the Research

In times of economic crisis, when cultural budgets are being cut, cultural organizations but also individual artists are being confronted with many challenges. On the one hand, as the cultural budgets decrease, especially subsidized (performing) artists often need to find new ways of realizing their art. On the other hand, developments of the past decades present new contexts and a different classification system for the arts. Here we can think of: the increasingly diminishing boundaries between (dance) genres¹, the i.e. social mobility-led changing taste of audiences², the (debatable) ‘power’ of intermediaries and gatekeepers³, and the emergence of television programs in search of the ‘best’ and the ‘biggest’ talent for instance.

The here-mentioned developments, can present valid reasons to research the (sociological/artistic and economic) valuation (e.g. perception, appreciation and expectations) of (performing) artists that may also be affected by a changing climate within the ‘art world’ (Becker, 2008). Consequently, this thesis will focus on the theoretical question: How does the Dutch art world value performing artist? The following empirical question will serve as a guideline for this research, namely: How do people who participate in the Dutch dance art world (e.g. producers, intermediaries and consumers) value professional dance artists, working in the Netherlands (in 2015)?

Realizing that valuation can have many dimensions, the most relevant for this thesis is the construction of the valuation. With this said, further sub questions arise: (1) How do people who participate in the Dutch art world define on the one hand professional dancers and on the other hand, the valuation of these professional artists? (2) What are the important aspects/criteria for valuing professional dancers? (3) What are the implications of the artistic (including sociological) and economic valuation of (the perception, appreciation of and the expectations from) dance professionals? (4) What are the consequences of this valuation process for the individual dance professionals?

Valuation studies⁴ with regard to the arts are mostly focusing on the (sociological and economic) valuation of art (works), arts and culture in general or often, on cultural

¹ Janssen, 2005; Royseng, Mangset and Borgen, 2007; Shrum, 1991

² Janssen, 2005; Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Van Eijck, 1999

³ Alexander, 2003; Arora and Vermeylen, 2013; Becker, 2008; Ginsbrug, 2003; Shrum, 1991

⁴ inter alia in Alexander, 2003; Arora and Vermeylen, 2013; Berghman and Van Eijck, 2012; Collingwood, 2011 [1945], Csikszentmihalyi and Robinson, 1990; DiMaggio, 1986; Frey, 2003;

policy, the tangible creations or stretch towards aesthetic evaluations. The examination of artistic careers and reputation and artists labor market studies⁵ represent only another, yet again a one-sided examination.

According to the researcher's knowledge, on the valuation of artists and more specifically on professional dancers, there hasn't been any research conducted yet within the Netherlands. This thesis aims to enrich the academic literature and aims to contribute to valuation studies with regard to (performing) artists (i.e. professional dancers) within the Dutch dance art world. Findings about the construction of valuation of professional dancers can not only add to the perception of the definition of the present day (performing) artist, but also can have practical implications that can make (performing) artists in general -and more specifically professional dancers-, more aware of their current challenges and opportunities.

These findings might be also relevant for future cultural policy measures, dealing with individual (performing) artists (including thus professional dancers) and with (cultural) organizations working with (e.g. employing or on hiring freelance-based) performing artists/dancers. In turn, this research has implications on how performing artists such as dancers, function within the Dutch art world (and thus realize their 'artistic-, and economic' values (Klamer, 2012; 2014; Klamer et al., 2011; Hutter and Throsby; Throsby, 2001)), and how this affects the valuation of these artists, which has again implications on the present-day definition of (performing) artist (i.e. professional dancers).

After the introduction, in Chapter 2, 'Griswold's modified cultural diamond' (Alexander, 2003) and Becker's theory of the 'art world' (2008) will serve as a context for the research. In order to establish a framework for the valuation process of professional dancers, the (fuzzy) concept of the (performing dance) artist will be discussed from both a sociological and economic perspective. Further on this matter, the inclusion of intermediaries' and audiences' role in the valuation process from both a sociological and economic perspective will be justified. In addition, throughout the whole theoretical part, recent developments within the (Dutch performing dance) art world will serve for contemporary (theoretical and empirical) embedding, including

Ginsburgh, 2003; Goodman, 2011 [1978]; Heilbrun and Grey, 2007; Hutter and Throsby, 2008; Klamer, 2014a; Throsby, 2001, 2010; Towse, 2008, 2010; Schaengold, 1995; Smith, 1990

⁵ inter alia in Alexander, 2003; Arora and Vermeulen, 2013; Berghman and Van Eijck, 2012; Collingwood, 2011 [1945], Csikszentmihalyi and Robinson, 1990; DiMaggio, 1986; Frey, 2003; Goodman, 2011 [1978]; Heilbrun and Grey, 2007; Hutter and Throsby, 2008; Klamer, 2014a; Throsby, 2001, 2010; Towse, 2008, 2010; Schaengold, 1995; Smith, 1990

insights from the field. An elaboration on the complex dimensions of valuation will follow this as a conclusion of the theoretical framework.

In Chapter 3 the research data collection of the qualitative method will be introduced, followed by Chapter 4, the results of the 20 online structured interviews that were collected from professionals dancers, related professionals, agents/impresarios, critics and audiences within the Netherlands in 2015. Finally, Chapter 5 will elaborate on the findings and will reflect on the limitations of this thesis while recommending future academic research.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Introduction

The concept ‘performing arts’ suggests that the artwork itself is performed and thus the artist and the work are closely if not inseparably connected. ‘Griswold’s modified cultural diamond’ and Becker’s concept of the ‘art world’ with its ‘conventions’ present a theoretical framework that argues the interrelatedness of the production, distribution and consumption of ‘art works’ within society (Alexander, 2003; Becker, 2008). Therefore the involvement of (dance art) ‘producers’ (artists and related workers), ‘distributors’ (intermediaries/gatekeepers) and ‘consumers’ (audiences), is crucial to the context of this research. Consequently the artistic and financial valuation of an artwork (e.g. the performing artist) within the Dutch society is closely related to the individual artist and the above-mentioned interconnected processes and players through which ‘the art work’, and thus the (performing) artist, is perceived.

Furthermore, several historically-embedded and emerging sociological and (cultural) economic developments can pose a framework of interrelated aspects that influence the valuation of professional dancers (within the Dutch art world). Concepts such as ‘the romantic artist’, multiple job holding, the i.a. economic budget cut led changing labor market (e.g. emergence of ‘cultural entrepreneurship’), the complex notion of ‘value/valuation’, high, and low culture, the ‘dehierarchization’ (Janssen, 2005) of genres, the emergence of a ‘cultural omnivore’ audience (e.g. Van Eijck, 1999), and other aspects such as the demographic features of professional dancers are thus crucial to discuss.

In addition, to enhance empirical embeddedness of the qualitative research, relevant and recent factual developments are presented. The growing amount of, and debatable importance of television dance programs/talent shows, qualitative input from online (social media, blogs and magazines), and the researcher’s 18 years of involvement within the Dutch dance sector, serve as a contribution to the theoretical discussion. Realizing that the writer’s professional involvement in the dance industry can present both advantages and limitations, consciously-developed measures were undertaken in order to preserve an objective attitude and to enhance the validity and also the reliability of the research (Baarda et al., 2007, 2009; Creswell, 2014; Hart, 2005). These measures will be explained throughout the following chapters, starting with an objective theoretical context and followed by the legitimization of the qualitative research method (in Chapter 3).

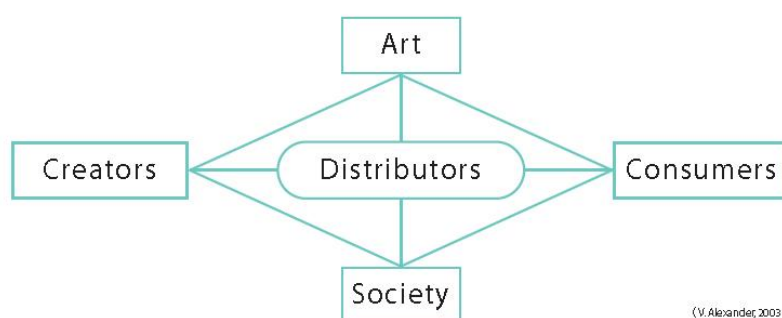
2.2. The Context

2.2.1. The Different Perspectives of 'Griswold's Modified Cultural Diamond'

The idea of the 'cultural diamond' that represents the interconnection of four points namely; the creators of art, the art work, consumer and the wider society, is developed by sociologist Wendy Griswold (Alexander, 2003). All four points have strong relationship with each other and Griswold argues, "to understand art and society, researchers must take into account of all four corners and all six links in the diamond" (Alexander, 2003, p. 61). The cultural diamond is not a theory, but merely a visual representation of the interrelated character of artists, their work and audiences and the society as a whole.

However, Alexander (2003) suggests that, while Griswold's idea is an essential contribution to the sociology of art, it does have a flaw. It is simplistic, and disregards one extremely important point, namely; that art needs to be distributed and brought to the audience (Alexander, 2003). "Art is communication" and therefore the connective (and often filtering) function of the distributors cannot be ignored and should be included in the diamond (Alexander, 2003, 62). Distributors can be seen as gatekeepers (Becker, 2008), who can (to a certain extent) control what kind of art gets to the audiences and will be known by society.

Figure 2.2.1: 'The Modified 'Cultural Diamond''



Source: Alexander (2003, p. 62).

The "cultural diamond suggests that links between art and society can never be direct, as they are mediated by the creators of art on the one hand, and the receivers of it on the other" (Alexander, 2003, p. 62). In relation to the theme of this research -e.g. How (i.e., based on which aspects and criteria) are professional dancers being valued within

the Dutch art world?-, the ‘cultural diamond’ implies an approach from more perspectives. Becker similarly highlights the different angles of the interrelated function of ‘producers’ (dance artists and related workers), ‘distributors’ (intermediaries/ gatekeepers), and ‘consumers’ (audiences). Therefore, the scholar’s theory of the ‘art world’ and its ‘conventions’ (Becker, 2008) is the subject of the following section.

2.2.2. ‘Becker’s Art World’

“Art worlds consist of all people whose activities are necessary to the production of the characteristic works, which that world, and perhaps others as well, define as art” (Becker, 2008, p. 334). Becker does not merely include and emphasize the artists’ and their ‘support personnel’s’ collaboration in the production of the artwork (e.g. from conceiving the idea to producing it), he also includes other participants such as intermediaries/gatekeepers (impresarios, agents and critics) and thus the distributors (of the ‘cultural diamond’), and even the importance of audiences in his analysis of the ‘art world’ (Alexander, 2003; Becker, 2008).

Without these players, art would simply not be transmitted and thus perceived as art. The “filtering effects” of the “distribution system” (Alexander, 2003, p. 62), the importance of the ‘co-producers’ e.g. ‘support personnel’ that ‘co-creates’ the (dance) art work, and the audiences who consume and thus perceive the (dance) artist (Becker, 2008) should all be considered when the sociological and even economic context, and thus the artistic and financial valuation of artists and their work is examined.

Becker (2008) emphasizes the importance of ‘division of labor’ according to which the artist is neither a lonely soul- referring to the ‘romantic myth’ of the ‘genius artist’ (Alexander, 2003; Roysend, Mangset and Borgen, 2007) creating art by him/herself, nor is the artist the only contributor of the artwork. There is a clear definition of conceptual thinking about the production and the existence of art works within a specific network of people and information flow that include or even exclude participants (e.g. by critics determining the reputation of an artist that affects the audiences participation and thus appreciation of art; art versus ‘not art’) (Becker, 2008).

Becker’s theory suggests a concept in which the accent is on the cooperative (yet due to its human nature, changing) network of individuals (whether creator, co-

producer, distributor or even the audiences) with (often historically-embedded) yet not rigid patterns of information flow (i.e. referring to the hereunder mentioned 'conventions' (Becker, 2008).

The production side of art, the 'core personnel' -the (dance) artists- and the 'support personnel' –other contributors who 'co-produce' the art in order to reach its audience (including related professionals such as a light technician or a production or PR manager) are all highly relevant when considering the creation and even the consumption and distribution of (dance) artworks (Alexander, 2003; Becker, 2008). Consumption is mentioned here not merely referring to the audiences who are viewers (layman), but (as section 2.4.3 will also argue) audiences can also be peers/colleagues (artists) and distributors. Consequently, with regard to the production and distribution of the artwork, it is argued that “(a)ll artistic work, like all human activity, involves the joint activity of a number, often a large number, of people. Through their cooperation, the artwork we eventually see or hear comes to be and continues to be” (Becker, 2008, p. 1).

While discussing the important participants within art worlds, Becker (2008) also refers to a “body of conventional understandings embodied in common practice and in frequently used artifacts” (p. 34). There are 'patterns' and in their accumulative presence they create the 'conventions' that the scholar talks about. Becker suggests that these patterns take “us out of the realm of gestalt psychology and into the operations of art worlds and social worlds generally, for it is a question about the distribution of knowledge, and that is a fact of social organization” (2008, p. 41).

Thus in order to organize the 'collective activity' of the previously mentioned “established network of cooperative links among participants” (p. 34,35), all art worlds use conventions (Becker, 2008, p. 42). These can be based on “lengthy tradition of formalization” (Becker, 2008, p. 49) but conventions can also be innovative changes yet all these patterns need to be embedded but at least understood if not accepted through socialized members of the particular art world.

Consequently, based on the theories of 'art world' and on the division of all participants within this sphere (Alexander, 2003; Becker, 2008), it can be stated that conventions shape what (the Dutch dance) art world and its participants consider 'dance art'. Becker's theory (2008) contributes to the understanding of the context through which the valuation of professional dancers can be understood and researched. This context is formed by the Dutch dance art world with its interrelated network of

e.g. dancers and related ‘co-producers’, choreographers, directors, agents, impresarios, funding bodies and audiences (to name a few). Depending on their function, these ‘players’ are creating, distributing and/or consuming dance, based on the conventions of the dance sector they act within and while doing so, together they form a net of valuation.

“Conventions create meaning” (Alexander, 2003, p.73) that are inherently connected to a historically-embedded hierarchy of dance genres, and their aspects and criteria, through which not only a dance ‘art world’ can define ‘what is art’ and ‘who is an artist’, but also ‘what is good art’ and ‘who is a good artist’. Conventions are the “rules of the game” (Alexander, 2003, p. 73) and thus contribute to the construction of valuation of dance artists within the dance art world (Becker, 2008). However, the search for the construction of valuation of professional dancers implies that first, the concept of (‘conventional’ performing dance) artists and current ‘trends’ (in part 2.3.) with regard to the (dance) artistic profession need to be introduced. This context is crucial if one aims to understand ‘who’ is being valued, ‘how’ and ‘why’, and by ‘whom’ the valuation takes place.

2.2.3. ‘The Romantic Myth’ and ‘Becker’s Four Type of Artists’

According to Becker (2008) many people are involved in the artistic process, and while artists in his theory lose their exceptional central role (contradicting the romantic myth discussed here-under) their importance is noted and highly relevant in western societies, “because it has been socially constructed as a privileged and special one” (Alexander, 2003, p. 132). Becker argues that the ‘art world’ is a creative agent that has the power to make or break an artist, leaving the possessed talent or learned skills less influential. In this way both Becker and Bourdieu ‘agree’ on the statement that the artists are embedded in historically-created social, cultural (and economic) processes wherein the ‘art world’ (Becker, 2008) or ‘field of cultural production’ (Bourdieu, 1993) determines who can be considered as an artist, who will become acknowledged as a member of the field, and who will be disregarded and ignored.

The appreciation, perception of artists and their position within society changed overtime. From the romantic vision of artists being the individualistic ‘genius’ (Alexander, 2003) till nowadays, the concept of artists has gone through many changes. “The romantic vision of the artist suggests that artists have not mere skills, but an insight and genius that must be treasured by society” (Alexander, 2003, p. 142).

Standing at the margin of society being often poor, artists were seen as extreme individuals with a flamboyant and bohemian attitude that is a consequence of their 'heightened vision'; an attitude that society tolerates in exchange for their great art that emerges due to their individualistic and often outrageous lifestyle and behavior (Alexander, 2003; Roysend, Mangset and Borgen, 2007).

The starving romantic artist with an 'inborn talent' -creating art with passion yet in a "disinterested manner" and merely for art's sake (Royseng et al., 2007)- sees through the "deeper issues in society" and thus cannot live according to the expected regular norms (Alexander, 2003, p.142). Living a life as an artist and creating *l'art pour l'art* (art for art's sake) may not attract monetary reimbursements, which within the charismatic myth of the artists, is a noble state where art is seen as a higher calling than the economic pursuits (Roysend et al., 2007). Whether artists consciously choose this lifestyle or it just 'happens to them', their highly creative mind doesn't allow them to live according to societies norms and thus, for example, to get a stable job, settle down and have a family (Adler, J., 1979; Alexander, 2003).

The denial of the market economy is a typical characteristic of the charismatic myth, where artists should create pure art due to aesthetic incentives. The consequences of commercial interest might result in artistic devaluation, which no artist wishes for and can afford (Abbing, 2002; Bourdieu, 1993; Royseng et al., 2007). The romantic ideology or 'romantic myth' with regard to artists is a historically-constructed concept involving different market systems for the distribution of art and several historically-embedded philosophies concerning the nature of art (Alexander, 2003).

Further on towards a theoretical demarcation of the (performing) artists: Becker distinguishes between four types of artists, namely the (1) integrated professionals, (2) mavericks, (3) folk artists and (4) naïve artists. The first two types are the most relevant to this thesis' definition of professional dancers, as these two groupings are considered the professional artists from Becker's point of view. "Integrated professionals have the technical abilities, social skills" and "they know, understand, and habitually use the conventions in which their world runs, they fit easily into all its standard activities" (Becker, 2008, p. 229).

In contrast to the well-respected and known integrated professionals, who produce recognizable and understandable (standard) artistic work, 'mavericks' are

innovators. They -after being part of the conventional art world of their time- refuse to accept its limitations and create art that violates these conventions and challenges the accepted norms and values of the art world (Becker, 2008). For this same reason “(m)avericks have difficulties realizing their works, or (...) getting them to audience and critics” (Becker, 2008, p. 235).

Thus ‘mavericks’, possess similar rebellious characteristics as the romantic artist. “They may for instance, create their own organizations to replace those which will not work with them” (Becker, 2008, p. 235). Nevertheless, ‘mavericks’-in contrast to the ‘romantic artists’- are innovative ‘self motivators’, as they have no choice in order to survive. They are entrepreneurial, which again refers to the relation of artists and the current day concept of cultural entrepreneur, including dance artists working multiple jobs both within and outside the dance sector and the non- and for-profit circuits.

Consequently, whether we consider Becker’s typifying artists or the ‘romantic myth’, these somewhat rigid definitions cannot be plausible nowadays. Many factors are challenging these theoretical perceptions of the artist that are i.a. related to “changes in the field of artistic production” (p, 1). ‘Dedifferentiation’ or ‘deinstitutionalization’ results in the fading border between art for art’s sake and artistic works (i.e. the institutional production), and the cultural industries and their surroundings (Royseng et al., 2007). Scholars argue, that the concept of the artist is depending on a broader social and cultural context (as Becker, 2008 and Bourdieu, 1993 also suggested) and is thus constantly changing.

In line with the arguments of this thesis for the need to (re)examine the concept and valuation of artists, scholars suggest (Becker, 2008; Bourdieu, 1993; Royseng et al., 2007) that due to the constant social, cultural and economic changes, the notion should be constantly reinterpreted and reconstructed while treating it as a discourse rather than a rigid theory. Yet, with regard to the denial of the market economy as a typical characteristic of the charismatic myth (Abbing, 2002; Bourdieu, 1993; Royseng et al., 2007), the tension between commercial and non-commercial art is still relevant for today’s (performing/dance) artists, for example when considering genre divisions and artistic careers (i.a. the subjects of the following section).

2.3. A Framework for Defining and Valuating the Contemporary Professional (Dance) Artist

As the previous theoretical framework on artists can merely function as a framework, further explanation need to be found, based on which contemporary (professional dance) artists can be defined upon. As a starting point Jeffri and Greenblatt (1989) identify artists based on three points.

Table 2.3: Jeffri and Greenblatt’s Three Definitions of ‘Artist’

<p>Marketplace</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The person makes his/her living as an artist.• The person receives some income from his/her work as an artist.• The person intends to make his/her living as an artist. <p>Education & Affiliation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The person belongs to an artists’ union.• The person has been formally educated in the arts. <p>Self & Peer</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The person is recognized by his/her peers as an artist.• The person considers him/herself to be an artist.• The person spends a substantial amount of time creating art.• The person has a special talent.• The person has an inner drive to make art.
--

Source: Jeffri and Greenblatt (1989, p. 10)

However, genre hierarchy –as this paper argues- is a context through which all of the aspects mentioned in Table 2.3 might be valued. The difference between high and low/popular culture and thus (dance) arts genres continued to live and dominate throughout centuries and even till today (Alexander, 2003). This in turn might have important implications for the definition and, with this said, the valuation aspects of professional dancers with regard to education, labor market, reputation/visibility and demographic characteristics for instance.

2.3.1. 'Behind Genre Division': Institutionalization and the Aspect of Education

According to Alexander (2003), “(a) useful way of comprehending art objects” and thus also artists who are related to the creation of the art objects “is to study a group of objects” and individuals “that share some structural aspects and draw on the same set of conventions; these groupings are commonly seen as a genre of art” (p, 194).

There are several genres with several sub-genres and sub-subgenres. Here we can think of: ballet (e.g. classical ballet, contemporary ballet with sub-subgenres), modern/contemporary (Graham, Horton, Limon etc. techniques), jazz dance (e.g. ‘Bob Fosse style’, street-jazz, modern-jazz) show/musical dance, urban (for example break dance, popping, locking, new style and old-school hip-hop, house, waacking etc.). Not to mention other genres with their own subdivisions such as ballroom and Latin, folk, swing/lindy hop, tap dance, etc.

Dance is popular all over the world. People enjoy expressing themselves through movement. The word "dance" conjures up different images for different people. Over the years, dance has evolved into several distinct forms. Different styles of dance are distinguished by many things such as shoes, music, and costumes. Dance seems to be a lot like ice cream flavors...it's so hard to choose just one. (<http://dance.about.com>, 2015)

It is simply impossible (or better said not feasible) to define all genres with all their sub-genres and sub-subgenres in relation to the type of dancers. To indicate how complex the genre division is, an overview of dance genres and their sub-genres and sub-subgenres can be found in Appendix A. The list does not make any valuable distinctions between genre and all subdivisions that sometimes cannot even be compared to each other, notwithstanding the fact that they belong within the same genre. This thesis focuses on both subsidized and not subsidized dance genres and their professionals. As by ignoring the commercial or the non-commercial side, the concept professional dancers wouldn't be legitimate and complete in a contemporary society.

The division between ‘high and, low culture’ is highly discussed both in the scholarly field and within the (dance) practice (Alexander, 2003), and is an essential part of the definition and, with this said, the valuation aspects of professional dancers. The notions of high- and lowbrow, and high and low and/or popular art that are associated with these genres are historically (and thus socially) embedded. While the

terms indicate a description of taste, the division between ‘high- and lowbrow’ stems from a ‘nineteenth-century idea of phrenology, which promulgated the theory that people’s cognitive capacities were indicated by the shape of their skulls’ (Alexander, 2003, p. 228).

In addition a well-known scholar, Bourdieu (1984) presented his ‘theory of distinction’ through which he argued that not only do different social classes differ in their ‘economic capital’ (e.g. rich versus poor), but also in their taste with regard to culture for example, which accumulates and result in different levels of ‘cultural capital’ and thus the consumption (and taste for) different artistic outings (Bourdieu, 1984). Taste is ‘power’ and, with this said, the different preferences of high, middle and low classes were often seen as an alienation and distinction of the elite from the ‘masses’ (Adorno, 2001; Adorno and Horkheimer, 1997; Alexander, 2003; Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio, 1982, 1987; Peterson and Simkus in Lamont and Fournier, 1992; Murdock, 2010).

In terms of dance, classical ballet is the ‘highest’ dance genre within the dance art that is connected to “the consumption of elites from the 16th century in the Italian and French courts” (Kortvelyes, 1999, p. 106). Until the 20th century ballet was the only acknowledged dance technique performed on stage (for the elites) (Kortvelyes, 1999) also within the Netherlands (Van Schaik, 1981). From the early 20th century, modern dance came to matter as a course-changing rebellious genre with several subgenres that were gradually (not without a struggle) acknowledged while becoming institutionalized (i.e. taught also in dance academies that got established and acknowledged by the elites) (Kortvelyes, 1999).

P. Heus-Cunninghamme (1785–1837) and M.G. Zelle (1876-1917) (also known as Mata Hari) are stipulated to be the forerunners of Dutch theater dance who were influenced by inter alia Duncan (U.S.), Dalcroze (Switzerland) and Jooss (Germany) (Van Schaik, 1981). Current day western societies, including the Netherlands, acknowledge both ballet and modern genres (including their subgenres) as a sophisticated, institutionalized high dance art form that is often subsidized (even if it is in a diminishing level due to the budget cuts).

Other American dance genre influences such as jazz (in the Netherlands from the early 1950s (Douma-Alta and Rensman, 2006)) and urban for example (in the Netherlands from the 1980s/1990s (Feliksdal, 2009)), have a distinct history from being an ‘outcast’ to becoming popular and even institutionalized and thus taught at

accredited dance academies (in the Netherlands at both the lower *mbo* level and higher *hbo* level of Dutch dance education: ROC *mbo* Dans Amsterdam, Zutphen and Haarlem, and *hbo* Amsterdam School of the Arts, Fonty's Dance Academy in Tilburg and ARTEZ in Arnhem). Despite its underrepresentation within western societies, African dance for example also appeared in current education models, within the available dance courses at specific academies (see above). Yet, it is still questionable whether the institutionalization of these techniques results in more 'respect', appreciation and also more consumption of the elites while turning hip-hop to 'high-hop'.

Institutionalization of dance shifts the focus towards dance education. With regard to this aspect also noted in Table 2.3, the genre of education might matter. Whether a dancer is trained within the acknowledged education system of ballet or modern, or trained in urban or jazz (within or/and outside the accredited system) might have an affect on his/her valuation in the work field.

In this sense the level of dance education might also matter. Whether 'education' includes only academic –accredited– institutions (e.g. dance art academies acknowledged by the government) can also be argued, as autodidacts (for example self-taught urban dancers with a non-academic background) are also considered being present within the Dutch dance (theater and/or commercial) world.

In addition, if we look at the fact that not all acknowledged dance academy educated dancers (for example due to a high competition) work as professionals within the field, the aspect of education can no longer be considered a clear-cut condition, neither for the definition nor the valuation of dance professionals. However, to its historically-embedded 'status giving' nature the aspect of education should not be neglected when considering all possible aspects/criteria for the qualitative research.

Further on this matter, the 'education and affiliation' dimension of Jeffri and Greenblatt (1989) should be separated with regard to Dutch dance artists. Considering dancers from all genres, belonging to a union, as Jeffri and Greenblatt suggests (1989), is less typical for the Dutch dance scene and is more characteristic of the American artists' world, for example. Even if we consider the concept 'union' more as an agency, not all artists belong to an agency/impresario or union, yet they do consider themselves -or are considered by others- to be professionals within the Dutch dance labor market.

2.3.2. The Artistic Labor Market and Complaints from the Field

Artistic careers and labor markets are typically characterized by inter alia uncertainty and high-risk taking (Abbing, 2002, Menger, 1999, Towse, 2008, 2010). Due to inter alia a tremendous number of artists and thus, in economic terms due to an oversupply, artists face great competition. In this sense, supply (the amount of artists looking for a job or wanting to ‘make it’) far exceeds demand (the number of companies and other organizations working with artists, and the number of audiences that are interested in viewing and paying for the art works). This competitive nature makes artistic careers also highly uncertain (Abbing, 2002; Menger, 1999).

Dancing may be one of the most competitive professions available career wise. The lack of job opportunities and the competitiveness, the inherent expense in costumes and training and the high risk of injuries mean that only few dancers are able to make it their profession. (Montgomery and Robinson, 2003 in Borowiecki and Marvao, 2005, p. 2).

Montgomery and Robinson (2003) analyze the “earnings and work conditions of dancers, where it is shown that the returns to dance are small and that many dancers have a second job to increase their incomes. The shortage of jobs and low incomes of dancers and the lack of funding available to dance companies, as well as their dependence on the state of the economy have been also discussed by Janaki (2001), Hagoort (2003) and Tobias (2004)” (Montgomery and Robinson, 2003 in Borowiecki and Marvao, 2005, p. 2).

Further on this matter, there are no guarantees for employment, not to even mention steady employment. Short-term and project-based contracts are the most typical type of employment within the artistic fields. Even big organizations such as theatres, operas, conservatories, orchestras and national ballet companies for example, hire artists increasingly based on a short-term basis (Menger, 1999).

In general “(m)ean annual earnings appear to be less than those in occupational groups that require similar levels of professional training and qualification” (Menger, 1999, p. 553). There are three ways how artists try to balance this uncertainty, namely: by taking other jobs (the multiple job holding characteristic of artist), by relying on the financial support of family and friends and by applying for grants and subsidies for instance (Abbing, 2002; Menger, 1999). Whether they work within the arts (teaching

dance besides creating and/or performing art) or outside the arts (as a waiter as the archetypical story of the ‘wannabe’ actor indicates), artist often cannot survive without additional income (Abbing, 2002; Alexander, 2003). The oversupply of artists and thus the “(d)isequilibrium seems to be a sort of permanent situation” that makes an artistic career even more uncertain, risky and thus challenging (Menger, 1999, p. 566).

In addition the (effects of) economic recession has emphasized a ‘dedifferentiation’ and the ‘deinstitutionalization’ (Royseng et al., 2007), which consequently brings change within the artistic field and particularly to the artists: The increasing importance of inter alia artists in (urban/ economic) development clearly accentuate the decreasing borders between (the institutionalized) ‘pure art’ (Royseng et al., 2007) and the commercial world.

Despite the growing acknowledgement of the economic impact of creativity and artists (European Commission, 2012; Florida, 2002; Landry, 2006, 2009; Throsby, 2010; Scott, 2006), the uncertainty within the artistic field gets even more intense if we consider performing artists’ e.g. professional dancers’ position within Dutch society for instance. The situation is characterized by decreasing subsidy for non-commercial dance art, increasing short-term jobs, higher unemployment rate, low wages in general, and increasing competition (for lower budget and thus fewer jobs available) (e.g. <http://www.fnv-kiem.nl>, 2015).

However, as Royseng et al. (2007) also indicates, there is a commercial side of art. In line with this, there is a general acknowledgment of the ‘fact’ that while high art (dance) genres (for example ballet and modern) cannot survive without subsidies and grants, the commercial and thus ‘popular’ genres can survive within a free-market economy as enough financial reimbursement is given for commercial works (Heilbrun and Grey, 2007; Towse, 2008; 2010).

Subsidy cuts seem to be ‘chasing’ many dancers to look for other type of work rather than within (subsidized) theaters/companies. If not finding jobs outside the dance sector (referring i.a. to the multiple job holding characteristic of artists) (Abbing, 2002; Menger, 1999; Towse, 2010), what is left is the commercial dance scene. The hope is to get paid more, as the name ‘commercial’ also indicates, suggesting that the reimbursement for the actual executed job (dance performance) doesn’t entail any gap between creation, production and execution costs and the income. Yet, the visible lengthy discussions on social media suggest otherwise. For a selection of social media

remarks/posts see Appendix B/1. In addition, Lisa Kaplan, blogger and freelance *dancing professional* (sounds indeed more serious than ‘just a dancer’), does not only write reviews, but handles dancers’ careers almost on a weekly base. She states: “Anyone with even a minute as a dance professional in the field knows that it is difficult to get (enough) work. Grants are scarce, competition is killing and there are only a few paid jobs available” (<http://www.dancetalk.nl/category/carriere/>, 2015).

It is suggested that not only dancers within the subsidized dance sphere struggle with their income but also that dancers within the commercial dance scene are highly undervalued financially. There seems to be an issue with regard to clients wanting to ‘hire’ the dancer for free or based on very low, often unacceptable remuneration. The ‘free work attitude’ seemingly stems from a belief ‘that visibility adds to the promotion of the dancers/company’, which should be more than enough reimbursement for the efforts of all dancers (time and costs of rehearsal, travel, artistic creation and costumes for example) (See Appendix B/1).

The issue also (if not often) involves clients with enough financial coverage from the for-profit sector. This poses a rather sensitive issue as to ‘why’ this assumption is so widely accepted among clients who are willing to ‘hire’ dancers and dance companies for their events without paying them. Two sarcastic yet highly relevant Facebook posts have circulated in the past one to two years among performing artists. It might not be ‘science proof’, but it is unfortunately a persistent general theme among performing artists to be dealing with this type of issues.

We are a small & casual restaurant in downtown Vancouver and we are looking for solo musicians to play in our restaurant to promote their work and sell their CD. This is not a daily job, but only for special events which will eventually turn into a nightly event if we get positive response. More Jazz, Rock, & smooth type music, around the world and mixed cultural music. Are you interested to promote your work? Please reply back ASAP.

Reply:

Happy New Year! I am a musician with a big house looking for a restaurateur to promote their restaurant and come to my house to make dinner for my friends and I. This is not a daily job, but only for special events which will eventually turn into a nightly event if we get positive response. More fine dining & exotic meals and mixed Ethnic Fusion cuisine. Are you interested to promote your restaurant? Please reply back ASAP.

Source: ‘Wall post’ www.facebook.nl (2015).

Hiring A Dancer ?

OR ASKING THEM TO PERFORM AT YOUR EVENT ?

What you think you're paying for:

- Someone to do a little dance routine

What you are actually paying for:

- Someone to do a dance routine, plus:
- Equipment
- Hours of rehearsal time.
- Rehearsal space.
- Transportation to and from the venue.
- The amount of money spent on lessons and training to become the Dancer that they are.
- Promotion and website costs.
- The percentages that goes to income taxes.
- Telephone and Internet bills spent organizing the performance and its rehearsals.
- Any manager, agent, or other booking fees.
- Insurance.

Not to mention...

- The payment also has to cover food, housing, bills, and all other living expenses

Still think that offering "exposure" and experience is a fair price?

You wouldn't expect a plumber, carpenter, hairdresser, doctor, dentist, optician, electrician, chef, mechanic, dressmaker or shop owner to work for free, would you?

SHARE THIS WITH EVERYONE AND GET THE MESSAGE ACROSS

Source: 'Wall post' www.facebook.nl (2015). [Note, spelling mistake: 'telephone'.]

The discussion continues online, as even dancers debate on where the actual responsibility might lie. The financial undervaluation of dancers is a reflection of a valuation process through which people determine that dancers are not worth a certain price. Whether artistic valuation and thus the determination of the quality of the dancers plays a role cannot be stated (see section 2.3.3 on 'Reputation, Success and Visibility'). Social media discussions among dancers suggested that the responsibility is not necessarily of the clients but of the dancers. As not wanting, daring and willing to ask an acceptable price and willing to work for 'no money', only strengthens the biased perception of clients and will only add to the depreciation of dancers in general.

Yet there are many dancers especially at the beginning of their careers (but also later) who are inclined to tackle things sometimes quite unhandy with regard to business and on an emotional and health level. From working for free to taking

rejections too personally, saying too less ‘no’ and eating the wrong things...(Lisa Kaplan, <http://www.dancetalk.nl/category/carriere/>, 2015).

The issue seems to be however a viscous circle. Choosing to not accept a non-paid job has another consequence noted in a social media discussion online. ‘If you don’t ‘take it’ others will do’ and thus the viscous circle continues, unless all dancers will set the same or at least similar financial standards. Yet that is very challenging especially if we consider the ‘higher’ financial appreciation of ‘fame’ e.g. ‘well-known’ TV stars (see Appendix B/1.) The here-mentioned insights in the field are just an example of the issues of financial undervaluation even within the commercial dance sector. This way the ‘romantic myth’ of the poor artist is perhaps in some distorted way still present within and/or outside the dance sector. It might become a ‘fashion’ that is, if not already, a socially- and historically-embedded perception of the dancers and their work that is a consequence of a complex valuation process.

However, as a conclusion, it can be stated that in order to survive this uncertainty, current day (dance) artists need to possess multiple skills (both artistic and non- artistic) as they realize that “success increasingly requires meta-competencies such as broad creative skills, commercial acumen, and the ability to work across multiple media platforms” (Lingo and Tepper, 2013, p. 336). Consequently, the current day (dance) artist cannot anymore be typified and thus valued based upon the ‘romantic myth’ of socially-unengaged, poor artist who is merely focusing on his/her (dance) art. While building a strong social network, which became a prerequisite to survive, they rather need to become the ‘mavericks’ (Becker, 2008). Contemporary artists need to be innovators/entrepreneurs while trying to adapt and still fit in the perhaps renewed ‘conventions’ of the integrated professional field.

(A)rtists need to be masters of navigating across historically disparate domains, for example, specialization and generalist skills, autonomy and social engagement, the economy periphery and the core, precarious employment and self-directed entrepreneurialism, and large metro centers and regional art markets (Lingo and Tepper, 2013, p. 337).

2.3.3. Reputation, Success and Visibility: 'The Wow Effect with Twisted Values'

According to Alexander (2003), nobody exactly knows how many artists are out there exactly (especially if we consider that arts education today might no longer be a barrier for being considered as an artist) and how many give up, before even being able to show their works to an audience. Only a few 'make it'. Success is in this sense precarious as one might even have success one day and the other day lose the attention due to the emersion of another artists or as a consequence of the shifting taste of the audience (Adler, M, 2006; Alexander, 2003; Menger, 1999).

Success is often associated with reputation that refers to the work of an artist and to the extent to which he or she is known; "Reputation is based on judgments made by art worlds or the wider social world" (Alexander, 2003, p. 145). In close relation to this, and generally speaking, the power of the media on its audience is nowadays widely discussed and debated (e.g. Croteau, Hoynes and Milan, 2012). "We live in a society that is saturated by media" (Croteau et al., 2012, p. xv). With regard to broadcast media, within the Dutch dance sector and worldwide (including non-western countries), there are a growing number of television dance programs/talent shows: *So You Think You Can Dance*, *Everybody Dance Now*, *Dance, Dance, Dance* and other talent shows that also include dancers and dance 'crews' and companies such as *Holland's Got Talent* for example. These talent programs give the dancer(s) a 'chance' to win a competition (*note from the researcher: based on the jury- debatable experts' -, and the viewers' - also debatable experts' - vote*).

On the one hand it is certainly a positive change of attention towards the dance art in general. This way millions of people -including individuals who have never before visited a dance performance for example- can be introduced to different genres from urban to modern and even classical ballet to pole dancing. The emergence of television talent shows made the non-academic, popular techniques and dancers probably even more popular. In case of the high arts, the introduction of ballet and modern dance genres on national broadcast might result in the mass audience's knowledge and perhaps even appreciation for instance, and while doing so making the 'high art also popular'. However, the attention that is given to dance genres on TV are quite shallow. These programs need *kijkcijfers* (Dutch term meaning the number of television viewers), and thus the shows are indeed 'showing off' and dramatizing anything that they can, with regard to the dramatic background of the dancer or company for example. The viewers' attention needs to be triggered and 'dance by

itself' might not be sufficient to achieve this. Furthermore, the dance acts for example in *So You Think You Can Dance* –despite the genre that needs to be performed- have a high commercial/show characteristic. The 'mass' is thus overloaded with tricks (saltos, acrobatics for example) that have a 'wow effect' in combination with debatably good, yet virtuoso camerawork [*Note: researcher has first-hand experience from participating in two such talent shows*]. This influences the layman for example to perceive dance and better said 'good dance' as having all these 'wow effects'. When visiting the theater for example more introvert and perhaps less extrovert dance might thus not be understood easily and might not be highly appreciated, -as there is no 'wow effect' in it to loudly cheer for (as they do on TV whenever a big jump, twist, turn, spectacular lift or flick flak is being performed). The (young) audience might perceive a ballet or modern dancer as less interesting and less 'cool' than a break-dancer with acrobatic skills with a 'show'.

Here we arrived at an important implication and consequence of the television appearance of a professional dancer. It can be debated that due to the commercial 'show' the reputation of the dancer might be damaged by 'twisted values'. (Not to mention the dramatized storyline within the TV show that might make or break a dancer's reputation). Nor is there a clear correlation of the quality that the dancer can offer while sharing his/her skills. Yet, disregarding the genre relatedness, after appearing on television, a dancer's career can flourish (also the reason why many dancers choose this road). The increase of fans and thus attention generated by the television shows, the social media attention, the dancers dramatic presence and of course his/her talent and skills, result in a 'fame' that many dancers but also their agents/impresarios can profit from. Literally 'profit from', as –even if the 'artistic value' is debatable- a dancer's financial value might rise due to the overflow of demand for the dancer's cooperation (whether it is in relation to giving a workshop or working within a dance 'crew' or company).

However, success and stardom are not in direct correlation with talent, and neither is reputation, which only adds to the uncertainty of an artistic (dance) career (Alexander, 2003; Becker, 2008). Intermediaries/gatekeepers and even audiences contribute to an artist's reputation/success. Nevertheless, before their influence will be discussed, the following part will turn its focus first towards the dancer as an individual. Not only are demographic aspects of genres often embedded in the

historical and social context, the dance artwork is embodied by an artist, who's valuation -as this thesis will argue- is just as crucial as the valuation of his/her artwork.

2.3.4. An Artwork itself: The Dancer

According to Collingwood the "individualistic theory of artistic creation" is misconceived (2011 [1945], p. 292). Whether willingly or unwillingly a professional dancer's work, 'is a work of collaboration' (Collingwood, 2011 [1945], p. 292). There are two sides how this can be interpreted. On the one hand, this theory is in line with the theory of Becker's 'art world' wherein the artist is seen as the core creative individual who cannot execute/realize his/her art without the co-creation/production of other 'supportive' individuals (e.g. related professionals such as a production manager or light designer; the distributors such as an impresario or agent for example) (2008).

On the other hand, a dancer performs to his/her audience and not only is the public thus relevant to the valuation process of a professional dancer but also the viewers of the dance can be regarded as 1) 'understanders' and 2) collaborators (Collingwood, 2011 [1945]). Despite the fact that the 'understander' is never sure whether the "imaginative experience (...) (is) identical with that of the artist" (Collingwood, 2011 [1945], p. 288), the audience becomes a 'collaborator' while the artist who shares his "private emotions, irrespectively of whether anyone else feels them or not" (Collingwood, 2011 [1945], p. 289) is perceived within the specific time and space.

Collingwood (2011 [1945]) aims to answer the question 'What is art?' and, while doing so, he regards expressing emotions as a central aspect of artistic aesthetic activity. 'I feel' becomes 'we feel' performance converts into a 'public labor' and thus collaboration between the dancer and his/her audience (Collingwood, 2011 [1945]). In line with Collingwood's theory, the dancer who performs is the art in itself at that moment, as the audience perceives it.

This theory is a valid justification for the underlying thought behind the fact why this research considers the dance artwork and its valuation identical with the valuation of the professional dancer who embodies the dance art. In this sense this research considers the artwork as a synonym for the professional dancer. This justifies again the reason why -besides, education, skills and creativity for example- a dancer's emotional expression and demographic characteristic might matter in valuating his/her (performance/ work).

2.3.5. The Aspect of Demographics

The dancer embodies literally everything that he/she is valued upon. Not only the individual's dance artwork comes to matter, but this way gender, ethnicity/race and age might also play a role in how professional dancers are valued. There isn't any accessible research available within the Netherlands on the number of dancers and their demographic characteristics. However, while observing the (dance) art sector, there seem to be patterns that -in line with Alexander's (2003) and Becker's (2008) arguments- are connected to historically-embedded and socially-constructed stereotypes that simultaneously can also be seen as embedded conventions of the (Dutch) dance art world.

With regard to genre, historian Linda Nochlin argued that "until quite recently, a number of structural constraints made it difficult for women to receive the early training they needed to excel in art" (Alexander, 2003, p. 140). Menger (1999) notes that there is a shift towards a higher proportion of female artists within the labor markets. But does this mean that with regard to the concept of artists, a male artist is seen as more legitimate perhaps than a female artist?

In ballet, "(m)en traditionally danced the leading roles, as women were considered too weak to perform the challenging and sometimes daring choreography. Female dancers didn't take the stage until years later" (<http://dance.about.com/od/typesofdance/p/Ballet.htm>, 2015). However, nowadays there is a surplus of (white) female dancers in particularly within ballet for instance. Gender issues might also play a role in the (uneven) funding of dancers (Van Dyke in Sherlock, 1996a), however there is no valid proof of this within the Netherlands (yet).

With regard to other genres, and in close relation to gender, the aspect of race, ethnic background and color of skin is also of essence here. In Urban dance –and especially in earlier years (60s, 70s in the U.S. and 80s and 90s in the Netherlands) when the Urban dance styles began to emerge, 'white females' were not a dominating group developing and exercising these techniques; urban was 'colored' (Cheng, 2005, 2007; Hazzerd-Donald, 2004). In contrary to Ballet within western societies including The Netherlands, where till current days Afro-Americans for example –and even Asian ethnicities are seen minorities. Ballet seems to be until current days, dominated by white (female) artists, whereas ethnic minorities are underrepresented.

However if we consider African and the fusion of African-Contemporary (which is also present within the offering of the Dutch dance sector (e.g.

<http://www.amsterdamdancecentre.nl>, 2015 www.chassedancestudios.nl, 2015),

‘whites’ seem to be underrepresented. It is well known that in western societies, whites dominated the art scenes, but artists with color also entered the labor market and have achieved substantial success among whites (Alexander, 2003). Yet, several studies indeed show that colored artists still face discrimination and that they are still considered minorities if we consider the art world (Alexander, 2003).

‘Visuals’ are ‘celebrated’ (Thomas, 2003) in the ballet world, as without having a skinny body and the typical appearance of a ballet dancer (see Appendix B/2 for a selection of stereotypical ‘visuals’), an individual, wouldn’t be accepted in the ‘world of ballet’. To indicate the ‘visuals’ with extreme demographic examples that are in the empirics relevant and present stereotypes of two genres: ballet is ‘white’, ‘thin’, ‘dominantly female’, ‘elegant’ ‘sophisticated’ and ‘chic’; and urban is ‘colored’, ‘muscular’ (male), ‘curvy’ (female), ‘dominantly male’, ‘massive’, ‘cool’ and ‘fierce’.

It is called physical capital because the look and way of moving offers exchange value in the marketplace. A body shape that lends itself to the prevailing dance aesthetic is as important as the physical skill developed in training as the highly rigorous and structured selection processes of physical suitability in dance schools' shows (Sherlock, 1996b, 526).

However, the body is aging. Alexander notes that in general western societies, aging artists are equally valued as young artists consequently; ageism is a component of many art worlds’ (p, 142). Yet an aging professional dancer cannot perform the same technical skills, simply due to limitations that are presented in an aging body. “There comes a point, however, when artistic capital can no longer supplement the deterioration in the dancer’s physical prowess” (Turner and Wainwright, 2006, p. 247). Despite the fact that Turner and Wainwright are considering classical ballet dancers, aging can be an obstacle for all body (types) within all dance genres.

The body’s vulnerability is increasing by age (Turner and Wainwright, 2003). “With ageing, aches and pains gradually become more common. There is also an increased chance of injury” (Turner and Wainwright, 2006, p. 247). It is thus not surprising that according to Greskovic (2000) a ballet dancer’s performing career is over by early middle age. It is debatable whether other dancers’ career (e.g

contemporary, modern, urban, African, jazz, folk, ballroom etc.) would be over so early. However if we consider a break-dancer who is –perhaps completely differently than a ballet dancer- also very demanding (acrobatics etc.) with his body (male dominant scene for the same reason), an early middle age career ending or switch might thus be a valid observation.

Therefore the valuation of professional dancers might thus also be connected to the age of the individual, not to even mention the stereotypical image of the ‘young dancer’. These conventions can closely be related to the underlying ‘cultures’ of these techniques each with their historically- and socially-embedded characteristics and expectations such as appearance with regard to body posture (e.g. weight and height; ballet-aristocratic elite), clothes and even the way a person wears her/his hair or behaves. As Cheng also notes in the case of Hip-Hop that began “as an early 70s youth street culture in New York, with all of the peculiarities of place embedded in it- the slang, the cadence of talk, the way people moved” (2007, p. 3).

Consequently, gender, age, ethnic background/the color of skin and appearance (with regard to body posture and styling/ looks) and even the dancer’s attitude/behavior do matter for a professional dancer’s valuation. In addition, the Dutch dance world is a highly international scene wherein not only Dutch dancers but also dancers from different countries (and different continents) come to participate and to ‘compete’ in the job market. Therefore, a dancer’s nationality might also play a role in his/her valuation within the Dutch –hence international dance art world.

Without being part of the dance world’s stereotypical conventions, a dancer might not be recognizable, it is just as much part of ‘branding’ the individual as it is part of the valuation process. Consequently, not or only partially pleasing the ‘conventions’ -the somewhat stereotypical yet essential expectations of these ‘genre cultures’- might result in a ‘wannabe status’ (e.g. merely trying to belong to the dance genre’s culture). Not fulfilling the criteria would mean -in line with Becker’s art world theory (2008)- not satisfying the expectations that might result in exclusion and thus a complete devaluation of the dancer within the dance world. Yet, due to i.a. changing genre distinction, the embedded demographic conventions might be changing, which makes the definition, perception and thus valuation process of professional dancers somewhat more complex. The next part will also elaborate on this particular issue.

2.4. Valuation of Professional Dancers: Complexity Dominates

2.4.1. Blurring Boundaries

Boundaries are blurring, and the distinction between high and low/popular art genres is arguably visible (i.a. Alexander, 2003; Janssen, 2005; Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Roysend, et al., 2007). From a production perspective Janssen (2005) introduced the notion of ‘onthierarchisering’ (researcher’s note: translation of the Dutch concept into English: ‘dehierarchisation’) within the Netherlands that began in the 1960s. Janssen (2005) implies that more and more genres emerged within the cultural sector, creating a broader frame for the classification for the arts. In addition, creators often merge genres while creating a dissolved boundary between styles resulting in the increasing ‘dehierarchisation’ of art genres (Janssen, 2005).

This observation can indeed be translated to the current dance sector wherein not only companies are experimenting with merging different dance techniques, but also the dance education in accredited art academies are becoming less one-sided (focusing merely on high art such as ballet and modern). Academies are increasingly offering courses in different popular and folk/world dance styles (e.g. house, hip-hop, popping, African dance etc.) and even dedicating departments for the previously lowbrow dance genres such as urban while merging it with ‘high’ dance art such as contemporary for example (e.g. Amsterdam School of the Arts and Fonty’s Dance Academy’s: ‘Urban- Contemporary Department’). (www.ahk.nl and <http://fontys.nl>)

In addition from a consumer perspective, social mobility creates a new social context in which the youth is socialized that again result in diminishing boundaries within classes but also –through their consumption and tastes- in the ‘dehierarchisation’ and thus the reclassification of art genres (Janssen, 2005; Peterson; 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; and Van Eijck, 1999). In relation to dance genres, these theories would imply that there are individuals from the high class in the possession of more ‘economic and cultural capital’ than the lower classes (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Peterson and Simkus in Lamont and Fournier, 1992). These classes might not only be consuming ballet and modern but are also interested in urban and show dance for example. In addition, the television talent shows mentioned earlier also add to the increasingly blurred boundaries between performed and consumed dance genres.

However, it is still arguable whether inter alia institutionalization and the use of different dance techniques and merges within practice, and a broader consumption pattern from the ‘cultural omnivores’, would result in more respect and thus an uplifted status of the popular and thus lowbrow genres (or the other way around). With regard to the aspects mentioned in previous sections (such as education, inherited and attained artistic and non-artistic skills, experience/job holding, earnings, reputation, visibility/location and the demographic characteristics of a dancer), the division and thus hierarchies between dance genres might still be relevant when defining and valuating a professional dancer from different perspectives based on several aspects.

In addition, uncertainty of the (professional dancer’s) artistic career and the valuation aspects connected to the individual is also emphasized by the ambiguity of assessing the quality of an artist work. “(A)rtists have non-standard careers, produce non-standardized and highly differentiated products, and are difficult to count in a meaningful statistical sense” (Alexander, 2003, p.134). Consequently the role of experts (e.g. intermediaries and gatekeepers) also comes to matter giving a ‘helping hand’ while signaling value throughout history.

2.4.2. The Role of Intermediaries/ Gatekeepers in the Valuation Process

According to Alexander (2003) “(a)rt is communication (...) (t)hat is, art is distributed by some person, organization, or network’, which again ‘affects what kind of art gets distributed widely, narrowly, or not at all” (p, 62). Throughout time, intermediaries/gatekeepers have had a prominent ‘signaling’ role in the valuation of art (Alexander, 2003; Arora and Vermeulen, 2013; Becker, 2008; Vermeulen et al., 2013) and therefore their perspective needs to be considered when investigating the construction of valuation of professional dancers within the Dutch art world.

However, not every artist works with distributors according to Becker (2008): Not only are there artists who are simply self-made (for example freelance dance professionals without any agent or impresario), but also some art is even hidden from or ignored by the public. Nonetheless, “(f)ully developed art worlds (...) provide distribution systems which integrate artists into their society’s economy, bringing art works to publics which appreciate them and will pay enough so that the work can proceed” (Becker, 2008, p. 93).

Within the Netherlands, the word agents/agencies implies a person or group of individuals, who is/are rather associated with the commercial activities and individuals

within the popular dance genre (such as selling dance shows/acts, booking dancers for several commercial events) (e.g. *dancersatwork.nl*, *buro2012.nl*). Further on this matter, distribution can also take place internally, meaning that a dance company that can afford a marketing employee/freelancer -who is not only promoting but also selling the dance work- can also be considered as having an agent/impresario.

The association with an impresario on the other hand, can mean both a high and popular dance art-oriented group of individuals, selling for example both contemporary and musical and/or crossover performances. However, most impresarios within The Netherlands seem to be specialized in a specific genre or at least genres that are ‘close’ or related to each other (e.g. *totslot.nl*, *impactentertainment.nl*, *frontaal.nl*). An impresario that sells both classical ballet and modern performances but also musicals and other acts for commercial events is rare (if it exists at all). Perhaps due to the *dehierarchisation* of genres (from the producers’ perspective), this might change in the future.

While understanding the dance art world’s needs, its conventions and the expectations of the artistic and financial needs (and the consequences) of professional dancers (and companies), performance places (e.g. theaters, festivals for instance), and the audiences; impresarios and agents can be considered ‘true’ intermediaries of the valuation process of professional dancers. Their function as distributors (bringing art from the creator to the audience) has also a classifying effect through which they determine what is sold, for how much, from who and to whom: “A gatekeeper filters products (or people) as they enter or leave a system” (Alexander, 2003, p. 76), which requires value judgments from both an artistic and a financial point of view.

The same can be stated about critics, who are mostly involved with an aesthetic (artistic) valuation of the dance performances and dancers, nevertheless having willingly or unwillingly a crucial effect on the reputation of a performer, if not also on the financial valuation of the artist: “Critics apply aesthetic systems to specific art works and arrive at judgments of their worth and explications of what gives them that worth” (Becker, 2008, p. 131). In turn, these judgments produce reputation for an artwork e.g. for a professional dancer, which is taken into consideration by distributors and even audiences “when they decide what to support emotionally and financially, and that affects the resources available to artists to continue their work” (Becker, 2008, p. 131).

Critics are thus not ‘direct’ distributors, however their work (judgments) does (indirectly) affect what is seen, bought, sold and by whom. This might imply that aesthetic judgment is power, however genre differences might play a role here also:

That critics mediate the relationship between artworks and publics has often been suggested but never adequately tested. (...) Critics do not have the power to ‘make or break shows. The visibility provided by reviews is more important than their evaluative function....(T)he operative aesthetics in popular and highbrow genres are distinct, and critics are important only in the latter. (Shrum, 1991, p. 347)

Finally, what is often not considered within a dance sector is that there are other intermediaries and gatekeepers who not only filter which dancer will be included within the art world, but also thus influence the valuation of these artists and their work. The researcher therefore suggests that ‘experts’ such as choreographers, directors, and professionals within art foundations, the ‘subsidy and grant personnel’ and their perspectives on the valuation process should also be included. Similarly, the mediating and gatekeeping effects of the media (social media and television for instance) and its participants (including its audience) are also contributing to not only the reputation, but also with this said to the valuation of the professional dancers from various genres. The importance of visibility/reputation (section 2.3.3), reviews and also the opinion of the audiences are emphasized here. The latter will be the subject of the following part at last.

2.4.3. The Role of Audiences in the Valuation Process

The ‘right-hand side’ of ‘Griswold’s cultural diamond’ considers the consumption of culture and thus is dealing with how “people consume, use, and receive art” (Alexander, 2003, p. xvi). According to this ‘reception approach’ “(t)he main idea is that audiences are the key to understand art, because the meanings created from art and the ways art is used depend on its consumers, not its creators” Alexander, 2003, p. xvi). Alexander (2003) and Becker (2008) argue that audiences are mediators of the artwork, through which an art work not only can come to life, but through its consumers/audiences it has an (or if we consider a critical approach, might) effect on society at large. Consequently, without audiences, no art can be truly perceived as art

that exist in an art world. “(W)hat audiences choose to respond to affects the work as much as to the choices of artists and support personnel” (Becker, 2008, p 214).

The perception of audience is crucial and can add important aspects to this research. Previous section (2.3) discussed how concepts as highbrow and lowbrow are historically embedded and are in relation with consumers’ class distinctions and tastes. However current day (western) societies include a new ‘type of’ audience: As it was mentioned before, Peterson in collaboration with other scholars (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Peterson and Simkus in Lamont and Fournier, 1992), introduced the concept ‘cultural omnivore’. The scholars suggest the replacement of the highbrow class who consumed merely high art (e.g. classical ballet) with a high class who consumes both high art and popular art forms (e.g. classical, urban and musical). ‘These classes’ whether with their highbrow, lowbrow or ‘cultural omnivore’ tastes (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Van Eijck, 1999), are thus the audiences whose appreciation, perception and thus valuation of dance(rs) matters to this research.

“Though audiences are among the most fleeting participants in art worlds, devoting less time to any particular work or works of a kind than more professionalized participants, they probably contribute most to the reconstitution of the work on a daily basis” (Becker, 2008, p. 214). But who can be considered as an audience from the professional dancers’ point of view? Basically audiences are all individuals who are consuming any kind of dance art genre and thus viewing the professional dancers’ work. The researcher would like to point out the fact that audiences are not merely laymen (random visitors, not fully aware of the conventions of a particular dance genre’s for instance) but can be also connoisseurs (dance ‘lovers’, who are very much aware of conventions within a dance genre and who are probably more often visiting and thus viewing professional dancers and their work).

In addition what is often neglected when talking about audiences that dancers, is that related professionals (choreographer, director, PR-marketing staff and light designers etc.), intermediaries/gatekeepers (agents, impresarios and critics) can all be considered a part of this audience. These experts are audiences as their work involves the (co)creation and/or distribution of the work which logically they need to view prior selling or commenting on it. From a less artistic and more economic perspective, the importance of audiences can also be justified. Not only with regard to tickets sales (also in case of commercial dance genres) are audiences important (that there are

enough people visiting the performance (and thus justifying the importance and the existence in economic terms). Similarly, when considering the possibility of approaching audiences for donations, crowd funding, sponsorship as an alternative for, or as an addition to subsidies (Brooks, 2006; Klamer et al., 2011; Klamer, 2012, 2014; Towse, 2008, 2010; Seaman, 2006).

2.4.4. Conclusion: A Multidimensional and Multilayered Valuation Process

“My sense of its beauty has, of course, got to do with me, but it also has got to do with the artistic work. And, in thinking that, I do not have to believe in any such notion as universal aesthetic standards” (Shapin, 2012, p. 6). The concept of ‘valuation’ can be understood in several ways. On the one hand:

Aestheticians study the premises and arguments people use to justify classifying things and activities as ‘beautiful’, ‘artistic’, ‘art’, ‘not art’, ‘good art’, ‘bad art’, and so on. They construct systems with which to make and justify both the classifications and specific instances of their applications. (Becker, 2008, p. 131)

On the other hand, not only aestheticians are analyzing the aesthetic value of art, but also (art) philosophers, sociologists and even cultural economists are increasingly directing their attention towards valuation (processes) and their complex characteristics. It is thus more than ‘just’ an aesthetic point of view. According to (cultural economists) Klamer (2014) and Throsby (2001, 2010) the following, comprehensive list of values can be identified: aesthetic, spiritual, religious, social, historical, symbolic, authenticity, societal, cultural, historical, artistic, scientific, moral, personal, transcendental, functional, entertainment and financial values. All these values might apply for a dance performance, however some choices need to be made when discussing the valuation of the performer and thus that of the dancer and his/her work.

Due to feasibility issues (e.g. time management) and considering the most relevant valuation processes and approaches that are crucial for the valuation of professional dancers, the research focuses on the aesthetic/artistic and financial valuation. Consequently, the valuation of professional dancers can be seen from a qualitative but also from a quantitative perspective. The latter implies economic

valuation, appreciation and in other words rewards for something that is being valued. It is thus the outing of the appreciation of something (or somebody and his/her skills and talent in case of the dance art for example) in terms of financial reimbursement (salary/fee and/or subsidy for instance). Nevertheless in today's western society wherein there is a general focus on (debatably) quantifying everything, there also seems to be an increasing attention towards the unquantifiable aspects of culture and arts (Klamer, 2012, 2014; Klamer et al., 2014; Throsby, 2001; 2010).

How can we define what is the unquantifiable value and thus the quality of (the work of) an artist. This is a complex matter, even in the case of tangible matters -and not to mention in the case of the artistic creations that are inherently intangible (Throsby, 2001) (for example (the art work of) professional dancers). There are three ways to assess quality as scholars note (Arora and Vermeylen, 2012; Ginsburgh and Weyers, 2006; Vermeylen et al., 2013): through the market (wherein price functions as a marker and thus indicator for value); by time (through which in the long run, the durability of an art work or an artist is an indicator of quality) and last but not least through (the knowledge) of intermediaries/gatekeepers (critics, the media and thus experts for instance).

The (debatable, yet relevant) function of intermediaries and gatekeepers has been discussed in the previous section. Yet 'time' is of essence here and adds a new perspective. As in the case of the valuation of professional dancers the duration of education, the length of experience and thus also perhaps even the duration of reputation might matter for the valuation process. However, merely using the market as another (third) tool or medium through which professional dancers are being valued is a biased approach. As the thesis has already pointed, out in line with Klamer: there is a "tension between the commercial value of art and their artistic values" (2014b, p. 1). For example, not all dance genres (e.g. that is considered high art such as ballet and contemporary in today's society) can survive on the free-market without subsidies (for numerous -here not particularly relevant- reasons).

However -as it was noted-, boundaries between 'high and low culture' and thus the borders between the genres are increasingly blurring from the production side (e.g. cross-over dance performances and television shows), from the consumption side (e.g. the theory of 'omnivore' audiences (Janssen, 2005; Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Van Eijck, 1999)), and due to the inclusion of diverging, both high and low/popular dance techniques within the education systems and in the media. This

would imply that genre distinction and thus the hierarchy between high and popular dance techniques, their appreciation and thus valuation is changing within (western) societies such as the Dutch one.

To stress the complexity of the issue in the current dance art world, not all dance creations can thus simply be grouped under high or low (popular) art genres (e.g. subsidized versus commercial activities of performers), indicating also an overlap in the type of dancers that are being valued. In addition with regard to the two dimensions of the valuation: ‘artistic quality’ and thus artistic value is often used as a justification of financial support within the (dance) art world (e.g. when attaining financial support and thus subsidies and grants for instance) (Becker, 2008; Klamer, 2014).

While considering the market, artistic careers and thus also the labor market is of essence. Several aspects have been highlighted throughout the paper, which are included in Figure 2.4.4. In addition to the ‘market focus’, also audiences come to matter. Their involvement in and contribution to the perception, and valuation, of current day professional (dance) artists have been introduced in the previous section.

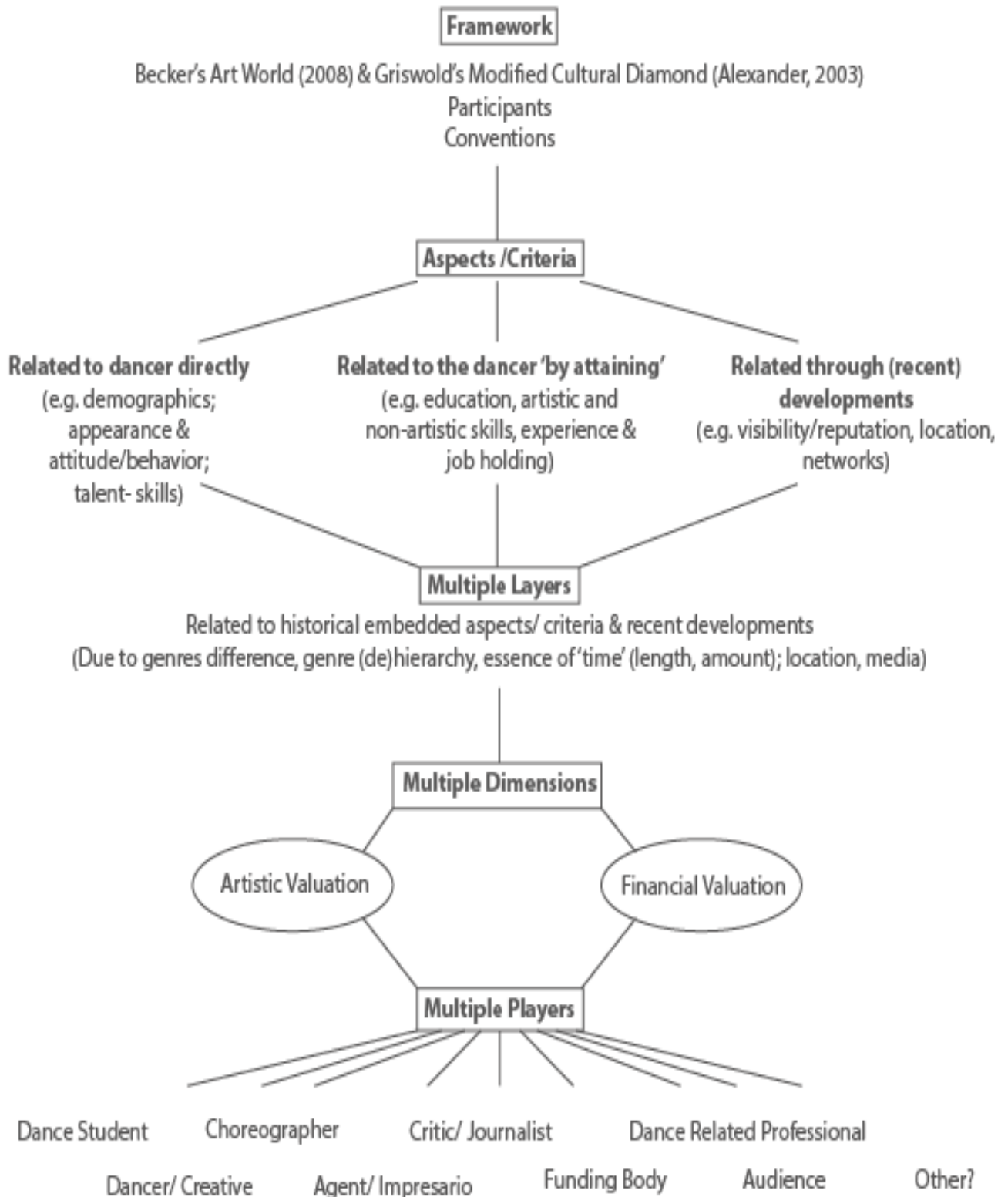
Consequently, in order to define value and thus quality, whether from a qualitative or quantitative dimension, several valuation aspects of the professional dancers and their careers need to be considered from both an artistic and a financial point of view. Conducting a qualitative research among several players within the art world will also indicate whether these aspects are indeed relevant for the valuation of professional dancers within the Netherlands. In line with Becker’s (2008) argument for the interrelatedness of producers, ‘support personnel’, intermediaries/gatekeepers and audiences, Klamer et al. also emphasizes that the valuation process is a very much stakeholder dependent activity:

Values are relational concepts in the sense that they work in the interactions among people and in the interactions between people and things, or states of affairs. We value things, or the characteristics of things, in comparison with other things. When we value something, someone...because of the values we hold. (Klamer, Do Carmo and De With, 2014, p. 4).

Figure 2.4.4 summarizes all possible dimensions, aspects, their layers and the different perspectives that might be considered when investigating the construction of valuation of professional dancers in the Netherlands.

Figure 2.4.4:

Visualizing the Multilayered, Multidimensional and Stakeholder Dependent Valuation of Professional Dancers



3. Data and Methods

3.1. Research Question and Sub Questions

This thesis focuses on the theoretical question: How does the Dutch art world value the performing artist? The following empirical question serves as a guideline for this research namely: How do people who participate in the Dutch dance art world (e.g. producers, intermediaries and consumers) value professional dance artists, working in the Netherlands (in 2015)?

Realizing that valuation can have many dimensions, what is most relevant for this thesis is the construction of the valuation. With this said, in line with the main research question(s) mentioned above, further sub questions arise: (1) How do people who participate in the Dutch art world define on the one hand professional dancers and on the other hand the valuation of these professional artists? (2) What are the important aspects/criteria for valuing professional dancers? (3) What are the implications of the artistic (including sociological) and economic valuation of (the perception, appreciation of and the expectations from) dance professionals? (4) What are the consequences of this valuation process for the individual dance professionals?

3.2. Research Design

The researcher aimed to apply a research design that best served the analysis (Creswell, 2012). “Qualitative research is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (Creswell, 2014, p.4). The research involved a qualitative approach combining both inductive and a deductive way of reasoning, in order to enhance the objectivity of the research. Without being a mixed-method research, it can be considered being on the crossroad of a qualitative and a quantitative research design (Creswell, 2014). In the following part more explanation can be found about the population, sampling, the units, the method, the reason of choice, the data collection and analysis.

3.2.1. Population, Sampling and Research Units

As the theoretical framework indicated, based on Becker’s (2008) concept of the ‘art world’, its convention’s and Griswold’s ‘Cultural Diamond’ modified by Alexander (2003), individuals from the production, reception and distribution side can all be considered participants of the Dutch dance art world. In case of the qualitative and the

quantitative method the population, the sample, namely a ‘smaller collection of units of the population’ and the units also, comprise a different group of people (Field, 2011, p. 783). Consequently, it can be stated that the population of the online interviews were individuals related to the Dutch art world. The sample entails all individuals with a Dutch residency in 2015 with a relation to the Dutch dance industry. Without living and/or working within the country, the interviewees could not be considered legitimate participants of the Dutch art world, who are also ‘socialized’ with(in) its ‘conventions’ (Becker, 2008).

The research units were a total amount of 20 audience members (4), dancers (9) and/or choreographers, dance teachers, agents, critics and related professionals (PR and production staff/manager, financial director, funding personnel within subsidy foundation, light designer) working within or related to the Dutch dance industry (7). All the here-mentioned participants are also simultaneously audiences (even the dancers), as their work involves an activity, which without knowledge of the dance sector (and thus viewing dancers) wouldn’t be possible.

In addition, disregarding the interviewees’ different types and depth of involvement, their opinion and views represent an interconnected thread of aspects/criteria and constitute the dynamic process of valuation of professional dancers. Interconnected, meaning that all these stakeholders and thus group of individuals within the Dutch art world consciously and/or unconsciously influence each other’s view and opinion on aspects/criteria related to the dynamic process of the valuation of professional dancers.

3.2.2. Research Method and Reason of Choice

Due to the research questions’ explorative nature the method of this research takes a qualitative approach. “We take objectivity as an ideal to be historicized and subjectivity as what we’re sadly stuck with if we don’t watch out” (Shapin, 2012, p. 3). Qualitative research has been often undervalued (especially in early years of social research studies due to its subjective and thus ‘less scientific’ characteristic), “In qualitative research, the numbers and types of approaches have also become clearly visible during the 1990s and into the 21st century.

The historic origin for qualitative research comes from anthropology, sociology, the humanities, and evaluation” (Creswell, 2014, p. 13), and –as this part of the thesis will also indicate- several methods have been developed to legitimize a

qualitative research to make it ‘science proof’.

This study was focusing on the collections of qualitative data (in-depth information). “(T)he value of qualitative research lies in the particular description and themes developed in context of a specific site. Particularity rather than generalizability (Greene & Caracelli, 1997) is the hallmark of good qualitative research” (in Creswell, 2014, p. 204). In order to enhance the quality e.g. the reliability and also the validity of the research, both an inductive and a deductive way of reasoning/approach (e.g. formulating the open and also close-ended interview questions partially based on the theoretical framework), data collection (through both purpose and random sampling), and data analysis (e.g. predetermined-coding and open-coding) was implemented (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014; Hart, 2005). The following tables indicate both approaches that were merged within the research design and method.

Table 3.2.2: The Inductive Approach

The Inductive Logic of Research
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1) Researcher gathers information2) Research asks open-ended questions of participants or records field notes3) Researcher analyzes data to form themes or categories4) Researcher looks for broad patterns, generalizations, or theories from themes or categories5) Researcher poses generalizations or theories from past experiences and literature

Source: Creswell (2014, p. 66)

Table 3.2.3: The Deductive Approach

The Deductive Logic of Research
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1) Researcher tests or verifies a theory2) Researcher tests research question from the theory3) Researcher defines and operationalizes variables derived from theory4) Researcher measures or observes variables using an instrument to obtain scores

Source: Creswell (2014, p. 59)

Quality in research can mean a number of things, including: that the tools used to collect the data were the right ones; the data collected was the right kind and quantity; the observations made were the right kinds of observations; and the interpretations made were clear and transparent. (Hart, 2005, p. 324)

The chosen approach to this research and its method was the most reliable and feasible way to investigate the subject at hand and its justification will be explained in more depth in the following sections.

The valuation of professional dancers is not a static phenomenon but a dynamic process that has to do with several aspects based on which individuals (e)valuate and thus assess, examine and -as often called within the sphere- 'judge' a professional dancer. 'Dynamic' meaning that while there are some historically embedded (yet changing) aspects/criteria ('conventions' Becker (2008)) that might be still relevant to the valuation to a certain extent (e.g. the hierarchy of (dance) genres, critic reviews, reputation and educational background of the artists for instance (Alexander, 2003; Becker 2008; Bourdieu, 1993; DiMaggio 1986, 1987; Janssen, 2005; Jeffri and Greenblatt, 1989)). However, there are other issues and discussions that emerged through the years that are connected to the changing cultural-economic environment (the inter alia financial insecurity-led multiple job holding and the increasing relevance of (the audiences of) commercial media e.g. TV) (Klamer, 2012, 2014; Klamer et al., 2011; Menger, 1999; Royseng et al., 2007; <http://www.dancetalk.nl/category/carriere/>, 2015).

Therefore several aspects were examined in the theoretical framework and with the use of the academic literature in combination of the researcher's insights in the field (offline and online observation and collection of discussions), the survey presented a selection of potentially influencing factors to valuation. This way the ongoing and dynamic process of valuation of professional dancers within the Dutch art world could be examined from several points of view. The part of this section on 'data collection' will indicate all aspects and criteria, in relation to the interview questions.

Further on with regard to the research method and the reason of choice, a combination of open-ended and close-ended questions of the online interview survey, served to enhance the reliability and validity of the overall findings, while leaving enough room for emerging patterns that were not based on the researcher's theoretical framework.

The two types of question functioned as complementary techniques in order to get the most useful data within a specific time period ($\pm 1, 5$ month).

Realizing that the valuation is inter alia stakeholder dependent (Alexander, 2003; Becker, 2008; Klamer 2014), the online interview survey targeted all possible players within the Dutch (dance) art world (e.g. (professional) dancers, choreographers/director, agents/impresarios, audiences, critics and other professionals working within and related to the dance industry). Only an investigation of the different perspectives could provide in-depth and justifiable information on the valuation of professional dancers within the Dutch art world.

The researcher realized that her involvement within the dance industry might present some validity and reliability issues; nevertheless it also presented possibilities within the dance world. A person who doesn't know the field and doesn't know where to find and how to approach the dance industry professionals (in the Netherlands) might face some considerable obstacles when setting up a suitable questionnaire and while trying to find interviewees who are willing to contribute to a long online interview (45-60 minutes).

In addition, in order to reduce the subjectivity to a minimum, while analyzing the data of the in total 20 interviews, besides analyzing the result of the close-ended questions based on predetermined coding (thus a more deductive approach based on the theoretical framework), the open-ended questions were inductively analyzed using open-coding (Crewsell, 2014). More on this can be found in part 3.3.3. Due to time limitation, the interview survey's primary aim was not to specify the level of these different aspects in relation to each other but, in the first instance, the goal was to identify the aspects/criteria that the respondents find (most) relevant and thus strongly connected to both the artistic and financial valuation process of professional dancers within the Dutch art world. Nevertheless, the level of the influencing factors of the valuation in relation to each other, could also present a solid base for a future (qualitative or quantitative) research.

Section 3.3.2 on data collection, presents the grouping of all questions related to the research and thus the setup of the online interview survey. Appendix J includes an overview of the time management of the research.

3.3. Research Method

3.3.1. Conceptualization and Operationalization of Theoretical Concepts

In order to conceptualize and operationalize the concept the **‘Dutch art world’** the notion of ‘art’ needs to be clarified. The word in Dutch has an implication to express high art in contradiction to commercial art. However, the researcher regards the ‘whole dance art world’ as an interrelated network of people and conventions that are related to both high and popular dance genres, as in some cases the boundaries are hard to define (from both a consumer and from a producer perspective) (Janssen, 2005; Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Van Eijck, 1999).

The Dutch art world –as the framework of this research- stipulates the interconnected network of **all participants involved** in creating/ producing (dancers and ‘support personnel’), distributing (intermediaries/gatekeepers such as impresarios/ agents, critics and even funding bodies), and consuming (audiences) professional dance art (Alexander, 2003; Becker, 2008). The concept of ‘conventions’ of an ‘art world’ -explained by Becker’s (2008)- are strongly connected to the search for aspects/criteria for valuation of professional dancers, as is incorporated in the sub questions.

According to the theoretical framework, these **aspects/criteria** might inter alia be connected to: education (its level, type/genre, length, amount and location), skills, (specialization versus diversification, creativity and expression), experience and job holding (e.g. genre, length, amount, type), visibility/location, reputation and networks; demographic characteristics (gender, age, nationality, ethnic background and color of skin.) and the dancer’s attitude and behavior. However, whether the above-mentioned aspects/criteria are indeed the influencing factors of the valuation process of professional dancers -that this section aims to conceptualize- is yet to be determined by the latter mentioned inductive conceptualization (e.g. answers on open-ended questions).

The concept of **performing artists** implies individual artists working (e.g. performing) within the following sectors: music, theater, dance, opera, circus, puppetry, mime and film. This thesis focuses on **professional dance artists** and doesn’t distinguish dancers according to genres. With this said the thesis considers all professional dancers within all genres. The first sub research question implies an **inductive** reasoning. The interviewees are asked to provide their own definition of

both concepts (e.g. **professionals dancers** and the **valuation** of these professionals). Interviewees' own perspective and –according to their knowledge-, the perspective of the Dutch dance art world presented an angle towards these definitions. Emerging aspects/criteria of valuation might arise by answering these questions and analyzing those.

Value/Valuation has a highly economic yet also aesthetic dissonance, which again *inter alia* has to do with sociological implications and the historical *embeddedness* of art-related concepts (e.g. high versus popular culture). The thesis focuses on the one hand on this sociological or -as it is called within the sphere- '**artistic**' approach (through which the criteria or the reason for perception and appreciation can emerge). On the other hand, the research investigates what are -in a challenging (economic) climate- the main influencing factors for a professional dancer's **financial valuation**. However, the interviewees are not provided with a definition by the researcher but are encouraged to share their own perception, as the following part will also indicate.

Another **inductive approach** is used when asking the participants to provide any association they have with regard to the artistic and financial valuation of performing artists (within the Netherlands). The last part of the survey incorporates the previously mentioned deductive approach. The most important aspects/criteria of valuation and the **implications** and thus the **challenges and opportunities** of the consequences emerge from both an inductive and a deductive approach/analysis. As the research is using first mainly open-ended and then a combination of close-ended and open-ended questioning technique, with regard to these themes, it cannot be further specified on this stage.

3.3.2. Data Collection

The collection of the theoretical information was spread through a one-year scope between January 2014 and January 2015. This timeframe was due to the researcher's involvement in another Master study program and due to full-time work within the sphere, and had nothing to do with the amount of theoretical data. However, due to the research's 'cross-sectional' feature (Creswell, 2014), any information besides the theoretical framework was only considered if it was written in 2015.

The research itself (e.g. the online survey interview) was thoroughly prepared between January and the beginning of April in 2015. The data of the research itself

(e.g. the answers to the interviews) was collected between mid April and end of May 2015. The length and number of in-depth questions of the online survey interviews had an effect on the willingness to invest time (79 questions taking minimum 45 minutes)-, and the openness to express the opinion of the respondents. It also influenced the amount of in-depth data (e.g. answers on the open ended questions) that were feasible to be analyzed. Therefore, and in order to make the research feasible time wise, the aim was to have a minimum amount of 15 and a maximum amount of 20 online interviewees.

The online survey interview was based on the theoretical framework and thus academic literature with regard to (dance and/or performing) artists, the concept of 'valuation', and insights from the field (recent developments and verbal and online discussions within the sphere). The choice for an online data collection, wherein interviewees could anonymously and thoroughly indicate their opinion resulting in in-depth information about the research subject, was meant to collect reliable and valid information. Several validity and reliability actions were undertaken that are listed in this section as well as in the analysis section.

The interview consisted of three parts (including six question series, two per section). Before each section (and under each question) as needed, an explanation was included to clarify the theme/concept(s). As Baarda et al. (2010, p.46) suggests; the questions need to be inter alia "concrete, understandable, clear and neutral". This focus was implemented both when creating close-ended and open-ended questions. However with regard to the latter, attention was given to the fact that the questions remained objective to prevent any influence from the researcher's side, and to avoid social desirable answers.

The first question series were in the first instance to 'warm up' the interviewees and were concerned with their background information. Interviewees were asked to verify their Dutch residence, since without being physically a part of the Dutch art world, no reliable information can be given with regard to the dance sector and its dancers. Interviewees were asked to indicate their demographic characteristics (such as nationality, ethnic background, gender), and their education, current occupation and years of involvement within the dance world (either as a dancer, maker, viewer, seller, donor etc.). The researcher's aim was not only thus to 'warm up' the interviewee, but

also to identify and group the interviewees. This framework was useful while identifying patterns that were connected to the interviewee's background.

For a similar reason, the second question series included three questions that aimed to specify the interviewees' involvement in the sphere by 2.1) asking them to identify themselves under a specific group (including all types of participants within the art world that this thesis identified; 2.2) by inquiring about their focus (for creating, working, visiting, selling, funding) within the commercial and/or the subsidized sector and by 2.3) determining their genre preference(s). In addition to part one, this part aimed at a closer identification of the interviewees, their preferences and their orientation.

While not wanting to influence the respondent, the researcher presented open questions wherein the online interviewees could indicate their own opinion. The third question series (3.1 till 3.3.), considered the definition of 'professional dancers' (within the art world and also based on how they wish to define –and thus not only how they perceive- the concepts). In addition the fourth question series (4.1 till 4.5.) was concerned with the definition of valuation in relation to the dance artists and a 'free association part' for both with regard to the concept 'artistic' and 'financial' valuation in relation to professional dancers within the Dutch dance art world.

In part three, section five of the survey interview, incorporated all offline information (e.g. academic books and articles on performing artists and/or on dancers and on the concept of valuation), and online information (academic literature and online discussions e.g. on social media with regard to recent developments in the dance field) that the researcher could access and comprehend within the timeframe of the research. The questions presented a comprehensive amount of 29 aspects/criteria that were thus divided under 'six concept groups' namely; 'education'; 'skills'; 'experience and job holding'; 'visibility, location, reputation and networks'; the dancer's 'demographic characteristics' and the dancer's 'appearance and attitude'.

An overview of the aspects/criteria (and their layers) of the six main divisions that are all related to the valuation of dancers based on the previously mentioned sources can be found in Figure 2.4.4 on page 40. This visualization indicates the interrelatedness of all aspect/criteria within the framework, in relation to all layers that are a result of historically-embedded and socially-constructed conventions and of recent developments that again can be analyzed from a multidimensional perspective (artistic and financial valuation) however depending on the 'eye of the beholder' (and

thus the multiple players; all participants within the art world). For a less theorized and more detailed version of the online interview survey please visit page 52.

Consequently each question offered simultaneously the possibility to indicate the reason for the answer. This way the researcher could not only collect relevant insights to *how* the professional dancers are being valued within the Dutch art world but also the reasons *why* the online interviewee thought that specific aspect/criteria was relevant to the valuation process. In addition, the online interviewees got the chance to indicate whether the same aspects/criteria of valuation apply both to in the previous section explained artistic and financial valuation. The two perspectives were separated, as qualitative cannot equal a quantitative approach (despite the possible interrelatedness). In the last, sixth part with only one section, the researcher ensured to leave enough room for the interviewee to add some relevant thoughts to the matter (for anything that might be still relevant to share).

Further on this matter, in order to prevent socially-desirable answers that can ruin the validity, reliability and thus the usefulness of the data (Creswell, 2014; Hart, 2005), the interviewees were ensured that their answers are treated anonymously. Therefore in part 1 of the survey, the respondents did not have to provide their name. In addition, when addressing the interviewees at the beginning of the online survey interview (see Appendix E1 and E/2), only basic information was provided namely; that the research is concerned with the valuation of professional dancers within the Dutch art world in 2015. No definitions or any suggestions about the concepts and criteria mentioned in part two and three were introduced, allowing in the beginning of the interview enough space for the respondents' own perception of the matter at hand.

The researcher did not reveal her identity (being part of the Dutch dance art world herself) at the introductory section for two particular reasons: in order to prevent socially-desirable answers and thus also to enhance the validity of the data collected. Only in case of the purposely-selected interviews did the interviewee know the identity of the researcher. However, even while approaching these interviewees, if possible, the researcher did not particularly mention that the interview was meant for *her* master thesis, but merely indicated that it was for *a* master thesis research as not to damage any ethical aspects of the research (Hart, 2005).

The online survey interview was self-administered and prepared and distributed with the help of an online -in the scholarly field generally-acknowledged and well-known-survey program: *Qualtrics*. The following overview presents the grouping of all questions related to the research and thus the setup of the online interview survey and in the latter part more explanation is provided about the distribution of the survey. The interview survey includes a layered approach, according to which the researcher chose to not only include the possible aspect/criteria that might influence the valuation of performing artists but also –where it was possible- the same aspect/criteria was considered from different angles.

For example questions ‘5.1.’ examined the aspect/criterion of education as an influential factor of both the artistic and financial valuation of professional dance artists and included the dimensions of level, type (genre), length, amount, and the location of dance education). After the respondent indicated on a 3-point scale (not at all-slightly-extremely) the influence of the specific aspect/criterion on both the artistic and financial valuation of professional dancers, the interviewee was asked to explain his/her opinion. A more comprehensive survey setup can be found in Appendix C.

All close-ended questions were obligatory to answer, yet in case of the open-ended ‘essay’ questions, the interviewee –if clicking the ‘next’ button without filling in the answers was not forced, yet reminded of the fact that the her/his opinion is valuable and was asked again to fill in his/her thoughts. An overview of all question types are indicated in the following Table 3.3.3: open questions (O) single choice and single answer (SS) (only question 1.1. while confirming the residency); multiple choice but single answer possibility (MS) and multiple choice with multiple answer possibility (MM). Lastly with regard to part three, question series 5; a matrix table with a single answer option (on a three point-scale) (artistic and financial dimension) and an open question to explain the choice ((MTRX3S/O).

Table 3.3.2: Overview of the Online Interview Survey

Part 1

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Identifying the online interviewee.

1st Question Series

- 1.1. Confirming Dutch residency and/or Work within the Netherlands (SS)
- 1.2. Nationality (O)
- 1.3. Ethnic background (O)
- 1.4. Gender (MS)
- 1.5. Age (ON)
- 1.6. Education (O)
- 1.7. Profession/ occupation (O)
- 1.8. Years of experience within/ related to the Dutch dance sector (O)

2nd Question Series

- 2.1. Identifying the respondents' specific relation to the Dutch dance industry (MM)
- 2.2. Identifying respondents' focus (MS)
- 2.3. Identifying the respondent's genre preference (MM)

Part 2

'OPEN' INTERPRETATION

Identifying the personal opinion of the respondents and their perception of Dutch society with regard to the concept of 'professional dancer' and 'value'/'valuation' of the same.

3rd Question Series

- 3.1. The own definition of a professional dancer according to the respondent (O)
- 3.2. The definition of a professional dancer according to the respondents' knowledge within Dutch dance art world (O)
- 3.3. The thoughts/ opinion of how professional dancers should be defined according to the respondent (O)

4th Question Series

- 4.1. The own definition of 'value'/'valuation' according to the respondents in relation to professional dancers (O)
- 4.2. The thoughts/ opinion of 'value'/'valuation' in relation to professional dancers within Dutch dance art world according to the respondents (O)
- 4.3. The thoughts/ opinion of 'value'/'valuation' in relation to professional dancers according to which professional dancers should be valued according to the respondent (O)
- 4.4. Open associations on the term 'artistic valuation' in relation to professional dancers (O)
- 4.5. Open associations on the term 'financial valuation' in relation to professional dancers (O)

Part 3

INFLUENCING FACTORS (e.g. ASPECT / CRITERIA)

Examining the opinion of the respondents with regard to a comprehensive list of criteria -in relation to (both artistic and financial) valuation- based on academic sources, online information (e.g. social media discussions and blogs) and informal knowledge (conversations and observations made within the sphere). After each concept and its different angles, interviewees were asked to indicate whether the aspect/criteria influence the valuation process (on a 3-point scale: not at all-slightly-extremely) and to explain their opinion.

5th Question Series (MTRX3S/O)

5.1. Education

- 5.1.1. Level / Type
- 5.1.2. Genre
- 5.1.3. Length/ Years
- 5.1.4. Amount
- 5.1.5. Location

5.2. Skills

5.2.1. Specialization versus diversification

Specialized in 1 to 2 techniques versus more dance techniques

5.2.2. Creativity

Creative dancer with own creative/choreographic ideas versus a dancer who follows instructions without creating him/herself

5.2.3. Expression

Besides talent and skills the dancers expression might matter

5.3. Experience & Job Holding

5.3.1. Genre: The genre itself in which the dancers are experienced

5.3.2. Length/ Years Dancing job

5.3.3. Amount of Dancing jobs

5.3.4. Type of Dancing Job / Freelancer versus full-time jobs/ contracts

5.3.5. Different not dance related jobs in combination with dancing jobs

5.4. Visibility/ Location/ Reputation & Networks

5.4.1. The appearance of the dancer and/or mentioning the name within commercial versus non-commercial sphere e.g. type of visibility/ reputation (for ex. TV versus theater scene)

5.4.2. Four big cities versus smaller Dutch cities i.r.t. Visibility/Experience

5.4.3. The Netherlands versus abroad i.r.t. Visibility/Experience

5.4.4. The attention/reviews of critics in online or offline- print- media and/or television or mouth to mouth

5.4.5. The attention/reviews of audiences in online or offline print, media and/or television or word of mouth

5.4.6. The social and professional network/connections; ‘who knows who’

5.5. The Individual Dancer’s Demographics

5.5.1. Gender

Male vs. Female

5.5.2. Age

Referring to the age of the dancer

5.5.3. Nationality

Nationality (Dutch vs. from abroad)

5.5.4. Ethnic background

Whether the dancer’s ethnic background matters

5.5.5 Color of Skin

Whether the dancer’s skin color matters

5.6. The Individual Dancer’s Appearance/ Attitude

5.6.1. Heights/Appearance: Body Posture

Whether the dancer’s height matters

5.6.2. Weight/Appearance: Body Posture

Whether the dancer’s weight matters

5.6.3. Appearance: Styling/Looks

Referring to the type/style of clothes that the dancer wears in rehearsals/on street

5.6.4. Attitude

Referring to whether the ambition, motivation and hard work matters

5.6.5. Behavior

Referring to whether the behavior with regard to the style of the genre (in line with styling/looks) matters

6th Question

Additional, not-yet by the researcher mentioned factors/aspects/criteria that matter according to the respondent (O)

In order to make the method as accurate as possible, two test interviews were executed to verify the reliability of the interview questions and to enhance the validity of the answers to these questions. After the test interviews, the questionnaire was adjusted to match the respondents' language and the overall understanding of the interview questions. These interviews were not included in the analysis.

The interview survey was spread through the Internet in two ways: using social media such as Facebook and LinkedIn and through direct emailing and enhancing a snowball sampling method (Creswell, 2014). This way, respondents were asked to email and thus recruit new respondents within their own network, who similarly can be considered individuals involved directly (dancers/choreographers) or indirectly (agents, critics, related professionals and other audiences) within the dance sector.

Due to the 'layered' approach explained in the previous section and thus the several aspects and criteria that were *inter alia* presented as influencing factors for the valuation of professional dancers from more dimensions, there were several characteristics based on which the purposely targeted respondents were chosen. More specifically, in the first instance respondents were recruited through the professional network of the researcher. The fact of the researcher being a dance industry professional for more than 20 years of which 18 years in the Netherlands, provided a solid start for the research. This was an essential part, as the completion of the online interview took about 45-60 minutes for which interviewees needed to feel not only capable of, but also needed to invest time and energy.

With regard to the purposely-selected interviewees, while using an extensive own network within the sector, the researcher approached personally (verbally, through LinkedIn and Facebook and by email) a total of 52 dancers/choreographers, critics, agents, funding bodies, audiences and related professionals within the Dutch dance scene. To increase reliability and validity (Creswell, 2014), the respondents were chosen in a way that each gender (male and female) each genre (classical, modern, jazz/show, urban, folk, and ballroom/Latin), each generation (20-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60, 60+) had at least one representative. With regard to the dancers, preferably dancers were approached with different (dance) educational background (autodidact, versus academic dance education example) and differing genres they are specialized in.

The researcher similarly aimed to have an even division between the targeted respondents that were subsidized and non-subsidized/commercial dancers/choreographers and other individuals involved within one or in both spheres. However,

the purposely-selected groups of interviewees were merely used to increase the probable validity of the research. Due to the online interview's anonymous feature the researcher couldn't verify whether all personally approached interviewees responded and filled in the questionnaire. *[Note: Due to anonymity the list of these interviewees, with an explanation of the choices that were made, is only available for the supervisor and the second reader of this thesis].*

Other respondents were found randomly, by posting the survey online (social media) and by encouraging the purposely-targeted respondents to forward the survey interview to their peers (e.g. snowball method, (Creswell, 2014)). This combined method using both random selection and purposely-selected respondents was a choice that aimed to reduce the subjectivity and involvement of the researcher (own network), while aiming to have a reliable and valid research execution and outcome (Creswell, 2014).

The public link to the survey was accessible from 15th of April until the 19th of May and resulted in 9 random responses. Hereafter the public link was blocked and a private link was made instead, which was sent to a number of 52 purposely-selected interviewees. The first 11 responses that were collected before the official deadline of the interview (19st of May) were included in the analysis. *[Note: the last interviewee only finished the interview on the 3rd of June, but was still included as the 20th respondent.]*

The interview/survey is considered “cross-sectional” as the data was “collected within one point in time” (Creswell, 2014, p. 187) namely within 2015 (between mid April and 3rd of June).

3.3.3. The Analysis

Coding and labeling functioned as the main analyzing system and a ‘qualitative codebook’ was developed including all ‘predetermined codes’ that emerged either from academic theories or from current online and offline discussions within the field, in combination with 18 years of dance industry work experience of the researcher (Creswell, 2014, p. 199). The researcher's professional involvement within the (Dutch) dance world was adding relevant knowledge and skill with regard to the deductive approach of creating the codes and categories based on the theoretical part of the research.

Two types of codes were used: (1) “(c)odes on topics that readers would expect to find, based on the past literature and common sense” and (2) “(c)odes that are surprising and that were not anticipated at the beginning of the study” (Creswell, 2014, p. 198). The codebook included “a list of codes, a code label for each code, a brief definition of it, a full definition of it” and “information about when to use the code (...)” (Creswell, 2014, p. 199).

Consequently, all close-ended questions were deductively analyzed based on codes/labels that emerged from the theoretical framework of this thesis. Thus the answers to questions that involved the perception of the respondents on whether the specific aspect/criteria matters in the valuation process were labeled by ‘predetermined codes’. In addition the answers to open-ended questions that included the opinion of the respondents on the definition of professional dancers and their (artistic and financial) valuation, and on *why* and *how* the specific aspect/criteria influenced the valuation process, were labeled based on an open-coding method (inductive approach). Besides the use of predetermined codes that repeatedly appeared also while coding the open-ended questions, room was created to find emerging codes that were not specified previously when focusing on the close-ended questions.

The creation of new codes continued until saturation was reached, meaning: the researcher stopped “collecting data when the categories (or themes)’ and thus the ‘fresh data no longer’ sparked ‘new insights’ or revealed ‘new properties’” (Creswell, 2014, p. 189). Several predetermined-codes seemed to emerge also from the answers to the open-ended questions. In this case the researcher applied the predetermined-code to categorize the opinion of the interviewees. The analysis was executed with the qualitative data analysis software ATLAS, after importing all online survey interviews from Qualtrics into the program. The technological developments inter alia within the qualitative research methods provides programs such as ATLAS, which makes the analysis of qualitative data not only easier but made the outcome also more valid and even reliable (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014; Hart, 2015).

According to Gibbs (2007, in Creswell, 2014, p. 201), ‘(q)ualitative validity means that the researcher checks for the accuracy of the findings by employing certain procedures, while qualitative reliability indicates that the researcher’s approach is consistent across different researchers and different projects’.

Besides the already mentioned actions, the validity of the data was ensured also: 1) by the online interview itself (gaining first handed information without any bias of transcribing the interview for example); 2) providing interviewees with the possibility to be able to check their written statements online (even after filling in the online survey-interview); (3) by providing a self-reflection (e.g. reflexivity) and thus an explanation of the researcher's involvement within the scene throughout the research by using in the empiric-embedded examples; (4) by "discussing contrary information" (both in the (theoretical) literature review as in the analysis later on), which "adds to the credibility" (Creswell, 2014, p. 202). Finally by (5) the extensive experience of the researcher within the researched field that according to (Baarda et al., 2007; Creswell, 2014 and Hart, 2005) can add to the accuracy and validity of the way the data is being collected and to the findings.

In addition, in order to ensure the reliability of the study prior to the execution of the research, a qualitative codebook was set up for defining the codes (see Appendix D) (Baarda et al., 2009; Creswell, 2014; Hart, 2005). The researcher did not "drift in the definition of the codes" (Creswell, 2014, p. 203) yet leaving enough room for emerging codes while analyzing the answers to the open-ended questions. According to Hart (2005):

In research the tools or instruments we use to make measurements and observations need to be as free of bias as possible within known limitations. An observation of a test can be said to be reliable if it results in the same or very similar outcomes each time it is applied to the same unit of analysis under the same or very similar conditions. (Hart, 2005, p. 248)

Consequently, using an online survey interview that presented in-depth first-hand data -that the interviewees could oversee and check after completion- the method could also be repeated based on the same exact survey interview that formed a reliable way to collect and analyze the qualitative data. In addition the codebook and the emerging codes were functioning as a method of analysis. Their documentation and the thorough description of the research design, method, etc. in the previous sections, aimed at similarly increasing the "test and re-test" and "parallel-forms" reliability (e.g. that the technique could be repeated another time with the same or even different units of interviewees/respondents) (Hart, 2005, p. 348).

The grouping of the interviewees was based on their main type of relatedness within the Dutch dance world. If an interviewee for example marked 'student' but also 'critics/journalist' and 'audience' (e.g. I. 6/Aud.), after observing the answer(s) on the question with regard to current occupation, the main profile was chosen to mark the interviewee and his/her answers (e.g. codes according to the specific grouping). Consequently, three groups were established based on the above-mentioned.

The coding was implemented based on a 'layered' approach. Behind each code, an additional code was added in order to indicate to which group of people within the art world the code could be related to. A dancer and a dancer/creative was marked by 'Dncr'; audience members were marked by 'Aud', and finally all other related professionals, agents/impresarios, funding bodies, choreographers for instance were marked by 'Inter'. Consequently, each code (whether predetermined or emerging) contained 1) its belonging to a specific code family (based on the questions of the interview) 2) the acronym for the related theme (code) and finally 3) the origin of the answer (e.g. dancer, intermediary and audience). This way the interviews could not only be reduced to data that can be comprehended, but also each question and each code could be related to a type of interviewee, which added another dimension to the research. For an overview and explanations, please visit Appendix D.

4. Results

This thesis was focusing on the theoretical question: How does the Dutch art world value performing artist? The following empirical question served as a guideline for this research namely: How do people who participate in the Dutch dance art world (e.g. producers, distributors and consumers) value professional dance artists, working in the Netherlands (in 2015)?

Realizing that valuation can have many dimensions, what was most relevant for this thesis is the construction of the valuation. With this said, further sub questions arose: (1) How do people who participate in the Dutch art world define on the one hand professional dancers and, on the other hand, the valuation of these professional artists? (2) What are the important aspects/criteria for valuing professional dancers? (3) What are the implications of the artistic (including sociological) and economic valuation of (the perception, appreciation of and the expectations from) dance professionals? (4) What are the consequences of this valuation process for the individual dance professionals?

For efficiency reasons this section implements the use of abbreviations for the specific group of interviewees. In addition, in order to identify the origin of the qualitative data (e.g. answers of the interviewees) dancers/*creatives* are marked as ‘Dncr’, intermediaries as ‘Inter.’ and audiences as ‘Aud.’. Consequently each interviewee is numbered and thus marked with an acronym (e.g. I. ‘number’/acronym), which makes the traceability of the answers easier. Further on this matter, major grammar mistakes have been corrected in order to enhance the approachableness of the text that is being included as reference by the researcher. In case of three Dutch responses (Interviewee 3, 7 and 8), a translated version -made by the researcher- was used to quote the interviewees.

4.1. Identifying the Interviewees

In order to identify the respondents, the first and second sections of the interviews were collecting background information on their nationality, ethnicity, age, education, current occupation(s), their years of experience within, and relatedness to the Dutch dance sector, their type of relation, and their focus within the sector. An additional inquiry included the interviewees’ genre preference, which was on the one hand to ‘warm up’ the interviewees and on the other hand to see whether there might be relevant patterns emerging in relation to the answers the respondents gave at a latter

stage (see also previous chapter with regard to groupings/code families and the structure of naming the codes).

Table 4.1.1 gives an overview of the type of grouping and the interviewee's number based on which i.a. a latter section will identify the answers. The researcher identified nine dancers/*creatives*, seven intermediaries and four audience members.

Table 4.1.1: Division of the Interviewees

Identification of Interviewees: Three Different Groupings Based on their Background Information

- Dancer / Creative-1
- Dancer / Creative -2
- Intermediary - 3
- Dancer / Creative -4
- Dancer / Creative -5
- Audience -6
- Intermediary -7
- Intermediary -8
- Audience -9
- Dancer / Creative -10
- Dancer / Creative -11
- Dancer / Creative -12
- Dancer/ Creative -13
- Dancer / Creative- 14
- Intermediary - 15
- Audience – 16
- Audience - 17
- Intermediary - 18
- Intermediary -19
- Intermediary - 20



Appendix E/1 indicates that the selection of interviewees is a diverse group of individuals. Yet out of the 20 interviewees, 12 were females, 13 were Dutch and 11 were Caucasian. Despite the white-European female dominance, the group can be seen as a diverse representation of creators/producers, intermediaries and consumers with a multicultural characteristic. The age of the interviewees varied between 18 years and 66 years, having ten individuals above and another ten below 30 years old. The age

variation is interesting as different generations might have different perceptions and thus opinions of the thesis subject and thus the questions that were presented. The same can be said about the extent (length in years) of relatedness to the sector of the interviewees and their relation to the answers they present (Table 4.1.2, 4.1.3 and 4.1.4). However, as a result, based on these aspects no particular differences emerged that need be noted here.

Table 4.1.2: The Experience/Relatedness of the Interviewee to the Dutch Dance Sector in Years [Note: '1.8' is the question number within the interview and the other numbers are indicating the years that the specific interviewee is related to the sector.]

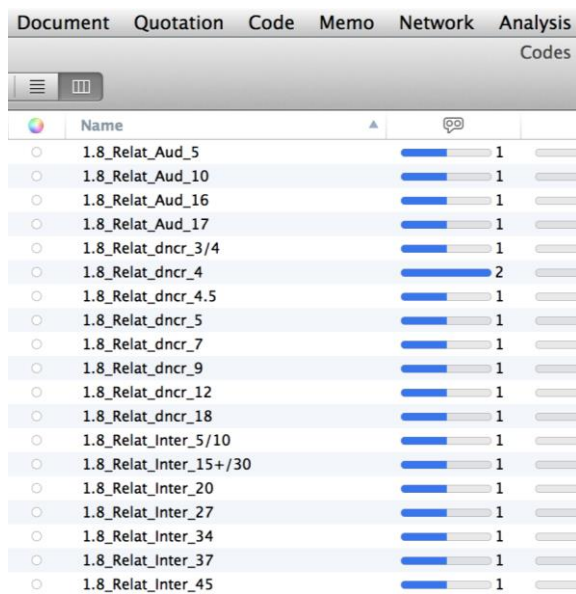
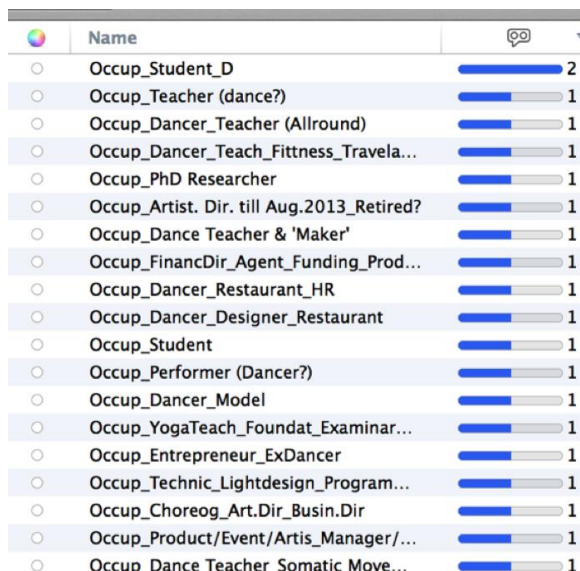


Table 4.1.3: The Occupation of the Interviewees

#	Answer	Response	%
1	Student	3	15%
2	Other	17	85%



The occupation of the interviewees is diverse. Varying from being a (dance) student, to a dancer with multiple jobs, a related professional (production manager and light designer for instance), agent, funding body, financial director, choreographer etc. Table 4.1.3 shows how each professional (except the three students of which one is an audience member and two are dance students/dancers) defined their current (several) professions. Further on this matter, when inquiring about the interviewee's specific relation to the Dutch dance art world, throughout multiple answers individuals could indicate their involvement in the sector from several perspectives.

The multiple answer possibility was connected to the theoretical framework that inter alia discussed that an intermediary and dancer colleague can also be considered as an audience and that a dancer might also be a creative and/or choreographer/'maker' and/or teacher. Nine interviewees related to the field, indicated to be also an audience member (besides the 4 individuals who are merely audiences). In addition, the multiple job holding characteristic (within and outside the sector) is confirmed in relation to the 20 interviewees involved in this research. (See also previous table). However, the main aim was –based on the interviewees' occupation and type of relatedness to the sector- to typify and thus divide the interviewees into specific (e.g. three) groups, upon which their answers can be coded and traced back to their origin (see Table 4.1.1).

Table 4.1.4: Respondents' Specific Relation to the Dutch Dance Sector

Code	Count
I'am_Audience	13
I'am_Dncr	10
I'am_Dncr_Creat	7
I'am_Related Prof	7
I'am_Student	4
I'am_Age/Impr	2
I'am_Critic_Journ	2
I'am_Dncr_Choreog	2
I'am_Fund_Body	2
I'am_MIX	2
I'am_Choreogr	1

Interviewees were also asked to identify their focus within the sector. Three dancers (Interviewee 1, 4 and 12) and one intermediary indicated to be involved merely within the subsidized sector, and one audience member indicated to be more focused on the commercial sector. However, most respondents (15) were indicating an involvement within both the subsidized and the commercial sphere. This implies a diversified approach towards dance with regard to different genres for instance (e.g. dancers and creators being related to different sectors and the taste of the interviewees being ‘omnivorous’). The dual focus might also imply the *dehierarchisation* of genres (mentioned in the theoretical framework) and perhaps a more entrepreneurial attitude (with regard to finance for instance), wherein (a) subsidized dance(r) is not being able to survive without the ‘commercial’ thinking. [Note from the researcher: *entrepreneurial attitude doesn't merely have to do with finances.*]

Table 4.1.5: Interviewees’ Focus within the Dutch Dance Sector

#	Answer	Response	%
1	Commercial sector	1	5%
2	Subsidized sector	4	20%
3	Both	15	75%
	Total	20	100%

Table 4.1.6: Interviewees’ Genre Preference

#	Genre	Response	%
1	Ballet	6	30%
2	Contemporary / Modern	15	75%
3	Improvisation	9	45%
4	Jazz	9	45%
5	Musical	5	25%
6	Urban	13	65%
7	Folk	2	10%
8	Ballroom	1	5%
9	Latin	5	25%
10	Swing/ Lindy-hop	2	10%
11	Tup	3	15%
12	Cross - over / mix	11	55%
13	All of the above mentioned	1	5%
14	Other dance genre(s) namely:	4	20%

Other dance genre(s) namely:

Underground, House, Popping, tricking, Capoeira, Acrobatics, Popping and Locking
 Afro-Caribbean
 Flamenco (is Folk?ballet?) Butoh (stands totally independently as a genre)

The genre preference of the interviewees in Table 4.1.6 is similarly indicating a very comparable pattern that was mentioned in relation to the interviewees focus. The most often mentioned genres are contemporary/modern, urban, crossover, improvisation and jazz, which don't only indicate again an omnivorous taste but also the *dehierarchisation* of genres from all perspectives (producer, intermediaries and consumer).

I have been dancing from a young age, and started in a variety of styles - Jazz, Tap, ballet, and contemporary. Each give a different feeling and meaning, some just for fun and exercise, others more technical and challenging, others simply to express and be creative! (I. 10/Dncr.)

The several reasons why these genres are preferred by the interviewees are listed in Appendix E1/2. The answers of the interviewees to this question appeared to be mirroring unintentionally the interviewees' overall -'person oriented'- approach towards the definition mentioned in the next section and valuation of professional dancers. Respondents' preferences for genres are very much connected to their personal connection/experience, taste and passion, which have also to do with the underlying meaning behind genres. "There is so much more behind [*these techniques*] than just movements" (I. 14/Dncr.). "(A)ll of those different styles come from cultures and give an extra way to tell a story. Dance is emotion" (I. 17/Aud.).

Further on this matter, freedom, individuality, creativity and diversity are important aspects to the interviewees with regard to their preferred genres. "I like the dynamics, intensity, tricks and flow in those types of dance. Also the freedom in movement and music is very important to me" (I. 11/Dncr.). As Interviewee 5 (Dncr.) also indicates further: "I am a curious person so always open for more inspiration and information to add to my vocabulary, mix it up, make it your own. As a dancer you are always learning, that's one of the things I love...". Interviewee 15 (Inter.) continues:

I worked for many years in the so called theatre dance sector... With several projects I tried to educate the audience by programming world dance or urban dance or fusion dance in rural theatres all around the country and promote diversity of all dance forms. (I. 15/ Inter.)

4.2. Defining and Valuing Professional Dancers

The following part deals with questions of section number 3, with regard to the definition of professional dancers as it is indicated in Table 4.2.1. For a more comprehensive visual overview of the results (including the codes that were related to this section) please visit Appendix E/2.1.

Table 4.2.1: Overview of Part 2/ Section 3 of the Interview:

‘OPEN’ INTERPRETATION

Identifying the personal opinion of the respondents and their perception on Dutch society with regard to the concept of ‘professional dancer’.

3rd Question Series

- 3.1. The own definition of a professional dancer according to the respondent.
- 3.2. The definition of a professional dancer according to the respondents’ knowledge within Dutch dance art world.
- 3.3. The thoughts/ opinion of how professional dancers should be defined according to the respondent.

4.2.1. Defining Professional Dancers

The definition of professional dancers of (all) the interviewees indicates a highly qualitative and ‘person-oriented’ approach. Attitude and behavior (e.g. hard-working mentality, good communication and entrepreneurial attitude), the (willingness towards the continuous mastering and the development of) skills and creativity are central aspects when defining a professional. Whether the dancer had an education or not doesn’t necessarily indicate the individual’s professionalism. Rather his/her attitude, motivation and (technique and mentality related) skills seem to determine, whether somebody is an amateur or professional dancer. An audience member who is a light designer and technician for i.a. dance performances states: “I would say that a professional dancer does not have to have a particular education however if you can dance and it looks professional you are not a professional in my opinion yet. It also has to do with work ethics (I.17/Aud.)”.

The status of a professional 'should be' the same. Whether you are surgeon, a baker or a dancer. Therefore the definition will be the same. A professional is a

person that has received an education aiming to develop mental and physical skills to perform specific tasks. These skills that require a higher or lesser degree of knowledge, experience and talent will be needed and used by others against an appropriate payment. So, traditionally a professional gets paid. However, professionals don't necessarily get paid and those that get paid are not by definition professional. (in terms of skills and especially spirit/mentality). (I. 20/Inter.)

Consequently, especially in the financially challenging dance art world, there is a question as to whether these dancers can only be considered professionals if they earn their living with dance. The opinion is divided between interviewees defining a professional dancer based on the fact whether they earn their living with dance or not. "A professional dancer earns money from her/his work, this is her/his "job". But on the other hand, a professional dancer is, who (above this) knows her/his profession and always develops her/his skills" (I. 4/Dncr.). According to Interviewee 5 (Dncr.) at least the 'aim' should be present:

A professional dancer for me is somebody whose aim is to live from dancing. Whether you have an education or not, when you have to live from your work as a dancer and you are dedicated I think you can call that a professional dancer. (I.5/Dnrc.)

Whether the dance world perceives the dancer as being professional is a debatable aspect in relation to the definition of the individual dancer:

A professional dancer is someone who has huge knowledge about dance styles, body, movements and mentality. It's not about having a big name or being famous, it's about knowing what you can do with your body, knowing the techniques but create and think about it on a high level. It also has to do with experience, if you have experienced a lot as a dancer or a person, you know how to handle things as a solo dancer or in a group. (I.14/Dncr.)

Status can be debated, as the opinion of the 'outside world' (e.g. status of the dancer) might not be in line with the perceived definition of the 'insiders'. However,

experience might make a difference and can contribute to developing the professional skills and attitude. All in all, these aspects don't only shed light on how professional dancers are being defined but also how these individuals might be valued based on these definitions. Consequently, if a dancer is educated and is earning his/her living with dance but his/her attitude and behavior is not living up to the professional 'standards' mentioned above (mainly related to skills, attitude and behavior), the individual couldn't be considered as a professional. The definition of the interviewees is thus highly dominated with a qualitative perspective rather than with a quantitative perspective (e.g. financial criteria).

A professional dancer is an educated or autodidact artist who feels the need to express him/herself by choreographing, creating or executing dance, preferably 24/7 and as a way of living despite the little opportunities or possibilities there might be. The professional dancer is not only gifted/talented, but also a hard worker and knows at least what's necessary to have a shot on these little opportunities and possibilities in both a creative and in a business way.
(I.19/Inter.)

Education and genre differences come more to matter when interviewees explain, how according to their perception the dance world identifies professional dancers. According to Interviewee 8/Inter. the more traditional academic background-led genres such as ballet for instance acquire a high level of education, whereas urban genres for instance emphasize the 'type of person' and thus have more attention for the personal (more than just technical) skills and attitude and behavior. Nevertheless a professional dancer should be 'scoring good on all fronts' (I. 7/Inter.), hereby referring to not only the artistic skills (e.g. talent, specialty, techniques) but also to the attitude, communication and entrepreneurial skills, which will be mentioned later on.

Education and dance genre emphasis is also something that an audience member (I. 9/Aud.) points out when defining a professional dancer: "someone who finished a dance education, who is technically trained in ballet, modern and/or jazz". Interviewee 3 (Inter.) points out that this standard is needed in order to follow some kind of system for instance. In addition:

I think the 'higher' Dutch dance world; the ones that do get subsidies etc. define a professional dancer when they've finished a bachelor education in dance.

Why? I don't know. But I also think that there is a part of the dance world who are also open for MBO educated dancers and autodidacts. Why? Because they realize that it's not the education that makes the dancer, it's the dancer (person) that makes the dancer. (I. 5/Dncr.)

In this sense the level of education might also matter to the Dutch dance world in determining who is and who is not a professional dancer. In addition whether the dancer earns money or not is more emphasized in relation to the Dutch dance world (and is to a lesser degree when interviewees elaborate on their own definition).

Interviewee 4 and 10 only emphasize the aspect of earning and having a job contract: "A dancer, who earns her/his money from dance, with a fixed-, or at least one contract with a company (I. 4/Dncr.)". A professional dancer according to the Dutch dance world is: "Someone who earns money with dance" (I. 10/Dncr.). However "the sort of salary a professional deserves is arguable. There are 'still' conventions about it..." (I. 20/ Inter.). With regard to the genre differences, Interviewee 13 points out:

The Dutch dance art world defines most of the time a professional dancer a technical and well-trained dancer. They forget most of the time that the hip-hop styles DO have technique. Hip-hop dancers are not seen as a professional dancer because 'They come from the Bronx'. Which is totally not my opinion."(I. 13/Dncr.)

This remark introduces again the genre differences that were already pointed out when the 'higher' dance world and the 'subsidized' dance world were mentioned and the western techniques (e.g. ballet, modern, jazz) that mostly related to accredited academies and thus the acknowledgement of a dancer as being professional (I. 5/Dncr. and I. 9/Aud.) Further on this matter, status and opinion of 'others' (e.g. for example based on the influence of the media) is also highlighted: "Many people probably think that professional dancers are only those who have big names or are famous. That's what they know because of social media" (I. 14/Dncr.). In addition to the above-mentioned audience members also have their critical points to this matter:

To be honest I think *Dutchies* are very closed-minded when it goes about the profession of dance. Last years there has been a slight change due to the many TV programs we have but in general the idea is that once someone is making a living out of dance - you are a professional. (I. 16/Aud.)

I think a lot of people will see the dancers on talent shows as Professionals. The name of the show is not 'Holland got Professionals' [*researcher's note: referring to 'Holland's Got Talent'*] and in 'So you think you can dance' they don't speak of professionals either. Next to that if you earn money with it, it is a job. (I. 17/Aud.)

In general it is believed that the Dutch dance world considers a dancer professional if (s)he is educated and is thus (technically) skilled; is considered professional by other (e.g. media) and is paid for his/her job. In addition as an Intermediary (choreographer/director points out): "If you make your money with it. If you're 'well known' or 'seen' in the dance network. A lot evolves around marketing and profiling. But 'acting' like a professional dancer, doesn't per se make you one" (I. 18/Inter.)

As a conclusion on how professional dancers should be defined, we can state that the interviewees emphasize the skillfulness of the dancer which is not only related to his/her technical abilities expression and creativity within one or more dance styles, but also related to the individual dancer's attitude and behavior (motivation, communication, punctuality and even -and especially nowadays- to his/her 'entrepreneurial skills' (I. 7/Inter; 15/Inter.; 19/Inter.)). Education is generally seen as less important from the interviewee's point of view, as there are many autodidacts who can be considered professionals due to their skills and behavior. Expressing 'emotions in movement' (I. 6/Aud.) and 'devoting' him/herself to dance and 'aiming to earn' a living from it (I. 5/Dncr.) are important aspects for a professional dancer, even if that is a challenge nowadays:

The word "professional" creates a "box" which means, if you are a professional, this is your job and this is what you "use" to earn money. But nowadays it's really hard to work and earn money as a dancer...If someone keeps on building and developing her/his capability to be able to work as a dancer, although at the moment she/he doesn't have a dancing job, he/she still

should be defined as a professional! The working process "behind" makes the professional. (I. 4/Dncr.)

The influence of genre divisions is also present when dealing with the definition of professional dancers (see previously e.g. I. 5/Dncr; I. 11/Dncr. and I. 9/Aud.) in relation to academic education versus an autodidact development. As Interviewee 15 (Inter.) also states: "There is a great grey area where dancers educate themselves /peer to peer/ via private education/ education abroad by a master/ educate online so my suggestion is to include autodidact dancers". In addition, Interviewee 8 (Inter.) stresses five important aspects with regard to the definition of a professional dancer (which also serve for the same interviewee's valuation criteria): 1) personality/individuality and skills for interpretation; 2) creativity; 3) capability to collaborate; 4) flexible attitude, diversity and open to develop, and finally 5) technical abilities and craftsmanship.

The qualitative approach is very much visible in the answers of the interviewees. Perhaps inter alia due to the fact that there is a challenging economic environment in which dancers are not being able to always make money from their profession, the accent lies on the 'person behind the movement'.

A dancer that has a professional work ethic: is reliable, understands that their body is an instrument and therefore takes care of it through daily training, healthy nutrition etc., makes sure they are in their best physical shape...are warmed up 100% before rehearsal (through group or individual training), is on time, makes sure they know their work (choreography)...And besides contributing to a creative process only through physical presence, one should also be open for contribution on an intellectual level, by actively seeking understanding of, and researching, the creative process that you're in. (I. 18/Inter.)

These aspects have much to do with the criteria based on which these professionals are valued based upon from the interviewees perspective. Nevertheless there seems to be a discrepancy between how these professionals should be and how they are valued. Education (level and genre), the aspect of 'earning money', status and acceptance (by media and audience for example) are mentioned that are relevant criteria for defining

and thus also valuing professional dancers within the Dutch dance world in general. In contrary, the interviewee's personal opinion emphasizes a more attitude and behavior related approach to define who can be considered a professional dancer. The following part will specifically touch upon the valuation process of professional dancers.

4.2.2. The Valuation of Professional Dancers

Section four, aimed at investigating what the interviewees understand with regard to the valuation of professional dancers and how this valuation is constructed within the Dutch dance art world. In addition, before presenting the interviewees with specific (from the theoretical framework emerged possible valuation aspect/criteria) and investigating their view on those matters, the aim was also to collect more in-depth information specifically with regard to the artistic and the financial valuation of these professionals without influencing them. For a more comprehensive visual overview (including the codes that were related to this section), please visit Appendix E/2.2. The following open questions were presented in the interview with regard to valuation of professional dancers:

Table 4.2.2: Overview of Part 2, Section 4 of the Interview:

'OPEN' INTERPRETATION

Identifying the personal opinion of the respondents and their perception on Dutch society with regard to the concept of 'value'/'valuation'.

4th Question Series

- 4.1. The own definition of 'value'/'valuation' according to the respondents in relation to professional dancers.
- 4.2. The thoughts/ opinion of 'value'/'valuation' in relation to professional dancers within Dutch dance art world according to the respondents.
- 4.3. The thoughts/ opinion of 'value'/'valuation' in relation to professional dancers according to which professional dancers should be valued according to the respondent.
- 4.4. Open associations on the term 'artistic valuation' in relation to professional dancers.
- 4.5. Open associations on the term 'financial valuation' in relation to professional dancers.

The meaning of valuation was also perceived from a dominantly qualitative perspective. Interviewee 19 (Inter.) stresses that besides "physical ability as in the way you use your body to express yourself", the "technical ability" and "creativity", the level of "business knowledge" are nowadays highly relevant. (I. 19/Inter.) Other interviewees associate valuation in relation to professional dancers more in line with "(t)he appreciation of dancers throughout their body and mentality" (I. 14/Dncr.).

According to Interviewee 2 (Dncr.): "A professional dancer should be precise with the dance technique what he/she know", the professional should be "exact with the time/rehearsal, performances", should have a "special quality with movement" and is an "open-minded, respectful, curious person" with a "humble personality". A professional dancer should be "persistent, hard-working, creative person", a "team member" who is "correct with others" while being an "observer" and an "honest person" (I. 2/Dncr.). Consequently, how a professional is being defined sets also the valuation criteria -as it was also stressed by Interviewee 8 (Inter.) in the previous section.

There is thus much more to the word 'valuation' in relation to professional dancers than merely the quantitative aspect (how much (s)he earns for example). "To me the word value means the level of excellence in the "work" you deliver. The level of movement, music, experience and emotions that make the audience value what you do" (I. 16/Aud.). Interviewee 12 (Dncr.) point out that value lies also in understanding "the worth of a dancer/ choreographer/ choreography/ show. What importance does it carry and where was it derived from. What essence is embedded within? The value is not only the cost".

What do you mean by valuation...? I think when professional dancers are seen/known and successful for example when they work in famous dance companies they are valued, but that's only for the few. Apart from those few professional dancers, most dancers are not valued for what they are worth. I also see a tendency that professional dancers are too hard on themselves and on other dancers...and are not enough working on their branding (what is my message) and positive image. Also terrible in writing skills...Question: who values whom in the dance world? (I. 15/Inter.)

This critical remark on the undervaluation of most dancers (e.g. due to media attention and the difference between the famous companies versus smaller ones for example), is also stressed by inter alia Interviewee 7 (Inter.) who is highlighting the fact that especially in the contemporary dance world (referring to the genre) the valuation can be “dangerous by outsiders”. According to him a dancer has the right to value him/herself being a professional or not, and the rigid valuation of the previously mentioned contemporary or ballet world is not valid within the urban scene for instance, where one “doesn’t know the word amateur or professional. Good or bad, makes no difference. You have devoted yourself to something” (I. 7/Inter.).

In addition to the critical aspects of valuation, Interviewee 10 (Dncr.) points out that: "We must be 'valued' for what we do, as much as other professions". This is supported with the first link that Interviewee 5 (Dncr.) makes in relation to the word valuation: “Dance and dancers are undervalued within the Netherlands. You see and read this everywhere. The value of dancers and dance is a very living discussion at the moment." The critical remarks with regard to valuation of professional dancers are also supported by the answers of the interviewees (I.7./Inter; 8/Inter. for example), with regard to the perception how the valuation process is being present within the Dutch dance art world in specific. Interviewee 5/Dncr. continues:

I think they undervalue dance and dancers. By cutting all of the subsidies.

Why? Art is the first thing where they take money from because at the moment they don't see how important this is for a country and culture of the country. (I. 5/Dncr.).

Further on this matter, Interviewee 8 (Inter.) stresses the fact that the genre differences together with the division (and the cuts) of subsidies based on artistic quality (that is highly dominated by the western and academic dance techniques) are forming a barrier for the Dutch dance art world’s evolution. This observation is shared also inter alia by Interviewee 15 (Inter.), who also stresses that the valuation process is often down to a limited number of people considered as experts:

Who is The Dutch Dance Art World? Theatres? Dance Companies? Funds? Knowledge Institutes? Educational Institutes? I think the criteria are based from the aspect of a western theatre dance view by white 50+ people in power -

professional dancer attended high dance education - is earning a living as a dancer. The valuation is too much focused on ballet and contemporary dance- what happened to jazz dance in the theatre, where is a flamenco or hip-hop academy? Also too much focus on quality of dance...that's what I mean with certain people in power - people who never leave (as it seems). (I. 15/Inter.)

“Times are changing” (I. 20/Inter) and more and more subsidies are being cut, which presents i.a. financial challenges for dancers. This is particularly relevant in relation to financial (undervaluation) wherein according to the interviewees, genre difference plays thus an important role. The academic (e.g. ballet and contemporary world) is dominating the Dutch dance sector if one considers ‘artistic’ valuation that is often connected to the word ‘quality’. It is doubtful and often considered a fact that urban dance genres are for instance seen less ‘artistic’, even if they are performed on stage (I. 8/Inter.; I. /11.Dncr.).

Particular genres (thus urban for instance), together with “real heart felt dance” without spectacular props (I. 17/Aud.) are not getting their foot in the valuation process due to ‘western quality standards’ and the historically embedded conventions of academic techniques (e.g. ballet and contemporary).“(B)allet and modern get more appreciation, also financially, than urban and folk for example” (I. 9/Aud.). This critical remark is made even worse by the status of famous companies (e.g. “the name of the companies” matter (I. 4/Dncr.) and their famous dancers and the increasingly relevant media exposure with its questionable effects. "The promotions around you as a dancer (TV / media)- the results you have” matter as “(t)he Dutch values are based on the outside world (results)” (I. 16/Aud.).

Interviewee 8 (Inter.) again stresses that whereas technical skills are dominating the valuation of academically trained dancers, other genres such as urban and also fusion/crossover companies and thus dancers emphasize the creativity and personality of a dancer more. Skills/technique, creativity, experience are thus relevant aspects (Interviewee 2/Dncr.; 3/Inter.; 6/Aud.; 12/Dncr; 13/Dncr.). However fame, status and genre hierarchy stand in the way of certain dancers to be valued based on equal ‘artistic’ and thus quality standards.

According to the interviewees, this has an influence on the available (and limited) financing possibilities, which are again not equally divided between dancers related to differing genres (e.g. ballet and contemporary are seemingly valued more

financially and artistically than urban for instance) (i.a. I./ 7/Inter.; I. 9/Aud.; I. 11/Dncr.). Therefore again the network and entrepreneurial/ business skills for the professional dancer comes to matter in order to survive and also to be valued and accepted within the Dutch dance art world (I. 3/Inter.; I. 7/Inter.; I. 15/Inter.; I. 19/Inter.).

The two dance students (I. 11 and 14) seem to have a slightly less critical perception of the valuation of professional dancers within the Netherlands, as according to them there are more than enough support systems (e.g. subsidies) and possibilities (events) for the dancers to express themselves and thus also to be seen and thus valued. If we consider the critical remarks of the other interviewees (not students), the student's perception might be idealistic and naive, yet perhaps hopeful considering a new generation of dancers who see other and new opportunities to emerge. This however remains an open question, as Interviewee 8 (Inter.) stresses the fact that "especially the new generation of dancers got less chances and are not VALUED ACCORDING TO THEIR WORTH" [*researcher's note: translated from Dutch and the last remark is indeed written in capital letters*].

‘Without Art the Earth is just 'EH'!! The amount of hours we spend dedicated to our profession; it is no 9-5 job. We are athletes, and constantly work on our body and mind in order to deliver what we do...The knowledge we have of our bodies and how connected it is to our mind - that dance is body language; communicating without words, a way of connecting people, in honesty and trust. (I. 10/Dncr.)

How professional dancers should be valued according to the interviewees are completely in line with their previous observations. The profession is more than just technique it involves a 'dynamic physicality' (I. 8/Inter.) wherein "(m)otivation and discipline are the key" (I. 13/ Dncr.). Dancers should be valued according to "(t)heir professional attitude/work ethic, the way they understand their profession and what it takes/what is expected, their reliability...(I. 18/Inter.).

Consequently, the "(l)evel of experience within the field", the "quality of work provided", the "maturity" while "working within a professional environment", the "skill level" (I. 12/ Dncr.), "personality, open-mindedness", "hard-working" attitude, the eagerness "to develop in new styles" (I. 9/Aud.), "(c)reativity...but also the ability

to bridge the gap between the audience and the dance art itself” (I. 6/Aud.), are all important aspects for the valuation of a professional dancer and how these individuals should be valued. Yet, according to Interviewee 7 (Inter.) the question of valuation is over exaggerated; “Let dance to be dance. And let a dancer to be a dancer. If a choreographer wishes to work with a dancer it is often based on a feeling. This feeling is a powerful weapon” [*Translated by the researcher from Dutch*]. In addition the presence of the challenging valuation in general of the dancing profession itself and its relation to the financial valuation is also present in the remarks of the interviewees:

Dancers should be more appreciated. Some people do not realize that it's a profession and not just some hobby. They don't see the hard work, dedication and quality professional dancers and teachers have. How or on what aspects you value a dancer, is very personal. For me the person and personality is as important as the way somebody dances. Why? Because in dance you really have to work together, you have to be able to count on somebody, trust him or her to be able to CREATE together. (I. 5/Dncr.)

The appreciation of people for their body and mind...But also financially would it be great if the support sometimes were more because dancing is very expensive. To take classes or to make a piece for in theaters (and more) is really expensive and we don't get a lot of money when we have a job in the dance work field. (I.14/Dncr.)

In the last two sections of the fourth question series (part 2), the interviewees were asked to associate on anything with regard to ‘artistic’ and ‘financial valuation’ in relation to professional dancers. Artistic valuation is in the first instance mainly connected to the previously mentioned unquantifiable aspects of dance as a profession and also to the skills, personality and motivation, and work ethic/attitude of the professional. Interviewee 4 (Dncr.) identifies this with “deep meaning and technique” (I. 4/Dncr.) whereas Interviewee 14 (Dncr.) stresses a more abstract level of the “(v)aluation of body and mind”.

What is important besides “(t)echnical skills, empathy, creativity, musicality” (I. 6/Aud.) is to be "able to create something mesmerizing, to go beyond borders, to bring people together, to create a certain feeling in the audience” (I.9/Aud.). This way

the "(c)reativity level and the ability to express your own personality as a professional dancer" are crucial with regard to the artistic value/valuation of a professional dancer (i.a. I. 19/Inter.).

For me artistic value is when through the creation/choreography the dancer/performance conveys an understandable and clear message to the audience about an exact subject... Also makes the audience think about the subject afterward the show. (There are a lot of 'self-serving' performances, which doesn't talk about anything). (I. 2/Dncr.)

Consequently '(t)he value lies in the fact that through the dancing or moving body, a work (message/opinion/theme/statement/finding etc.) is being communicated from one to the other (creator > < dancer > audience)" (I. 18/Inter.). Conveying and transmitting a message through the body with the technical skills and thus "in particularly the personality- the performer" and his/her expression that constitutes the artistic value of professional dancers (I. 3/Inter.). However this seems to be challenged nowadays: "Being able to create your own style. In a world where copying each other's style is almost easier than creating your own style -this is where artistic validation is all about" (I. 16/Aud.). Further on this matter as Interviewee 11 (Dncr.) also states:

I think the artistic valuation is being influenced by the commercialized industry. There are a lot of dancers who don't dance for the sake of art, which is a sad thing to see. People focus too much on flashy movements and tricks and don't recognize true artists anymore. (I. 11/Dncr.)

Other challenging aspects are the previously mentioned 'status issues' and the financial valuation and the commercialization of professional dancers that seem to form a barrier or at least an important criteria for artistic valuation: "Unfortunately there is not enough opportunity in the Netherlands to be valued for your artistic skills as a professional dancer or choreographer, again because of the money" (I. 5/Dncr.)

(F)irst thing that comes up is that, the more popular/famous the dancer or choreographer is, the higher the value. For example, the choreographer "Jiri Kylian" can charge more for his repertoire to be performed by a company, or

for someone to work with him, than a choreographer that is just starting out or getting a name for themselves - the more popular/successful the art, the more it is worth (I. 10/Dncr.)

Here we arrived at an important observation. Is the artistic value of professional dancers indeed “(l)ost in our society” as Interviewee 17 (Audience member and related professional) suggests? The answer to this question however remains open for now. Nevertheless what is striking that despite the fact that artistic valuation is not first handedly associated with financial consequences, at last undervaluation of the profession in general and underappreciating dancers artistically seems to be in relation with the financial possibilities (the amount of budget available) and consequences (earnings). However artistic value is something intangible that is strongly related to the dancer’s personality with keywords such as ‘behavior’, ‘attitude’, ‘motivation’, ‘hard-work’, ‘communication’, ‘creativity’ and ‘expression’ [*Note: in a random sequence*].

In contrary (and somewhat logically), with regard to financial valuation all interviewees associate on “the salary of a dancer” (I. 2/Dncr.) and stress the fact that the professional dancers are in general “underpaid” (e.g. financial not valued) (I. 7/Inter.) and thus “underappreciated” (I. 17/Inter.). Whether this “minimum salary and a big undervaluation” is due to “budget cuts” (I. 8/Inter.), is perhaps partially true. Interviewees stress that in generally “(b)eing able to make a living out of your professional dancing “ (I. 16/Aud.) is a challenging task. “We are undervalued. We get paid to less. People are not willing to pay for dance, whether it's for dancing in a video clip or the government who cuts subsidies.” (I. 5/Dncr.)

The associations of Interviewee 4 (Dncr.) also suggest that subsidies are not an ideal and easy solution: “subsidies, paperwork, difficult”. Interviewee 1 (Dncr.) is even stating that financial valuation in relation to professional dancers is “not compatible!”. It is thus a cumbersome task to financially value something that is intangible, that is based on so much more than only technical skills and the result that the public sees: “Dancers get too little paid and should get more discount or special treatment for body/health care (physiotherapy, massage etc.)” (I. 11/Dncr.).

Professional dancers need to be better valued when it comes to financial valuation. Professional dancers, educated and autodidact need to have a strong

and healthy body to be able to express on a certain level. This means a lot of practicing, but also a lot of other things and means to keep this strong body. It is a lifestyle in which you need at least extra training, a good home, physiotherapy and healthy food on a more than regular basis. When it comes to financial valuation, most of the professional dancers do not earn sufficient money to maintain this lifestyle but at the same time dance companies, clients and audience expect them to reach for the highest level. (I. 19/Inter.)

What I said before, we don't get a lot of money when we have jobs. Sometimes we don't get money at all and we take jobs just to build our CV, as a professional dancers of course you get paid but also this is not always that big. Our clothes, shoes, classes, food and more is so expensive, we should make more money. (I. 14/Inter.)

The suggestion is: "pay them as any other 'professional' job." (I.18/Inter.). However according to Interviewee 15 (Inter.):

(P)rofessional dancers are terrible with making money, it doesn't seem important with the most horrid consequences the organizations/institutions milk them...it's very sad, and I really hope this will improve in the future professional dancers need to clear up their business skills than they get good financial valuation...(T)hank god in the Netherlands there is such a thing as CAO Dance, when you work for a dance company. (I. 15./Inter.)

Nevertheless, according to the answers of the respondents, dancers seem to wish for a better financial valuation. Whether the main barrier in achieving more monetary appreciation is a lack in business skills or a general tendency for the undervaluation of dance as a profession and thus also its professionals, is a question. Despite Interviewee 15's remark, there are an increasing number of freelance professional dancers (e.g. due to budget cuts and thus a decreasing amount of jobs for instance) who cannot rely on any arrangement (such as CAO dance) that would protect their financial valuation.

In addition -and in relation to the previous section mentioned observations- the issue with financial valuation is seemingly effecting the artistic valuation. This has effect not only on the amount of possibilities that dancers might have (jobs for

instance), but also on the issue of 'status' and 'big names' and the issue of 'gender' differences come to matter, wherein there is not only a hierarchy but also a seemingly generally present discrimination towards both the artistic and financial valuation of certain type of professional dancers.

4.2.3. Highlighted Aspects/Criteria of the Valuation Process

The following part presents an overview of the results that are related to section five that included both close-ended and open-ended questions. The section aimed at examining the opinion of the respondents with regard to a comprehensive list of criteria that emerged from the theoretical framework -in relation to (both artistic and financial) valuation. After each concept and its different angles, interviewees were asked to indicate whether the aspect/criteria influences the valuation process (on a 3-point scale: not at all-slightly-extremely), and were encouraged to explain their opinion. Table 4.2.3. presents an overview of the groupings of the questions under certain overarching aspects.

Table 4.2.3: Part 3: Overview of Questions that are Related to Specific Influencing Factors (e.g. Aspects / Criteria) of the Professional Dancers' Valuation

5th Question Series (See Appendix E/3)

5.1. Education (See: Appendix E/3.1)

5.1.1. Level/Type

5.1.2. Genre

5.1.3. Length/Years

5.1.4. Amount

5.1.5. Location

5.2. Skills (See: Appendix E/3.2)

5.2.1. Specialization versus diversification

Specialized in 1 to 2 techniques versus more dance techniques

5.2.2. Creativity

Creative dancer with own creative/choreographic ideas versus a dancer who follows instructions without creating him/herself

5.2.3. Expression

Besides talent and skills the dancers expression might matter

5.3. Experience & Job Holding (See: Appendix E/3.3)

5.3.1. Genre: The genre itself that the dancer is experienced in

5.3.2. Length/Years Dancing job

5.3.3. Amount of Dancing jobs

5.3.4. Type of Dancing Job/Freelancer versus full-time jobs/ contracts

5.3.5. Different not dance related jobs in combination with dancing jobs

5.4. Visibility/ Location/ Reputation & Networks (See: Appendix E/3.4)

5.4.1. The appearance of the dancer and/or mentioning the name within commercial versus non-commercial sphere e.g. type of visibility/reputation (for ex. TV versus theater scene)

5.4.2. Four big cities versus smaller Dutch cities i.r.t. Visibility/Experience

5.4.3. The Netherlands versus abroad i.r.t. Visibility/Experience

5.4.4. The attention/ reviews of critics in online or offline print, media and/or television or word of mouth

5.4.5. The attention/ reviews of audiences in online or offline print, media and/or television or word of mouth

5.4.6. The social and professional network/connections; 'who knows who'

5.5. The Individual Dancer's Demographics (See: Appendix E/3.5)

5.5.1. Gender

Male vs. Female

5.5.2. Age

Referring to the age of the dancer

5.5.3. Nationality

Nationality (Dutch versus from abroad)

5.5.4. Ethnic background

Whether the dancer's ethnic background matters

5.5.5. Color of Skin

Whether the dancer's skin color matters

5.6. The Individual Dancer's Appearance/Attitude (See: Appendix E/3.5)

5.6.1. Heights/Appearance: Body Posture

Whether the dancer's height matters

5.6.2. Weight/Appearance: Body Posture

Whether the dancer's weight matters

5.6.3. Appearance: Styling/Looks

Referring to the type/style of clothes that the dancer wears in rehearsals/ on street

5.6.4. Attitude

Referring to whether the ambition, motivation and hard work matters

5.6.5. Behavior

Referring to whether the behavior with regard to the style of the genre (in line with styling/looks) matters

Due to the comprehensive nature of the data, this section aims to highlight merely the most relevant findings supported by visual summaries of the results. For a more comprehensive overview per question, please visit Appendix E. With regard to artistic and financial valuation Table 4.2.4 indicates the most relevant (predetermined) codes that emerged while analyzing section five of the interviews. As the number of audiences (4) is the lowest among the interviewees, the overviews only indicate the most grounded (most common) codes. Consequently the opinion of the four audience members are listed in Table 4.2.5, while also indicating all the codes that can be separately related to the group of dancers/*creatives* and to the intermediaries. The *groundedness* (e.g. the amount of times a code emerged) is visualized in relation to the amount of interviewees. A code was considered relevant if more than half of the group indicated its relevance.

Table 4.2.4: Overview of the Relevant Predetermined Codes

‘Financial’ Valuation

Name	
Ethni_Not_Fin_dncr	8
Appe/Styl_Not_Fin_dncr	7
Leng/Y_Job_Extr_Fin_dncr	7
Locint/Perf_Sligh_Fin_dncr	7
Nation_Not_Fin_dncr	6
Age_Sligh_Fin_Inter	6
Weigh_Not_Fin_dncr	6
Heigh_Not_Fin_dncr	6
Type/J-Contr_Sligh_Fin_dncr	6
Visib/Rep_Extr_Fin_dncr	6
Spec/Div_Extr_Fin_dncr	6
Lev/Ty_Educ_Sligh_Fin_dncr	6
Netwo_Extr_Fin_dncr	6
Att_Rev/Crit_Sligh_Fin_Inter	6
Nation_Not_Fin_Inter	6
SkinC_Not_Fin_dncr	6
Amou_D_Job_Sligh_Fin_dncr	5
NotD/Job_Sligh_Fin_Inter	5
SkinC_Not_Fin_Inter	5
Age_Sligh_Fin_dncr	5
Creat_Sligh_Fin_dncr	5
Gender_Sligh_Fin_dncr	5
Appe/Styl_Not_Fin_Inter	5
Genr_Educ_Slight_Fin_dncr	5
Ethni_Not_Fin_Inter	5
Heigh_Not_Fin_Inter	5
Att_Aud_Sligh_Fin_Inter	5
Visib/Rep_Sligh_Fin_Inter	5
Genr/Job_Sligh_Fin_Inter	5

‘Artistic Valuation’

Name	
Attit_Extr_Art_dncr	8
Attit_Extr_Art_Inter	7
Type/J-Contr_Sligh_Art_dncr	7
Expr_Extr_Art_dncr	7
Behav_Extr_Art_dncr	7
Spec/Div_Extr_Art_dncr	7
Expr_Extr_Art_Inter	6
Creat_Extr_Art_dncr	6
SkinC_Sligh_Art_dncr	6
Lev/Ty_Educ_Sligh_Art_dncr	6
Amou_D_Job_Extr_Art_dncr	6
Ethni_Not_Art_Inter	5
Heigh_Not_Art_Inter	5
Visib/Rep_Sligh_Art_Inter	5
Leng/Y_Job_Extr_Art_dncr	5
Genr/Job_Extr_Art_dncr	5
Appe/Styl_Sligh_Art_dncr	5
Visib/Rep_Extr_Art_dncr	5
Nation_Not_Art_Inter	5
Genr_Educ_Slight_Art_dncr	5
Gender_Sligh_Art_dncr	5
Ethni_Sligh_Art_dncr	5
Age_Sligh_Art_Inter	5
Creat_Extr_Art_Inter	5

Table 4.2.5: Overview of Important Predetermined Codes/Valuation Aspects/Criteria per Group of Interviewee

Dancers/‘Creatives’

Name	
Attit_Extr_Art_dncr	8
Ethni_Not_Fin_dncr	8
Appe/Styl_Not_Fin_dncr	7
Type/J-Contr_Sligh_Art_dncr	7
Expr_Extr_Art_dncr	7
Leng/Y_Job_Extr_Fin_dncr	7
Behav_Extr_Art_dncr	7
Spec/Div_Extr_Art_dncr	7
LocInt/Perf_Sligh_Fin_dncr	7
Nation_Not_Fin_dncr	6
Weigh_Not_Fin_dncr	6
Heigh_Not_Fin_dncr	6
Type/J-Contr_Sligh_Fin_dncr	6
Visib/Rep_Extr_Fin_dncr	6
Spec/Div_Extr_Fin_dncr	6
Lev/Ty_Educ_Sligh_Fin_dncr	6
Netwo_Extr_Fin_dncr	6
Creat_Extr_Art_dncr	6
SkinC_Sligh_Art_dncr	6
Lev/Ty_Educ_Sligh_Art_dncr	6
SkinC_Not_Fin_dncr	6
Amou_D_Job_Extr_Art_dncr	6
Amou_D_Job_Sligh_Fin_dncr	5
Age_Sligh_Fin_dncr	5
Creat_Sligh_Fin_dncr	5
Leng/Y_Job_Extr_Art_dncr	5
Genr/Job_Extr_Art_dncr	5
Appe/Styl_Sligh_Art_dncr	5
Visib/Rep_Extr_Art_dncr	5
Gender_Sligh_Fin_dncr	5
Genr_Educ_Slight_Art_dncr	5
Gender_Sligh_Art_dncr	5
Genr_Educ_Slight_Fin_dncr	5
Ethni_Sligh_Art_dncr	5

Intermediaries

Name	
Attit_Extr_Art_Inter	7
Expr_Extr_Art_Inter	6
Age_Sligh_Fin_Inter	6
Att_Rev/Crit_Sligh_Fin_Inter	6
Nation_Not_Fin_Inter	6
Ethni_Not_Art_Inter	5
Heigh_Not_Art_Inter	5
NotD/Job_Sligh_Fin_Inter	5
SkinC_Not_Fin_Inter	5
Visib/Rep_Sligh_Art_Inter	5
Nation_Not_Art_Inter	5
Appe/Styl_Not_Fin_Inter	5
Ethni_Not_Fin_Inter	5
Heigh_Not_Fin_Inter	5
Age_Sligh_Art_Inter	5
Creat_Extr_Art_Inter	5
Att_Aud_Sligh_Fin_Inter	5
Visib/Rep_Sligh_Fin_Inter	5
Genr/Job_Sligh_Fin_Inter	5
Expr_Extr_Fin_Inter	4
SkinC_Not_Art_Inter	4
Amou_Educ_Sligh_Art_Inter	4
Attit_Extr_Fin_Inter	4
Gender_Not_Art_Inter	4
Loc_Educ_Sligh_Fin_Inter	4
Att_Aud_Extr_Art_Inter	4
LocNL/Perf_Sligh_Fin_Inter	4
Leng/Y_Job_Sligh_Fin_Inter	4
Netwo_Extr_Art_Inter	4
Loc_Educ_Sligh_Art_Inter	4
Gender_Not_Fin_Inter	4
Amou_D_Job_Extr_Fin_Inter	4
Genr_Educ_Slight_Art_Inter	4
Behav_Extr_Art_Inter	4
Netwo_Extr_Fin_Inter	4
Appe/Styl_Not_Art_Inter	4
Leng/Y_Educ_Sligh_Fin_Inter	4
Spec/Div_Extr_Art_Inter	4
Att_Rev/Crit_Sligh_Art_Inter	4
Creat_Sligh_Fin_Inter	4
Leng/Y_Job_Extr_Art_Inter	4

Audiences

Name	
Ethni_Not_Fin_Aud	4
Leng/Y_Job_Extr_Art_Aud	3
NotD/Job_Not_Fin_Aud	3
Amou_D_Job_Extr_Art_Aud	3
Nation_Not_Fin_Aud	3
Expr_Extr_Art_Aud	3
Genr_Educ_Extr_Art_Aud	3
NotD/Job_Not_Art_Aud	3
Spec/Div_Extr_Art_Aud	3
Genr/Job_Extr_Fin_Aud	3
Amou_Educ_Sligh_Fin_Aud	3
Visib/Rep_Extr_Fin_Aud	3
Amou_D_Job_Extr_Fin_Aud	3
Netwo_Extr_Fin_Aud	3
Leng/Y_Educ_Sligh_Art_Aud	3
Creat_Extr_Art_Aud	3
Att_Aud_Extr_Fin_Aud	3
Attit_Extr_Art_Aud	3
Spec/Div_Extr_Fin_Aud	3
Attit_Extr_Fin_Aud	3
Att_Rev/Crit_Extr_Fin_Aud	3
Lev/Ty_Educ_Not_Art_Aud	3
Ethni_Not_Art_Aud	3
Leng/Y_Educ_Sligh_Fin_Aud	3
Behav_Sligh_Art_Aud	3
LocNL/Perf_Not_Fin_Aud	3
Amou_Educ_Extr_Art_Aud	3
Leng/Y_Job_Sligh_Fin_Aud	3
Age_Not_Art_Aud	3
Nation_Not_Art_Aud	3
Heigh_Not_Fin_Aud	3
SkinC_Not_Fin_Aud	3

Also in this section, attitude and thus the dancer's motivation, ambition and hard work are listed as the most influential factors for the artistic valuation of professional dancers. Both groups (dancers and intermediaries) find this aspect a crucial criterion. Attitude "is the basic!" (I.1./Dncr.). This aspect seems to be crucial in order to work professionally with a choreographer/director, and to function within a team of other dancers (e.g. a company or even just a short dance project) (I. 3/Inter.; 5/Dncr.; 11./Dncr. and 14./Dncr.). "No dancer can 'survive' for long with a bad attitude" (I. 4/Dncr.).

However with regard to the financial valuation opinions are more scattered: "your attitude matters to you being able to acquire and fulfill a job, and not how much you will be paid" (I. 12./Dncr.). However as Interviewee 2 (Dncr.) states: "Attitude good/bad, it can be the reason for refusal for a dancer and it affects his/her income. Good attitude -more chance to get the job, bad attitude- less chance to get the job". Whereas the chance to have more jobs due to a good attitude presents also more chances to get paid financially, the same way, a bad attitude is something that can stand in the way of being financially valued.

'Work-hard, play-hard'. Respect the ones whom you are working with and be as modest as you can, but set your boundaries as clear as you can without hurting someone on purpose...General rule for being ambitious and a nice person at the same time. (I. 19/Inter.)

From the dancer's perspective, attitude is often paired with behavior of the individual, whether that is being perceived as a behavior in relation to the genre or more specifically related to the previously mentioned attitude (hard-work, discipline, determination, dedication and thus motivation for instance).

(I)f you are a Ballet dancer or an Urban dancer the principles of your behavior matter and how you exert them onto others. The properties of our behavioral characteristics will differ because of the lifestyle of upbringing. That doesn't mean we can't have respect for one another. This might cross moral values...On how people think about you, if you're worth the time and energy. (I. 12/Dncr.)

The importance of attitude and behavior is in line with the approach of the interviewees (discussed in the previous section), while defining a professional dancer and also their artistic valuation criteria. In addition, expression and creativity are also seen highly relevant to this matter from both perspectives. Interviewee 3 (Inter.) points out that the more creative a dancer is, the more (s)he can contribute to the choreography (including adding his/her personality). An interesting new perspective on creativity emerged from the opinions: The aspect doesn't only contribute to the artistic valuation but creativity also has to do with the entrepreneurial skills that a dancer (especially nowadays) should possess, while for example negotiating a contract/salary (I. 7/Inter.; 8/Inter. and 19/Inter.). However creativity seems to be a highly person-dependent issue with several implications and thus it remains a crucial aspect for the valuation from more perspectives:

You do not have to always be creative to be a great dancer. Some dancers are just technicians and are told what to do, and how to do it, therefore not needing any creativity of their own. For a creative dancer choreographer, it is extremely important! (I. 10/Dncr.)

If a dancer is unable to create choreography, when employed, the individual will be unable to contribute in this area of the field. Therefore will not be compensated and or will not be seen as extra added value. (I. 12/Dncr.)

Creativity is thus not only relevant with regard to the dancer's creative skills but also it depends on the expectations: "It depends on what the expectations are of your client/choreographer/creator" (I.19/Inter.). Interviewee 14 (Dncr.) even points out the aspect's relation to both artistic and financial valuation, which again is in line with the previously mentioned influential factor of attitude and its relation to both valuation processes: "If you are not able to create things yourself and another person is, that means that the person is already on a higher level so should get more money and artistic valuation".

Expression, or better said expressive skill, is something that is highly relevant yet difficult to quantify: "I think if what you are doing is more expressive, it can be more understandable or more sensible. Expression is not really definable as a financial value..." (I. 1/Dncr.). Yet this skills/trait is according to Interviewee 8 (Inter.)

(similarly to creativity), connected to the negotiation and thus entrepreneurial skills, how a person can express him/herself not only on stage but also behind the scenes. In general from the dancer's perspective expression is mainly connected to the artistic valuation as it appears also from Interviewee 12's (Dncr.) remark: "This is purely aesthetic...with regard to a message/image you are trying to create for an audience".

In relation to these criteria, the dancer's technical skills are similarly marked as crucial, especially from a dance artist point of view, while discussing specialization and/or diversification from both an artistic and financial point of view:

...For a company who specialized in one technique is extremely important to have dancers who have a high quality of a style in order to create high level technical performances. Financial valuation: same here: high quality = fix audience = more ticket sale = more income. (I. 2/Dncr.)

Diversity is something that is highlighted by more dancers: "When you have input from different styles you have more input to use in your dance" (I./4/Dncr.). According to Interviewee 11 (Dncr.) especially nowadays, diversity is crucial for a dancer. On a similar vein:

The more diverse a dancer is the work he/she has put into their craft is increasing and individuals capability of what can be provided and eventually decided what role will be assigned. (I. 12/Dncr.)

Intermediaries seem to have a more divided opinion about the underlying thoughts of specialization and diversification. Interviewee 18 (Inter.) agrees with the dancers' perspective when she states:

The broader your dance (technical) vocabulary and mastering and understanding of it, the more dance 'languages' one can speak, thus communicate in and express yourself with, in the end makes you, in my opinion, a more interesting dancer. (I. 18/Inter.)

However, Interviewee 19 (Inter.) points out that this is very much dependent from what the choreographer and people [*Note with regard to the latter: referring probably*

to the audience] want. In contrary to the dancers' opinion, Interviewee 20 (Inter.) stresses the importance of specialization and not necessarily diversification. In addition, Interviewee 8 (Inter.) argues that technical skills are seemingly often connected to a western approach towards dance, and that if we consider the dancers' technical skills it has more to do with body awareness, rather than with the 'dance languages' of merely (academic and also non-academic) techniques. Another critical remark with regard to specialization and diversification of dancers in relation to the valuation processes, is stated by an audience member:

This is not what I like but how it works. The more specialized you are the more valuation you get. A general practitioner gets less valuation than a...specialist. Just how it works. I would say the more you can do the more useable you are if you mix things up. (I. 17/Aud.)

This perspective sheds light on why the genre of the job would matter extremely and why –despite its slight relevance- the genre, level and type of education would matter to the artistic valuation of professional dancers in The Netherlands. The western genres are often embedded in the educational system, yet other e.g. urban and world dance techniques are still lagging behind with regard to their institutionalization (even if that process has already started within the Netherlands). “It all depends on the context and the person's talent and intelligence. I would imagine that an educated person will have acquire more references and will deliver a richer artistic ‘product’...” (I. 20/Inter.) In addition Interviewee 1 (Dncr.) states that there are “(a)lways more chances to get more money if you had an education focus on a genre what the system ‘let the people like’!”

Yet intermediaries (Interviewee 7 and 8) stress the fact that –despite its commonly acknowledged importance for being a crucial aspect in valuation- the level and type of education should not matter, as not only a dancer might ‘score’ badly within the school system, (s)he might be an autodidact with excellent skills that deserves to be valued. “Dancing is not something you learn, dance is something you are!...DANCE IS A LIFESTYLE” (I. 8/INTER.) [*Note: Translated by the researcher and visualized as it was written and thus highlighted*]. From a dancer's perspective this seems to be a more complicated issue and is related to the previously mentioned specialization and diversification aspects:

For artistic valuation, the genre someone studies is not always reflected in the art/dance that they perform, as it can be very individual. However, if a dancer specializes, it will have automatic influences on their work. For financial valuation; when seen on a CV that you studied classical ballet intensely for many years, you will be more likely to be seen as a professional in that field. If you go for a job as a jazz dancer, and have had no jazz training, you may be assumed to have a lower level, and therefore will not be called for such a job. (I. 10/Dncr.)

The requirements within the dance world thus also seem to influence the dancer's valuation. Interviewee 2 (Dncr.) agrees with the intermediaries' perception with regard to education, however she stresses –similarly to Interviewee 10 (Dncr.) that this aspect does play an important role in a professional dancer's financial valuation:

According to artistic valuation I guess the education is not at all or slightly important. Talented people who became dancers they can learn or practice without school or work as a member of a dance company or make their own style or own school/ also new trend with their style. It is not necessary to have academic studies or diploma. But according to financial valuation...the education is extremely important, If (!) the dancer 's aim is to earn a high salary - he/she should work for a well-known or highly supported dance company who can afford the high salary. To get a job is necessary to apply, and to apply is necessary to include academies / minimum a BA diploma Usually the question is what is more important for the person; the money or the art? (A very lucky situation when the two things exist in one place :)). I. 2/Dncr.)

Out of nine dancers, seven find the type of job contract (e.g. freelancer/ part-time/ full-time job) slightly relevant. With regard to artistic valuation all interviewees (including intermediaries and audiences) see less relevance to this matter. However the type of contract does come to matter with regard to financial valuation. Interviewee 12's (Dncr.) summary sheds light on why this might be:

There are pros and cons to both sides of this argument. A freelancer might get paid more money per rehearsal/show/demo and claim tax on top of the amount.

Where as part-time full-time contracts the tax is deducted automatically and on paper it looks less. Freelancers don't get paid for sick days, holiday days, don't receive annual holiday allowance and are not covered in case injured on the job. A contracted dancer will receive all of this. But a freelancer can ask for extra money when asked to do extra work, claim tax back for items purchased for work and set their own fees for a job. Contracts have a set amount per month. Which won't change despite how much work is involved. A dancer can be freelance in one job but contracted in another. So it only slightly matters. (I. 12/Dncr.)

In relation to inter alia the genre of dance, visibility and reputation seems to matter extremely according to dancers and slightly according to the intermediaries. "I think financially it extremely matters if the dancer is well known / especially if the appearance is on TV or Internet" (I. 2/Dncr.). With regard to visibility Interviewee 8 (Inter.) stresses the importance of network, which as we see hereunder will also matter to most interviewees with regard to both valuation processes. However, according to the same interviewee, the aspect of visibility and reputation is very much connected to the extremes of art and commerce (as it seems to be perceived by generally within the Dutch dance art world). He states that there shouldn't be any difference between commercial dance and 'art with a big A' [*Retrieved from the Dutch expression: 'kunst met een grote K'*].

In addition Interviewee 13 and 14 (both dancers) point out: "People from TV get paid more, get more jobs just because people know them...". There is thus "a big difference between the commercial and not commercial scene". Interviewee 4 (Dncr.) typifies this difference the following way: "Non-commercial world has bigger name, commercial world has more money" (I. 4/Dncr.). However most interviewees tend to agree on the fact that the more (commercial) visibility and reputation a professional dancer has, the more income flow will be generated, even if that is debatable from an artistic perspective.

It is somewhat a shocking observation that skin-color would matter, nevertheless according to interviewees this aspect is thus present within the Dutch dance sector. The answers of the interviewees to the close-ended questions mirror a less critical

perception on the matter than their elaboration to the open-ended questions and therefore the aspect of skin color is also relevant to discuss.

It is striking that out of nine dancers, six find the skin color somewhat relevant to artistic valuation. However when looking at the selection procedure for jobs the relevance of skin color is understandable: “Depends on the ‘story’ of the performance. Type casting” (I. 4/Dncr.). In addition to this Interviewee 2 (Dncr.) states with regard to the artistic and financial aspects: “Some productions make a selection regard to skin color so in both cases it is extremely high / for example a production looking only for African dancers, that means all European dancers are not allowed to do audition.”

Skin color is also very much connected to the differences and the historical embedding of western academic versus non-western non-academic dance within Dutch society (I. 8/Inter.). Whereas ‘whites’ dominate the former, colored dancers dominate the latter, and the balance has not been found yet within the Dutch dance art world (I. 8/Inter.). According to Interviewee 7 (Inter.) despite that a colored dancer might “bring something different” on stage, this aspect is not, or at least should not matter in the valuation process. Interviewee 19 (Inter.) adds: “(H)opefully it does not matter in real life.”

I answered the 'artistic valuation' with 'extremely, as the answer to this question is much more extensive and complicated, as it depends on which aesthetic notion of 'dance' and its execution of it within what dance scene, you're referring to. Ballet, hip hop, latin etc. But yes, in my opinion, based on experience, color definitely matters.

From the audiences’ perspective: “You've chosen a profession where cultural background should not matter. Skill is everything” (I. 17/Aud.). Yet, with regard to diversity, skin color might matter as it “can look good in your piece to have some color and variety in the type of dancers you have” (I. 9/Aud.) Other criteria that are related to the individual dancer’s demographics are ethnic background, gender and age that slightly can influence the artistic valuation. “A dancer is a dancer, women and men should be evenly valued” (I. 5/Dncr.). However “(m)ale dancers have better positions than female dancers/ and advantage on both artistic and financial side...more chances to get a job as a male dancer...” (I 2/Dncr.).

According to Interviewee 8 (Inter.), white females have usually dominated western academic techniques, and colored males have dominated other non-western, non-academic techniques. There might be a change nowadays and the balance between genres is increasing, which increasingly might be visible if we regard the financial valuation based on genre differences (I. 8./Inter.). Interviewee 13 (Dncr.) points out that there are more and more male dancers but due to the oversupply of female dancers, “male dancers have a little bit more chances”. “(W)hat I can see around me, male dancers are, in my opinion, valued in general a bit 'more/better' than female dancers. For me personally there's no difference, all genders are equal” (I. 18/Inter.)

Age might matter indeed, however according to interviewees it is also very much depending on the type of job, genre of job, and also the choreographer and director’s wishes (e.g. I. 3/Inter.; 4/Dncr.). “(A)ge is important and it depends on what type of dance we talk about. Some dance styles prefer younger and some of them older dancers...” (I. 2/Dncr.).

I heard it is a 'limit' age in the dance world, but I think it also depending on individual. Maybe the body getting tired but if the soul still wants to move can do a lot for the body! More years more experiences! Time can create miracles! Anyhow it is also matters! (I. 1/Dncr.)

It is a contradiction as artistic value might increase with age (due to for example the increase in creative, expressive and technical skills), however despite the aspect’s positive relatedness with regard to the dancers’ experience, age might matter as an older dancer might not be able to execute the same dynamics and energy that is required from a younger dancer. The issue is complicated as “how younger, the more energy and body possibilities how older, the more experience and wisdom” (I. 11/Dncr.), which might (or should) show also in the older or better said more experienced dancer’s salary (I. 7/Inter). However, this relatedness is not straight forward as “you may have someone who is older with less experience” (In. 12/Dncr.). And as Interviewee 19 (Inter.) also points out some other consequences: “With age comes mostly more life experience, but that is not always the case. With age comes mostly more training to keep your body in shape...”

For me personally: I like to work with older, more mature and more experienced dancers. In the dance scene, younger dancers are often used, as they are less expensive, especially if they can be put in as interns. (I. 18/Inter.)

Age seems to be also a slight influential factor for the financial valuation of professional dancers. Nevertheless, according to the interviewees (dominantly dancers/*creatives*), the length of job experience in years, the visibility, reputation and network and the skills of the dancers with regard to specialization and diversification, are extremely important when assessing and appreciating a professional dancer in monetary terms.

In general it is perceived that the more (job) experience a professional dancer has, the more (s)he is valued. However, as it was pointed out previously with regard to skills, experience doesn't always mean that we are dealing with a better dancer (I. 8/Inter.). "Experience doesn't always mean more creative or artistic" depth, but "I do think they should be valued for there experience financially" (I. 5./Dncr.). This aspect thus is also very much person dependent (referring also to the dancer, but also to the choices that choreographers make for instance) ((I. 2/Dncr.). "Length/years of dancing job experiences can influence the artistic and financial values as well, but in which way is depending on the employers" (I. 1/Dncr.).

Visibility and reputation has also been discussed as being a highly complicated aspect wherein the tension between the commercial and 'artistic' theater world (e.g. media visibility and reputation) in relation to gender differences and other issues such as the status and 'fame' of a company and its dancers, also come to matter. Visibility and reputation is thus a debatable criteria with regard to its validity:

...only works for marketing reasons, but adds nothing to the artistic product. So in my personal opinion, this has no value. I wrote down 'extremely' as in the worst case this can turn out to be a very disruptive component in the artistic process. You work with people because of their professionalism, and the fact that they are 'well known' often means very little in this context, or can even work counter productive, as it turns out that they are either very 'expensive', busy with an x amount of other jobs, and (therefore) often less reliable. (I. 18/Inter.)

Network on the other hand is an aspect that is very much emphasized by the interviewees and thus seen an extremely important factor for both financial and artistic valuation processes. “If you know the right people, regardless of how experienced you are the door is open. Financially this is extremely beneficial” (I. 12/Dncr.). There is “no doubt about” whether “within the conservative Dutch professional dance art world and slightly within the upcoming new generation” network would matter (I. 19/Inter.). Interviewee 2 (Dncr.) points out that the network within funding bodies (subsidiaries and sponsors for instance), and the media is crucial and highly beneficial especially with regard to financial valuation of professional dancers. “Yes, the Dutch professional dance scene consists of a small network. It definitely matters 'who' you know and what your relationship to that person is (I. 18/Inter.).

The network and also the attention of critics/journalists and the audiences is a debatable issue among interviewees. These aspects can have contrary effects as Interviewee 13 (Dncr.) also states: “Most choreographers, keep working with the same people, just to be sure of their quality. Not giving new dancers a chance.” With regard to the attention of critics Interviewee 18 (Inter.) states: “For me personally this has little to no value, there's always yet another 'opinion'. But in the dance world it, of course, does.” It is thus difficult to compare the opinions of the players within the dance art world, as they might differ according to Interviewee 19 (Inter.). Yet network and reputation -due to the media attention/visibility for instance- might result in more appreciation (higher valuation), despite the fact being it a debatable aspect.

Due to their dominant number, the answers of the dancers have been dominating the perspectives (and thus also the presence/*groundedness* of the codes). However, as it was already noted, intermediaries seem to be approaching artistic valuation based on a similar person, and thus attitude-, behavior- and expression-related approach: According to Interviewees 7./Inter. and 8./Inter. attitude is crucial if one values a dancer from an artistic point of view, but it is challenging if one wishes to make it visible in the financial valuation. Yet as Interviewee 18.(Inter.) points out: “I value/treat/see you as a professional if you act like one”. In addition as the previous part already indicated, interviewees generally tend to emphasize both attitude and behavior also in relation the financial valuation process and that “is one of the reasons which can move the amount of salary up or down” (I. 1/Dncr.). Yet it seems to be a

more complicated issue from the intermediaries perspective as attitude and behavior has much more underlying origins:

Difficult again...because behavior is related to so many more things than only attitude. It is also a background and ethnic thing for example. If you are good leader you can get the best out of all kind of persons, even if the chemistry is not there. (I. 19/Inter)

In a similar vein, expression is also an aspect depending on several background criteria: “I believe this makes a really important difference, but it depends on personal growth, former (life) experiences and the character of the professional dancer” (I. 19/Inter.). Despite that it is hard to quantify this crucial criteria for valuation, it remains certainly a central attention point as “(i)f you have no knowledge and/or understanding of what expression is and means, as an artist you're then missing an essential point of the profession” (I. 18/Inter.). The length and the amount of jobs were more associated with the financial valuation of professional dancers. Audiences connect these same aspects with the artistic valuation of professional dancers in relation to network and experience for instance.

More 'jobs' often means bigger network and thus higher chances on being valued...You can be the best dancer in the world, if you do not have a network or are not able to maintain a network, your talent is not likely to get you anywhere (a few exceptions left out of course). (I. 6/Aud.)

Further on this matter, according to Interviewee 17 (Aud.): “Experience makes you better and that should pay off”. The genre of a job, visibility/reputation and the importance of network are also relevant financial criteria from the audiences' point of view: The more popular genres are more likely to receive a 'better/higher' financial valuation” (I. 6/Aud.). In addition Interviewee 16 (Aud.) states: “Obviously someone with more experience in the commercial area of dance will have a better financial valuation in general than someone who dance non profit.” This again confirms the tension and the two extremes of artistic and commercial dance activities/genres.

In general from an audience perspective, education and the genre of job are highly related to the genre divisions between dance techniques. However education in

more general is also criticized from a more broader point of view: “I think this is what the world thinks. For sure you have to learn stuff and if you have degree most of the time people are more into paying you for the paper you have” (I. 17/Aud.).

With regard to the aspect visibility and reputation genre differences play again an important role: “Within any arts scene, visibility and reputation are key words. When going for a commercial scene the financial value might increase tremendously while the artistic value might decrease for changing Art for art.” (I. 6/Aud.) Therefore Interviewee 17 (Aud.) states that “(t)he valuation should not be done by public opinion. If you want to shock people in a performance you should have the artistic freedom to do so without suffering from it. The theatre world should embrace this freedom of expression.”

For audiences, besides skills that are related to the specialization and diversification of professional dancers, attitude and behavior is also seen as crucial criteria for both in artistic and financial valuation: “Since there is a systematic oversupply regarding dancers, attitude does matter. If you lack ambition, motivation or do not want to work hard, it will be impossible to be successful” (I. 6/Aud.). Similar to the other two groupings, audience members also point out that “work ethics are a big deal” (I. 17./Aud.) with regard to artistic valuation, and that a “too big ego will not benefit the financial valuation” (I. 16/Aud.). In addition, attitude and behavior according to Interviewee 6 (Aud.), are also related to the gender differences:

I immediately think of the difference between high art and low art and the accompanying audience. Ballet dancers do need to behave different from urban/hip-hop dancers simply because they attract a different type of audience. If urban dancers would behave in a very 'formal' way this would match with the behavior of the public, which could create a gap between the producer and the consumer, which might lead to an audience loss. (I. 6/Aud.)

In line with the dancer’s point of view, ‘the issue of genre differences’ also matters in relation to behavioral characteristics from the audience’s perspective:

The way people perceive a dance form should be in the way they know that dance form unless it's explained why the behavior is different (fusion etc). If not they will not understand. It and decrease the valuation. (I. 16/Aud.)

5. Conclusion

5.1. Findings and Discussion

In times of economic crisis, when cultural budgets are being cut, cultural organizations but also individual artists are being confronted with many challenges. On the one hand, as the cultural budgets decrease especially subsidized (performing) artists often need to find new ways of realizing their art. On the other hand, developments such as the increasingly diminishing boundaries between (dance) genres⁶, the i.e. social mobility-led changing taste of audiences⁷, the (debatable) ‘power’ of intermediaries and gatekeepers⁸, and the emergence of television programs in search of the ‘best’ and the ‘biggest’ talent can present new contexts and a different classification system for the arts.

Art is seen as a collective activity, “(o)nce conceived, the idea must be executed” (Becker, 2008, p. 3) and thus produced and, in order to reach its audiences (consumed), it needs to be distributed (Alexander, 2003; Becker, 2008). The collective activity implies a network of interrelated players that are involved within the (dance) art world who’s input and perspective is just as important as of the artists’. In line with Becker’s (2008) theory of the ‘art world’, dance art can thus be seen as a ‘shared good’; a result of individuals’ co-creation/production (Klamer, 2014a). In this sense a dancer who embodies movement (with the use of whichever dance genre), is part of the dance art world’s conventions and ‘conversations’: “Art is a conversation’ due to the fact that ‘a piece of art exists as such only if it is recognized in the conversation of art” (Klamer, 2014b, p. 10) based on the conventions of the art world.

Consequently, while aiming to find relevant aspects/criteria for the valuation of professional dancers, it is not enough to investigate how these artists are being defined from a theoretical perspective (genre division, education, labor market/careers, reputation/visibility, demographics for instance). Different angles of all players within the empirics also need to be considered. The research targeted audiences, dancers, choreographers, agents, critics, funding bodies and other related professionals (e.g. ‘support personnel’ (Becker, 2008)). The interview consisted of an online, self-administered and structured questionnaire with both close-ended questions as well as open-ended questions (Creswell, 2014), This way the researcher could not only collect

⁶ Janssen, 2005; Royseng, Mangset and Borgen, 2007; Shrum, 1991

⁷ Janssen, 2005; Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Van Eijck, 1999

⁸ Alexander, 2003; Arora and Vermeylen, 2013; Becker, 2008; Ginsbrug, 2003; Shrum, 1991

and analyze relevant qualitative data on *how* the professional dancers are being valued within the Dutch (dance) art world, but also was able to gain in-depth information for the reasons *why* the online interviewee thought that the specific aspect/criteria (emerging or embedded in theory) was relevant to the valuation process.

On the one hand valuation can be associated with aesthetics, and as the dance field often calls it: artistic valuation. On the other hand valuation can also be connected to an economic approach reflecting the monetary valuation of a dancer in this case. In addition, artistic and economic valuation might also be interrelated in some cases. For instance, budget cuts and the emergence of television talent programs imply that what is seen as ‘good art’ and/or ‘bad art’ from an aesthetic/artistic perspective (Becker, 2008) is not necessarily the art that is financially valued and rewarded the most or the least.

A commercial dancer (who is performing urban or show dance on TV or during promotional events) has a different ‘artistic’ and ‘financial’ value than a dancer who works ‘merely’ within the theater sector performing ballet or modern techniques. Despite the fact that both dancers might be considered ‘professional’, their artistic and financial valuation might thus differ, yet is based on the same aspects/criteria. This research was focusing on the construction of the artistic and financial valuation separately, yet did not disregard any emerging in-depth outcome of the qualitative interviews that would add to the interrelated character of the two valuation processes and their (linked) consequences.

Based on the close-ended multiple-choice question and on the related elaborations of the interviewees the following conclusions can be drawn: Attitude, behavior, experience in relation to skills (including technical specialization and diversification, and even more creativity, communication and expression) are the main aspects of artistic valuation. Financial valuation within the Dutch dance art world seems to have different criteria: The length of job experience that is connected to the (technical and expressive) skills and experience of the dancer, visibility/reputation and network are perceived as the most influential factors with regard to financial valuation.

In relation to network, the fact ‘who knows who’ and ‘who is friends with who’ and thus ‘friendship politics’ are another influencer of how a professional dancer – within the ‘world of dance’ - is being valued. Whether a dancer is known (e.g. through

personal relations and/or his/her reputation is acknowledged by an ‘expert’ such as critics, agents, choreographer/director for instance) might have influence on the dancer’s valuation. It is perceived that, the bigger the network (including funding bodies and the media) the bigger the chance to get a job based on already established artistic valuation, which in turn might have positive effects on the financial valuation of a dancer.

It seems a clear-cut conclusion, however, if one analyses the underlying aspects of these factors many debatable issues emerge. These matters are not only often related to the discrepancies between ‘experience’ (e.g. length/type and genre of the job and education (level)) and ‘being a good/ professional dancer’ but also with the historically embedded genre differences and the extremes between commercial and non-commercial ‘artistic’ work in relation to ‘status/fame’ and ‘visibility/reputation’. Not to even mention the demographic characteristics such as color of skin, age and even weight and height that come to matter when valuing dancers from both an artistic and financial point of view. However, the importance of these aspects might also be genre dependent.

Further on this matter, the valuation processes are not only genre and visibility (e.g. television, social media versus theater stage) but also with that said, highly person dependent. The definition of professional dancers and the valuation aspects and criteria are connected if we consider the definition of the interviewees and their perception on how this is being present within the Dutch dance art world. However, not only is there a discrepancy between the artistic and financial valuation of professional dancers (not everything that is perceived artistically ‘good’ is financially appreciated and not everything that is financially appreciated is ‘good’ artistically), but the aspects that are being mentioned by interviewees are not the same criteria that are emphasized by the Dutch dance art world.

Interviewees strongly emphasize the attitude and behavior of a dancer, his/her mentality, expression and creativity as crucial aspects in the (artistic) valuation process and while defining who can be considered professional. In contrary, the Dutch dance art world is (perhaps due to an overly western point of view), strongly emphasizing (academic) education and academic techniques (thus technical skills) as being inferior to other e.g. urban techniques. Further on this matter, the latter criteria and the aspect of earning seem to be commonly acknowledged (yet highly debated) standards of the sector, based upon which professionals are defined and valued.

Good education isn't any guarantee, but a prestigious art academy might add not only to the skills, but also to the factors that determine an artist's career (Interviewees referring to the application process and thus the CV). Yet, among well-educated artists, autodidact artists have always been a part of the professional (dance) art genres. Especially if we consider today's urban dancers who are not (yet increasingly) involved in accredited dance academies' education, but are working as professionals. Therefore it would be naïve to neglect their presence in the artistic labor market, as autodidacts can also become professionals.

In addition, artists are taking a high amount of risk when deciding to proceed with an artistic carrier. There are no guarantees for success. There is a strong emphasis on the ambition, initiative and hard work. Talent (and often a good dance education) – while being a good base- doesn't guarantee any security once the (dance) artist enters the highly competitive and uncertain labor market (Abbing, 2002; Heilbrun and Grey, 2007; Menger, 1999; Royseng et al., 2007).

Skills are thus perceived from a broader perspective by the interviewees that are strongly connected to the (academic and also autodidact) technical abilities of the dancer, to his/her communication, negotiation and entrepreneurial skills, but mainly to the 'person behind the work'. This person, and thus attitude and behavior-led approach, is also very much present when artistic valuation is being discussed. However, the artistic valuation within the Dutch dance world is increasingly influenced by not only the status differences between famous (mostly ballet and contemporary) and less well-known companies and dancers, the genre hierarchy (academic techniques being inferior to urban techniques for instance), but also by the increasingly (yet debatable) influence of media attention. These aspects are influencing factors within both the artistic and financial valuation of professional dancers.

Financial valuation is perceived mostly in relation to the earnings of professional dancers, which is not only influenced by the above-mentioned challenges in relation to artistic valuation but is also overly criticized. Dancers in general are, and in a broader sense the profession of dance art is, highly undervalued and not appreciated; not only within the Dutch dance art world (e.g. less and less subsidies and a decreasing, if any salary), but also in Dutch society in general. Artistic valuation is seemingly 'lost in society' and this has also a negative effect on the financial valuation of professional dancers (e.g. not quite appreciating financially what artistically is valued 'good/quality art'). In return, the limited financial valuation also has its effects

on the artistic valuation, as there are less and less jobs available, where dancers can express themselves based upon which they could be artistically valued.

It is thus a cumbersome task to financially value something that is inheritably intangible, and is based on so much more than only (academic) technical skills and the result that the public and or funding bodies for instance can see and (even if only partially) comprehend. The valuation of professional dancers, whether one considers the artistic or the financial aspects of the matter, is thus a highly complex and critical process that is apparently a vicious circle that urgently needs to be reevaluated. Whether the task lies in the hands of dancers or intermediaries (agents, impresarios, choreographers and/or funding bodies for instance) is a debatable, and a yet still to be researched issue. Audiences might also contribute, as their perception and their financial impact to the existence of these dancers (e.g. paying ticket prices for performances or contributing to a crowd funding campaign) is directly influencing the existence (including both financial and artistic valuation) of professional dancers.

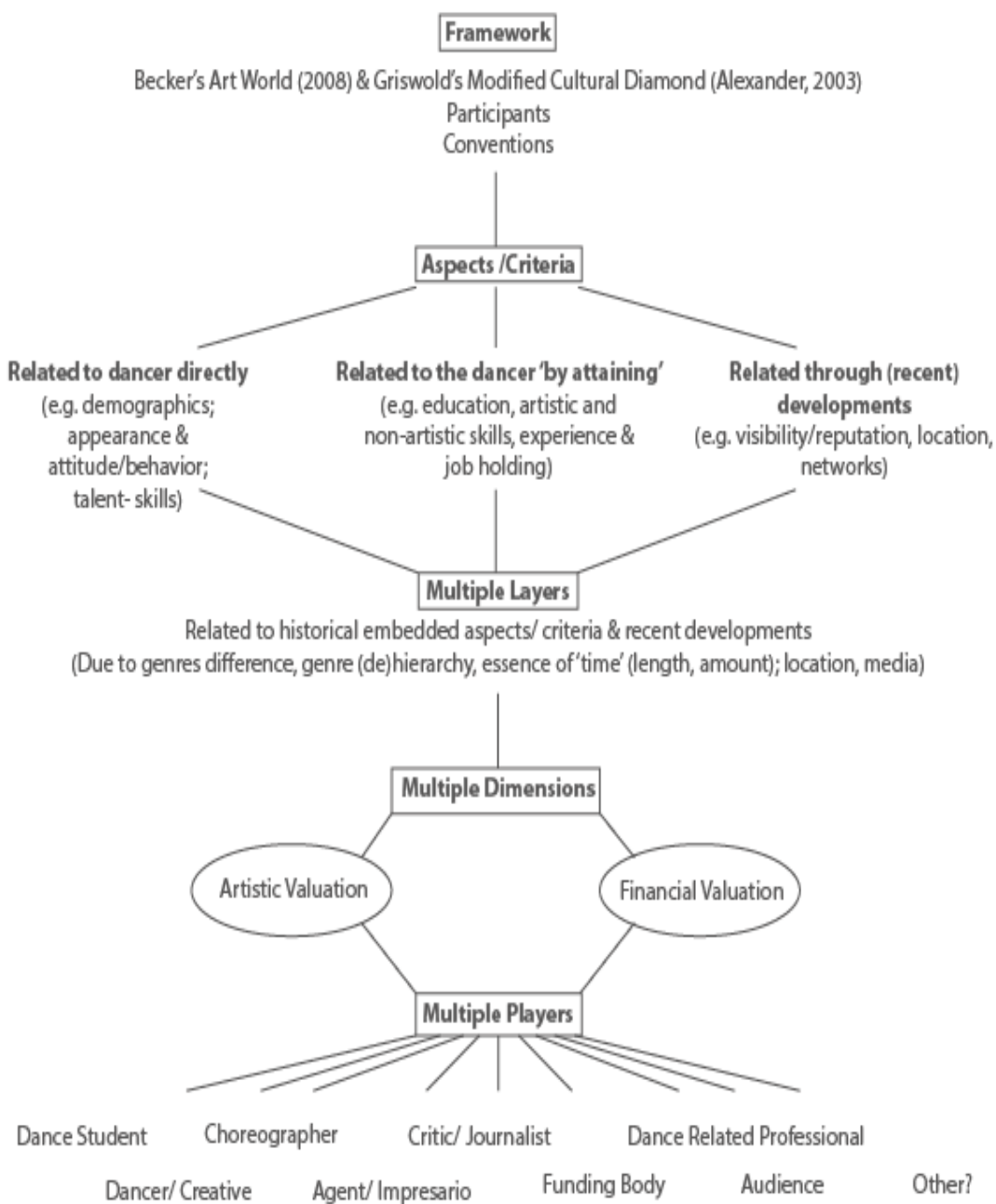
Perhaps this seemingly global issue within the professional dance sector deserves the attention of policy-makers. Together with all the involved players within the dance art world (producers including dancers and related professionals, intermediaries and audiences), the government is co-responsible for (re)evaluating the position and thus also the valuation of professional dancers, while creating (awareness for) a sustainable Dutch dance art world. If one wishes to have dance in the curriculum of a country's arts and cultural sector, crucial steps need to be taken in order to implement a new strategy for 'keeping dance(rs) alive'. On which level and by whom, the first steps will/should be made remains an open question that needs to be urgently answered if the sustainability of the dance art within The Netherlands is an aim of the society.

As a conclusion, Figure 2.4.4 should be brought back as an attention point. The framework summarizes all possible dimensions, aspects, their layers and the different perspectives that might be considered when investigating the construction of valuation of professional dancers in the Netherlands. Perhaps the same framework might even be applicable in other western societies with similar (if not the same) historically-embedded (genre related) conventions, and cultural and socio-economic developments. However, despite that the Dutch art world seems to emphasize specific aspects/criteria (which are paradoxically often not in one line with the perception of individuals e.g.

interviewees), no findings should be generalized with regard to the framework. In addition, as it was suggested in the beginning of this thesis: Due to the constant social, cultural and economic changes, the notion of the (dance) artist should constantly be reinterpreted, reconstructed while treating it as a discourse rather than a rigid theory (Becker, 2008; Bourdieu, 1993; Royseng et al., 2007).

Figure 2.4.4 (See Chapter 2): A Framework for the Valuation of Professional Dancers

Visualizing the Multilayered, Multidimensional and Stakeholder Dependent Valuation of Professional Dancers



5.2. Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

The researcher was confronted with a lack of (access) to specifically relevant, dance science literature within the Netherlands, and might have missed important and relevant writings that will be discovered after writing the thesis. This can be considered a limitation to the research. In addition, as it was mentioned in the Chapter 3, while explaining and justifying the method, the researcher's professional involvement might present some questions with regard to the thesis' overall scientific reliability. The "(c)ategories of the objective and the subjective are arrayed in opposition, both in description and in evaluation. Subjectivity is then called upon to deflate objectivity. The two notions go together, but as *doppelgänger*, the good child and its evil twin" (Shapin, 2012, p. 2).

However, while not using already academically preconceived thoughts on (specifically) the valuation of professional dancers in the Netherlands, due to the theoretical framework (of aesthetic, historical, sociological and economic input), the researcher was able to enhance objectivity. This way the thesis presents perhaps a new approach towards the academic thoughts on both the artistic and financial valuation of professional dancers (within The Netherlands). As Shapin (2012) also notes, at the end all scientific research is colored by not only the subjectivity of the researcher but also – especially in case of qualitative research- the subjectivity of the interviewees. In case of the thesis' chosen (dominantly) qualitative method, the combination of the two extremes of objectivity and subjectivity, present perhaps the ideal method through which an understudied issue (e.g. the valuation of professional dancers) can be approached in first instance. This way, the limitation becomes the strength, if openly discussed and legitimized (Creswell, 2014).

The long online interview presented the most feasible way to collect in-depth information in first instance. Nevertheless, the interview was demanding time, motivation and dedication from the interviewees, which due to some missing data, cannot be seen as an ideal future research method. Consequently, in order to collect an even more comprehensive amount of information with regard to the theme of the paper, a future research might include an online survey, collecting quantitative data and as a preparation for that, additional face-to-face interviews should be executed. This way quantitative data can be merged with qualitative data that can be used to collect valid and reliable numeric, generalizable and in-depth information (e.g. mix method research).

With regard to the theme of a future research it would be advisable to: 1) further develop the knowledge from all perspectives (producers, intermediaries and consumers) towards *why* the construction of valuation is the way it is presented in this thesis, 2) *include more* (type and amount of) individuals from the art world and their opinion (both through interviews and surveys, 3) investigate *how* the valuation and thus the position of professional dancers could be strengthened from a financial point of view, 4) and from an artistic perspective, *how* the sector (or government) can develop a more all-inclusive and a 'fair' way to 'assess' artistic quality (referring to dancers from different genres, to both academically educated and autodidact professionals, and implying a more even distribution of available finances).

In addition a future research might be broadened to the whole performing arts industry, or at least the valuation processes of several sectors and their artists could be researched in order to gain a more comprehensive perspective. Differences between sectors of the performing arts (e.g music, theater, dance, circus, mime, puppetry), each with their genres, might also present an interesting perspective. The empiric insights with regard to the valuation of performing artists and the performing arts from a more broad perspective, could not only contribute to academic knowledge but also to practical solutions towards an artistically and financially sustainable performing arts sector.

The last limitation that the researcher wishes to point out, is the incompatibility of; 1) *Qualtrics*, the software program through which the interviews were collected, and 2) *ATLAS* the program by which the interviews were analyzed. Where the first is more aimed at quantitative data collection, the latter is merely functioning for qualitative data analysis. *Qualtrics* presented a limitation when collecting and downloading the results, which resulted in a very time-consuming solution. Future interviews should either be conducted face-to-face or by using another software that presents more efficient ways to collect and transfer qualitative data for the purpose of (qualitative) analysis.

All in all, and despite the limitations of the research, the thesis can be seen as a step towards understanding how the artistic and financial valuation of professional dancers is constructed within the Dutch dance art world. The theoretical framework together with the result of the interviews, present a solid backbone for further research of an issue that seems to be highly relevant nowadays, if not crucial, *if* Dutch society wishes to 'keep the (evolution of professional) dance(rs) alive'.

6. References

- Abbing, H. (2002). *Why are artists poor? The exceptional economy of the arts*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Adler, J.E. (1979). *Artists in offices: An ethnography of an academic art scene*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books.
- Adler, M. (2006). Stardom and Talent. In V.A. Ginsburgh, & D. Throsby (Ed.), *Handbook of the economics of art and culture* (pp. 895-906). Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Adorno, T. W. (2001). *The culture industry: Selected essays on mass culture*. London: Routledge.
- Adorno, T. W., & Horkheimer, M. (1997). *Dialectic of enlightenment* (Vol. 15). Verso.
- Alexander, V. (2003). *Sociology of the arts. Exploring fine and popular forms*. Malden/Oxford/Victoria: Blackwell Publishing.
- Arora, P., & Vermeulen, F. (2013). The end of the connoisseur? Experts and knowledge production in the visual arts in the digital age. *Information, Communication and Society*, 16(2): 194-216.
doi:10.1080/1369118X.2012.687392
- Baarda, D.B., De Goede, M.P.M, & Kalmijn, M. (2010). *Basisboek enquêteren* (Derde druk). Groningen/ Houten: Noordhoff Uitgevers.
- Baarda, D.B., De Goede, M.P.M, & Teunissen, J. (2009). *Basisboek kwalitatief onderzoek. Handleiding voor het opzetten en uitvoeren van kwalitatief onderzoek* (Tweede, geheel herziene druk). Groningen/ Houten: Noordhoff Uitgevers.
- Baarda, D.B., De Goede, M.P.M, & Van der Meer-Middelburg, A.G.E. (2007). *Basisboek interviewen. Handleiding voor het voorbereiden en afnemen van interviews* (Tweede herziene druk). Groningen/ Houten: Noordhoff Uitgevers.
- Becker, H. (2008). *Art worlds*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Berghman, M., & Van Eijck, K. (2012). Beeldende kunst in een symbolische context. in I. Glorieux, J. Siongers, & W. Smits (Ed.), *Mark Elchardus: Cultuursociologie buiten de lijnen* (pp. 349-367). Leuven: Lannoo Campus.
- Bourdieu P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The Field of cultural production*. Oxford: Polity.

- Borowiecki, J.K., & Marvao, C. (2015). *Dance participation and attendance in Denmark* (Working Paper). Stockholm Institute of Transition Economics: Sweden. Retrieved from <http://swopec.hhs.se/hasite/papers/hasite0033.pdf>
- Brooks, A.C. (2006). Nonprofit firms in the performing arts. In: V.A. Ginsburgh, & D. Throsby (Ed.), *Handbook of the economics of art and culture* (Volume 1) (pp. 473-506). Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Caves, R.E. (2000). *Creative industries*. Cambridge/Massachusetts/London: Harvard University Press.
- Chang, J. (2005) *Can't stop, won't stop: A history of the hip-hop generation*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Chang, J. (2007). *Total chaos. The art and aesthetics of hip-hop*. Jackson: The Perseus Books Group.
- Collingwood, R.G. (2011[1945]). The principles of art. In S.M. Cahn, & A. Meskin (Ed.), *Aesthetics: A comprehensive anthology* (pp. 282-295). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Creswell, J.W. (2014). *Research design* (Fourth edition). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Croteau, D., Hoynes, W., & Milan, S. (2003). *Media/society. Industries, images and audiences* (Fourth Edition). London: Sage, Pine Forge.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M., & Robinson, R.E. (1990). A conceptual model of the aesthetic experience. In M. Csikszentmihalyi, & R.E. Robinson (Ed.), *The art of seeing: An interpretation of the aesthetic encounter* (pp. 1-25). Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Trust.
- DiMaggio, P. (1986). Can Culture Survive the Marketplace?. In Paul DiMaggio (Ed.), *Nonprofit enterprise in the arts: Studies in mission and constraint* (pp. 65-92). New York: Oxford University Press.
- DiMaggio, P. (1987). Classification in art. *American Sociological Review*. 52(4), 440-455. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2095290>
- Douma-Alta, M., & Rensman, J.W. (2006). *Jazzdance.nl. Zestig jaar Nederlandse jazzdansgeschiedenis*. Zutphen: Walburg pers.
- Engel Lang G., & Lang, K. (1988). Recognition and renown: The survival of artistic reputation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94(1), 79-109. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2781023>

- ESHCC. (2013-2014). *Schrijfwijzer media, communicatie & cultuur*. Rotterdam: Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam. Retrieved from <http://www.eshcc.eur.nl/studenten/schrijfwijzer/>
- European Commission (2012). *Communication from the European Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of 14 Regions. Promoting the cultural and creative sectors for growth and jobs in the EU*. Brussels: European Commission. Retrieved from <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=REPORT&reference=A7-2013-0248&language=EN>
- Feliksdaal, B. (2009.) *Urban dance – jazz dance. Beeldsyllabus met street, break, jazz en hip-hop*. Amsterdam: Bekebooks.
- Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class: And how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Frey, B.S. (2003). *Arts and economics. Analysis and cultural Policy* (Second Edition). Verlag/Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer.
- Greskovic, R. (2000) *Ballet: A complete Guide*. London: Robert Hale.
- Ginsburgh, V. (2003). Awards, success and aesthetic quality in the arts. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 17(2), 99-111. doi:[10.1257/089533003765888458](https://doi.org/10.1257/089533003765888458)
- Ginsburgh, V., & Weyers, S. (2006). Persistence and fashion in art. Italian renaissance from Vasari to Berenson and beyond. *Poetics*, 34, 24-44. doi:[10.1016/j.poetic.2005.07.001](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2005.07.001)
- Goodman, N. (2011[1978]). When is art?. In S.M. Cahn, & A. Meskin: *Aesthetics: A comprehensive anthology* (pp. 438-444). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Hart, C. (2005) *Doing your masters dissertation*. London: Sage.
- Hazzerd-Donald, K. (2004). Dance in hip-hop culture. In M. Forman, & M.A. Neal (Ed.), *That's the joint!: A hip-hop studies reader* (pp. 509-511). New York: Routledge. Retrieved from <https://hiphopandscreens.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/donald-dance-in-hip-hop-culture-505-516.pdf>
- Heilbrun, J., & Gray, C. M (2007). *The economics of art and culture* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hutter, M., & Throsby, D. (2008). *Beyond price. Value in culture, economics and the arts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Janssen, M. S. S. E. (2005). *Het soortelijk gewicht van kunst in een open samenleving: De classificatie van cultuuruitingen in Nederland en andere Westerse landen na 1950* (Inaugural lecture). Erasmus University Rotterdam: Rotterdam. Retrieved from hdl.handle.net/1765/7885
- Jeffri, J., & Greenblatt, R. (1989). Between extremities: The artists described. *Journal of Arts Management and Law*, 19(1), 5-14.
doi:10.1080/07335113.1989.9943110
- Klamer, A., Langeveld, C.B.E., & Teule, P. (2011). *Pak aan. 100 en 1 ideeën voor financiering van kunst en cultuur*. Breda: Langeveld Consultancy B.V.
- Klamer, A. (2012). *The mode of financing matters. What is the right thing to do?* (pp. 2-10). Rotterdam: Erasmus University of Rotterdam. Retrieved from: <http://www.klamer.nl/docs/mode.pdf>
- Klamer, A. (2014). 'Chapter 2-5'. In A. Klamer, *Doing the right thing*. Manuscript (Forthcoming). Retrieved from <http://www.klamer.nl/index.php/contact2>
- Klamer, A. (2014a). Doing the right thing starts at home. In the end it is the culture that matters. (Chapter 1), In A. Klamer *Doing the Right Thing*. (Forthcoming). Retrieved from <http://www.klamer.nl/index.php/contact2>
- Klamer, A. (2014b). Goods are good for all kinds of things. Introducing the notion of shared goods. (Chapter 6), In A. Klamer *Doing the Right Thing*. Manuscript. (Forthcoming). Retrieved from <http://www.klamer.nl/index.php/contact2>
- Klamer A., Do Carmo, J.A., & De With, C. (2014). *The cultural monitor: A new instrument for the evaluation of cultural activities*. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/7382738/The_cultural_monitor_a_new_instrument_for_the_evaluation_of_cultural_activities
- Kortvelyes, G. (1999). *Muveszet, tanc, tancmuveszet* [Art, dance and dance Art]. Budapest: Planetas Kiado.
- Landry, C. (2009). The creative city: The story of a concept. In A. C. Fonseca Reis, & P. Kageyama (Ed.) *Creative city perspectives* (pp. 7-14). São Paulo: Garimpo de Soluções & Creative Cities Productions.
- Lingo, E.L., & S. J. Tepper (2013). Looking back, looking forward: Arts-based careers and creative work. *Work and Occupations*, 40(4), 337–363.
doi:10.1177/0730888413505229
- Menger, P.M. (1999). Artistic labor markets and careers. *Annual Review of Sociology*.

- 25, 541-574. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/223516>
- Montgomery, S., & Robinson, M. (2003). What becomes of undergraduate dance majors? *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 27(1), 57-71. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41810809>
- Murdock, G. (2010). Pierre Bourdieu, Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 16(1): 63-65. doi:10.1080/10286630902952413
- Peterson, R.A. (1992). Understanding audience segmentation: From elite and mass to omnivore and univore. *Poetics*, 21(4), 243-258. doi:10.1016/0304-422X(92)90008-Q
- Peterson, R.A., & Kern, R.M. (1996). Changing highbrow taste: From snob to omnivore. *American Sociologic Review*, 61(5), 900-907. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2096460>
- Peterson, R.A., & Simkus, A. (1992). How musical tastes mark occupational status groups. In M. Lamont, & M. Fournier (Ed.), *Cultivating differences: Symbolic boundaries and the making of inequality* (pp. 152-86). Chicago: University of Chicago press.
- Røyseng, S., Mangset, P., & Borgen, J. S. (2007). Young artists and the charismatic myth. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 13(1), 1–16. doi:10.1080/10286630600613366
- Thomas, H. (2003). *The body, dance and cultural theory*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Throsby, D. (2001). *Economics and culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Throsby, D. (2010). *The economics of cultural policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Towse, R. (2008). *A handbook of cultural economics*. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar.
- Towse, R. (2010). *A textbook of cultural economics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Turner, B. S., & Wainwright, S. P. (2003). Corps de ballet: The case of the injured ballet dancer. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 25(4), 269-288.
- Schaengold, D. (1995). Valuation of artists' estates: David Smith, Georgia O'Keeffe and Andy Warhol—Have we missed the forest for the trees?. *Tax Management Estates, Gifts and Trusts Journal*, 20(167).
- Sherlock, J. (1996a, October). Gender and dance. In *Women's Studies International Forum* (Vol. 19, No. 5, pp. 479-480). Pergamon.

- Sherlock, J. (1996b, October). Dance and the culture of the body: Where is the grotesque?. In *Women's Studies International Forum* (Vol. 19, No. 5, pp. 525-533). Pergamon.
- Scott, A.J. (2006). Creative cities: Conceptual issues and policy questions. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 28(1), 1-17. doi:10.1111/j.0735-2166.2006.00256.x
- Seaman, B. C. (2006). Empirical studies of demand for the performing arts. In: V.A. Ginsburgh, & D. Throsby (Ed.), *Handbook of the economics of art and culture* (pp. 415-472). doi:10.1016/S1574-0676(06)01014-3
- Shapin, S. (2012). The sciences of subjectivity. *Social studies of science*. doi:10.1177/0306312711435375
- Shrum W. (1991). Critics and publics: Cultural mediation in highbrow and popular performing arts. *American Journal of Sociology*. (97)2, 347–75. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2781380>
- Smith C. (1990). *Auctions: The social construction of value*. Berkeley: University California Press.
- Van Eijck, K. (1999). Socialization, education, and lifestyle: How social mobility increases the cultural heterogeneity of status groups. *Poetics*, 26(5-6), 309-328. doi:10.1016/S0304-422X(99)00008-X
- Van Schaik, E. (1981). *Op gespannen voet. Geschiedenis van Nederlandse theaterdans vanaf 1900*. Haarlem: De Haan.
- Vermeulen, F., Van Dijk, M., & De Laet, V. (2013). The test of time. Art encyclopedia and the formation of the canon of seventeenth-century painters in the Low Countries. *Empirical Studies of the Arts*, 31(1), 81-105. doi:10.2190/EM.31.1.e
- Wainwright, S. P., & Turner, B. S. (2006). ‘Just crumbling to bits’? An exploration of the body, ageing, injury and career in classical ballet dancers. *Sociology*, 40(2), 237-255.