

# **Music ecology in the city**

An understanding of the required conditions for the live music  
ecology of the city Rotterdam

Student Name: Céline van der Weijden  
Student Number: 475820

Supervisor: Dr. Arno van der Hoeven

Media & Creative Industries  
Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication  
Erasmus University Rotterdam

Master's Thesis  
*July 1<sup>st</sup> 2019*

## MUSIC ECOLOGY IN THE CITY

### ABSTRACT

This is a qualitative study of the live music ecology of Rotterdam. The study focusses on the local space in which musical activities take place and the required conditions for the functioning of local music within a city. Cultural expressions give a city a quality of life, an aspect in which cities must increasingly distinguish themselves. The city government Rotterdam has been looking for ways to improve its image and to stimulate urban development. However, the city is still searching for the right conditions to improve their cultural infrastructure. For musicians working in a city, a healthy cultural infrastructure is necessary to make a living and develop their music career. Taking an ecological approach allows a broad representation to come forward about the conditions that are needed for musicians to shape their careers.

This study has the following research question: How do musicians in Rotterdam understand the required conditions for the live music ecology of the city? The research question will be answered by using two qualitative research methods. The first method is in-depth interviewing with local musicians. The second method is mapping, where the musicians visualize their thoughts in drawings. This helps to get insight in the ways in which the musicians describe places; their sense of place; and differences between the musicians in terms of their understanding of places.

The results indicate that the musicians identify themselves with the city of Rotterdam and feel a connection with the people in the city itself, but not all areas of Rotterdam are included as important. The music ecology in Rotterdam is predominantly experienced as negative for musicians, because problems are still there when it comes to the lack of medium sized performance places and high quality, affordable rehearsal places. However, the city is experienced strong in offering a diversity of music genres and the opportunity for skill development due to the role of the educational institution in the city. In addition, the wide range of festivals in Rotterdam is an asset for the city, to let the music of the musicians be heard by an audience and to interest them in other performances in the city.

**KEYWORDS:** *Music ecology, Rotterdam, Soft music institutions, Hard music institutions, Musicians.*

# Contents

<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>5</b>
1.1 Rotterdam: shifts in the music sector .....	5
1.2 Music in cities .....	6
1.3 An ecological approach .....	7
1.4 This research.....	8
1.5 Societal relevance and Scientific relevance .....	9
<b>2. Theoretical framework .....</b>	<b>11</b>
2.1 Popular music and society.....	11
2.1.1 Personal values.....	12
2.1.2 Social value .....	13
2.1.3 Cultural value.....	14
2.1.4 Economic value.....	15
2.2 Music and city.....	16
2.2.1 Local identity .....	16
2.2.2 Approaches to music and place.....	17
2.2.3 Hard and soft institutions.....	19
2.2.4 Musicians and the city .....	20
2.3 Rotterdam: from a working city to a cultural city .....	22
2.4 The music ecology of Rotterdam.....	23
<b>3. Research design.....</b>	<b>24</b>
3.1 Qualitative research .....	24
3.2 Data collection.....	25
3.3 Operationalization.....	26
3.4 Thematic analysis .....	27
3.5 Reliability and validity .....	28
<b>4. Results .....</b>	<b>30</b>
4.1 The musicians .....	30
4.2 Mapping Rotterdam .....	33
4.3 The role of hard and soft institutions in Rotterdam .....	36
4.3.1 Hard institutions .....	36
4.3.2 Soft institutions .....	40
4.4 Strengths and weaknesses of the music ecology in Rotterdam.....	43

4.4.1 Strengths .....	44
4.4.2 Weaknesses .....	46
<b>5. Conclusion.....</b>	<b>51</b>
5.1 Discussion and future research .....	54
<b>References.....</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>Appendices .....</b>	<b>64</b>
Appendix A: Topic list .....	64
Appendix B: Overview of the respondents .....	66
Appendix C: Code tree.....	67
Appendix D: Hand-drawn maps by the respondents .....	68

## 1. Introduction

In recent years, researchers have investigated the value of art for the economic growth for cities. Marlet and van Woerkens (2011) discuss how a high concentration of culture attracts a large amount of people to a city. A city with a high concentration of culture, means a large presence of cultural products and related factors (e.g. museums, theatres and music venues, etc). City governments attempt to attract and stimulate cultural consumption by using music as a cultural incubator. Having a large variety of music venues and supporting local artists makes a vital contribution to the cultural identity of a city and can stimulate economic growth (Baird, 2016). In order to achieve these aims, it is therefore important to develop policies that balances the need of a range of stakeholders which includes the local government, local business owners, residents and local musicians. The needs of these stakeholders are different because of their own personal role in local music industries (Baird, 2016). A large city, needs to offer the necessary cultural infrastructure that is fundamental for the production of art and reaching a broad audience (Marlet & Van Woerkens, 2011). A cultural infrastructure is built out of different elements within the cultural industry. These elements within the music sector in a city can be divided into hard and soft institutions (Van Geenhuizen & Nijkamp, 2012). Hard institutions can be described as the buildings and institutions in a city (Van Geenhuizen & Nijkamp, 2012). The soft institutions are constructed by social networks and human interaction and connections that create ideas between people and institutions (Van Geenhuizen & Nijkamp, 2012).

### 1.1 Rotterdam: shifts in the music sector

Rotterdam has been looking for ways to improve its image, to stimulate urban development, and to attract visitors, residents, and investors (Belabas & Eshuis, 2018). However, the city is still searching for the right conditions to improve their cultural infrastructure (Rotterdamse Raad voor Kunst en Cultuur [RRKC], 2017). For the city government (2019b), Rotterdam has to become a place where employment and the added value of businesses are growing strongly. However, to achieve this goal, there are several points that require further investigation. One example is that music venues say that attracting audiences requires much more effort (RRKC, 2017). According to RRKC (2017), the defects in the musical infrastructure have been more clearly than ever before. The cutbacks in 2013 have resulted in a low budget for music which has made it difficult for local artists to perform. Moreover, De

Vereniging Nederlandse Poppodia en -Festivals [VNP] (2018) stated that the cutbacks led to a closure of multiple pop and dance venues. For years, there were no venues available for musicians that would attract an audience of around two thousand people (VNP, 2018). An example of a well known setback was the bankruptcy of the iconic music venue, Nighttown. It was a famous dance venue for Rotterdam, but had to close its doors in 2006 (RRKC, 2015). A similar issue occurred at the beginning this year. The owners of club BAR got permission to move their venue to a different area in Rotterdam West. However, due to false promises by the local councilor, the plans were canceled which meant that BAR was forced to close its doors. As a reaction, people organized a protest to create awareness for the problems concerning the nightlife of Rotterdam.

In recent years, new music venues have also been opened such as pop venue Annabel (VNP, 2018). In their most recent advisory report, RRKC (2015) states that Rotterdam needs to become a place where musicians can develop their career and build an audience. The city government (2019a) puts a high priority on talent development. Whatever creative talent you have, in Rotterdam you must have the opportunity to develop yourself. Musicians have to be able to develop their skills in a climate that appreciates creative talent and offers the financial and physical space to experiment and perform (City Government Rotterdam, 2019a).

## 1.2 Music in cities

According to Watkins (2011) musical infrastructure and local environments both shape each other. Music shapes local environments through, for instance, its contribution to cultural identity. Local environments can, in turn, shape music through its specific conditions of the city. In other words, music contributes to the cultural and creative identities of local spaces, such as cities (Ballico & Carter, 2018). But in turn, Ballico and Carter (2018) agree that the local spaces where the activities take place can also contribute to the functioning of local music within the spaces. For example, music can work as a driving force for economic development (Ballico & Carter, 2018).

McCarthy, Ondaatje, Zakaras and Brooks (2004) argue that looking at personal and cultural values is vital for the construction of our relationship with a city because a cultural infrastructure serves as a tool to realize more economic and social goals, for instance to create more job opportunities. According to McCarthy et al. (2004), music can add intrinsic

value to people's lives, such as giving meaning, pleasure and joy. Homan (2010) agrees with the argument that live music plays an important role in a city. It is not only important to live in cities but also for the lives and careers of musicians (Homan, 2010). For local musicians working in a city, a healthy cultural infrastructure is necessary to make a living and to develop their music career. Even though this research mentions the need for the right conditions, there is no mention of the importance for the career of musicians. This study therefore aims to map out these conditions that are important for music in the city, from the perspective of local musicians.

### 1.3 An ecological approach

The local space in which musical activities take place contribute strongly to the functioning of local music and arts scenes (Ballico & Carter, 2018). Multiple factors, such as the economy (e.g. boosting the local economy through attracting tourists), culture (e.g. attractiveness as a creative city), new technology (e.g. networking through online platforms), are important when examining the structure and functioning of place-specific music scenes. All these factors mentioned above can together be defined as a music ecology of a city (Ballico & Carter, 2018).

The term music ecology is increasingly used by academics and policy makers to draw attention to the connection between music and local environments (Ballico & Carter, 2018). According to Elbourne (2013), live music is part of an ecosystem which consists of interdependent elements in the local, national and international context. In the context of this research, the concept 'music ecology' generally refers to the local context (Elbourne, 2013). The local music ecology must then be examined and understood for the development of strategies that help live music in a city to grow and be sustained (Elbourne, 2013). According to Keogh (2013), a music ecology is shaped by the economy, by the type of political bureaucracy and by the capacities of technology. Taking an ecological approach is important, as it allows for more factors and actors to be taken into consideration, such as the role of the government, other important stakeholders and social relations within a city, what will strengthen the research (Brennan, Behr, Webster, Frith and Cloonan, 2016). Talking about ecology seems to be the best way of making sense of the relationships between these various factors and actors involved (Keogh, 2013).

## 1.4 This research

There are still concerns about the cultural developments in Rotterdam. Concerns such as the fact that for years, there are not enough medium sized venues available for musicians and the low budget for music which makes it overall difficult for local musicians to perform (VNP, 2018). There are different angles to look at the music ecology in Rotterdam and research what conditions are needed for everyone within the industry. This research will focus on the music ecology in Rotterdam from the perspectives of local musicians. To define music a bit more, for this research the focus lies on popular music, which can be described as music that relies on mass media (Dolfsma, 2004) and the commercial side of the music industry (Frith, 1983). The definition of popular music given by the city government (2019a): "Popular music refers to the wide range of pop music including pop, rock, hip hop, dance, urban, jazz, and world music and to the extent that these genres cannot be specifically assigned classical and classical music" (p.7).<sup>1</sup> The reason for choosing popular music instead of classical or folk music, is that with the new Culture Plan 2017-2020, explicit attention was requested for popular music in Rotterdam (City Government Rotterdam, 2019a).

This study has the following research question: How do musicians in Rotterdam understand the required conditions for the live music ecology of the city? The research question will be answered by using qualitative research methods. The research question will be answered by using two sub questions:

1. How do musicians in Rotterdam evaluate the role of the soft and hard institutions in Rotterdam regarding their music career?
2. How do musicians in Rotterdam define the strengths and weaknesses of the music ecology in Rotterdam?

In-depth interviews will be conducted with local musicians from Rotterdam. Besides interviewing, the drawing of maps will be used as an additional research tool (Cohen, 2012). Respondents will be asked to visualize their music experience in Rotterdam by drawing a map of the city. Mapping as a method was developed by Cohen (2012). She concluded that this tool can help to research the environment and circulation. Moreover, the tool can be usefully combined to help conceptualize popular music as urban culture. The similarities, as

---

<sup>1</sup> All Dutch quotations have been translated by the author.

well as the differences from the hand-drawn maps, will be highlighted to create a sense of place, through the view of the local musicians (Cohen, 2012). This method of drawing is used in this research because it helps to get insight in the ways in which the musicians describe places; their subjective sense of place and space; and differences between the musicians in terms of their understanding of spaces (Cohen, 2012).

### 1.5 Societal relevance and Scientific relevance

Because of the defects concerning the music ecology of Rotterdam, it is valuable to research the music ecology more in-depth specifically for Rotterdam. Previous research did not include the conditions that are important for the music ecology of a city from the perspectives of local musicians. By adding this perspective it is socially relevant, because the careers of musicians also depend on the music ecology of Rotterdam (Marlet & Van Woerkens, 2011). The city government (2019a) states that “There is a need for performing a qualitative research into the available rehearsal rooms, recording studios and work places”. Consequently, they stress the importance of investing in talent development of musicians (City Government Rotterdam, 2019a). Qualitative research on the factors as mentioned above are then needed to further develop the music sector in the city and develop the skills of musicians.

The perspectives of Rotterdam based musicians shows an in- depth perspective on the music ecology of the city. By highlighting the perspective of the local musicians, this research contributes to current research on urban musical infrastructures because it expands these perspectives beyond the economic side of music. The concept of music ecology is a relatively new approach to research on urban musical infrastructures (Brennan et al., 2016). This concept will be further expanded by adding the perspective of local musicians.

As mentioned, the method of mapping will be used as a research tool. This tool has been developed as a research tool by Cohen (2012) which will further be developed by using the tool in a different urban musical environment. The tool can contribute to strengthen the research and can help the interviewees to get inspired and refer back to their maps during the interview. In particular, the tool of mapping can help to remember past events and stories of their music-making, and the maps patterns can tell something about the spatial

aspects of their music-making, and about how and why music matters in their career (Cohen, 2012).

## 2. Theoretical framework

This chapter provides an overview of the most important theories that have been used as a starting point for this research. The theoretical framework is divided into four themes. First, popular music is brought into relation with society. Then, in the run-up to a more local approach, theories about popular music and cities are discussed. From there the theories about musicians are discussed. Finally, we will look at how Rotterdam as a city relates to the cultural sector.

### 2.1 Popular music and society

According to Connell and Gibson (2003), there is no formal definition of the term popular music. However, there are some general characteristics that can be identified. Both Dolsma (2004) and Frith (1983) describe popular music as music that relies on mass media and the commercial side of the music industry. With this characterization of the concept, there can be said that, that to some extent, popular music is different from folk and classical music (Dolsma, 2004; Frith, 1983)

It is surely the power of the musical experience that makes music so important for society (Marshall, 2011). Hesmondalgh (2013) argues that the connection between music and people is so strong because it “often feels intensely and emotionally linked to the private self” (p.5), but often music is also a way for people to experience the world together (Clarke et al., 2009). Rentfrow (2012) agrees with this view that music is a crucial element of everyday life. This manifests itself in how people listen to music for hours and spend a lot of money on music. Clarke et al. (2009) states that “music is made and experienced by groups of widely varying sizes as well as individuals, allowing investigation of processes of entrainment, interaction, and communication” (p. 9). Music is a human activity and there is no society which does not have music (Clarke et al., 2009).

Because of technological advances, music is part of a much greater range of everyday life experiences and activities than ever before. Popular music has become ubiquitous in everyday life (e.g. in homes, radio, in shops, at weddings, on funerals). Popular music is highly integrated in our everyday surroundings and often acts as a background to create a certain ambiance (e.g. at a dinner party). Rentfrow (2012) calls this the ubiquitousness of music, which means that music is always and everywhere present. Despite these

developments, popular music is still listened to in specific settings such as concerts. (Clarke, Dibben & Pitts, 2009). “People now actively use music for many more different purposes in many more areas of everyday life” (North & Hargreaves, 2008, p.13). According to Sinclair and Tinson (2016), digitization has caused a shift in consumer practices. This practice has shifted from a physical (e.g. vinyl, cassette tapes and CD's) to a digital form of consuming music (e.g. ITunes, Spotify and piracy). Today's mobile technologies make it even easier to consume music wherever people go. Through the digitization of society, online music streaming services have become an important part of the music industry (Aguiar, 2017).

### 2.1.1 Personal values

Personal values can be defined as the values that are important to people. Those values are expressed in characteristics and behaviors that motivate people and guide their decisions in life (McCarty & Shrum, 1993). Numerous studies have explored the perception of the relation between music and emotion (Rentfrow, 2012). These have shown that individuals can experience similar personal values in the same pieces of music. Music can have effect on the personal values of people and this is experienced different by everyone. But for everyone, listening to music can serve as a trigger to experience personal values (Rentfrow, 2012).

Through the connection of emotions and music, musical memories can be created (Clarke et al., 2009). Clarke et al. (2009) call this the “representation of emotion” that is experiencing situations and therefore creates memories. In the case of experiencing situations, particular music can induce emotion, because the music is played at the same time at another positive or negative situation. When listening to the music again, it still evokes the emotion that was felt (Clarke et al., 2009). Memory and music become associated with each other and it is not likely that these separate again (Clarke et al., 2009). DeNora (1999) argues that when music is heard again, it stimulates the emotions and structures of past events, with which it is linked. The music that people listened to when they were in their late adolescence and early adulthood, for instance, is crucial for constructing your own identity and personal meaning in later stages in life (Holbrook & Schindler, 1989).

DeNora (2000) describes how music can serve as a soundtrack for social action and

provide a framework for social agency. She argues that music shapes how people perceive a certain situation or avenues for conduct. According to DeNora (2000), music is implicated in every dimension of social agency. People can make their own choices and act independently and music can represent this freedom. In her research, DeNora (1999) focused on the agency of people to give shape to their own identities. She discovered that music can be used for the process of constructing of who you are as a person (DeNora, 1999). Music can also be used for processes of remembering who your are as a person, a way for spinning the continuous question of who one is (DeNora, 2000).

### 2.1.2 Social value

Social values are constructed through interpersonal relationships, groups, communities and societies (Klamer, 2004). People appeal to their social values in relationships with other people and groups. Social values are also combined with the feeling of belonging and being member of a group (Klamer, 2004). According to Klamer (2004) people are constantly deliberating the value of relationships with others and thinking about the values that are important to them in those relationships. According to North and Hargreaves (2008), musical experience is something that is also closely linked to social values. North and Hargreaves (2008) state that “the many and varied ways in which people create, perform, perceive, and react to musical sounds are vitally dependent on the specific places, times and other people present in those situations” (p. 1). Somebody’s experience of listening to music at home can, for example, be different than listening to music with friends. Someone can be ashamed for listening at home to a guilty pleasure and when going out with friends would act like that music is horrible. Hesmondalgh (2008) argues that music is one of the basic factors that constitutes public experiences. Music essentially has social value because it contributes to the feeling of being a community and it can cultivate appreciation from others in the community (Cox (1994). The appreciation is not only for the sounds but also for the performers, composers and other listeners (Cox, 1992).

Generally, people share a common fascination for music, but they differ in their opinions and musical preference. Social factors like ethnicity, social class, cultures but also individual factors have proven to have an effect on people’s music preferences (Delsing et al., 2008). When people are religious, for example, they are not allowed to listen to music that contains swearing like hiphop and rap.

Music from other cultures allows people to contrast their own values with the values of others (Cox, 1992). Bowman (2002) also refers to music as a way for humans to relate, collaborate and feel a sense of belonging with others. Emotions, like happiness or sadness, can be intensified, by the response of particular music that is shared (Hesmondalgh, 2008). These emotions can be especially strong at live performances. Live music shows an example of constructing such a human-to-human relationship. Cohen (2012) describes live music as: “events that bring musicians and audiences together in one place at one time and involve performance on vocals or other music instruments and technologies, or with music recordings” (p.587). The ‘live’ of music refers in this case to social participation in consuming music with others. The element of placeness or place is an inherent element of live music (Bennet & Jones, 2015). Live music can change the individual and personal experience of music into a social experience, with the opportunity to engage, for example by uploading a video of a live concert online (Bennet & Jones, 2015).

### 2.1.3 Cultural value

Cultural products such as music and other art forms, are important in our everyday life (North & Hargreaves, 2008). Behr et al. (2014) showed that desire for the experience of music and also other art forms creates cultural value (Behr et al., 2014). Cultural value is described by Throsby (2001), as multiple elements such as aesthetic value, spiritual value and historical value. To describe cultural value, the intrinsic values of culture are often overlooked. According to McCarthy et al. (2004), the intrinsic values of culture refer to “effects inherent in the arts experience that add value to people’s lives” (p.37), such as for example, experiencing excitement during an art performance or feeling sad listening to a song. Van der Hoeven and Hitters (2019) argue that “emphasizing this intrinsic value of culture is vital if we consider how culture is increasingly used in cities to achieve particular social and economic goals” (p.4). According to Bourdieu (1984), when looking at culture in a local context, culture can be defined as a product of a creative process and the meaning attached to it. Traditionally, cultural life was strongly associated with social classes. A strong social hierarchy meant there was a great division between high and low culture. The division between these two was mainly determined by the cultural elite (Bourdieu, 1984).

The connection between music and art is undeniable and is considered as something that has cultural value (Goldman, 1991). Cultural value can be experienced and understood

in a variety of ways and is based on each individuals perspective and experiences (Walmsley, 2018). An intrinsic part of cultural value is that its rooted in shared experiences which are related to emotion and even spirituality.

#### 2.1.4 Economic value

In a cultural context, economic value can be defined as a measure of the various financial profits that cultural goods generate (Angelini & Castellani, 2017). As a result of the global economic recession of the 1970s, the strategic economic development of cities were increasingly emphasized (Cohen, 2012). The rebranding of cities was mostly targeted at specific urban areas, to boost the popularity of those areas (Cohen, 2012). City governments became aware of the fact that culture or the so-called “creative industries” could contribute to the rebranding and economic development of cities; using the arts and cultural activity as a stimulus for transformative initiatives based on the development of tourism and retail sales (Cohen, 2012).

In the music industry itself, there have been also dramatic economic changes. Particularly with the rise of live music (Nordgård, 2018). Nordgård (2018) argues that research concerning live music was so constrained by productivity (output per-hour per-person), that it could not achieve either the economies of scale nor the reduction of labor costs to take on the competition with mass entertainment media. According to (Cohen, 2012), the revenues from live music (e.g. live concerts and festivals) became higher and exceeded the revenues for recorded music, making it a higher source of income for musicians. This is due to a growing amount of people going to live concerts (e.g. willingness to pay) and the capacity (e.g. venue size and venue numbers). What is striking in the live music industry, especially at a local level, is the distribution of large amounts of cash. According to Cloonan (2011), there is a political economy hidden in live music which is due to the lack of contracts and lack of accountability for the cash that is worked for.

The economic factors of music have also changed because of technical developments (Laing, 2003). The evolution of instruments causes that the sizes of bands can be reduced as synthesizers and drum machines can replace band members (Laing, 2003). But these technological developments also have positive consequences for the industry. An example is the additional income through digital music platforms (Laing, 2003). A more negative consequence of online platforms is the constant availability of secondary ticketing.

Therefore, governments actions concentrate more on this issue. Secondary ticketing is a form of activity whereby a person or organization buy tickets for an event and then sells them on to a third party. This happens in various ways, from someone buying tickets and selling them to a friend, through selling tickets to strangers (Gibson & Homan, 2007).

There is also the possibility of failure in the music market for people working in the music industry (Laing, 2003). For example, this is the case when there is demand from musicians to perform, but the venues think it will not make enough profit and therefore the demand is rejected. According to Laing (2003) to solve this, performances can be subsidized by state funding or private sponsorship (e.g. to lower the cost of performances).

## 2.2 Music and city

Given the focus of this thesis of the concept of music ecology, this paragraph makes the local context clear with different place and music related theories.

### 2.2.1 Local identity

Music is often associated with specific physical and geographical spaces. Therefore, music can be related to local identity. Local identity can include social networks, social relationships and the local history of a city (Kruse, 2010). According to Kruse (2010), musicians and audiences can shape their identities by involving themselves in local scenes. However, this can also make them different from other groups in other geographical and physical spaces. Music contributes to the cultural and creative identities of local spaces, such as cities (Ballico & Carter, 2018). But in turn, the local spaces where the activities take place can also contribute to the functioning of local music within the spaces. For example, music can work as a driving force for economic development (Ballico & Carter, 2018). Now, many cities attempt to use music as a cultural factor to attract and stimulate cultural consumption in a city (Baird & Scott, 2018). According to Van der Hoeven and Hitters (2019) music is a vital element in the cultural life of cities, because the cultural vibrancy of a city is connected to a thriving cultural sector (e.g. the number of performances; the number of venues, festivals and spaces for music-making). Music is described by Hudson (2007) as a valuable asset for a city because, among other benefits, it can help to attract tourists to cities. Music also offers a sense of belonging and contributes to a thriving cultural environment (Cohen, 2012).

Cultural policy makers in cities adopt programs of investment in the creative industries that are connected to broader urban planning policies revolving the concept of creative cities (Grodach, 2017). According to Van der Hoeven and Hitters (2019), a focus on creativity, popular culture, and events could provide an answer to the multicultural, creative and young population of the city. This focus would result in widening the field for cultural policy, with a combination of legitimate (high) culture, community culture, popular music, creative industries, festivals and the media. According to Jacob (2013), especially the staging and promotion of cultural festivals has become an accepted planning tool for urban economic development and city branding.

Frith (2007) argues that a music experience is essential in a city, with each city having specific venues alleged to express the local music. Of course, music in cities can also give concerns to a city, such as noise and violence near venues or festivals (Homan, 2010). Music in cities can also result in undesirable developments (e.g. rising rents and property values in attractive neighborhoods). People in cities who contribute to music experiences (e.g. musicians, venue owners, bookers, etc) can eventually be affected by processes when rehearsal places and music venues are threatened to be replaced by new uses for those places that will generate more profit (Holt, 2013; Shaw, 2013).

## 2.2.2 Approaches to music and place

In this paragraph the different academic approaches of the connection between music and place will be discussed.

The concept of music scenes can be described as a social process of making of music, (Behr et al., 2016). According to Bennett and Jones (2015), music scene refers to the expression of a shared identity that is created through music, sphere, and performance. The term music scene is primarily used in an everyday context and journalistic work, but also academic scholars have picked up this concept to investigate the collective taste of musicians, producers, and the way music fans distinguish themselves from others (Bennett & Peterson, 2004).

According to Bennett and Peterson (2004), there are multiple types of music scenes. The one that is important to define somewhat further, is the local scene, to attempt to focus more on the local aspect of music and cities. The local scene is clustered around a specific

geographic location. Local music scenes are considered to have an influence on local music making processes and the everyday life of music communities and that there music is embedded in long local cultures (Bennett & Peterson, 2004). So, when describing the term of music scenes, you speak of both the geographical sites of local music practice and the economic and social networks (Kruse, 2013).

An alternative approach to research the connections between music and place is the concept of music ecology. Ecology is a term that has been applied in studies within both social sciences and music studies (Keogh, 2013). Watkins (2013) describes music ecology as a term “that encourages exploration of music’s many modes of being in place as well as how music constitutes a virtual environment related in subtle or overt ways to actual environments” (p. 405). Music ecology has been used by Keogh (2013) as a term that refers to relationships between music and the environment in which music takes place, and the connectedness between music and the social, political and economic environment. Elbourne (2013, p.16) explains music ecology as the following:

Live music does not exist in a vacuum but is part of a complex ecosystem consisting of many interdependent elements in the local, national and international contexts. The elements of the ecology include physical spaces in which to produce and record music, networks of people, social groups and the physical, social, cultural, political, educational, industrial and economic environment. The interdependence of these elements means that all areas of the music environment are in some way connected. Emerging, professional or community artists are connected to a broad set of music vocations as well as industry businesses (p. 16).

Elbourne (2013) notes that it is not advisable or even possible to examine live music in isolation. The broader ecology has to be researched to understand what live music is. Ballico and Carter (2018) also mention that music ecology is affected by political bureaucracy and regulatory actors, for example, to maintain public order, for economic reasons or to support the cultural sector. Some policies might have a more positive effect, for example, subsidies for venues (Behr et al., 2016), But policies also can have a more negative effect on music ecologies, because for example liquor laws and licensing issues (Homan, 2010).

For this project, it fits better to research the music ecology, than the concept of music scenes because of two reasons. One, looking at this concept is a good way to research

how music constitutes as a virtual environment that is related to physical environments. Second, is that it goes in detail into the range of experiences that play a role in the perception and interpretation of music (Watkins, 2011). According to Behr et al. (2016), ecology seems to be the best way to research the relationships between the factors and actors involved (e.g. music venues, etc). A musician could obviously only give concerts happening in a particular place, at a particular time, with the right social collaborations (e.g. between promoters, venue owners, technicians, etc). Therefore, the third reason to choose an ecological approach is that the focus is primarily to explore why musicians play at particular venues, why it happens in that setting, with that audience and why a specific collaboration is made (Behr et al., 2016). In this way, this ecological approach is a way of putting place at the center of the economic and cultural networks that will be explored (Behr et al., 2016).

### 2.2.3 Hard and soft institutions

There is an increasing demand for hard and soft institutions in the infrastructure of cities and are important for the creative industries in general (Van Geenhuizen & Nijkamp, 2012). The development of creative modern cities is a combination of hard and soft institutions. Hard institutions can be described as the buildings and institutions such as research institutions, education places, cultural facilities and meeting places (Van Geenhuizen & Nijkamp, 2012). According to Ballico and Carter (2018), live music venues are a vital ingredient for a music ecology of a city to function. Music venues can create opportunities for musicians to connect with each other, with people in the music industry and of course their audiences (Ballico & Carter, 2018). Hard institutions can also make a contribution in the skill development of musicians. According to Scott (2016) cities can create hard institutions to help in creating more capacities for skill development and support of various music industry actors (Scott, 2016). For instance, a hard music institution within a city has the ability to help musicians to develop themselves by providing places. Besides formal education places, there is also the possibility to create more informal ways to educate musicians with workshops and music projects subsidized by governments (Scott, 2016). Besides education to help in skill development, there are also places, such as music venues, that can provide musicians with more opportunities to create a creative career and develop more performing skills (Ballico & Carter, 2018).

The soft institutions are systems of structures and social networks and human interaction and connection, that creates ideas between people and institutions (Van Geenhuizen & Nijkamp, 2012). According to Van Geenhuizen and Nijkamp (2012), it is important not only to look at the economic side of institutions within a city but also at the interaction in a community. These social networks can be interpersonal and virtual, such as social media groups. For instance, an online community can enable musicians to communicate directly with their audience (Elbourne, 2013) and knowing exactly how many people are listening to their music and watching their music clips. The online world is a critical institution for a number of musicians. Also, the city governments are important soft institutions when studying the music ecology of a city. Nowadays, the focus of many city governments are trying to use the power of music to attract more music consumers to the city (Baird & Scott, 2018). Developing policies regarding the music regulations within a city concern a range of stakeholders, such as business owners and members within the community and organizations in the cultural sector (Baird & Scott, 2018).

#### 2.2.4 Musicians and the city

Almost everyone makes or has made some kind of music at one point in their lives. Whether this is in a formal context (e.g. playing in an orchestra) or in an informal context (e.g. singing happy birthday) (Clarke et al., 2009). Music is made by all kinds of people in diverse situations, and only a few of them would describe themselves as musicians (Clarke et al., 2009). Being a musician can be a profession of its own, but there is no strict definition of a musician (Ziegler, Straber, Pfeiffer & Wormald, 2013). For a couple of people, making music will be one of the primary focus of their professional lives. Clarke et al. (2009) points out that “making music” is understood differently in different cultural contexts. A distinction is made between the compositional part and the performance part of making music (Clarke et al., 2009). But, according to Clarke et al. (2009) in many other cultures, the distinction is less clear or less relevant (e.g. singer-songwriters), as it is also for the huge variety of ways in which people make music informally as part of their everyday lives (e.g. singing along with the radio).

There are studies in music at a professional academy or a college of music (Ziegler et al., 2013). According to Ziegler et al. (2013), not all educated musicians can live on their

music making and have a part-time job next to their musical career. There are also amateur musicians who make their living with their musical work (Ziegler et al., 2013). The skills that are important when making music are described by Clarke et al (2009) as:

The physical skills of instrumental or vocal performance, the perceptual and motor skills of coordinating with other performers, the expressive skills of playing music in a convincing or persuasive manner, and the social skills of knowing how to behave and feel comfortable in various performing situations (a religious occasion, a concert, the celebration of an event, or a performance exam) (p. 21).

Ziegler (2014) mentions that there are also successful musicians who make their living completely with music although they did not have a formal musical education. According to Ziegler et al. (2013), musicians need the necessary conditions for successful learning and talent development. What is interesting for this study, is the way that economics (e.g. governmental investments), culture (e.g. ways of thinking in a specific city), sociality (e.g. support from audience) and lastly, infrastructure (e.g. material and policy options or access to music venues) are all considered as conditions for successful learning and talent development (Ziegler et al., 2013). The combination of support from the city government and the growing amount of young people seeking to form music industry careers, is defined by Shuker (2017). He says that in a strong and viable music scene: "local talent can be encouraged and musicians can make a living from their music. It is the interaction and synergy of various contextual players, policies and influences that have enabled local music to flourish" (p.27).

As mentioned above, music can contribute to the cultural and creative identities of cities, (Ballico & Carter, 2018). But in turn, as mentioned, the city where the musical activities take place can also contribute to the functioning of local music within the city (Ballico & Carter, 2018). On the one hand, musicians are placed in an active self-organized process that they have to and eventually adapt to their specific environments. On the other hand, the environments are adapted to the growing skill levels of the individuals (Ziegler et al., 2013).

An important way in which local musicians in cities understand their own involvement is that they identify themselves with the city (Kruse, 2010). Shared musical knowledge and practices are important in the process of inter-local social and economic

structures within a city (Kruse, 2010). Kruse (2010) mentions that those inter-local structures were part of overlapping networks in which genre, geography, position in the music industry and other factors within one or more social networks. According to Kruse (2010), these factors are important when looking at the processes of identity and identification of musicians. Nowadays, in the age of the internet, it does not make sense anymore to only look at isolated scenes. The ability for musicians to connect with people has become easier (Kruse, 2010). Focusing on hard institutions as well as soft institutions enables us to incorporate these factors (Van Geenhuizen & Nijkamp, 2012).

### 2.3 Rotterdam: from a working city to a cultural city

Like other cities, Rotterdam faces a need to be competitive which automatically emphasizes local economic development. This need developed further in combination with the reconstruction and regeneration of the city that has been taking place since the Second World War (McCarthy, 1998). The reconstruction of the city was necessary as a result of the city's bombardment in 1940. From around 1950 until the 1970s, a lot was rebuilt (McCarthy, 1998).

In the 1980s, the city government also invested in the development of several cultural facilities to boost the city's appeal to commercial investors and to attract people to live in the central area (McCarthy, 1998). The 1980's was the post-industrial era in which there was a revaluation for the city as a place of residence. Lots of space, low establishment costs and a big diversity of people and education created a lot of employment opportunities (Landry, 2005). In particular, during the last 15 years, the city government has intensified its attempts to develop a 'brand' that fits the 'new Rotterdam' (Belabas & Eshuis, 2018). The 'New York Times' listed Rotterdam in the top 10 of 52 Places to Go. This is according to (Belabas and Eshuis, 2018) due to Rotterdam's success in branding itself, using the physical places in Rotterdam as a key element in its branding strategy.

According to Richards and Wilson (2004), Rotterdam has attempted to use cultural events as a means of changing its image from a 'working city' into that of a cultural city. To create this image, culture in Rotterdam has long been important in tourism marketing. Richards and Wilson (2004) also mention some weaknesses: "its relatively poor supply of traditional cultural facilities, particularly on an international level, compared with cities such as Amsterdam" (p.8). Rotterdam decided to distinguish itself by promoting an image of being

a modern art city, using its futuristic architecture as a unique selling point. A development program was set up with the aims of stimulating internationally orientated culture, building the image of Rotterdam as a cultural festival and event city (Richards & Wilson, 2004). The wide range of festivals in Rotterdam suits a long-lasting, national development of festivalization (Boogaarts, 1992). Festivalization refers to an increase in the number of festivals for a number of years, which occurs particularly in cities (Boogaarts, 1992).

## 2.4 The music ecology of Rotterdam

In this theoretical framework, the most important theories are discussed that help as a foundation for the research into the music ecology of Rotterdam. Theories about the different values of music have been discussed, which play a role in the context of music within a city. In addition, a number of approaches to music and place have been reviewed that can contribute to researching the local context of music and the corresponding conditions. Instead of approaching the musical infrastructure as a music scene (Bennet & Jones, 2015), this study approaches it as an ecology (Keogh, 2013). Talking about ecology seems to be the best way of making sense of the relationships and connections between various factors and actors involved in the music ecology of Rotterdam. To highlight the musicians perspective, a theory analysis is carried out on the required conditions that are important for musicians to develop their career (Ziegler, 2013; Clarke et al., 2009). Besides these theories, there is also research done on Rotterdam as a post-industrial city and what influence that had on the city as a cultural place (Belabas & Eshuis, 2018; McCarthy, 1998; Richards & Wilson, 2004).

Like many other cities, Rotterdam has been investing in improving its image to stimulate urban development and to attract visitors, residents, and investors (Belabas & Eshuis, 2018). While studies have focused on the term music ecology and the multiple conditions that are considered important for live music in cities, research from the view of local musicians from the city Rotterdam is lacking. The perspective of these musicians is necessary to understand how live music ecology can contribute to their musical career. The goal of this research is to make a contribution to existing studies on live music ecologies and the required conditions for a city.

### 3. Research design

This research is carried out through qualitative research methods to answer the following research question: How do musicians in Rotterdam understand the required conditions for the live music ecology of the city? As mentioned, besides interviews, the interviewees were asked to draw maps. These kinds of hand-drawn maps can be used to study the ways in which people describe places within Rotterdam and how the musicians remember what is where (Cohen, 2012). For this research it contributes to giving insights in their subjective sense of space and place of Rotterdam, and differences between the musicians in terms of their spatial knowledge and understanding of music places within the city (Cohen, 2012). Later in this chapter, more explanation about these hand-drawn maps will be given. The research question is answered by using two sub-questions:

1. How do musicians in Rotterdam evaluate the role of the soft and hard institutions in Rotterdam regarding their music career?
2. How do musicians in Rotterdam define the strengths and weaknesses of the music ecology in Rotterdam?

#### 3.1 Qualitative research

Qualitative research is used because it helps to understand underlying reasons for how local musicians from Rotterdam understand the music ecology. Moreover, it helps to evaluate the requirements that are important in a strong local music ecology (Babbie, 2014). Because the concept of music ecology is multilayered and includes multiple connections and relations, this could not be researched with a quantitative method, because in qualitative research, it is not a numerical reflection as in quantitative research. This qualitative method of interviewing, enabled me to study the underlying reasons for those connections and dependencies in relation to their own personal story (Babbie, 2014). The added value of qualitative research can be characterized by a high degree of flexibility for the researcher. In the case of interviews, this allows the researcher to respond to the answers given by an individual from the research group. The advantage of this research method compared to quantitative research was that the validity is higher because you can talk in-depth with the participants. This allows for detailed statements to be made about the research group (Babbie, 2014). According to Boeije (2010), in-depth interviewing is a proper method to learn more about social life from the perspectives, experiences and languages of the people the

research is actually about. The interviewees could tell their story and share their knowledge about the subject (Boeije, 2010).

The method of drawing maps was used as a research tool because it helped illustrate the music-making activities and experiences of musicians in the city of Rotterdam. With these hand-drawn maps, the participants could visualize their thoughts on paper and relate them to the music places in the city such as rehearsal-, performance places (Cohen, 2012). They could also refer back to their map during their interview add new places. After the process, the similarities, as well as the differences from the hand-drawn maps, are highlighted, in which the musicians conceptualize music in local space (Cohen, 2012). Normally, by only using traditional interviewing methods, the disadvantage is that the respondent is challenged exclusively by the interviewer to consider new ideas (Boeije, 2010), but with this additional method, the interviewee could also get inspired by their own drawings (Cohen, 2012). This helped to create more in-depth input for the interview, by using their own drawn maps. Through the interview, the hand-drawn maps also structured the interviews and during the drawing of the respondents, questions about specific places that were drawn clarified their thoughts. Also, questions referring to experiences within these places helped to get a better knowledge of their thoughts (Cohen, 2012).

### 3.2 Data collection

The interviews varied in duration between 60 and 90 minutes. They were held at the location of the respondents' choice. Beforehand, the respondents signed a consent form, but to guarantee the privacy of the respondents and to promote openness during the interviews, the names and recognizable data of the respondents are made anonymous.

The respondents were selected in purposive sampling, which means that respondents are selected on the basis of certain characteristics. More specifically the method of snowball sampling was used (Boeije, 2010). In a snowball sampling, the first respondents are selected from the researchers own social circle and after this, acquaintances of acquaintances will be asked to participate as a respondent (Boeije, 2010). The most important criteria for collecting the sample was that they are local musicians from Rotterdam and have experience of performing and practicing their music in the city. With purposeful sampling, it is important to aim for a diverse sample (Babbie, 2014). To create a diverse sample, different kind of musicians are selected, such as a drummer, guitarist, lead

singer, etc. Another criterion was to select people that are more experienced, as well as less experienced as local musicians, because more experienced musicians know more about the music sector and less experienced musicians know more about skill development. An overview of the respondents is included in Appendix B.

The interviews are conducted in a semi-structured way, which means that a topic list was used. With this structure, the process of the interview was more flexible than a completely structured approach (Boeije, 2010). A completely open interview method could have resulted in an interviewer that deviates too much from the subject and ultimately does not get the data that answers the research question, which is why a topic list was used (Boeije, 2010).

### 3.3 Operationalization

The concepts were the starting points for the research and preceded the topic list. These concepts give direction to the data collection and analysis, but leave room for new findings (Boeije, 2010). The research questions were operationalized into clear interview questions, suitable for asking the respondents (Boeije, 2010). Therefore, the interview started with an introduction with open questions that were easy to answer for respondents. With this introduction, the interview started somewhat more on the surface and from there the concepts are researched further. Both the order and the number of topics differed per respondent. The following concepts have been obtained from the reviewed literature and are used in the topic list that can be found in Appendix A.

The concepts that form the framework for this research are first of all the concept of music ecology. Music ecology will be used in the interview questions, asking about their experience of the music ecology in Rotterdam. Questions were, for example, about their role as a musician, the economy, regulatory actors and political bureaucracy in Rotterdam (Behr et al., 2016; Marlet & Van Woerkens, 2011; Keogh, 2013). The questions gave insight into relationships and connections in their musical career and their environment in which their music experiences take place (Keogh, 2013). The connection between music and the social, political and economic environment are very important in this context. The drawings of the maps helped to explain the relations and connections between the places in Rotterdam they drew and why those places are important in their musical career. The ecological concept structured the “space” of the music, with its multiple elements and conditions (Watkins,

2013). Lastly, it was important that they described the strengths and weaknesses of the music ecology in Rotterdam. For instance, which conditions are lacking attention, or what kind of places do the musicians feel are missing in the city. The other concepts are soft and hard music institutions. Soft institutions were questioned by asking the musicians about social networking online and offline and relationships within the city Rotterdam. These social networks can be interpersonal and more virtual, such as social media groups. For instance, referring to an online community. Besides this, the musicians were asked about whether they feel connected to a specific music scene in Rotterdam and why they feel (not) connected to a specific music scene. Hard institutions are described as the buildings and institutions within Rotterdam. Examples of these institutions can be rehearsal places, research institutions, education places, cultural facilities and meeting places. Hard institutions is questioned by asking about spaces within Rotterdam, such as places to perform or practice and education places. A question from the topic list refers for example, to how the musicians educate themselves in music within the city of Rotterdam.

### 3.4 Thematic analysis

The analysis is done through a thematic analysis. A thematic analysis examines the data for the purpose to formulate broad themes that summarize the content of the data (Babbie, 2014). With a thematic analysis, a theory can be developed step by step through the systematically acquired and analyzed research data (Babbie, 2014).

After recording the conversations, the interviews were transcribed. The coding for this research is inductively done. With an inductive approach insights has been created into the meaning that the musicians attach to their musical events. This has given the research a detailed insight into the research context (Babbie, 2014). With this approach there was a more flexible structure that allowed for changes during the research. The transcribing process resulted in ten text documents containing all the data that specifically was related to what the respondents answered. The data was first coded open, then axially and lastly selectively coded (Boeije, 2010). Open coding means giving themes to text fragments (Boeije, 2010). After this, the codes were compared and combined by coding the data axially, because not every code had to fall within a single code; they can also be associated with multiple codes or codes could be merged (Boeije, 2010). Finally, with selective coding, the main categories were removed from the data. With this latter coding, the theory could be

built up by establishing relationships and connections in the data (Boeije, 2010). For the process of coding, the research software Atlas-ti is used to analyze and structure the big amount of data. Atlas.ti is a program that is helpful in analyzing qualitative data. With using the topic list mentioned above, archiving, structuring and keeping control over the data, the reliability of the research is increased. That means that if this research will be repeated, the same results will be conducted (Boeije, 2010). After the process of coding, a code tree was made (Appendix C). The code tree helped as a mind map in which the codes were organized. As a result, it was easier to see the relationships and connections within the obtained data. The interviews were conducted in Dutch, but the coding process is from the start translated in English.

### 3.5 Reliability and validity

Reliability is always problematic in qualitative research. Because the interviews are open in nature and the data resulting from them have been interpretatively analyzed, there is a chance that the results of the empirical part of the research may not always be reproducible as such by another researcher. Based on the literature by Wester, Renckstorf and Scheepers (2006), a number of factors have been used to increase the reliability of this research. To increase the reliability, the quotes from the interviews were only included in the results after the first results were written down. This forced the need to compare the results again with the raw data. It was also ensured that the interview progress was critically examined during the research. Questioning whether the answers given by the respondents would answer the actual research question was important during the process. As a result, new insights during the research were taken into account and anticipated during the other interviews (Boeije, 2010).

Validity includes the risk of not measuring what you want to measure (Boeije, 2010). With validity, a distinction is made between internal and external validity. The internal validity is the extent to which the conclusions of the research are valid for the research group (Boeije, 2010). The internal validity of this research is mostly based on the operationalization of the concepts. In order to increase the validity and not to run the risk that the interviews would cover other irrelevant subjects, the topic list consistently helped in increasing the internal validity. External validity is the extent to which the conclusions apply to the entire population, or the generalizability that is partly dependent on the

representativeness of the research group (Boeije, 2010). By keeping track of the criteria to select the respondents, the external validity is increased, because the group of respondents will aim to reflect the entire population (Babbie, 2014).

## 4. Results

This chapter contains the results of the analysis of ten in-depth interviews and the hand-drawn maps made by Rotterdam musicians. This chapter is divided in four paragraphs. The first paragraph is devoted to general findings from the research group. In the second paragraph, I will discuss the results from the hand-drawn maps to provide some findings on the overall approaches to music in Rotterdam. The last two paragraphs are based on the two sub-questions that will eventually answer the main research question: How do musicians in Rotterdam understand the required conditions for the live music ecology of the city? First of all, I will identify what role the hard and soft institutions play in the musical career of musicians in Rotterdam. In the next part, it will be discussed how musicians in Rotterdam evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the music ecology in Rotterdam. The quotations from both the respondents and external reports are translated by the author. The final conclusions of this study and the theoretical assumptions are included in Chapter 5.

### 4.1 The musicians

More than half of the respondents are beginning musicians who are finished, or still finishing their music education alongside their musical career. The respondents that are finishing their education in music are graduating from Codarts in Rotterdam. One respondent is graduating at HKU Utrecht Conservatorium. Their specialization in their studies vary from jazz, pop, rock, reggae and world music. They are encouraged by their teachers to choose their own path within their own music careers and do not feel that they are influenced by their teachers. Because of the professional feedback from the teachers and the feedback given by fellow students they feel they can grow in the performance of their music and becoming more familiar with their personal ambitions are in their music.

A music career without a study such as the ones at the University is very different, much less unique. My University of applied sciences stimulates you very much on what you want to make yourself and, thanks to the feedback from teachers and other students, I have grown a lot as a musician I think, and I really found my own thing.  
(Respondent 4, singer, male).

As this respondent, and more respondents with him, explained, it is valuable to have followed an education if you want to become a professional musician. The respondents with

a musical education see the necessity to grow as a musician and actually be able to make their profession out of it. These musicians know for sure that they want to follow their passion for music, for the rest of their professional careers. These respondents, compared to those without music education, are also more confident that they can make a living out of the money they earn with their music. The city government (2019) argues that the income of musicians always varies. For example, in the summer months, it will be much busier in terms of live performances than in the winter months, which has an impact on their income. Every respondent, including those who are following a music course, are aware that it is not 'normal' for a musician to fully make a living out of the money they earn as a musician. There is a good chance that they will have to add something to make ends meet, for example giving music lessons. In addition, a number of musicians that were interviewed (4 out of 10) did not follow a music education, but a different study alongside their music career. As this respondent puts it: "The way I do it you don't really need it, I think you can teach yourself a lot and through experience, you learn a lot" (Respondent 5, drummer, female). What she meant by this, is that it depends on what kind of a musician you want to be. She felt like she does not need the theoretical music education, but learns how to play from experience. She also does not have the ambition to become a professional musician. However, skill development from performing experiences, is also what the educated musicians mentioned in their interviews. The majority of the respondents mention the importance of growing as a musician, through experience from performance and rehearsals with band members.

You also learn a lot simply by playing together with a band. And make things together and be somewhat learning and vulnerable. And in a band there are ultimately all people, who all play different things or look at music in a different way and that is especially very inspiring. (Respondent 3, singer, female).

As respondent 3 explains this, most of the time everyone in a band plays a different instrument and have their own specific qualities that they bring to the band, and when rehearsing and performing together, band members give new perspectives and ideas to each others music and way of playing.

One of their most dominant ambitions in music is that they want to perform on festivals. What attracts them is that it gives a great feeling, a larger audience that makes them feel that they are becoming more professional. It is the kind of appreciation where the

majority of respondents gets their energy from to keep on making music. It is one of the goals that they want to work to with their music. It is stated that they get satisfaction from small and informal performances, but playing at a big festival is an even bigger dream that they hope will come true. One of the respondents explains this ambition as followed: "The big stage, the people who shout your name, that is a big dream. You will feel like a real rock star" (Respondent 6, guitarist, male). Another respondent says the following: "Playing at festivals is a big dream because it can give you a feeling of being famous for a moment, even though people are not all there for your band, but for that moment they are there and dancing to your music" (Respondent 2, pianist, male). What these respondents are saying is that festivals make them feel more loved and appreciated by the audience. The amount of people listening to their music and coming to their performances does count in the way they feel as a professional musician.

The other ambition that the respondents indicate is that they want to make a worldwide tour. Besides performing in Rotterdam and the rest of the Netherlands, they also want to travel the world with their music. They want to reach an audience as large as possible, which means visiting other countries.

My biggest ambition is to distribute my own music within the Netherlands, but certainly also outside the Netherlands. I think those tours are one of the coolest things, it really has something special. Because you end up in all kinds of new places, you meet all new people there. And in a place where you are less known, it is an extra challenge to play your music there. (Respondent 9, saxophonist, male).

Respondent 9 explains the ambition to tour the world, as something special and as he explained later: "It feels like the bonus on your work, to travel through countries with something that you love to do" (Respondent 9, saxophonist, male). It is explained as something that again is not self-evident for every musician and something that will not be the case at the start of their career. According to the respondents, the first steps is to gain experience within your own city and country and to develop yourself as a musician, after which an EP can be released which a tour can come out of. Respondent 9 was the only musician who experienced a tour abroad. During the interview he was just a week back from Italy.

## 4.2 Mapping Rotterdam

At the beginning of the interviews, the method of drawing maps of Rotterdam was explained. They all reacted very enthusiastic on this part of the interview. After getting to know the respondents a bit better, the maps made their entrance into the interview. They all were a little hesitant and did not know where they would start to draw. Therefore, most of the time I would ask them to draw the first place that would come to mind when thinking of their music practices in Rotterdam. For all the respondents, the first thing they drew was a performance place where they have experience performing. Another thing that was remarkable with drawing, was that when they were asked to explain more about a specific place, they were distracted and stopped drawing. But that was not a problem, because they needed just a little reminder by the interviewer by asking further on the basis of their map.

From all the interviews, it became clear that the city Rotterdam plays an important role in the musician's lives. Varying from growing up in Rotterdam or moving to the city for their music, they all say they have a connection with Rotterdam. They are proud to start their career in Rotterdam. For them, Rotterdam has developed into their musical environment. As this respondent puts it: "Well, I am a proud Rotterdamer. I really think these are my kind of people. It is always a feeling of coming home" (Respondent 1, drummer, male). What this respondent is explaining is why he feels connected to his home city as a musician, but also with the people who live in de the city. When asking him what he meant by his kind of people, he answered: "People who just do their own thing and do not care to much what other people think of them and just enjoying their own passion" (Respondent 1, drummer, male). What is connected to his answer is something that another respondent said who did not grew up the Rotterdam, but came here for his music: "Also in the music scene in Rotterdam you feel that people are real go-getters and just do their thing, without complaining and nagging. It sounds cliché, but that's really the feeling I have with the people here" (Respondent 9, saxophonist, male). The city and the people within the city give that cliché feeling to the musicians, of hard working people who do not care to much about what others think. This connects to the well known working ethic of people from Rotterdam. With this feeling of proudness and wanting to belong to a group of 'real go-getters' there is something important that can be said about the music ecology of Rotterdam. Apparently, for musicians it is important to be connected to the city they work in. Not only the connection to the city, but also the feeling of connection and relations with

the people in the city are important for them. There can be said that it is possible, that the musicians will not develop their careers in just another city, they want to feel the connection with the city in order to set the base for their career. In case of Rotterdam it is the connection to a city of 'real go-getters', with hard working people, what seems important for local musicians.

What is shown on a more geographical perspective, is that when drawing the maps and talking about the most important places for the musicians they drew, those places are primarily located in the center of Rotterdam. An example of a street that is located near Rotterdam central station is Nieuwe Binnenweg. This is a street with multiple places that everyone seemed to know about. This street is drawn by the majority of the musicians and is experienced as important in their music. Not only to perform, but in particular to meet with other musicians and friends.

If you walk on this street you will always bump into someone on the street. Friends, but also people from the music scene. If you have nothing to do on an evening, but you want to do something, you can just go to the Nieuwe Binnenweg and you always end up late in Bar3 or Boudewijn or some other place. In these cafes there is always fun to find with friends or people you don't know yet. (Respondent 1, drummer, male).

This drummer meant here, after some further explanation, that he knows many people in this area and always comes across familiar people. There are cafes where they can perform or hang out. More about specific places is described in paragraph 4.3, dedicated to the hard and soft institutions within the music ecology of Rotterdam.

Most streets and places mentioned by the respondents are located in the west and north of Rotterdam and are experienced as centered places. The east and south of Rotterdam are hardly mentioned by the respondents in their music career. When later asking for the reason they did not mention the south and east of Rotterdam, they mentioned that it just did not come to mind. After reminding them about those areas, they remembered some important places in those areas. But these made no dominant part in their experience of the music ecology. What I found remarkable about the drawing from the first respondent, was that he drew the south later in the conversation on a new piece of paper. When asking about the reason for this, he said:

It's just not an area that I think of first. In my opinion, it is not central, and therefore even feels a little less Rotterdam. I don't feel that creative connection with this other part of the city, because maybe it feels a lot newer and less just what I like.  
(Respondent 1, drummer, male).

So, he explained, that the south of Rotterdam did not fit in his music experience and therefore is in his mind is not connected to the other parts in Rotterdam. The south of Rotterdam feels newer, because it also in parts is 'newer'. A lot of new buildings are being built in the south and the city has been investing for a number of years in renewing and improving this part of the city. This feeling of 'new' can also be linked to the major damage of the city caused by World War II. The city center, has in contrast to Rotterdam south, more pre-war neighborhoods. So, it is certainly not remarkable that this feeling of 'new' is experienced, but it is remarkable that this 'newness' also gives the feeling of less creativity in this part of the city. The south is also mentioned in the new pop vision. The city government discusses that the south will change in the coming period. They experience the area around the Maassilo as 'completely Rotterdam'; ragged and stubborn, and the presence of the industrial heritage makes it a unique place. The city government sees it as a unique place, because of the newness of this area, and it is that newness that is something the musicians don't appreciate. The NPRZ (2019) also mention that they are going to increase in cultural participation (singing, music, dance, visual arts, theater, urban arts) by means of structurally strengthening the cultural programming and investing in talent development. The east of Rotterdam, which refers to the areas Kralingen and Prins Alexander, is simply not talked about at all. A reason for this can be that there are no venues that are located in the east of Rotterdam mentioned in the new management report of the city government. The other three areas are all mentioned in this report, except for the east.

Some places that have been drawn are located around Rotterdam, such as Vlaardingen and Schiedam. These are places mentioned in connection to giving them more offering in rehearsal places, to which more attention will be paid later in section 4.3. Musicians search for places that are easy to travel outside of Rotterdam. These places are often cheaper and have more room to rehearse. Respondents do not see this as a major problem, because it is close to Rotterdam. It is indicated, however, that it would be an asset

if the center of Rotterdam also had more rehearsal places, where the rehearsal places are more spacious and where the rent is cheaper.

#### 4.3 The role of hard and soft institutions in Rotterdam

##### 4.3.1 Hard institutions

As mentioned earlier, music within a city goes beyond the community of musicians (Ballico & Carter, 2018). Within a city there are multiple factors that are part of the music ecology of a city and those factors can be divided into hard and soft institutions (Van Geenhuizen & Nijkamp, 2012). The hard institutions following on from this analysis are educational institutions, rehearsal places and performances places within Rotterdam. Based on the interviews, it was found that these were the dominant themes mentioned by the respondents within the subject hard institutions.

The first hard institutions that were often mentioned in the interviews were places for music education. Even the musicians who do not have gone to professional music education mentioned the importance of a educational institution within a city and almost every musician mentioned that the places of music education within Rotterdam has an effect on the overall music in Rotterdam, as one respondent explained:

It is certainly not just about what we as musicians learn at the Conservatorium. If you look at what the Conservatorium means for a city in the longer term. It brings new musicians from all over the world, where it is likely that they will eventually stay in Rotterdam to build their career. (Respondent 4, singer, male).

Just as this respondent explained, an educational institution is not only valuable for the musicians on a personal level. It is also in the long run something that is valuable for the city Rotterdam. As other respondents also pointed out is, that a city where there is a big and good educational institution is, the city will attract more music students from all over the country, but even from other countries. Some musicians mentioned, that when these musicians graduate, it is often the case they will stay in Rotterdam to start their musical career. Five of the respondents said that this makes Rotterdam even more multicultural. Rotterdam is a multicultural city, but also the music scene in Rotterdam is described as multicultural.

My education brings a lot of positive things for me, but I certainly think for the city too. An example is that I received a message via Instagram from a musician from Ghana, who also plays the trumpet and gave compliments about my photos and videos. He also asked during chatting if I could recommend Codarts to study, and yes I advised him to do more research on Codarts and a month later he registered and auditioned. Not only he, but so many musicians come to Rotterdam for this school and that brings so much diversity and other influences in the city. (Respondent 8, trumpeter, male).

As this respondent explained, but what is also mentioned by other musicians is that this diversity in music in the city is due to the educational institution, Codarts Rotterdam. As said by Codarts (2017) it is an international school, a University of the arts, with an international student population. Codarts Rotterdam is explained as a professional and good education institution, that offers the music genres of jazz, pop and world music. Because of this school, that attracts more students every year, there is also mentioning of more competition within Rotterdam. Musicians feel it is becoming more competitive every year because more musicians are graduating in Rotterdam. Also, Codarts mention this in their management report: "Attracting top international talent enables Codarts to raise the bar during auditions and thus ultimately raise the bar for graduates by keeping the competition high" (Codarts Rotterdam, 2018). This competition is not experienced by the musicians as something that has to be a bad thing, as this respondent explains as the following:

The number of musicians in the city is big, I think, even though it does causes more competition, but I think it is very important that there is competition, that there is a challenge and that you continue to challenge and inspire each other. Look, they are your competitors, but they are also your most important colleagues and that is also important in your career. (Respondent 9, saxophonist, male)

As this respondent explains, this competition can contribute to the skill development of musicians. The competition provides less opportunity for musicians to play within the city. Moreover, as respondent 9 says, it also increases more pressure and motivation to get the best out of yourself and to continue to develop your skills. Because of this, a lasting motivation remains within the skill development of musicians so that the quality of the music remains high and continues to improve. This is an advantage for the entire music

scene in Rotterdam, which is experienced by the musicians themselves, but is also the intention of a school like Codarts.

The second category of hard institutions within this analysis are the rehearsal places where musicians can practice their music. After specifically asking the respondents about the rehearsal places they practice, most of the respondents mentioned the same requirements for rehearsal spaces. Firstly, a rehearsal place requires certain characteristics. According to the musicians, a good rehearsal space requires that the sound is properly damped by the right isolation, that good quality instruments are present (e.g. a drum set that is complete), and that the space is large enough for a larger band and that outlets are properly arranged. Secondly, the rehearsal places have to be affordable. When the places are too expensive or the quality arrangements are low, this gives a problem for musicians. This hard institution is important in the skill development of musicians which is an important factor for a well functioning music ecology in Rotterdam. As mentioned earlier, this causes that if musicians want to develop their skills, they have to look for places outside Rotterdam, such as Schiedam and Vlaardingen. These are places close to Rotterdam, but are not officially part of the city Rotterdam. So, according to the musicians these places outside Rotterdam, can be experienced as part of the music ecology of Rotterdam, because they play a role in their musical career. When the rehearsal places in Rotterdam are not getting cheaper, the musicians need to look for other places outside the city. The city government is also mentioned in the context of this hard institution. The musicians mainly point out the need for financial support after graduation or at the start of their career to offer a stepping stone. It does not have to be direct financial support, but it can also be in the form of rehearsal places that are fully funded by the city government and where they request a small contribution from musicians, as respondent 1 explains:

It would be helpful if the city government would give something to beginning musicians. It can be in the form of money to rent places, but they can also invest in more places like Soundport and Frikandel. Just to help them start their career and after a year or so, we can do it hopefully on our own with some more income from gigs and stuff. (Respondent 1, drummer, male).

The third subject within the hard institutions in Rotterdam are performance places. Venues to perform are important for musicians to give their live performances and thereby make their music heard to their audience.

I actually learn the most during gigs. If you make a mistake while playing, or you are just playing a good gig with your band, you learn to develop yourself as a musician. The reactions of the public also play a role in this. Through an enthusiastic group of people in front of you, you will also play better. It gives you more motivation to get everything out of yourself and the other members of the band. (Respondent 5, drummer, female).

Just like this respondent and the other respondents they are aware of the importance of performance places. Performance places can also be a place to produce inspiration and creativity. Musicians can learn new techniques or seeing other musicians perform. These places can therefore also contribute in their skill development as musicians. An example of a venue that is greatly appreciated, is music venue Rotown. This used to be a place for starting bands, nowadays often only well-known international bands are booked. This makes it difficult for musicians to perform here and which is perceived as unfortunate, because this venue is appreciated in terms of the quality of sound and the ambience within this place. For a place like Rotown it gives more financial security to book bands that are already international know, because this can causes more attendance for the concerts, and therefore more revenue, as Respondent 2 describes:

Yes Rotown, there are usually long waiting lists for this place and often you have to know the right people for that or something. You can not just walk in and perform there the following week. Many international artists are booked there, and therefore they just seem to have less room for local bands. That is annoying, but on the one hand also very understandable, it simply generates more income if they book popular international bands. (Respondent 2, pianist, male).

As this musician describes it, to have the opportunity to perform in those medium-sized venues, musicians need a big offline network. The musicians describe the scene of Rotterdam as a small music scene, which means that everyone knows (almost) everyone. If a lot of people know you and think you're a good musician, you have the opportunity to be

asked, otherwise, you have to work harder and be more active in searching for venues. Besides those bigger venues, there are the smaller cafés that offer some opportunity to perform, but the sound quality is low and the lack of space to fit instruments like drums etc. is more difficult. This makes the cafés feel more unprofessional because they are not official music venues to perform.

Okay here is Eurotrash United. We were the support act for that evening. That is a nice place, only in terms of sound it is not really great, but that is more in Rotterdam that the sound is not very well regulated. Because they are not big venues.  
(Respondent 4, singer, male).

As this respondent mentions, this place is nice to perform for one night, but does not fit their needs for a high quality performance place. Besides this, when playing in these places, the fee for playing is also not experienced as high, they pay the musicians around 150 to 300 euros for a performance. It feels for some respondents more like making people acquainted with their music and not like a professional performance.

#### 4.3.2 Soft institutions

The soft institutions discussed in this analysis are bookers, a network of friends and offline and online (meeting) places within Rotterdam. These themes were the most dominant during the interview, because the musicians had mostly to say about these soft institutions. Some of the more professional musicians within the research group have mentioned that they have a booker. Their booker arranges performances for the musicians and the bands they play in. When starting a musical career, it is more usual to arrange as much as possible themselves. The positive outcome of this is that musicians know exactly what is involved in arranging a performance. However, there comes a point that they think is smart to let a booker make the arrangements. This is on a point where the musicians are getting more successful, and need a booker for the extra work. A booker has a large network of promoters within Rotterdam, with which they can negotiate with. It is expensive for the musicians to hire a booker, because a normal fee for a booker is 15% of a performance. A big network within the city is experienced as really important for the musicians. A network can help them to find the right people to keep in touch with, such as bookers, programmers and other musicians. Without a big network it is difficult to get more performance opportunities within the city, and those are really important to have a career in Rotterdam. You have to go to

meeting places to keep in touch with bookers, programmers and other musicians. As this respondent puts it: "I think it's just important that people can find you. That is possible by continuing to actively network and having different people know your name and band through Rotterdam, that certainly helps a lot!" (Respondent 3, singer, female). As what this respondent explains the importance of networking, knowing the right people within the music sector in Rotterdam that know who you are, what you can do, causes the probability to be asked for more performances. This is not only the case with their current bands, but also as individual musicians to be asked for other performances besides their own bands. As a musician you have to stay active in finding new places to perform and keep track of your network, but also a lot comes with experience and more time living in Rotterdam and attending places where the same people can be found, because what is already mentioned, everyone knows everyone in Rotterdam when it comes to music.

The category of soft institutions that is an important factor of networking are the physical meeting places. Music sessions are mentioned regularly by the musicians for creating a big network. During music sessions there is usually first a performance, after which musicians get the chance to jam together and make music. This is a good way to meet other musicians and combine their own music with other music genres and instruments. Usually there are specific evenings that are organized, such as a jazz evening or a hip hop evening. However, musicians who do not fit within that particular genre are also welcome to join.

Bird is a music place in Rotterdam where I can often be found. Many musicians come there during the week to jam together. Also one of the reasons that I often make it late during the week, because it is always very pleasant. Everyone can come and play and make music together. This is not every night and also we often are not allowed to play until late, because they are not allowed to continue for too long for possible noise. (Respondent 4, singer, male).

As Respondent 4 explains, places like Bird are experienced as accessible and open to new people. Often there is little time for every musician to play on an evening, because the places have to adhere to the city government sound rules, so they usually close around midnight. Specific examples of places that have been mentioned are Bird and Jazz café Dizzy. These places are experienced as pleasant and are regularly visited by the musicians.

I always feel very welcome in Dizzy, it's just the people, the atmosphere that make it there. You can come in for free or for a low entrance price. Jamming and making music together is one of the nicest things, playing together and making cool things. (Respondent 7, singer/pianist, male).

That accessible feeling of a place is a theme that is reflected in every interview with the respondents. Just like what respondent 7 indicates, feeling welcome and just being able to walk in. In addition to things like networking and making money with their music, playing and creating together is still one of the nicest things for them. In these places, music creates a high social value for musicians. Where multiple genres and instruments come together. In addition, it does not matter here whether you are a trained musician or not, that makes it even more accessible for the musicians. Accessibility is therefore an important requirement for places in the music ecology in Rotterdam. It is important for musicians to feel welcome to visit music places, where they meet other musicians and make music together. This will create more opportunities for skill development what will help them further in their career. Besides this, it will broaden their network, what will help to get more performances and contacts with people in the music sector in Rotterdam. A place that is related to that feeling of accessibility, is Exit and was mentioned by half of the respondents. Exit offered a stage for young, new bands. It received 60,000 euros in subsidy from the city government on an annual basis, but that not turned out to be enough to survive. This place ticked all the boxes for the musicians. It was a place that was open for everyone, you could walk in and perform the same night. "Rotterdam misses something like an Exit, where everyone is welcome and can do their thing. You can't just play random anywhere" (Respondent 1, drummer, male). This is one example of a place that had to close due to disappointing visitor numbers and income.

Besides physical meeting places, there are also online meeting places for musicians. From the interviews it seems clear that social media is really important for musicians. They all use it to promote their music. They use it in a way that they upload videos and photos from their live performances, as a virtual portfolio. It then starts with friends liking and sharing their content on social media, but eventually, they say it is important that people can find you online. Social media platforms such as Instagram and Facebook are the most used for their music career. "It is important because everyone is online. You can't physically be

everywhere, but you can be overall online. And it just makes it much easier to contact and reach people" (Respondent 4, singer, male). Like this respondent, all the other respondents indicate that musicians today cannot live without an online network, and is just as important as an offline network. It's a way to get people to come to your performance, to make you more findable as a musician. When you email a place if you can perform there you have to send a demo, but often the social media is also taken into account. They feel that the amount of likes is a virtual representation of the popularity of a musician or a band. On the other hand, the musicians also say that you have to be active and that it takes a lot of work.

It is a profession on its own, there are people who just do entire marketing studies and study communication. It is not normal that every musician can do that or something, you have to experiment and see what works for your audience.  
(Respondent 3, singer, female).

As this respondent mentions, it is not a normal fact that musicians are good in the promotion business. There are actual professional people, promoting bands and musicians. It is something that requires practice and maybe is something that can be incorporated more in their music study. Later in their career it is maybe something that their record label and manager can do, but for now they say just to stay active and present online.

#### 4.4 Strengths and weaknesses of the music ecology in Rotterdam

When speaking about the institutions, and in particular the hard institutions in Rotterdam, the feeling was mostly more negative. The negative feelings outweigh the positive in some cases. After reading some material from the city government and related articles, this feeling of negativity concerning the hard institutions (e.g. lack of venues and rehearsal places) in Rotterdam, but overall the art scene in Rotterdam is something that is present for years now. This concern is overall based on the role of the city government and the lack of money investments in the industry. In addition, the closing of important music places in Rotterdam, such as dance venue Nighttown influences this negative feeling. When reading the new Policy Vision Pop of Rotterdam 2019, the city government also point out these concerns, but also mention that there are also a lot of positive things concerning the industry in Rotterdam. There are always two sides of a story and in the next paragraph I will give the results concerning the strengths and weaknesses of the music ecology in Rotterdam from the perspective of the musicians.

#### 4.4.1 Strengths

In the interviews the following strengths are addressed: the range of festivals in the city, the feeling of a multicultural city and the initiatives that support musicians in the city.

The first strength is the range of music festivals in Rotterdam that is experienced by the musicians. Rotterdam is a real festival city. Rotterdam is one of the cities in the Netherlands that is internationally known for its good range of cultural festivals and events. An important organization is Rotterdam Festivals, who works with various parties and the city government to let everyone, young or old, poor, rich, Rotterdamer, non-Rotterdamer, highly or low educated, and whether you live in the Netherlands or abroad enjoy festivals and the arts and culture from the city (Rotterdam Festivals, 2019). For the musicians these festivals offer a place to let their music be heard by the Rotterdam public, perhaps to interest them in other performances of the musician within the city. It also appears to be accessible as a starting artist to be able to perform at a number of festivals. For example, at a number of festivals there are special stages for starting artists, such as Bevrijdingsfestival Zuid-Holland. There are also festivals such as Popronde and Eendrachtsfestival, where performances take place throughout the city for a few days, making the city center of Rotterdam more lively. These festivals also contribute to their skill development. With playing on these festivals, musicians can introduce their music to new audiences and learn to perform for bigger audiences. Besides this they see it as not only a positive thing for their personal career, but also for the representation of the city. As this respondent puts it: "Events such as Eendrachtsfestival and Festival Downtown are, I think, an asset to the city. Rotterdammers come visit these, but also people from outside the city. These people can also fall in love with Rotterdam in this way" (Respondent 3, singer, female). What this respondent is explaining here is that she felt that people who do not come from Rotterdam often have a certain image of a new city, with little old culture and places. But it is that newness and spaciousness of the city that makes such festivals also possible. The concept of festivalization in Rotterdam is experienced by the musicians, because of the wide range of festivals in the city. The festivals in Rotterdam suits the long-lasting, national development that causes an increase in the number of festivals for a number of years now, which occurs particularly in cities (Bogaarts, 1992).

Rotterdam is experienced by the musicians as a city that has it all when it comes to music genres. Rotterdam is multicultural in a lot of ways, but this also reflects on a lot of

different music styles. Rotterdam as a city represents a lot of nationalities, what makes the city a multicultural hotspot, a mix of cultures, ideas and creativity. As mentioned earlier, the educational institution also makes a great contribution when it comes to more diversity within the city. Codarts Rotterdam accepts a lot of international students, with the purpose of also bringing new talent and other cultures to the music scene in Rotterdam. All those people bring their own culture, and music styles and genres. Because there are a lot of international musicians in Rotterdam, they also bring their own special qualities to the city. This is experienced as a big strength of the city, because this also attracts a more diverse audience to the city. From lovers of afrobeat, soul and hip hop, to experimental jazz and electronic music. There is something for everyone. Just like this respondent explains the diversity in the city: "Well in my opinion Rotterdam is just a place with contrasts. A place with rawness, but also warmth. And there is a lot of old and new and of course very multicultural, so many different people together"(Respondent 7, singer/pianist, male). As he explains it, there is a contrast because the city has new and older features, what also attracts people to the city and that makes Rotterdam different from other cities. Music also allows people to come together and give each other the space to create creativity and develop their passion in any way. The social value of music thus plays a role in the music ecology in Rotterdam, because it brings people together and present each other their culture. Whether that is in other art forms, but this can also be achieved by making music together. This is also communicated by the city government as a strength of the city. They say that Rotterdam is pre-eminently a city in which new music trends can arise. The city is young and multicultural, which means there is more opportunity for experiment, more cross-over and therefore more chance of innovation and innovation. The city is often a forerunner in new genres. Pop music, both active and passive, attracts people of all ages, social classes and backgrounds, making it an outstanding cultural expression that contributes to an inclusive city (City Government Rotterdam, 2019).

Another strength of the music ecology in Rotterdam are the initiatives that support musicians. Those initiatives are subsidized by the city government and give musicians more opportunities within the city. Examples of organizations are Music Matters, Popuni and Popronde. These initiatives offer as many young people the chance to get in touch with

music and make music together. For example Music Matters also offers cultural education programs and also focuses on presenting young talents under the name "Music Matters presents ...". A respondent who won an award with a contest organized by Music Matters, says the following:

At the start, Music Matters all went a little by itself. Because we got that first help from Music Matters, we were able to perform in many places in a relatively short time. They were also promoting for us. There are many organizations in Rotterdam that want to scout new talent and help get there, such as Music Matters. I really needed that help with my band at the beginning. (Respondent 3, singer, female).

Certainly at the start of a musical career it can be very helpful if there is an organization that helps musicians find new opportunities for performances, rehearsal places and other matters such as promotion. Often musicians are very talented and specialized in their music, but they are not familiar with the music scene in Rotterdam and they have no knowledge of organizational matters such as arranging performances. Financial matters, such as determining the price for a performance, are also an important part of this. These types of organizations can offer help with this and can often help you estimate your value as a musician. These organizations are often subsidized by the city government, because in the field of talent development, the city government wants to play a major role, they say they have a number of organizations that are committed to developing talents: within the Culture Plan 2017-2020 they support Popunie, MusicMatters, Epitome Entertainment, Roots and Routes. They subsidize a number of stages and festivals, each with its own role in the field of talent development (City Government Rotterdam, 2019). Because of this they want to strengthen the music sector in Rotterdam and support talent development.

#### 4.4.2 Weaknesses

From the interviews the following weaknesses are addressed: music genres that are scattered around the city, a lack of performance places and (affordable) rehearsal places, and more low key meeting places. In this paragraph these weaknesses will be explained. Firstly, from the interviews, it seems clear that it feels like if the music places are too much scattered around the city.

I would describe the pop stages in Rotterdam as a mozaïque. They are all small particles and some places attract more attention than others. For example, jazz is one of those large particles within Rotterdam. Rotterdam is a broken glass, which has been reassembled like a mozaïque. (Respondent 6, guitarist, male).

There are genres like jazz and electronic that are more prominent and that is reflected in music places. For instance, because Jazz is such a prominent genre, it has a couple of places dedicated to that genre. For musicians playing in those genre this is good, because this means more places to network, perform and make music with other musicians. For other musicians that play less common genres, like world music, it is not good because they have less performance spaces. All the musicians acknowledge that it is difficult to represent all genres in one city, but they think it is something that needs attention.

Yes, I would like more performance places. For example, I think Bird is a very cool venue, but it does have a specific genre, they don't do all kinds of music. And a Rotown, I haven't been there for a long time. There just needs to be more venues, no halls or something, it can be nice and intimate. For example, you can create a number of specific places. (Respondent 3, singer, female).

This respondent mentions the option to have more specific places for specific music genres in the city center, others are saying that places can put the genres together and have specific evenings dedicated to multiple music genres. This last option is more feasible, because the city government has also given attention to this subject, in their Policy vision Pop of Rotterdam. The city government however does not mention this subject as a problem and say that for the coming years, they want the music places to have a broad range of music genres in one place, instead of investing in creating new places.

A lot can and may be done in Rotterdam, there is not one music place that dominates, there is literally and figuratively room for different sounds. This broad infrastructure also fits in well with our wish to broaden the public. The chance of a broad public profile on the various locations is large, potentially greater than can be served with one large city stage. (City Government Rotterdam, 2019).

A significant number of respondents expressed their concern about the lack of enough places to perform. There is a lack of medium-sized venues that are accessible for local

musicians. The need for medium-sized venues is combined with the need for more professional performance places. The need for a professional place can be described as a place with good sound quality and acoustics. This is not only important for the musicians themselves but also for the audience. When the sound quality is low, the audience will look at the musician for that problem, not right away give blame to the venue owner.

When I go to a concert in Rotown myself, it is always at a good in terms of sound quality, it is nice to listen to as an audience. And this is certainly not always the case in Rotterdam. In cafe or normal bars, where they are not used to performances, they are just unprepared and there is always something wrong with the sound (Respondent 8, trumpetist, male).

As this respondent explains, there are enough small cafés where musicians have the opportunity to perform, but where the quality is low. There are also some bigger and venues like Rotown, Bird and Annabel, with higher quality. But the opportunity to perform at these bigger venues is not that big. As mentioned at the beginning of this research, the city government published its new Policy vision Pop of Rotterdam at the beginning of May 2019. In this policy, the city government state that in the coming years, Rotterdam will not focus on the development or construction of new (medium) sized performance places, but together with the music sector they will build on more, wider and larger program offerings in the city for a diverse audience, with room for new talent.

We will use the spaces that the city has already available. In this way, the institutions are able to ensure that Rotterdam has a full range of pop concerts in various places in the city - an offer that can also be more diverse and exciting than is possible in one place (City Government Rotterdam, 2019).

This is not only a problem on national level, but this is also a problem on a more international one. An example can be given of the lack of small to medium sized venues in the music scene in the United Kingdom. Smaller to medium sized venues are often closed for reasons such as, noise complaints and financial problems. But also in the United Kingdom, these venues are preferred by musicians. Research showed that smaller to medium sized spaces for live music forms a key role within the overall live music ecology in terms of being the most frequented visited by audiences and performed in by musicians, particularly in

their early careers, and also for musicians to earn money in (Webster, Brennan, Behr, Cloonan & Ansell, 2018).

Another weakness of the music ecology of Rotterdam is that there are not enough rehearsal places in Rotterdam. The lack of rehearsal spaces is something that is already researched in 2010 by JongRRKC. Their research was based on the suggestions that there are barely any rehearsal spaces available for musicians. However, based on their research they advised the city government not to invest in creating new rehearsal places, because there were according to JongRRKC in 2010, enough places to perform. They do indicate that these places often do not have the right conditions and that this must be improved in the coming years. This research is from almost ten years ago, now years later it shows that this problem has not resolved itself, but that the problem still exists within the city. The places within the city are often too expensive for beginning musicians, which forces them to look for practice places at neighboring places such as Vlaardingen and Schiedam. Within the city, places are often expensive, and especially if you have a band for example of three musicians because then they have to divide the costs by fewer people. "It is quite expensive. It is 40 euros per person per month. We are therefore looking for something else. It is quite small too, but the three of us are a smaller band and that makes it more expensive" (Respondent 5, drummer, female). Often the cheapest rehearsal places have lower quality arrangements for the musicians, which makes them sometimes choose for more expensive places. An example of appreciated rehearsal places, that are also part of a studio are Frikandel, Ducktape studios and Soundport. For example, Soundport is a refurbished industrial building in Rotterdam that offers audio and music recording studios. The respondents that appreciate this place, say that the quality of this place is good and professional. Besides the quality of this place, it also feels more accessible in a way that everyone is welcome to rehearse here.

There are really cool rehearsal rooms in Soundport. It is well arranged, because in terms of sound, the rooms are really good and it is easy to drive to in terms of location. I play with quite a few people who rent a room in Soundport, so I have had quite a few rehearsals there by now. That is a very important place within Rotterdam. (Respondent 9, saxophonist, male).

Other places that are mentioned are mostly not in Rotterdam, but near places like Vlaardingen or Schiedam. From the interviews, it also seems clear that musicians that had a

professional education find it disappointing that the Conservatory does not give enough support in searching for things rehearsal places.

Codarts actually offers during your education, in nothing to help with matters that are important after the study, such like searching for spaces to rehearse. So you have spaces there until you graduate, but then you feel like you're thrown in at the deep end after graduating. Yes, know I am graduated, but then you do not know how to handle those practical things, like searching for a place to rehearse. Maybe, the school could teach students this in management classes or something. (Respondent 4, singer, male).

The musicians also say that insufficient time is invested in this during their education. They say that it would be helpful if they were helped during their study, with tips that were given with regard to finance, negotiation, etc. Codarts does offer spaces within the school during the study itself to rehearse, but that stops when musicians graduate.

The overall results in this chapter show that the musicians want to identify themselves with the city and feel a connection with the people in the city itself, but not all areas of Rotterdam are included as important in their music career. The image of the hard institutions in the music ecology of Rotterdam is still more negative, because concerns are still experienced when it comes to the offering of medium sized performance and rehearsal places. Besides this, to be a musician in Rotterdam it is important for their career to make use of the soft institutions in Rotterdam and therefore to have a big offline and online network. The city is experienced strong in the diversity in music genres and there is the opportunity for skill development, due to the important role of the educational institution in the city.

## 5. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to provide more knowledge on how local musicians understand the required conditions for the live music ecology of Rotterdam. By taking an ecological approach for this research, more factors and actors within the city are taken into consideration (Brennan et al., 2016). This allowed for a broad and multifaceted framework for the conditions needed for musicians to shape their careers within the city. Based on ten open in-depth interviews with local musicians, the existing situation of their live music career was analyzed and provided a rich data set. The analysis was based on three concepts: music ecology, hard institutions and soft institutions. The rich data set is also due to the research method of mapping where the musicians visualized their music career in the city with drawing and using it as a base for the conversation.

The analysis has shown that the musicians feel a connection to the city. This connection does not always have the same starting point. Some of the musicians grew up in Rotterdam while others came to Rotterdam for their career. Nevertheless, there is a feeling of connection and identification with being part of a group of people in Rotterdam. What can be concluded is that when speaking of Rotterdam, they talk positively about the people within the city and show that they experience it as a ‘no nonsense’ city. This creates for both the musicians who grew up here, but also the ones who did not, a connection to the city that makes them proud to be a musician from Rotterdam. Thus, not only the connectedness to the city, but also the feeling of connection and relations with the people within the music ecology are important for the musicians. They want to feel the connection with the music ecology of Rotterdam in order to set the base for their career. In case of Rotterdam it is the connection to a city of ‘real go-getters, with hard working people, what seems important for local musicians.

When drawing the maps, most streets and places mentioned by the respondents are dominantly located in the west and north of Rotterdam which are experienced as centered places. It can be confirmed that the east of Rotterdam has no role in their music career at all. The south, however, is still mentioned but is experienced in a different way. It is experienced as newer and, therefore, feels like a less creative and inspiring part of the city. Musicians are aware of music venues within this part of the city, but those places do not play a dominant role in their career as musicians.

There are multiple conclusions that can be made about the role of hard institutions in Rotterdam. The dominant hard institutions are educational institutions, rehearsal places and performance places within Rotterdam. The analysis has shown that educational institutions within a city play a very important role in the music ecology of a city for musicians. First of all, there is more competition because an increasing amount of musicians enroll themselves for the Conservatory. This competition means less opportunity to perform. However, this competition between musicians causes for more skill development because the need to strive for improving their career is growing. Also, with graduation of a lot of international students in music, the city is getting more influences from other cultures and therefore music genres and styles. Everyone brings something new to the table and with more international musicians in the city, the city is working on its diversity overall. Another conclusion can be made about the rehearsal places in Rotterdam. Having rehearsal places is really important for the skill development and to stay connected with the band. However, rehearsal places have a less dominant role than places to perform in their musical career. Performance places are important for musicians to give live performances and thereby make their music heard to an audience. Performance places are also a place for inspiration and creativity. Musicians can learn new techniques and see other musicians perform. These places can then also contribute in their skill development as musicians.

There are also multiple conclusions that can be made about the role of soft institutions in Rotterdam. The dominant soft institutions are bookers, physical meeting places and online meeting places. A big network within the city is really important for the musicians. A network can help them to find the right people to keep in touch with, such as bookers. Without a big network, it is difficult to get more performance opportunities within the city. Some of the more professional musicians within the research group have mentioned that they have a booker. Their booker arranges performances for the musicians and the bands they play in. When starting a musical career, it is more usual to arrange as much as possible themselves. The positive outcome of this is that musicians know exactly what is needed when arranging a performance. However, there comes a point where they get more successful and decide to let a booker make the arrangements.

This analysis has shown that also physical meeting places are important for their network. It is a good way to meet other musicians and combine their own music with other music genres and instruments. The current meeting places in Rotterdam are experienced as

accessible and open to new people and contribute to the skill development of young talents.

Besides physical meeting places, there can also be concluded that social media is really important for musicians as they all use it to promote their music. It starts with friends liking and sharing their content, but in the end, it is important that people can find you online. Instagram and Facebook are the most commonly used platforms for their music career.

This analysis has also shown that there are three strengths that are dominant in the music ecology of Rotterdam. The first strength is the great range of music festivals. Rotterdam is a real festival city. Rotterdam is one of the cities in the Netherlands that is internationally known for its good range of cultural festivals and events. For the musicians, these festivals offer a place to let their music be heard by an audience, to interest them in other performances of the musician within the city. Another strength of the ecology of Rotterdam is that it is multicultural in a lot of ways. This also reflects on a lot of different music styles. Rotterdam as a city represents a lot of nationalities which makes the city a multicultural hotspot with a mix of cultures, ideas, and creativity. Every citizen brings in their own culture, and music styles and genres. Because there are a lot of international musicians in Rotterdam, they also bring their own special qualities to the city. This is experienced as a big strength of the city, because this also attracts a more diverse audience to the city. The last strength of the music ecology in Rotterdam is the initiatives from the city government that support musicians. These initiatives give musicians more opportunities as they offer the chance to many young people to get in touch with music and make music together.

In addition to the strengths of the music ecology of Rotterdam, the analysis has shown three dominant weaknesses of the music ecology of Rotterdam. The analysis has shown that the city feels scattered in places, but also in genres of music. There are genres like jazz and electronic that are more prominent which is reflected in music venues that are solely focused on those genres. For the musicians specialized in those genre, this is a good thing because this means more places to network, perform and make music with other musicians. For other musicians, this is less beneficial because they have less places to perform. There is no overall feeling of a lack of places to rehearse, the places that are in the center of Rotterdam are good when it comes to acoustics and quality arrangements, but the issue is that a lot of the times those places are too expensive for the musicians when starting their career. Therefore, they visit neighboring places to rehearse that are cheaper and also

good in their quality arrangements. The final weakness is that there is a lack of medium-sized venues that are accessible for local musicians. The need for a professional place can be described as a place with good sound quality and acoustics. This is not only important for the musicians themselves but also for the audience, because this will make the experience of the performance better.

This study contributed to studies about music ecology, because it discussed the relationships between popular music and the urban environment of Rotterdam from the perspective of local musicians. This research not only focused on the concept of music ecology, but also integrated the concepts of hard and soft institutions within the urban environment of Rotterdam. The outcomes of the research belong in a broad range of processes that are important for the music ecology that are interdependent on each other, what would have not been researched in the same way by only looking at music scenes, because music scenes are not focused on the relationships between musical practices, social groups and physical environments (Watkins, 2013). Through the way that the musicians have drawn their maps and the way they spoke about the hard and soft institutions and the relations and interdependent factors, it became clear that this belongs in an ecological approach. The complexity of the relationships between multiple hard and soft institutions is broadened and the required conditions that are important for these institutions in the career of local musicians is brought to light. To strengthen the quality of this research, a relatively new qualitative research method of mapping is used. This method helped to give deeper insights into the subject and was suitable in combination with the multilayered factors that together make a music ecology that is specifically based on the city Rotterdam.

## 5.1 Discussion and future research

In the discussion, the results are placed in a broader perspective, related to the theory and more generalizable processes.

It is important for musicians to be connected to the city they work in. It is not only the importance of the connection to the city, but also the feeling of connection and relations with the people in the city. This result ties well with a previous study wherein Kruse (2010) concluded that it is important that local musicians in cities understand their own involvement in the music sector and that they identify themselves with the city (Kruse,

2010). Those shared musical experiences and practices are important in the process of inter-local structures within a city (Kruse, 2010). The connection to Rotterdam as a city of ‘real go-getters’, with hard working people, seems important in identifying themselves with people within the music ecology of Rotterdam.

From this research it became also evident that places, such as music venues, create opportunities for musicians to connect with each other, audiences, and people within the music industry. These places are a big factor in the skill development of musicians. Looking at the results about the role of the hard institutions, it largely corresponds to what Ballico and Carter (2018) mention, because these places are a big factor in the skill development of musicians. In particular, the educational institutions gave interesting results for this research. The way that this hard institution has such a big influence on the whole music ecology of Rotterdam is something that was not given much attention to beforehand because it is not a dominant subject that has already been researched in prior ecological approaches. When looking at what Ziegler et al. (2013) argue, that musicians need the necessary conditions for successful learning and talent development resonates with the results given by this research. With this we can confirm that a good educational institution is important in the overall music ecology, but we can say that a formal education is not something that is the only way to be a successful musician. Other institutions are also a big factor in the skill development of musicians. This confirms what Ziegler (2014) pointed out by mentioning that there are also successful musicians who make their living completely with music without having enjoyed formal musical education.

In addition to the data obtained from the musicians, statements from other actors are taken into account, such as those from reports written by the city government. This insured that the data obtained is looked at with a more critical approach. With this in mind, some things can be said when looking at results obtained from the interviews in comparison to the context given by the city government. The weaknesses that came forward during the interviews with the musicians were primarily based on a lack of medium-sized performance places and the lack of affordable rehearsal places in the center of Rotterdam. These are problems that have been a topic for years and also what has been talked about in a very recent report Beleidsvisie Pop 2019 – 2030, published by the city government in May this year. As seen in the results, the city government is not investing in new places for music and will use the spaces that the city has already available. When you think of the need of the

musicians and the difference between what the city government decided, this can be concluded as difference in necessity of both groups. Live music is nowadays the biggest source of income for musicians, because it has overtaken the revenues for recorded music (Cohen, 2012). So, the fact that the need is high for musicians for more places to perform is no surprise, because of the necessity of live performances. The problem for the city government is also more leveled on the economical value for the city. If they have to invest in new places, it is simply expensive. And if you invest in something so big, you have to think of for instance the physical constraints to the live sector's potential for the economy and the willingness for audiences to pay for performances from less known musicians (Nordgård, 2018).

Three methodological limitations have emerged during this research that may have had some effect on the results of the study. As mentioned in the method part, the method of snowball sampling is used. This sampling method uses the researcher's own social network and that of the participants, what means that the sampling is not random. This could have lead to a biased group of respondents. To give an idea, a number of respondents were recruited via someone who works in production at the jazz venue Bird, which has resulted in more jazz musicians in the beginning of recruiting the sample. In order to be able to generalize the sampling a little more, musicians who perform in a different genre were deliberately chosen after these respondents, so that the subject was not researched within one specific music scene, as this could influence the results.

Another potential problem is that the scope of this thesis may be too broad. Music ecology is a very broad concept with many different factors that fall within this concept. This may have ensured that subjects within the research received less attention than others. It would not have been an option to only research one aspect of the music ecology, because the whole strength of getting familiar with the relations and connections in the ecology would be damaged. Therefore by using the mapping method of drawing and the topic list, I tried to keep track of all subjects within the music ecology.

It should not be forgotten that all respondents themselves work as musicians and that statements made about 'third parties', which were regularly addressed during the interviews as factors such as the city government, venues and the audience, are highlighted from the musicians perspective. This means that the perspective from the city government might be entirely different. But this was also not the intention, because this research

revolved around the socially constructed truths from the musicians. Nevertheless, the results of this thesis provide cause for further deepening, for example about the much-discussed translation into the context. The city government itself indicates in their most recent report that they want to go in dialogue with more people in the sector, which can be used for deepening the context of third parties. This would also be an advise for further research which could take into account more context by speaking to third parties to discuss the music ecology Rotterdam more in-depth.

Another recommendation is more focused on the geographic aspect that resulted from this study. The reason that the neighborhoods in the south and east play little or no role for musicians in the music ecology of Rotterdam has already been mentioned in the results. However, specific conversations could be started with people in the sector to use places that exist within these neighborhoods and to discuss how, for example, the ‘newness’ of the south can be used as an advantage for development of the sense of creativity for musicians. This will also correspond with for example the current plans to increase the cultural participation by means of structural strengthening the cultural programming and investing in talent development in the south of Rotterdam (NPRZ, 2019)

Lastly, the method of drawing maps could be further developed to research the music ecology in different cities in the Netherlands. This method is shown to have input for the obtained data, because it gave deeper insights into the subject and was suitable in combination with the method of interviewing. It helped to visualize the thoughts of the respondents and inspire themselves with new factors, that could otherwise has been forgotten. Because this was the second time of using this method in music research, further development of the method could be very useful for getting insights in the music industry, but maybe also for other creative industries, like the dance or visual arts industry.

All things considered, the music sector of Rotterdam is still in process to working towards a properly functioning live music ecology. The city government is active in improving the music ecology of Rotterdam, but these improvements do not all yet meet the required conditions of local musicians. The interesting part is that researching with an ecological approach also emphasizes that all actors within the music ecology have to take part in improving the music ecology of the city. This means not only looking at all the negative aspects of the music ecology, but also emphasizing the strengths of the city and also strengthening the collaboration between all actors in the local music sector.

## References

- Aguiar, L. (2017). Let the music play? Free streaming and its effects on digital music consumption. *Information Economics and Policy*, 41, 1-14.  
doi:10.1016/j.infoecopol.2017.06.002
- Angelini, F. & Castellani, M. (2017). *Cultural and economic value: A (p)review*, RCEA Working Paper n. 17-10. Retrieved from <https://ideas.repec.org/p/rim/rimwps/17-10.html>.
- Archer, W. K. (1964). On the ecology of music. *Ethnomusicology*, 8(1), 28-33.  
doi:10.2307/849769
- Babbie, E. (2014). *The Basics of Social Research*, 7th edition. Boston, MA: Cengage Learning Inc.
- Baird, P., & Scott, M. (2018). Towards an ideal typical live music city. *City, Culture and Society*, 15(2), 1-6. doi:10.1016/j.ccs.2018.03.003
- Ballico, C., & Carter, D. (2018). A state of constant prodding: live music, precarity and regulation. *Cultural Trends*, 1-15. doi:10.1080/09548963.2018.1474007
- Behr, A., Brennan, M., & Cloonan, M. (2016). Cultural value and cultural policy: some evidence from the world of live music. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 22(3), 403-418. doi:10.1080/10286632.2014.987668
- Belabas, W., & Eshuis, J. (2019). *Superdiversity and City Branding: Rotterdam in Perspective. In Coming to Terms with Superdiversity*. Springer Cham.
- Bennett, R.J., & Jones, A. (2015). *The digital evolution of live music*. Chandos Publishing.
- Bennett, A., & Peterson, R. A. (2004). *Music scenes: local, translocal and virtual*. Vanderbilt University Press.
- Boeije, H. (2010). *Analysis in qualitative research*. New York: Sage.
- Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction. Trans. Richard Nice*. London: Routledge
- Boogaarts, I. (1992). *Food, fun, and festivals. De festivalisering van de stad, In: De uitstad. Over stedelijk vermaak* (Ed., Burgers, J.). Utrecht: Jan van Arkel.
- Bowman, W. D. (2002). Why Do Humans Value Music? *Philosophy of Music Education*, 10(1), 55-63. doi:10.4032/7176.23.
- Brennan, M, Behr, A, Webster, E, Frith, S & Cloonan, M 2016, 'Live concerts performance: An Ecological approach. *Rock Music Studies*, 3(1), 5-23.

doi:10.1080/19401159.2015.1125633

City Government Rotterdam. (2019a). *Beleidsvisie Pop 2019 – 2030*. Retrieved from  
<https://rotterdam.raadsinformatie.nl/document/7569447/1>

City Government Rotterdam. (2019b). *Herijking Beleidsvisie Pop*. Retrieved from  
<https://rotterdam.raadsinformatie.nl/document/7569442/1>

Cloonan, M. (2011). Researching live music: some thoughts on policy implications.  
*International journal of cultural policy*, 17(4), 405-420,  
doi:10.1080/10286632.2010.544728

Codarts Rotterdam. (2018). *Codarts bestuursverslag en jaarrekening 2017*. Retrieved from  
<https://www.codarts.nl/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Codarts-bestuursverslag-en-jaarrekening-2017.pdf>

Cohen, S. (2012). Bubbles, Tracks, Borders and Lines: Mapping Music and Urban Landscape.  
*Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 137(1), 135–170.  
doi:10.1080/02690403.2012.669939

Cohen, S. (2007). *Decline, renewal and the city in popular music culture: Beyond the Beatles*.  
London: Routledge.

Connell, J. & Gibson, C. (2003). *Soundtracks: Popular Music, Identity and Place*. London and  
New York: Routhledge.

Cox, R. (1992). The Music of Our Lives by Kathleen Marie Higgins. *The Journal of Aesthetics  
and Art Criticism*, 50(2), 162-164. doi:10.2307/430959

Clarke, E., Dibben, N., & Pitts, S. (2010). *Music and mind in everyday life*. Oxford University  
Press.

Delsing, M. J. M. H, ter Bogt, T. F. M., Engels, R. C. M. E., & Meeus, W. H. J. (2008).  
Adolescents' music preferences and personality characteristics. *European Journal of  
Personality*, 4(22), 109–130. doi:10.1002/per.665.

DeNora, T. (1999). Music as a technology of the self. *Poetics* 27(1), 31-56.  
doi:10.1017/CBO9780511489433.004

DeNora, T. (2000). *Music in everyday life*. Cambridge University Press.

Dolfsma, W. (2004). Radio and magazines: valuing pop music in the Netherlands (1955  
1965). *Media History*, 10(1), 29-42.

Elbourne, M. (2013). *Reverb: Adelaide's live music movement: the future of live music in  
South Australia*. Adelaide: Don Dunstan Foundation.

- Frith, S. (1983). *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure and the Politics of Rock 'n' Roll*. London: Constable.
- Gibson, C., & Homan, S. (2004). Urban redevelopment, live music and public space: Cultural performance and the re-making of Marrickville. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 10(1), 67-84. doi:10.1080/1028663042000212337
- Goldman, A. (1992). The value of music. *The Journal of aesthetics and art criticism*, 50(1), 35-44. doi:10.2307/431542
- Granovetter, M. S. (1985). Economic action and social structure: The problem of embeddedness. *American Journal of Sociology*, 91(1), 481-510. doi:10.1086/228311
- Grodach, C. (2017). Urban cultural policy and creative city making. *Cities*, 68, 82-91. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2017.05.015
- Hesmondhalgh, D. (2005). Subcultures, scenes or tribes? None of the above. *Journal of youth studies*, 8(1), 21-40. doi:10.1080/13676260500063652
- Hesmondhalgh, D. (2008). Towards a critical understanding of music, emotion and self identity. *Consumption, markets and culture*, 11(4), 329-343. doi:10.1080/10253860802391334
- Hesmondhalgh, D (2013). *Why Music Matters*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Holbrook, M.B. & Schindler, R.M. (1989). Some exploratory findings on the development of musical tastes. *Journal of Consumer Research* 16(1): 119-124. doi:10.1086/209200
- Holt, F. (2013). Rock Clubs and Gentrification in New York City: The Case of the Bowery Presents. *IASPM@Journal*, 4(1), 21–41. doi:10.5429/2079-3871
- Homan, S. (2010). Governmental as anything: Live music and law and order in Melbourne. *Perfect Beat*, 11(2), 103–118. doi:10.1558/prbt.v11i2.103
- Jakob, D. (2013). The eventification of place: Urban development and experience consumption in Berlin and New York City. *European urban and regional studies*, 20(4), 447-459. doi:10.1177/0969776412459860
- JongRRKC. (2010). *Practise what you Preach! Popmuziek in Rotterdam Een survey naar oefenruimtes en presentatieplekken*. Retrieved from <https://docplayer.nl/6253544>
- Practise-what-you-preach-popmuziek-in-rotterdam-een-survey-naar-oefenruimtes-en-presentatieplekken.html
- Keogh, B. (2013). On the limitations of music ecology. *Journal of Music Research Online*. 4(2), 35.

- Kruse, H. (2010). Local identity and independent music scenes, online and off. *Popular Music and Society*, 33(5), 625-639. doi:10.1080/03007760903302145
- Klamer, A. (2004). Cultural goods are good for more than their economic value. In V. Rao, & M. Walton (Eds.), *Culture and Public Action* (pp. 138-162). The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- Laing, D. (2003). *Music and the market: the economics of music in the modern world. The cultural study of music: A critical introduction.* New York: Routhledge.
- Landry, C. (2005). *Lineages of the creative city.* In S. Franke and E. Verhagen (Red.), *Creativity and the city* (pp. 1-13). Rotterdam: NAI Publishers.
- Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid. (2019). *Uitvoeringsplan 2019-2022.* Retrieved from <https://www.nprz.nl/media/263/download/18469%20NPRZ%20uitvoeringsprogramma%202019-2022%20los.pdf?v=1>
- Nordgård, D. (2018). *The Music Business and Digital Impacts: Innovations and Disruptions in the Music Industries.* Springer.
- North, A., & Hargreaves, D. (2008). *The social and applied psychology of music.* Oxford University Press.
- Marlet, G., & Tames, I. (2002). *Muziek in de stad.* Breukelen: Nyfer.
- Marlet, G., & Van Woerkens, C. (2011). *Atlas voor gemeenten. De waarde van cultuur voor de stad.* Nijmegen: VOC Uitgevers.
- Marshall, L. (2011). The sociology of popular music, interdisciplinarity and aesthetic autonomy 1. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 62(1), 154-174. doi:10.1111/j.1468-4446.2010.01353.
- McCarthy, J. (1998). Reconstruction, regeneration and re-imaging: the case of Rotterdam. *Cities*, 15(5), 337-344. doi:10.1016/S0264-2751
- Shaw, K. (2013). Independent creative subcultures and why they matter. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 19(3), 333–352. doi:10.1080/10286632.2013.788162
- Shrum, L. J. (1993). *A Structural Equation Analysis of the Relationships of Personal Values, Attitudes and Beliefs About Recycling, and the Recycling of Solid Waste Products.* Leigh McAlister and Michael L. Rothschild, Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research.
- McCarthy, F., Ondaatje, E. H., Zakaras, L., & Brooks, A. (2004). *Gifts of the Muse: reframing*

*the debate about the benefits of the arts.* Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation.

Oakes, S., & Warnaby, G. (2011). Conceptualizing the management and consumption of live music in urban space. *Marketing Theory*, 11(4), 405-418.  
doi:10.1177/1470593111418798

Rentfrow, P. J. (2012). The role of music in everyday life: Current directions in the social psychology of music. *Social and personality psychology compass*, 6(5), 402-416.  
doi:10.1111/j.1751-9004.2012.00434.

Richards, G., & Wilson, J. (2004). The impact of cultural events on city image: Rotterdam, cultural capital of Europe 2001. *Urban studies*, 41(10), 1931-1951.  
doi:10.1080/0042098042000256323

Rotterdam Festivals. (2019). *Over ons*. Retrieved from  
<https://zakelijk.rotterdamfestivals.nl/over-ons>

Rotterdamse Raad voor Kunst en Cultuur. (2015). *Sectoranalyse 2015*. Retrieved from  
[https://www.rrkc.nl/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/RRKC\\_sectoranalyse2015\\_DEF\\_recertificatie.pdf](https://www.rrkc.nl/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/RRKC_sectoranalyse2015_DEF_recertificatie.pdf)

Rotterdamse Raad voor Kunst en Cultuur. (2017). *De Balans, de behoefte*. Retrieved from  
<https://www.rrkc.nl/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/RvC-2017-Sectoradviezen-De-balans-De-behoefte.pdf>

Shuker, R. (2017). *Popular music: The key concepts*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Sinclair, G., & Tinson, J. (2017). Psychological ownership and music streaming consumption. *Journal of Business Research*, 71(3), 1-9. doi:10.1016/j.jbusres.2016.10.002

Scott, M. (2016). *Making New Zealand's pop renaissance: state, markets, musicians*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Taylor, H., & Hurley, A. (2015). Music and Environment: Registering Contemporary Convergences. *Journal of Music Research Online*, 6(2), 1-18.

Throsby, C. D. (2001). Economics and culture. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press

Van der Hoeven, A., & Hitters, E. (2019). The social and cultural values of live music: Sustaining urban live music ecologies. *Cities*, 90, 263-271.  
doi:10.1016/j.cities.2019.02.015

Van Geenhuizen, M., & Nijkamp, P. (2012). *Creative knowledge cities: myths, visions and realities*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Vereniging Nederlandse Poppodia en Festivals. (2018). *Nieuw poppodium in de maassilo*

*Rotterdam*. Retrieved from <https://www.vnpf.nl/nieuws/nieuw-poppodium-in-de-maassilo-rotterdam>

Walmsley, B. (2018). Deep hanging out in the arts: an anthropological approach to capturing cultural value. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 24(2), 272-291.  
doi:10.1080/10286632.2016.1153081

Watkins, H. (2011). Musical ecologies of place and placelessness. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 64(2), 404-408. doi:10.1525/jams.2011.64.2.40

Webster, E., Brennan, M., Behr., Cloonan, M., Ansell, J. (2018). *Valuing live music: The UK Live Music Census 2017 report*. Retrieved from <http://uklivemusiccensus.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/UK-Live-Music-Census-2017-full-report.pdf>

Wester, F., Renckstorf, K., & Scheepers, P. (2006). *Onderzoekstypen in de communicatiewetenschap*. Alphen aan den Rijn: Kluwer.

Ziegler, A., Straber, S., Pfeiffer, W. & Wormald, C. (2014). The Nuremberg Music-Ecological Approach: Why are some musicians internationally successful and others not?. *Turkish Journal of Giftedness and Education*, 4(1), 2-9.

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Topic list

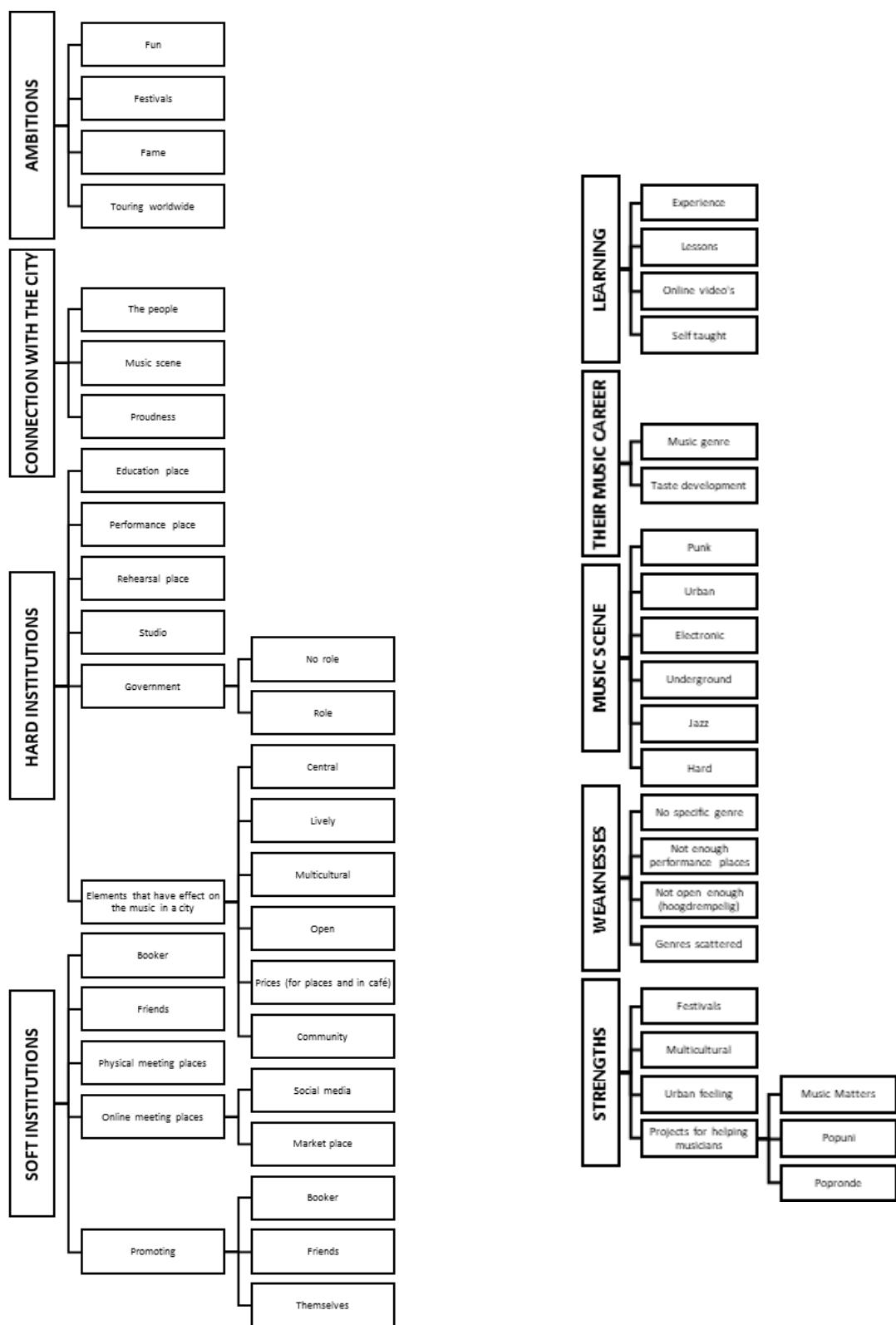
Topics	Example questions
Opening	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Can you describe your first musical experience?</li><li>○ How did you develop your music taste?</li><li>○ How did you develop your musical skills?</li><li>○ Can you describe your ambitions concerning music?</li></ul>
Drawing the map  *explanation first  *process during the interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Can you draw me a map of Rotterdam, with for example important places for your music?</li><li>○ Imagine that you want to perform/practice this weekend, which places in Rotterdam come to mind?</li><li>○ Can you describe what you are drawing?</li><li>○ What made you draw this place/person/network/etc?</li><li>○ Can you describe the most relevant sights on your drawing?</li><li>○ Can you explain this further?</li><li>○ Can you give some examples of important experiences for you concerning your music career in Rotterdam?</li></ul>
Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Can you describe which elements are needed for a good music scene?</li><li>○ How do regulatory actors and political bureaucracy within Rotterdam affect your carrier?</li><li>○ What other conditions for a good music scene in Rotterdam can you name?</li></ul>
Soft institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Can you describe your network concerning your music career?</li><li>○ What kind of social networking online and offline mean something for your music career?</li><li>○ What can you tell me about your relationship with the music community in Rotterdam?</li></ul>

Hard institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Which places in Rotterdam mean something for you as a musician?</li> <li>○ How do you educate yourself in music within the city of Rotterdam?</li> <li>○ Where do you meet other musicians?</li> </ul>
Music ecology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Can you describe the music scene in Rotterdam?</li> <li>○ What weaknesses can you name when thinking of your musical career in Rotterdam?</li> <li>○ What strengths can you name when thinking of your musical career in Rotterdam?</li> <li>○ Can you tell me what the city Rotterdam means for you as a musician?</li> </ul>

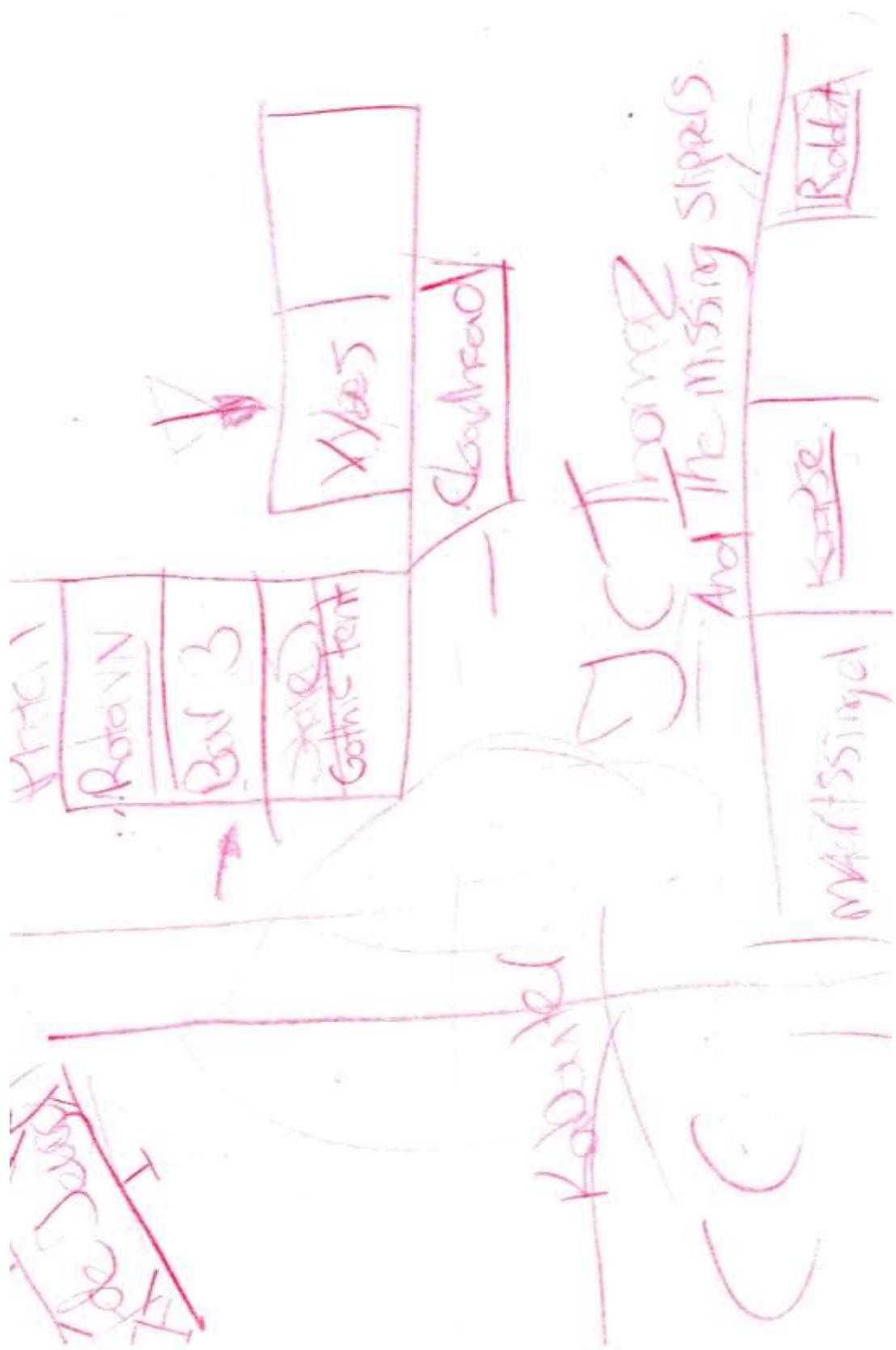
## Appendix B: Overview of the respondents

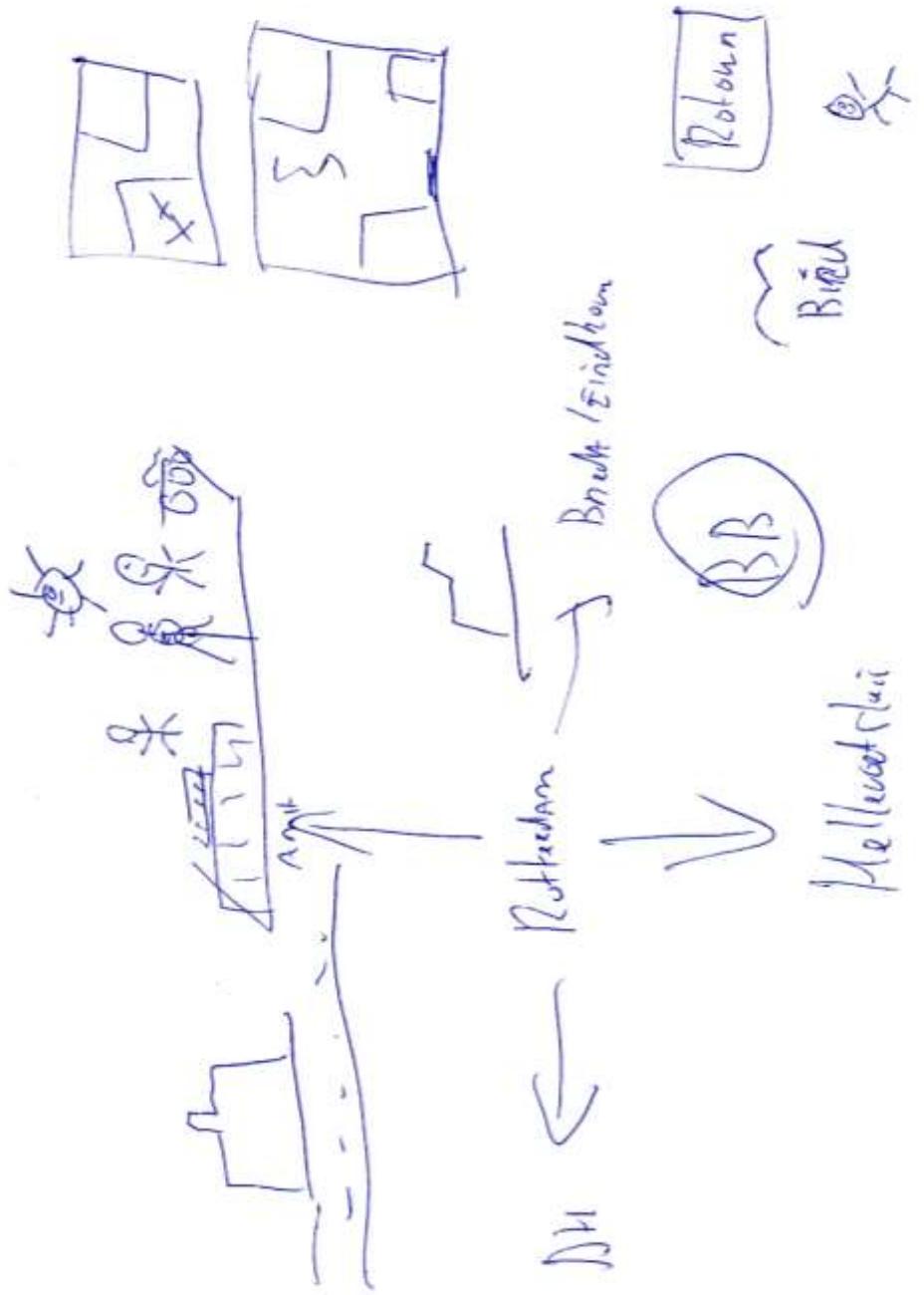
<b>Interview</b>	<b>Gender (age)</b>	<b>Background</b>	<b>Date</b>
1	Male (23)	Drummer in a punk band, no formal musical education.	21-4-2019
2	Male (38)	Singer and pianist in a cover band, works part time as a teacher, no formal education.	23-4-2019
3	Female (26)	Singer in a soul/electronic band, won the Music Matters award in 2013.	26-4-2019
4	Male (22)	Recently graduated singer from the University of applied sciences Conservatorium in Utrecht.	28-4-2019
5	Female (24)	Drummer in a punk band, no formal musical education.	30-4-2019
6	Male (28)	Guitarist in a reggae band and has his own bookings agency based in Rotterdam.	13-5-2019
7	Male (31)	Singer in a rock band and a part time English teacher.	19-5-2019
8	Male (23)	Jazz trumpeter studying at the University of applied sciences Conservatorium in Rotterdam.	20-5-2019
9	Male (23)	Jazz saxophonist studying at the University of applied sciences Conservatorium in Rotterdam.	21-5-2019
10	Male (29)	Drummer in a rock band, part time tutor.	25-5-2019

## Appendix C: Code tree



Appendix D: Hand-drawn maps by the respondents







BIRD  
repetitie  
ruimte Hofbogen

Doelen

Sognobied  
festival

Duct tape studio



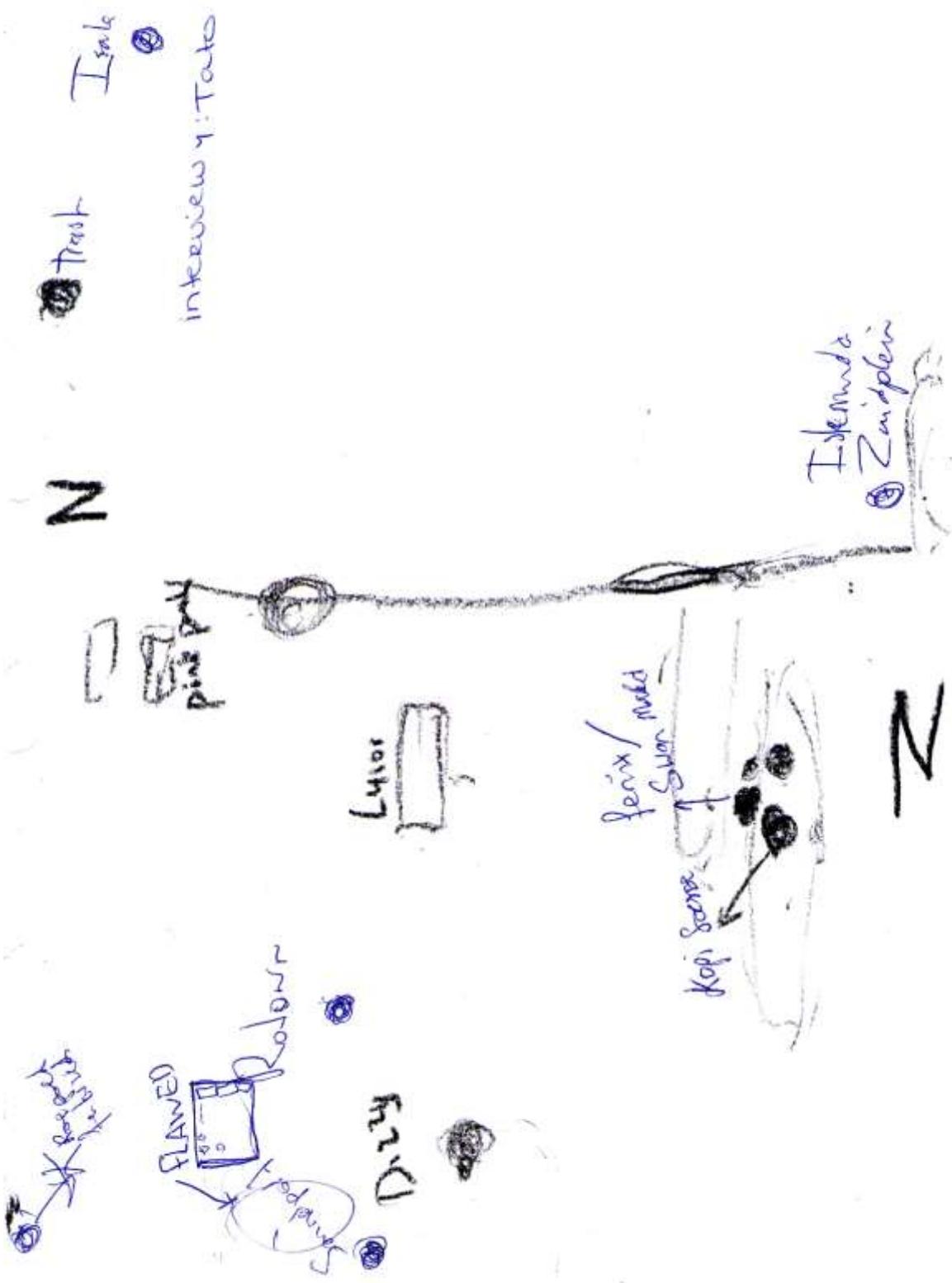
MOMO

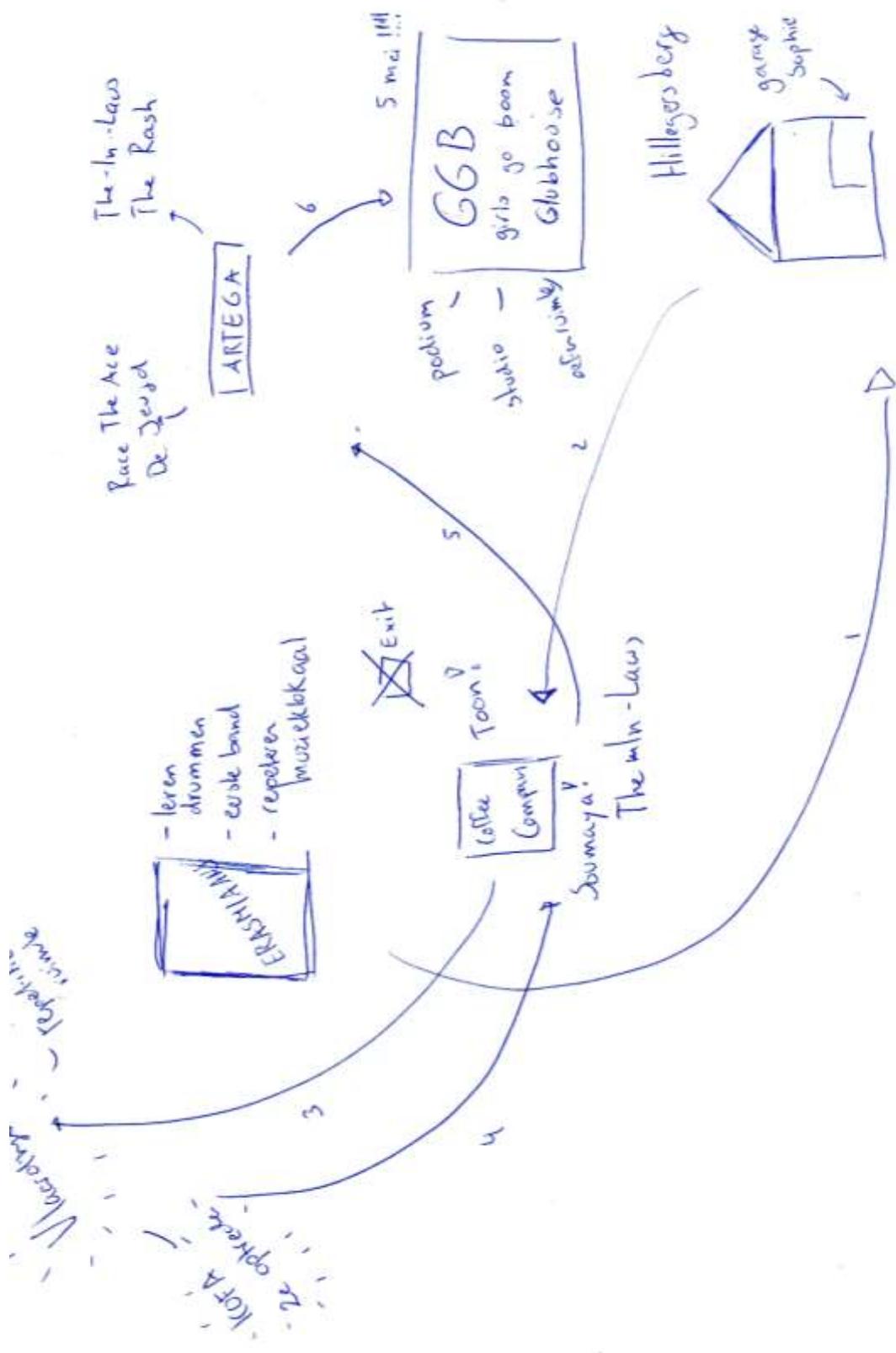
éendrachtsplein → nieuwe binnenweg

Bar 3, Boudewijn

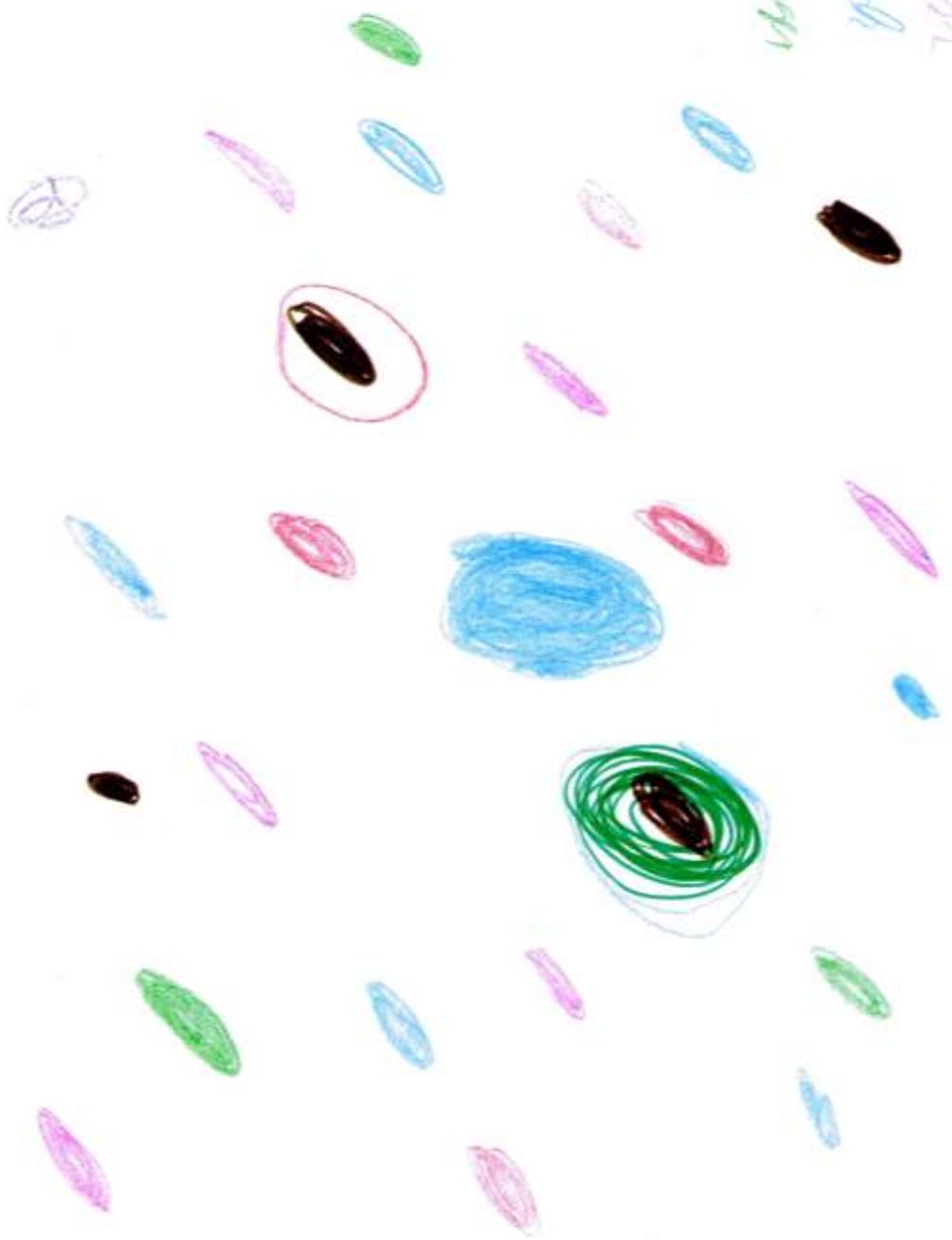
Schouwburgplein

De Schouwburg





● = Jura  
○ = Lock  
■ = Regn





Feder  
drehbar  
feste

