MASTER'S THESIS

Theatre technicians as artists?

A sociological study into career-trajectories and cultural capital

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Abstract

An artist hardly ever makes an artwork by him or herself, it is usually more a collaboration between different individuals (Becker, 1982). Yet, often only the artists are studied (Kordsmeier, 2017). From a sociological point of view it makes sense to take a look into all the contributors of a work of art. Kordsmeier (2017) has provided insight in stage mangers in theatre and concluded that they, as non-artistic workers have an influence on the artistic product.

Following from that thought, the profession of theatre technicians has been chosen to study. After all, they are the people who see and work for theatre performances every day. To gain a better insight in not only the artistic influence, but rather the broader perspective of the profession of theatre technicians, this thesis focuses on the question: *How are the career-trajectories and the personal cultural capital of theatre technicians in the Netherlands related?*

The theory of Bourdieu (1986) on the forms of capital is used as a foundation to define social and cultural capital. Newer theories on cultural capital by (Prieur, Rosenlund, & Skjott-larsen, 2008; Prieur & Savage, 2013; Thornton, 1995) are used to discuss the relevance of the Bourdieusian concept of cultural capital today. Furthermore, theories regarding multiple job-holding (Throsby & Zednik, 2011) and networking (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010; Lee, 2011) are used to position the profession of theatre technicians in creative industries.

This mixed-method study (n=13) used a questionnaire on cultural capital based on (Ganzeboom & Ranshuysen, 1994) and semi-structured interviews. Participants were theatre technicians aged 27-40 from the Netherlands that worked in various kinds of employment and for both theatres as theatre companies.

It was found firstly, that the distinction between house and company technician can be made and that that distinction seems to be related to the amount of cultural capital. Here, operators and stage managers seem to have more cultural capital and are more involved in the artistic process of producing a performance.

Secondly, multiple job-holding seems to be very common among theatre technicians. This presents itself in various combinations of employment.

Finally, theatre technicians' education seems to be less important than working experience in finding and maintaining jobs. On the one hand, this has to do with the network they find themselves in. On the other hand, by working theatre technicians gain cultural capital. Not only highbrow cultural capital seems to be important, but rather the broad cultural experience that they can apply to their profession.

Keywords: theatre technicians, technical theatre, cultural capital, cultural sociology, artistic careers

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PREFACE

Now that the seats are all empty

Let the roadies take the stage

(Jackson Browne – The Load-Out)

A befriended theatre technician once played this song for me when we were driving back after having worked at a theatre performance. The song pays tribute to all touring roadies and technicians. Due to my work in theatre, I know many theatre technicians and among my group of friends there are quite some theatre technicians as well. During my Master's degree I learned that this profession is not often mentioned in scholarly literature even though their work is an important part of the performing arts. That is where I saw the opportunity to combine my professional and academic knowledge and write my thesis about theatre technicians and give them a "stage".

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1   Introduction

An artist hardly ever makes an artwork by him or herself, it is usually more a collaboration between different individuals (Becker, 1982). Yet, often only the artists are studied (Kordsmeier, 2017). If the creation of an artwork is taken seriously from a sociological point of view, as Rothenberg and Fine (2008) argue, it only makes sense to look at all contributors to an artwork.

Kordsmeier (2017) began to conduct research into stage managers in theatre with the idea that artists do not do not always have control over the conditions under which the art work is being created. The process can namely be constrained by any number of aspects. Kordsmeier has come to interesting conclusions as to how stage managers, as non-artistic workers, have a major influence on the artistic product. This is due to their artistic choices and adding non-artistic inputs that affects the artistic work of others. For example, how stage managers manage actors is of great influence on the performance.

To a sociologist, this raises the question, who are the other non-artistic workers in the theatre and what do they add to the performance? Drawing from my own personal experiences as a theatre producer, theatre technicians seem very interesting. They are, after all, the people who facilitate and see performances every day and that is more than most others do. Why do they do it, what do they do and how did they end up in their profession? As Becker (1982) notes, people who end up in a career in the arts have not always attended a proper education related to their profession.

When discussing careers in creative industries Bourdieu's forms of capital as described in 1986 are often mentioned. These forms of capital are economic, social and cultural capital. In pursuing a career in creative industries, social and cultural capital are found to be important in gaining economic capital (Lee, 2011; Scott, 2012). This is due to the fact that most people pursuing a career in creative industries do so as a freelancer (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010; Throsby & Zednik, 2011). For a freelancer finding jobs through networking is essential (Lee, 2011).

To perform networking in these cultural industries in a successful way, a certain amount of social and cultural capital is needed. Social capital, according to Bourdieu consists of social skills and networks a person has. Bourdieu describes that cultural capital consists of an embodied state, objectified state and an institutionalized state. Cultural capital is according to Bourdieu for a great amount related to the level of education a person has had. In the Netherlands most schools that provide a study for becoming a theatre technician are on a secondary vocational level (Zoutendijk, 2018). Therefore, theatre technicians would not have

obtained a large cultural capital. However, Roose & Vandenhaute (2010) have found that professional theatre technicians in fact do have a large amount of cultural capital. This could be linked to the considerable time investments technicians have made in the many performances they have seen in their job and free time.

In recent years, the Bourdieusian view on cultural capital has been discussed by many scholars (Friedman, Savage, Hanquinet, & Miles, 2015; Jensen, 2006; Michael, 2017; Prieur et al., 2008; Prieur & Savage, 2013; Thornton, 1995). This is why it is also important to look at emerging forms of cultural capital. For example, subcultural capital by Thornton (1996) refers to the cultural capital that occurs in subcultures and can in fact be converted into social and economic capital. To illustrate this: in the hip-hop scene certain ways of how to dress are appropriate in that subculture as well as a certain way to talk about the music. This is not recognized to be formal cultural capital in the Bourdieusian sense, but according to Thornton it can be seen as subcultural capital.

Another form of emerging cultural capital is the cultural capital as described by Prieur & Savage (2013). This refers to other forms of consumption as for example, traveling, reading news and food and are today also used as a way to make a distinction between different persons and groups.

This study focuses on theatre technicians in the Netherlands and takes into account the relation between cultural capital and social capital in careers in creative industries. In this study the Bourdieusian sense of cultural capital as well as emerging forms of capital are discussed in aiming to answer the following research question: *What is the relationship between the career-trajectories and the personal cultural capital of theatre technicians in the Netherlands?*

The thesis outline is as follows: after this first introduction chapter, in Chapter 2 the theoretical framework will be described. The focus lies here on defining the field of theatre technicians, defining various forms of capital and careers in creative industries.

Chapter 3 focuses on the methods and explains the choice for semi-structured interviews, the questionnaire of Ganzeboom & Ranshuysen (1994), and provides insight in the how the analysis has been conducted. Chapter 4 then, consists of the results and analysis regarding the field of theatre technicians, career-trajectories and cultural capital. Finally, the conclusion will provide an overall reflection and presents some closing thoughts and recommendations for future research.

2   Literature

2.1   Theatre technicians

As Howard Becker writes in *Art Worlds* (1982)*,* making art is a collaboration between many different individuals. Becker, as one of the few authors, distinguishes between core and support personnel (p.77). The notion of core personnel primarily refers to artists, the people that make artistic choices and have the artistic responsibility for an artwork because they are the people having certain artistic qualities. Support personnel, on the other hand, refers to all the people who help the artist make the artwork. In the case of theatre, this includes, actors, dramaturges, scenographers production managers, stage managers, and theatre technicians.

Becker mentions in his work that many people learn their skills needed for becoming support personnel in a school (p.80), but just as often the basic skills are learned as an autodidact (p.78). Later on, these skills must be applied to all different kinds of situations. This requires a great deal of flexibility in support personnel.

Not only the way to becoming support personnel in the art world is one of many ways. When working in the art support, there are many ways of doing so (p.81). Throsby & Zednik (2011) have demonstrated that multiple job-holding is common in the artistic field. In the case of theatre technicians this means first, that a person can have fixed employment at a venue or a theatre company. Secondly, a person can freelance for both or, multiple organizations at the same time. And thirdly, there is a mixture in types of organizations, employment and functions. This will be discussed more elaborately in paragraph 2.3.

Following from Becker (1982), it becomes clear that the world of art support personnel is complicated and interesting to study. Kordsmeier (2017) studied stage managers as a profession and based on his study, theatre technicians are chosen as a profession for the present study. Mainly because they are the people who see and work at theatre performances on a daily basis. Technicians see more performances than any actor, producer or director. Theatre technicians working in a venue see different performances every day, whereas technicians working for a company see one performance many times. Therefore, it makes sense to focus on this group.

There is no clear scholarly definition of a theatre technician yet. This is why, a definition for this study is presented here. This definition is based on personal experience of the researcher in the field of theatre and different online sources like for example websites of theatre technician schools in the Netherlands, job descriptions in the collective labour agreement (CAO 2016) and the Dutch trade journal *Zichtlijnen* for theatre technicians. Thus, for

the purpose of this study theatre technicians are defined as follows: *People who work in a theatre venue or for a theatre company, either freelance or in a temporary or permanent position and perform duties that are called work of theatre technician.* This is a general definition, but as will become clear later on, the job of theatre technician cannot easily be captured in one description.

Since the creation of an artwork is a social process, as Rothenberg and Fine (2008) describe, it is only logical to look further than just the job description and the career-trajectory of a theatre technician. It is also interesting to take a look at them from a sociological point of view. Who are these people and what drives them to work in the arts? What do they think about the arts? And are they involved in the creative process?

To gain more insight to the way in which theatre technicians look at art, we need to know more about cultural capital. This is introduced in the next paragraph.

2.2   Forms of Capital

In 1986, Pierre Bourdieu defined in *Forms of Capital* three different forms of capital: Social, economic and cultural capital. Capital, Bourdieu states, can be exchanged and has the capacity to produce profits for the person that holds it. Economic capital refers to the amount of money or property a person has. Social and cultural capital can, in certain conditions, be converted into economic capital.

Various scholars acknowledge the existing link between social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Lee, 2011; Michael, 2017; Scott, 2012) and that cultural capital can be translated into social capital (Lee, 2011; Michael, 2017). Michael demonstrated in her thesis that for social connections of business professionals highbrow cultural knowledge is not very important. Lee (2011), on the other hand, shows that in creative industries a high degree of cultural capital is a factor for success in networking. Michael Scott (2012) adds that in cultural entrepreneurship the combination of social and cultural capital is key in gaining economic capital. Next to the Bourdieusian forms of capital, he argues for a fourth capital being symbolic capital. This refers to status, reputation and fame a person has. Social capital, Scott argues, can be used to convert cultural capital into symbolic and economic capital. This raises the question on how this all relates to the field of theatre technicians who work in the arts as support personnel.

2.2.1 Social capital

Social capital consists of networks and social skills a person has and to which group a person belongs (Bourdieu, 1986). The volume of the social capital depends on the size of the network of connections person has. In the case of people working in creative industries often social networks are important in gaining jobs (Lee, 2011). Hereby, Lee makes the differentiation between strong and weak ties, supported by the theory of Granovetter (1973). Strong social ties refer to people in the same social network (e.g. family, friends and geographically close persons) and actually seem less profitable in finding jobs. The weak social ties on the other hand, are more profitable in finding jobs. This is due to the fact that people with weak social ties move in other social and professional networks and prevents that people are fishing in the same pond when it comes to jobs.

Bourdieu (1986) describes that the network of relationships is the product of both individual and collective investment strategies. Networking seems to be very important in finding jobs in creative industries (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010; Lee, 2011). Lee shows that informal networking is very important in finding jobs in creative industries. He describes how the word of mouth and personal recommendations are more often successful than sending CV's to production companies, since these CV's will often be left in the unread pile on desks.

2.2.2 Cultural Capital

In *Forms of Capital,* Bourdieu (1986) writes that how a person looks at art depends on his or her cultural capital. This cultural capital can exist in three forms: namely the embodied state, the objectified state, and the institutionalized state and together hold the cultural "rucksack" a person has.

The embodied state refers to all cultural knowledge, taste and cultural consumption (Bennett et al., 2008; Bourdieu, 1986; Maanen, 2009; Michael, 2017; Prieur et al., 2008) i.e. language, the knowledge of philosophy, the knowledge of art history. This is everything a person knows from inside out and that cannot be given away easily, in contrast to the objectified state. Bourdieu mentions that the time to obtain the embodied knowledge often depends on the amount of cultural capital of the family. Did the parents read with their child and visit museums or not? A child that has done this early on in life has a greater cultural capital, to begin with, and has, therefore, more capability to link new cultural knowledge to the body of cultural knowledge that already exists. This embodied state depends for a reasonable amount on the socio-economic status of the parents of a child (Bourdieu, 1986; Michael, 2017).

Secondly, the objectified state refers to the material carriers of art, such as paintings, CDs, vinyl, and books. Not only the owning of such objects shows capital, but also how they are used. For example, how often are the books read and the CD's played. (Bourdieu, 1986; Maanen, 2009 p.59)

Finally, the institutionalized state refers to the education a person has had (Bourdieu, 1986). According to Bourdieu, this makes the difference between the capital of the autodidact and the formally educated person. The latter is seen to have a more consistent and guaranteed qualification and thus, more cultural capital.

Focusing on the Bourdieusian terms of cultural capital, for this research the embodied state and the institutionalized state seem most interesting to look further into. How much embodied cultural capital do theatre technicians have and how it does reveal itself? Is it that theatre technicians have great amount of embodied classical cultural capital? Or does their work require other capacities?

Looking at the institutionalized state it is important to note that most theatre technician educations are Secondary vocational education (in Dutch MBO), only one Higher professional education (in Dutch HBO) exists in Amsterdam (Zoutendijk, 2018) . Also interesting, if we look back on Becker (1982), he finds that support personnel has often started as an autodidact. In the traditional sense, theatre technicians have a low institutionalized cultural capital. Following from this, it would be probable that theatre technicians have a low cultural capital. But is this true? Or is a new approach to cultural capital necessary in this case?

2.2.3   Emerging forms of capital

Many scholars have built new, and sometimes contradicting, theories on Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital. Sarah Thornton (1995), for example, introduced the thinking about subcultural capital. What she means by this is that subcultures have their own cultural capital that does not match the traditional cultural capital (p.26). Subcultural capital can be objectified or embodied and refers to for example, the slang a person uses in his own subculture or the way a person dresses that is appropriate in that subculture. By having a certain amount of subcultural capital, a person can derive status in the subculture in question. In a more recent study, Jensen (2006) acknowledges the existence of subcultural capital but argues for placing the subcultural capital in in the social and economic circumstances under which the subculture is produced.

Whereas Thornton (1995) focuses on the dance scene, a comparison can be made regarding theatre technicians. These technicians are a specific group, working in the performing

arts scene, but do not necessarily have the classic cultural capital Bourdieu described. There might be a sort of technical cultural capital that theatre technicians have or there might be an accepted cultural capital within the theatre technician community.

Prieur & Savage (2013) also argue in favour of a new way of looking at cultural capital. As they find that cultural capital today still exists, but the Bourdieusian model is outdated. Class inequalities in cultural consumption have changed form and classical high culture has a more marginal status than before. They find that a cosmopolitan cultural capital related to for example travelling, food and music, fits better in current society. In another study, Prieur et al. (2008) show that reading news is also an indicator for social position. In this study the reading of more "serious" papers was related to having a higher capital volume than reading tabloid papers. Friedman, Savage & Hanquinet (2015) have found similar forms of new capital regarding the aesthetic, coffee, comedy and music. Linking this concept to theatre technicians, it could make sense not to look at classical cultural capital as Bourdieu described it, but rather to cultural consumption in line with the cosmopolitan cultural capital in the present day. Note that in both studies the authors do not seem to dismiss the theory of Bourdieu. They do however call for modernisation of the concepts of cultural capital.

By contrast, Flemmen, Jarness and Rosenlund (2018) have found that the description of Bourdieu's cultural capital can be applied quite well to Norway today. Therefore, they argue that the division between emerging and established cultural capital should not be overstated. Rather, different displays of cultural capital should be seen as cultural capital being placed in different contexts in the modern society.

2.2.4   Aesthetic disposition

In 1984, Pierre Bourdieu wrote about taste and cultural consumption. When discussing cultural capital and taste, often a distinction is made between highbrow and lowbrow culture (Daenekindt & Roose, 2017; Michael, 2017; Prieur & Savage, 2013). Highbrow culture in this traditional sense refers to canonized art like visual art, ballet and classical music and associated to the cultural elite (Bourdieu, 1984). Whereas lowbrow culture refers to for example, pop culture. Although there is acknowledged that there is a decrease in the relevance of highbrow cultural capital (Michael, 2017; Prieur et al., 2008), it still has a certain status. However, in the consumption of highbrow art not much previous knowledge seems to be acquired (Michael, 2017, p.162).

Aesthetic disposition is in this context also relevant. It refers not only to what, but also to how people consume art (Daenekindt & Roose, 2017; Roose & Vandenhaute, 2010). Daenekindt & Roose (2017) showed that taste profiles are not dependent on the socio-economic status of a person. However, within taste profiles different dispositions were found. Roose &Vandenhaute (2010) studied how different members of the Flemish theatre world, including technical crew, differ in their aesthetic dispositions. An important distinction is being made between experiencing theatre as mere entertainment versus experiencing theatrical expressions as art. Furthermore, Roose & Vandenhaute describe how all professionals including the technicians in contrast to amateurs, in the theatre world seem to have a lot of knowledge about theatre.

2.3   Careers in creative industries

As the theoretical groundwork of forms of capital and theatre technicians has been described, it is important to take a look into careers of theatre technicians. Since little has been written about theatre technicians specifically, theories from creative industries are applied.

In creative industries, multiple job holding is very common and most professionals in creative industries tend to work on a freelance basis (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010; Throsby & Zednik, 2011). Throsby & Zednik show that often professionals in the arts work not merely in the arts. Non-arts related work has also been demonstrated to be an important factor in making a living, mostly based on financial necessity. Non-arts work tends to be more lucrative than arts-related work. Eikhof & Haunschild (2007) add that economic considerations can overshadow artistic ones in selecting jobs. It must be mentioned that not everyone working in culture industries is driven by artistic intentions, some just want to make something that is aesthetically pleasing. Often they underestimate, or even are not aware of their own artistic choices (Fine, 1992).

In the study of Eikhof & Haunschild (2007), amongst others, actors, dancers and composers were included. The distinction Becker (1982) makes between support and core personnel is not being made in the study of Throsby & Zednik. It is therefore assumed that these findings can also be applied to the field of theatre technicians.

Not only the content of the jobs of professionals in the arts is interesting. The circumstances under which they take place are also important. Hesmondhalgh & Baker (2010) demonstrate that freelancers in the arts sector have a lot of uncertainty and irregular work. This creates circumstances specific for professions in the arts. Long working hours combined with a

sense of responsibility for taking on such hours were reported. Next to that, in line with Lee (2011), blurring lines between socialising for pleasure or for work were concluded because networking events often take place outside work hours. Furthermore, professionals in the arts show a large amount of pleasure in their work. They often place themselves above the people who have a 9-5 job (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010). This pleasure in work is also a pitfall as it carries the risk to self-exploitation.

2.4   Research questions

To sum up, this chapter described support personnel, as defined by Becker (1982) and defined the concept of theatre technicians. It points out the broad aspects of this line of work (e.g. employment, sort of organizations, etc.). This is subscribed by the theory of multiple job holding as described by Hesmondhalgh & Baker (2010) and Throsby & Zednik (2011).

Also, as Becker finds, the career-trajectories of theatre technicians are highly varied. That is why this calls for research to clarify how this profession is built. In addition, cultural capital by Bourdieu (1986) is defined by the embodied state, objectified state and the institutionalized state. Reading recent papers from various scholars (Friedman et al., 2015; Michael, 2017; Prieur et al., 2008; Prieur & Savage, 2013; Thornton, 1995), it makes sense to look critically at the concept of cultural capital when it comes to this group of people. Especially because theatre technicians might not fit in this "classical" cultural capital whilst working every day in the arts. Next to that social capital is also assumed to be important in finding jobs in creative industries (Lee, 2011; Scott, 2012). All in all, this leads to the following main research question of this thesis:

How are the career-trajectories and the personal cultural capital of theatre technicians in the Netherlands related?

To answer this question, the following sub-questions must be answered.

I.   What does the job of a theatre technician entail?

II.   What are different types of career-trajectories of theatre technicians?

III.   How do the personal cultural and social capital influence the work of the theatre technician?

IV.   How do theatre technicians perceive their role in the making process of a performance?

V.   Is the Bourdieusian concept of cultural capital still relevant regarding theatre technicians? Or are new forms of cultural capital more applicable?

3   Methods

This study focuses on theatre technicians, their career-trajectories and their cultural capital. To gain as clear an understanding of these matters as possible a mixed-method approach is chosen consisting of a semi-structured interview and a questionnaire on cultural capital by Ganzeboom & Ranshuysen (1994). The research group consists of theatre technicians from the Netherlands working for a theatre company or venue, either in fixed employment or as a freelancer.

Thirteen interviews were conducted between the 26 March and 9 April 2019 and in total 15 hours of interview material was gathered. The interviews were held at different locations that were convenient for the participants and included home, at a theatre or a cafe. Since all participants were Dutch, the interviews were held in Dutch as well.

The aim was to include a range of different positions (either with an employment contract or freelance) and to include both professionals from theatre venues and theatre companies. Theatre technicians in the Netherlands are predominantly white men (Borgdorff, 2018). Exact numbers are, however, unknown. The aim was to have a sample that represented this field of work. This is why 11 men and 2 women were interviewed. At the time of the interview, participants were aged 27 to 40 years. Most of the participants (9) attended secondary vocational education (MBO) for stage and event technician, 2 of them attended higher general secondary education (HAVO), 1 obtained a foundations course and 1 completed a Master of Arts before attending a higher professional education degree for theatre technician. A complete overview of all participants can be found in *Appendix A*

3.1   The sampling method

Martin Marshall (1996) describes different methods for selecting participants for research in his article *Sampling for qualitative research*. In this case, purpose sampling seemed to be most fitting. Purpose sampling means actively looking for a productive sample to answer the research question. In this case, a range of professionals working in different forms of employment has been looked for, both in small towns and large cities, for large and small theatre companies with varying levels of acknowledgement in the theatre world. The reason for this is to achieve the widest range of perspectives. To start with, professionals who are already in the existing network of the researcher (who is a theatre producer) were contacted and invited for an interview and from there on other professionals were be looked for by means of asking other theatre technicians, actors and theatre producers. Theatre technicians who match the criteria and are most likely to be a rich informant were contacted. A rich informant is someone who can

tell a great deal about their experience as a theatre technician. The approached people were quite forthcoming, even when they did not know the researcher on beforehand and were very willing to talk about their profession for the purpose of this study.

3.2   The Interviews

The interviews were semi-structured interviews. This form of interview is chosen for a few reasons. First, it gives the opportunity to have an open conversation with a participant whilst at the same time addressing all the subjects that the researcher wants to discuss. Secondly, it allows for the researcher to ask further questions about topics the participant addresses that were not thought of at all beforehand. And thirdly, it gives room for the researcher to develop the interview as the research continues and moves on.

Aside the semi-structured interview, also the ideas on active interviewing as described by Holstein & Gubrium (2011) were taken into consideration. According to these authors, every interview is an active conversation between an interviewer and an interviewee. During the interviews there was always room for participants to bring in new subjects. In the process of conduction all interviews, some questions like: *"Is a good technician, also a lazy technician?"* were added and other questions like: *"How do you experience a premiere where the theatre technicians are still striking the set while all others are out drinking champagne?"* were less often asked due to the course of the interviews. The last question seemed less relevant after a few technicians had answered it in a similar way. Other questions had richer answers.

To conduct the interview, an interview guide has been made *(see Appendix B).* The interview guide contains the topics that had to be discussed. Amongst other things, the list contains career-trajectory, views on art, and personal experience in the creative process of a theatre performance.

Every interview started with a general introduction, read word by word by the researcher followed with a narrative question inspired by the work of Alheit (1982). This was meant to get the conversation going and get the participant in a talking mode. After that, all interviews followed naturally with an open character. During the time when a participant was telling a story the researcher stayed as much in the background as possible. However, when certain subjects from the topic list were not addressed by the participant, or the researcher felt that a particular subject could use more elaboration, further questions were asked. The interview was finished when the participant mentioned he has nothing more of value to say on

the subject. This was not contained to a specific time-frame. However, all interviews lasted between 45 and 100 minutes.

3.3   The Questionnaire

There are three reasons why it has been decided to work with the questionnaire on cultural capital by Ganzeboom & Ranshuysen (1994). First of all, it is a questionnaire that has been used on population research from the 1990s onwards until present studies from 2009 and 2010. Thus, it will make it easier to compare this study to other research. It is a proven and tested tool to measure cultural capital. Second, it is a tool to gather demographic data and more information that is rather awkward to ask for in an interview form. The interview has to have the feel of a conversation more, whilst the questionnaire consists of other questions. Thirdly, it is a tool to have absolute and measurable data to connect to the answers from the interview on an individual level. This made it possible to compare whether what the participants mentioned in the interview is in accordance with what they answered in the questionnaire. Moreover, it made it possible to compare data between participants too.

It could be questioned, however, whether this questionnaire is still useful in regard to the post-Bourdieusian concepts of cultural capital. However, since the questionnaire is not the main source of information of this study, it is still considered to be a useful addition.

The complete questionnaire can be found in *Appendix C.* As can be seen, questions on other, more recent, dimensions of cultural capital were added. For example, like Friedman et al. (2015) have proven, is reading news also a sign of having a higher cultural capital. That is why questions like: *I keep up with the news* (*question 8k*) and *When I read the news, I use these media… (question 11)* were added. Next to that, there were, contrary to the original questionnaire of Ganzeboom & Ranshuysen, explicit questions about the consumption of popular music and what genre of music was being consumed. Next to that, since the original questionnaire was produced in the 1990's, the language was outdated. Therefore, the questions have been translated to the contemporary Dutch language, while maintaining the content of the questions.

3.4   The Procedure

First, the participants were approached and asked for a date to conduct the interview. The interviews have taken place at a convenient location for the participant (with enough privacy and not too much background noise) and was be recorded with an Olympus VN-541PC

recording device. Before the interview began, an informed consent form (see Appendix B) was signed. After that the questionnaire was filled out, followed by the interview.

3.5   Ethics

Since this study deals with human beings in a social situation, ethics had to be considered. First of all, it has been made clear to the participants that all the data collected will be processed anonymously. After that, the participant was asked for consent to use the collected data for research purposes (*see Appendix D).* All collected data that have been stored in an encrypted folder on a cloud server, to make sure that the date could not easily be stolen, lost or become public.

3.6   The Analysis

3.6.1.1   The questionnaire

The quantitative data of the questionnaire were put into IBM SPSS 23. The program was merely used to generate descriptive statistics that could be compared to results of a study from Andries den Broek (2013) conducted by the Netherlands Institute for Social research[1]. This study provides an overview of interesses in art of the general Dutch population and is the most recent study that refers to the same concepts that are addressed in the questionnaire.

There is explicitly chosen to not use statistical data since the group of participants is too small to gain representative numbers. Extremes would cloud the numbers too much. That is why only exact numbers are mentioned.

3.6.1.2   The interviews

After the interviews were held, they were transcribed by the researcher ad verbum. After that, inspired by ethnographical methods used for example by Charmaz (2006), it has been decided to analyse two interviews without a priori thought out topics. This was due to time constrains. As Charmaz describes there was a round of initial coding, whereby the codes are formulated in an action and are formed by line by line coding. The second round of coding was focused on coding whereby the coding is more focused and conceptual than the first round. After these two rounds of coding, a handbook with themes has been made and used for the rest of the interviews. These topics were a combination of the discovered topics by the open coding and the sensitizing concepts that followed from the research questions. When new themes surfaced

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[1] In Dutch: Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau (SCP)

during the coding of other interviews, these were added to the codebook. The final Codebook can be found in *Appendix E*.

During and after coding conceptual maps were made to visualise how concepts were related. Themes that surfaced often were included in the conceptual maps as well as interesting extremes. An example of a conceptual map has been included in *Appendix F*.

To increase the validity of the study, member-check was conducted. The results chapter was given to three theatre technicians, of whom not all participated in the study, to read. This was done to assess whether the descriptions were fitting to the field of theatre technicians. Their feedback was taken into account into writing and rewriting the results chapter. The persons involved in the member-check all reported that they recognized how the field was being described as well as the figures in which hierarchies of theatre technicians are being displayed. The only things that were pointed out were translations from Dutch to English theatre jargon. The term *technical week* has been shortly discussed with one member. It has been decided that actually the term was a good description of what it describes. Another person pointed out that not the right technical term for lighting fixtures had been used. This has been altered in the report. A full list of the most important translated Dutch terms can be found in *Appendix G*.

Important to note is that, since all interviews were held in Dutch, the quotes are translated by the researcher. Literal translations would have made reading quite hard. That is why the Dutch quotes were translated and edited according to rules of written language. However, there is aimed for a translation of quotes that still captures the essence of what the participant was describing. Yet it is acknowledged that some richness of the data has been lost in the translation. Next to that, the readability is increased by leaving out vocal fillers.

Now that is clear what methods have been used it is time to move on to the results. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

4   RESULTS

4.1   The field of theatre technicians

Theatre technicians describe their field of work as varied and broad. *"Not one day is the same"* is reported in almost every interview. A schematic overview of the field can be found in *Figure 1* and *Figure 2*. First of all, the distinction between house technicians and company technicians is evident. It can be seen as two different professions. Whereas the company technicians are responsible for how the performance looks and that it is ready in time, the house technicians have the knowledge of the (im)possibilities of the venue they work for. Together, as colleagues for a short period of time, usually just one day, they work towards the goal of the best performance in that place at that time.

4.1.1   Company technicians

Figure 1 shows a variety of assemblies of the technical team of a company. It demonstrates the hierarchy in which the stage manager stands above the designers, the designers stand above the operators who, in their turn, stand above the technicians. In large productions the hierarchy is clear and the stage manager leads the technical team of designers, operators and technicians. However, in smaller companies or productions the hierarchy is less clear since there are often fewer technicians involved due to the amount of work and/or budget constraints. This can be seen in *Figure 1* as well.

The yellow lines show that different function can be executed by one person. It for example, happens, in small productions, that the light operator and the light designer are the same person. On other occasions, the light design and set design are made by the same person. The brown line shows that work of light and sound operators and decor technicians can in practice be executed by only one or two persons. This often happens with performances produced for small venues and has as an implication that those technicians do need to be quite all-round. Last, the blue line shows that light and sound technicians only exist when the touring crew already has a light and sound operator and a decor technician. Important to note is that *Figure 1* provides a schematic overview, but can nevertheless be applied to most productions. Afterall, the key roles are not dependant of the size of the production. Only, the larger the production the more people are involved.

Before discussing the content of the professions of the various company technicians. It is important to describe the process of producing a performance. In the process of producing a theatre performance various stages can be defined. First the concept must be developed. This

plan is usually developed by the artistic director and financial director. Then the preconditions are defined. These are the conditions in which the production has to be developed. Koos described this in his interview:

> These [preconditions] are developed per production. So budget, manpower, duration of the performance and how much space in the trailer you have. These are your preconditions set by the financial director. For example, we have this budget, one trailer and four technicians, the performance duration is four hours so your working day is eighteen hours long and as long as you stay within these conditions, you're safe.

After the preconditions have been defined, the process of finding actors and technical

Figure 1: Overview of company technicians
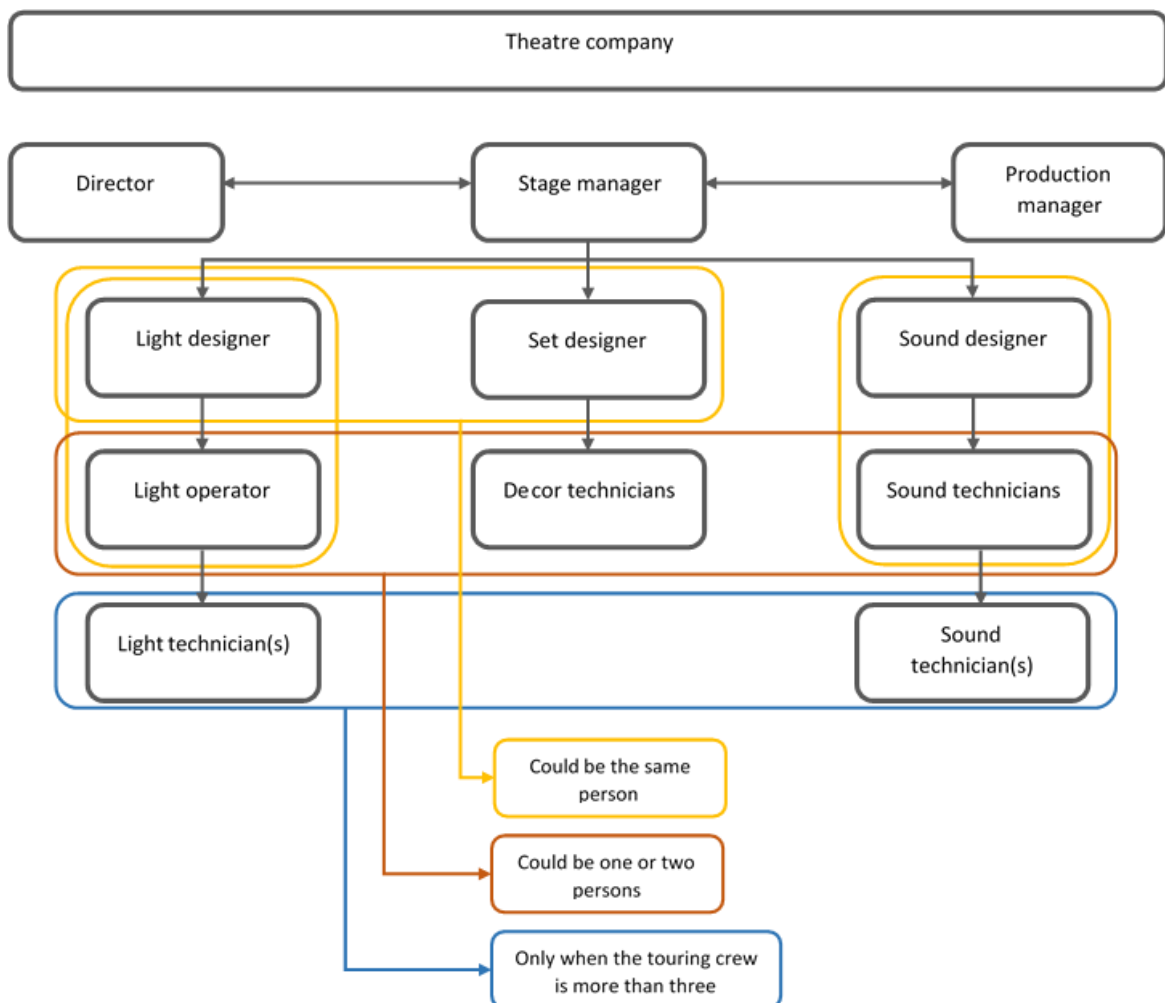
crew is set in motion. After that, the rehearsals and the (technical) production of the performance take place followed by the technical week. This is the time that the rehearsals move from the rehearsal hall to the stage. The main purpose of this week (that actually can take up to three weeks) is combining all aspects of the production to the performance as it will exist

on the night of the premiere (Kordsmeier, 2017). At the end of the technical week the premiere takes place, often followed by a tour in theatres in the Netherlands and/or abroad.

The stage manager is usually the first technician involved in the production. He is the person who is in contact with the production manager and the director. At the same time, he is in contact with the light, sound and decor designer and designs the loading plan. This involves making a 3D drawing and fitting all the puzzle pieces in the predefined trailer space. The stage manager is the person who decides how the decor has to be made transportable with wheels, carts and dollies. Next to that, the stage manager is also responsible for the safety of the set that is on tour. This involves, amongst other things, the certification of materials. The stage manager also has the responsibility for hiring technical crew and the health and safety conditions in which the crew works when the production goes on tour. Important to note is that the stage manager goes on tour with the rest of the technical crew.

It important to take into account that the term stage manager in this case means something different than stage manager as defined by Kordsmeier (2017). In Kordsmeier's study, stage managers were also responsible for the calling the show and are also more involved with the actors. The stage managers in this study do not have that responsibility. Show calling is in the Netherlands not quite common, since most theatre productions are relatively small. The stage managers in this study show, in line with Kordsmeier's theory, some of the artistic responsibility for a performance. This will be discussed in *paragraph 4.1.7*.

Alongside, and in close cooperation with, the stage manager, the light, sound and set designers work on the designs of the performance in terms of how it will look on stage. During this time the actors and director are rehearsing. After the rehearsal period follows the technical week. The technical week can actually take up to two or even three weeks and usually takes place in a theatre and all company technicians report this as an important moment:

> *So I join the technical week. Then we have the various elements from the performance; acting, decor and technology and that has to merge together into one product.*
> (Hans-Jörgen)

The technical week is thus the moment where everything comes together. This is the time when the largest number of professionals are involved in the production of a performance. The director has the overview of the actors and works together with the light, sound and set designers in terms of how the performance will look on stage.

During the technical week, the sound and light designers work together with their operators from the front of house (FOH). The operators have set up the technical equipment

and have programmed the light and sound consoles based on the design that was made. During the technical week the operators are occupied with executing what the designers and the director have in mind. This can be quite a creative process for the operator.

> *Some [light designers] have it all in their minds and it just has to come out and some think more in the moment. (…) You see him thinking: how we are going to do it? And then you think well… [ticks on the table like on a lighting console] maybe this!*
> (Henk)

In case of a production that is large enough for multiple operators and technicians, the operators work together with the technicians. The light technicians usually work on stage and hang the lighting fixtures and adjust them according to the instructions of the operator. Together with the sound technicians, they are responsible for the power plan as well as neat cable management.

Decor technicians are responsible for the building of and the positioning of the set in the right way in the theatre. Every theatre is slightly different in terms of the surface of the floor, height of the portal, sight lines etcetera. These are conditions to which the technicians have to adjust in coordination with the stage manager.

4.1.2 House technicians

House technicians work for the theatre itself. They know everything about the infrastructure of the theatre, the possibilities and impossibilities of the venue and are facilitating the performances of the companies. The size of technical teams of theatres are, just like in companies, quite diverse. There are small theatres with only two people in fixed employment and large theatres with dozens of technicians in fixed employment. To add to the existing technical crew, theatres often make use of freelance theatre technicians.

4.1.2.1 Roles

As can be seen in *Figure 2,* similarly to companies, theatres have stage managers, sound technicians and light technicians. Stage managers in the theatre are also the contact person for all the house technicians, the production team and, less often, for the programmers. Stage managers make the planning for the crew and work on stage and do much more than that. Gerard describes his job as follows:

Well, my work as stage manager for the theatre includes one day mopping the floor, hanging the lighting fixtures, building decor and pushing flight cases and the next I am the light or sound operator at a performance and the next day I am doing something with video or welding something in the workshop or I am holding evaluation interviews with employees. It is really varied and not one day is the same.
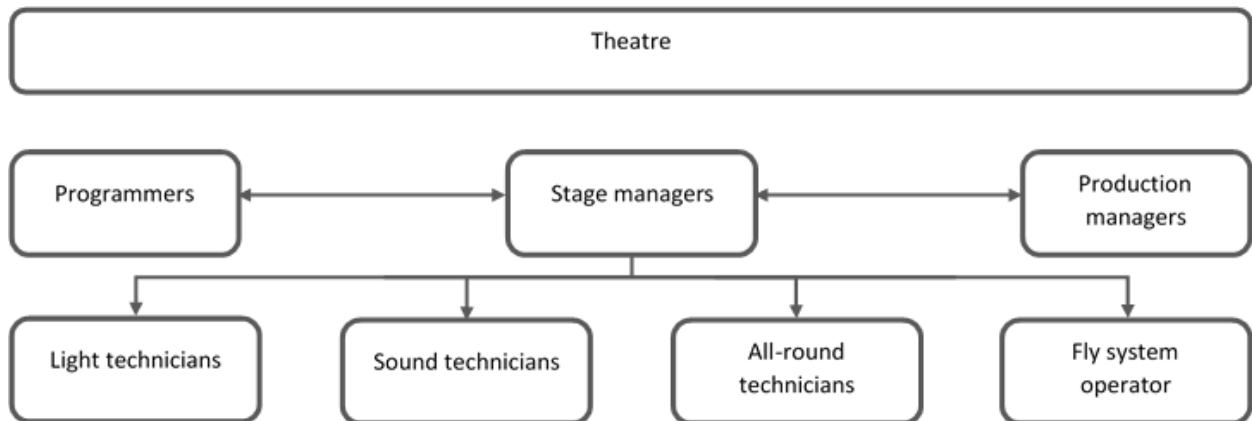
Figure 2: Overview of house technicians

Light and sound technicians have specialized knowledge of the technical set of the theatre. They show the company technicians where the power is, how their set works and help the company technicians building their set.

Next to the already specified positions, a theatre venue always has a fly system operator. He or she is responsible for all the moving items during a production. Or as Lisa described: *"Everything that goes up and down in terms of curtains and decor. That's me."* When I asked for more details of what the work of a fly system operator involves, she explained:

Sometimes you have to lift heavy things and you are always lifting above people. Sometimes you've got really complicated changes and it has to be programmed well. (…) You have to pay attention constantly because if you don't, you could kill people.

This demonstrates the immense responsibility fly system operators and their fellow technicians have. When their job is not executed carefully, it creates unsafe situations. Something that is not mentioned often, but seems to be a given for every technician. In smaller houses the fly-system operator also fulfils other positions in the technical team. Sjoerd explained this as follows:

Because I am a light technician, I am often occupied with lights. So that's that. And because I am one of the technicians that has been working at the venue the longest I am also often the fly-system operator. Most of the times, however, we are only with two technicians from the theatre because the performances are so small.

The last job description is that of all-round technicians. These are the people that do not necessarily have one specialism, but have enough knowledge to work with a broad spectrum of materials. This is often the role freelance theatre technicians fulfil when they are hired by a house.

4.1.3 Working day

In the previous sections, the various positions of theatre technicians have been described. It shows that the jobs are very varied. The job descriptions above shed light on what theatre technicians do and in this section a typical day in the theatre will be described.

The day starts for house technicians with checking whether all stage curtains hang at the right fly bars and when necessary, a marley dance floor is laid. Then the company arrives, as Eric describes:

> *(…) they [the company] arrive a little before the agreed time, normally at one o' clock in the large theatres (…) You drink a cup of coffee with each other and you introduce yourself. Then they ask who the fly system operator is, who the light operator and who the audio operator is. Then you unload the trailer and you start with arranging the fly bar system. Then you pair people, I as an audio operator am paired with the audio operator of the company (…)*

Youp adds:

> *In the beginning you have to hang the lighting fixtures and decor, then you focus the lighting fixtures and adjust the lighting fixtures then you have a soundcheck and prep the decor and props before the performance.*

After all the decor and props are checked, the house opens for the audience. Just before the start of the performance the company light and/or sound operator take their place in the front of house. Then the performance takes place. During the performance, house and company technicians work together during changeovers or stand-by in case of emergency. After the performance ends the technicians strike the set and load it in the truck again. The workday ends usually with all the technicians drinking something together before going home.

4.1.4 Collaboration between house technicians and company technicians

The dynamic between house and company technicians is essential for the performance that is being built. The theatres are referred to as 'houses', which gives away the relationship between the house technician and the company technician. The company a guest in the house of the

theatre. The company builds its performance in the house of the house technicians. It is a process of giving and taking. The house provides the best situation possible for the company and the company in return tries to build the performance in the best way possible with the limitations of the venue. Hereby the specific knowledge of the house technicians of their house is essential, as Ben illustrates:

> *I tell them [house technicians] I need a lighting fixture like this or I'd like to hang something there. Then they say: Oh, we can do it this way, or that's not very handy, maybe we should take that lighting fixture.*

This illustrates a collaboration in which the house technicians' knowledge of his set helps the company technician in defining the lighting plan. Ben could not have known that, because as he explains:

> *I don't know all the venues from the top of my head and I don't have time to draw everything. That's why I need the experience of the house technician.*

Since companies travel from theatre to theatre both house technicians and company technicians have different colleagues every day. Communication is therefore, mentioned as one of the most important things to make the collaboration between the technicians. That is why the cup of coffee they drink with each other in the morning is one of the most important most important moment of the day. It is a moment in which the technicians get to know each other, but it also functions as a meeting in which the plan of the day is being talked through. As an example from a company technician, Lara illustrates:

> *I am always very much on time [at the theatre], so I have time for a cup of coffee before we start building the performance. Then we talk the plan through: first we do this and that, I have this equipment with me and I need that from you. This piece of decor is a bitch, but after that it's all going to be a piece of cake. I've noticed that it works better when they [the house technicians] know the plan.*

From the house technician's point of view, Youp mentioned the following:

> *First [I want] a cup of coffee to learn his [the company technician's] name. That is the most difficult thing for me. To learn new names every day. Most of the times there are three, so three names.*

The cup of coffee in the morning is not only important to get to know each other. It also defines how the rest of the day goes. How involved they are with the performance and how willing they are to help the company technicians. This influences the quality of the performance. When Lara

was asked how she, in the profession of house technician, is being involved in the performance, she explained:

> *That depends on the company. Some [technicians] are only busy with themselves and only ask when they really want something. That is fine, but then I'm switching to relax mode. I'm sitting there with a cup of coffee and I'll hear when you need me.*

Lara illustrates here that she is less motivated to work when she is not being involved with the work that needs to be done. Other participants mention similar behaviour. All participants, however, try to make the work atmosphere as nice as possible. Because, as Jopie illustrates:

> *We as the technical crew are responsible for the working atmosphere. If we arrive in the theatre and we mess everything up then the atmosphere is ruined [for the rest of the day].*

In short, one of the most important things in the collaboration between house and company technicians, is to maintain a pleasant working atmosphere. This is key to create the best performance possible at the house where it is performed.

4.1.5 Collaboration with other colleagues

As has been mentioned before, theatre technicians not only have to collaborate with other technicians. They also have to collaborate with actors, directors, producers staff of the theatre and many more.

House technicians are, at the day of the performance, the connection between the company and the house. Not only for the technical activities, but also for showing where the dressing rooms are and, for example, timing the moment in which flowers are given. Most theatres give the actors flowers at the end of the performance to thank them for performing on their venue. Sjoerd illustrates:

> *… then we try to get some detailed information. For example about the flower moment. The ward attendants are namely sitting in the audience. We need to figure out a moment, in collaboration with the company, a visual cue for these attendants to stand up and go backstage to get the flowers (…) How does that flower moment go? After one time taking a bow, two times or do they give an encore?*

Company technicians are, in contrast to house technicians, more involved with actors (or dancers, depending on the performance). Since these are colleagues on tour. Technicians report a spectrum in which they are collaborating with actors. Some are quite close and friendly,

whereas others almost never talk to the actors. This seems to be related to the size of the production. For example, Nöel mentioned that during big musical productions he was so busy with his technical team that he never spoke to the actors and dancers. Whereas Hans-Jörgen, who typically works for small productions has other experiences:

> *I have had a group of actors where it really clicked between us, but I also have had a group of actors that did not click at all. (…) That's not a bad thing. Then the professional bond is maintained and you don't have to become friends.*

Koos often works with famous Dutch actors and answered the question if he feels like one team with the actors as follows:

> *Often, but not always. And that's part of the job. Actors know that we are in service of the performance and they use that knowledge. Some technicians handle that better than others. I, for example, handle it very well. I like to be in service of an actor. However, yesterday for example, I yelled at a musician because he told me to get coffee.*

Theatre technicians are thus, in service of the performance. That is part of the job and all participants report that as being fine. The job is to make the working situation and atmosphere as pleasant as possible. However, there are limitations to that service, as Koos illustrated above.

4.1.6   Creative process

Between company and house technicians, company technicians report to be most involved in the creative process of making a performance. As described earlier, the technical week is the moment where all technical and creative parties come together and make the performance at a theatre. Participants mentioned various conditions of being involved in the creative process.

First of all, operators and designers always work closely together, as has been illustrated in paragraph *4.1.1.* The operators in that case have to produce what the designers have in mind. The other theatre technicians often work at the stage and are, thus, literally further away from the technical team. Rob explains that he feels that he is also making the performance:

> *In a manner of speaking it's just one hit on the button, but when I don't hit it at the right moment then the rhythm of the performance is [snaps fingers] just gone.*

So, cueing is also very important. These cues are defined in the script and finetuned during the technical week. It is at that moment that the acting and technical theatre merges together.

The collaboration with the rest of the artistic team varies in hierarchy. Sometimes the director communicates with the designer via the stage manager. Other times the communication is more direct. It all depends on the size of the performance and how well the various people involved know each other. Jopie explains:

During the technical week I'll sit next to a producer and director and in the front of house the sound designer and light designer sit together with their operators. The light designer shouts what has to change and the operator programs that in the light computer. Often the director shouts to me about what has to change technically. (...) It all depends on the team (...) The larger the production

Interviewer: The more hierarchy

Jopie: Exactly

Hans-Jörgen also reports very practical and technical influence on the creative process:

Everyone has their own interests and in my function I am often the negotiator. I need to negotiate and make sure that everyone is happy but also to make sure that we [theatre technicians] don't get too much work on our plate. We need to make achievable goals.

This supports the claim of Kordsmeier (2017); that the technical team has an influence on the artistic product, while making non-artistic choices. Theatre technicians, or at least stage managers are namely in charge of making possible what the director in mind. When Koos was asked how far he was willing to go for the artistic product he stated:

Until the very end, until you reach your preconditions. The only protection for us technicians are those preconditions. If you reach those, then it's impossible. Otherwise, you're safe. (...) But before I say: "No this is not happening." I have to have tried everything to make it possible. When the director says that he wants a waterfall on stage, then I have to do everything to realize that. And when I say that it's not possible, then the director has to believe me that I've tried everything. But no director wants to hear that.

Since operators and stage managers are often closely cooperating with the director, it was also asked whether or not they were allowed to give their artistic opinion during the creative process. Jopie explains this as follows:

In the first place it is not my task [to give an artistic opinion], but there are directors and designers who ask that or like that. But I always wait until they ask me. I will not just shout that it sucks or that I find it cool. It has to come from both sides. Luckily I often work with directors who like it if you're also thinking about the artistic product.

Similar reactions were given by a majority of the technicians. Often they are humble until they are given permission to give their opinion. However, even though they will not always state their opinion, theatre technicians do seem to almost always have an opinion about the artistic product they are working on.

Whereas company stage managers and operators are often very involved in the creative process, this does not apply to big musical productions. Noël has often toured with big musical productions and he stated the following:

> *Productions from [large Dutch musical company] are all bought from West-End. So then you work with a design team for two months and you make the performance and then nothing changes anymore. It's nice that to be a light operator, but you don't have a say in the creative process. (…) You have to maintain the performance as it has been produced twenty years ago.*

Another way of creating a performance is attributed to very small performances with little budget. Those performances often do not have a technical week, but rather two days of rehearsals. The first time the performance is performed is then usually the premiere. In these performances no designers are involved and the operators function as a designer as well in close collaboration with the artist. Eric, who tours with a band that also performs in the theatre explains as follows:

> *It all comes together at the, well let's call it the technical week, even though it is the day of the premiere. Then she [the artist] plays me things and well coincidentally that happened last weekend. Then she had to play the performance, but she decided to perform the pop show and I warned her: You shouldn't do that! Well, they did and it was a disaster. Such a pop show with electronic music doesn't fit with an audience sitting in plush chairs.*

Eric shows here that he, as a theatre technician, has an understanding of what a theatre audience wants and does not want. As an experienced technician, he has more knowledge than the artist he is touring with. She relies on his theatre knowledge and asked him specifically for that reason to go with on tour and after this day they changed the performance into a theatre setting.

Thus, there are various ways in which theatre technicians can be involved in the creative process by both making artistic as non-artistic choices. However, this is merely reported by the operators and stage managers. Other technicians are less involved in the

creative process. As well as house technicians. The creativity for house technicians lies in other aspects. Especially, in providing support for small productions without a budget, as Eric explains:

There are two kinds of performances that I like to work at. One is the performance where you can help with the changeovers. So with big musicals. And eh modern dance or other forms of art without a budget. Then you really have to craft to make it work and that makes it fun.

Talking about how that works, Eric elaborates:

Well, they hung a projector with a little strap and I was like: You cannot hang an electrical device with a lamp that gets very hot on a nylon strap above dancing people. That's a bad idea and we don't do that here. (…) So then I enjoy myself making a custom metal shackle that fits the projector (…)

This shows a more creative technical skill that theatre technicians seem to have and for a great part this seems to make their work enjoyable.

4.1.7   Responsibility for the performance

Even though some theatre technicians reported to be involved in the creative process, they do explicitly not have creative responsibility for the performance. That responsibility lies with the director and the designers.

After the night of the premiere the performance is owned by the actors and the technical team. Together they make the performance and at the end of the tour the performance can look quite different than at the premiere. For example, a mise-en-scene can change and because of that, the lighting also has to change. Otherwise it could be dark where the actors are standing and light where there is nothing to see. However, as Kordsmeier (2017) describes, the cast and technical team make sure that it is still within the artistic spirit of the performance. Henk illustrates this as follows:

Sometimes you have to make sure that after a three month tour that the performance hasn't completely changed you know. If you change something or maybe you just think: this scene is quite dark, I'll add some light and the next day I add a bit more light and the next day again. Sometimes you have to look at how it looked like in the first performance and then you think oh, I'll turn down the amount of light. In that sense you make sure that the performance stays at is was meant to be.

Next to that, theatre technicians, especially the ones with the profession of stage manager, or operator, at a company report to feel also responsible for how it looks on stage with regards to the acting. After all, they are the people who see it every day and notice when actors are concentrated or how the audience reacts. Though it is not in their job description, they feel responsible and sometimes even directors ask if they will monitor the performance. This is, thus, typical for the theatre technicians that are often also involved in the creative process. Or at least are more concerned with the directors and the creative team. Jopie gives an example:

> I once toured with a performance where the actors decided to give each other a different name during the performance. Super fun of course, but [sighs] the concentration was gone and they were laughing and then, after the performance I talked to them: Guys, we [theatre technicians] also make sure that everything is as it's supposed to be.
>
> Interviewer: A bit of professionalism
>
> Jopie: Yes. I think you cannot act like that. (…) When I notice that it's getting out of hand then I'll may ask if the director wants to come back.

Jopie shows here that he, as a stage manager, takes responsibility for the performance by talking to the actors and, when necessary, he will call the director. Hereby, he acknowledges that the artistic responsibility does not lie with him. He does, however, monitor the quality of the performance. This is in contrast with the stage managers' responsibility that Kordsmeier (2017) describes. In his study, the stage managers were also responsible changings that actors and technicians need to make.

4.2 Career-trajectories

Now the field of theatre technicians has been described, it is now time to discuss the career-trajectories of theatre technicians. In every interview the researcher asked how the participants ended up in their present career. The stories differed quite a bit. About half of the participants explained that they always had an interest in theatre or stage technology. Few were involved in high school plays building decors and acting as theatre technicians. Others discovered their interest in technical theatre during their education or via internships. One person wanted to be an actor, but was not accepted at Drama College. That is why he chose technical theatre, to be involved in the world of theatre. He did not audition again for the acting school, instead he chose to become a theatre technician.

4.2.1   Forms of employment

As was to be expected, there were three forms of employment reported during the interviews. Seven participants pursued a career solely as a freelance technician. Two participants stated that they only work in fixed employment at the moment of the interview and four stated that they worked in fixed employment, but sometimes worked as a freelance theatre technician as well.

Two participants indicated that they would end their current employment within the next year. One to work fulltime freelance again and the other had chosen for a combination of a fixed employment part-time and work as a freelance technician the rest of the time. These various forms of employment are in line with the multiple job holding as described by Throsby and Zednik (2011). Technicians report themselves that the variation in work makes their work challenging as will be discussed more elaborate below.

4.2.2   Educational background

Nine participants completed an educational programme for technical theatre on a secondary vocational level, one started with an educational programme to become a theatre technician, but dropped out and two others followed no (relevant) educational programme to become a theatre technician. One participant stands out since he completed a Bachelor's and a Master's degree in theatre studies before completing his degree course in state technology at higher professional education level. The number of professionals who completed a relevant educational programme is probably related to the age of the participants. The first technical theatre education was founded in 1996 (Zoutendijk, 2018). Before that time, people had no option to follow proper education and had to learn the craft in practice. Most participants were young enough to have the possibility to follow an educational programme.

Interestingly, most participants claimed that their education was not the place where they learned the most useful skills. It was rather the internship opportunities and social network that they acquired that was the most important. This supports the claims of Lee (2011). Every participant claimed that they worked a lot next to their studies. It therefore seems that 'learning by doing' is more important than obtaining a degree as will be discussed below and seems to point out that the institutionalized cultural capital is not quite important.

4.2.3 Career

All but one participant stated they never formally applied for a vacancy, but one thing led to another and they ended up in this position. When asked how that happened, most participants answered that they did volunteer work or an internship that opened doors for new opportunities. For example Eric said:

> When I started my study in [hometown] I immediately became a volunteer at the local pop venue. I was trained as an audio technician. At that time there were no schools for theatre technicians and the AV companies knew that the guys were trained in the pop venues. So when they had worked there for a few years you had to pick them and give them a bit of money and then you could send them to the village fairs and there they could set-up the speakers and lights…

Others have similar stories like for example, Lara:

> As a side job I started working at a light and sound rental company and worked there during the weekends (…) I thought, I like this [technical theatre] so much, I'll just keep working in this profession and I want to do this. So I did a sort of internship and that's how I ended up in this line of work and it has worked out quite well.

These fragments illustrate the importance of work experience in the field of technical theatre and that it is possible to work as a theatre technician without having any formal training. Most participants that followed an education mentioned that the internships and the network that followed from the education was more important than the education itself. Hans-Jörgen told me that he owes about 90% of his work to one internship coordinator and Gerard works at his current job because of an internship he did at that theatre.

All participants mentioned that they worked a lot during their studies and that seems to be the trend to getting a career in technical theatre: to work a lot. Participants work(ed) at audio visual rental companies, pop venues, theatres, theatre companies and festivals. Not only do theatre technicians work as a technician, many work in other positions and jobs as well. Since the theatre season often runs from the autumn until the spring, many technicians work at festivals in the summer. For example, they work as a rigger or decor builder at festivals, but also as a temporary infrastructure mechanic (power, water and/or internet) at festivals and events. This illustrates the importance of the work ethic, the extensive knowledge and the set of skills theatre technicians have. Next to that, it seems to support the findings of Throsby & Zednik that artistic workers work non-artistic jobs as well.

4.2.4 Skills

As mentioned before, it is a certain set of skills and work ethic that theatre technicians need to have. However, to shed more light on what skills technicians need to become good at their profession participants were asked about what they thought makes a good theatre technician. Various answers were given:

> *I think the social aspect is the most important thing. (…) when the two different professionals [house technician and company technician] have to work together then a good technician can explain what he wants in a good and fun way. (…) And another aspect is that a good technician is a lazy, or actually an efficient technician. So that as few steps as possible result in the best possible outcome.*
>
> (Eric)

> *It's the total package [that makes someone a good technician], heart for theatre and heart for your job. That you keep an eye on what your colleagues are doing and what is happening in the theatre world and where the beautiful performances are being made (…) And then you don't have to be very technical or be excellent at video mapping or AutoCAD drawing.*
>
> (Koos)

> *Being motivated in your work. Having the know-how and wanting to learn and actually both. That when you have the know-how that you still want to learn [new things]. I think that is the most important and the motivation to work hard.*
>
> (Hans-Jörgen)

These three quotes illustrate a shared view among the participants. A good technician, in their opinion, is someone who has great social skills, is motivated to learn new things, efficient and has excellent knowledge of the field he or she is working in. Heart for the job is, as Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) describe typical for working in the creative industries. Lisa adds that a theatre technician also has to understand the performance to do a good job:

> *What I find important is insight and heart for the performance. How do I explain this well? Ehm, when you have a really sensitive scene and that ends with a fade-out, that means that you slowly dim the light. Instead of just blacking it out at once. Some people have the ability to really merge the lighting with the acting.*

Interestingly, these technical skills seem to be less important than the social skills and motivation to learn new things. Eric gives an explanation:

> *The performances are already made. Even though that process could have been quite complicated, it is already done when you're travelling. So, the technical aspect is not that interesting anymore.*

Efficiency is also an important skill theatre technicians need to have. Many participants mention that efficiency is one of the most challenging parts of their job as a theatre technician. Certainly for company technicians who travel it is important to work as efficiently as possible. The workdays are, after all, quite long and the sooner the work day is over the earlier they can drive home. Hans-Jörgen illustrates this kind of efficiency as follows:

> *It was actually a wooden slat with a few little slats crafted to it and we called it our holy grail. By laying that slat at the right place on the stage, we could place our decor very precisely. We just had to find our central point and the slat did the rest. It was full of gaffer tapes and sharpie marks and even a tape holder crafted to it. (…) So the first thing we did when we entered a theatre was asking: where is the middle? And within five minutes everything was marked on the floor.*

It is striking that this technical know-how is almost never explicitly described by the participants. It is always implied that technicians know certain things and the participants seem to be quite modest about their technical abilities with saying things like: *"Cable here, cable there; profile here, Par there, and just cueing the performance."* It almost seems like the participants expect all other people to know how to do this or at least to learn it when they are interested enough. Lana endorses this statement by telling me that she once trained actors to help with the technical theatre because they were understaffed. She taught the actors to adjust the lights and program the lighting console. And Henk suggested that even the researcher could be a theatre technician, although it is not her field of work.

4.2.5   Network

Not only the work experience and skills are important in pursuing a career in technical theatre, the network of a person is also of great importance. When the participants were asked how they usually find work, only Lisa told me that she applied for a job that she found somewhere online. All others heard about and found their jobs via their network. Especially the participants who pursue a freelance career state, in line with Lee (2011), that their network is the most important thing in getting new jobs. Henk explains:

I made the deal with myself that if I sat at home for a week that I would email or call someone I know, or a company that I don't know yet. I maintained that for quite some time. (...) That helped me a lot. And the rest of my network well, that's actually your friends and then people you get to know. People who appreciate you and recommend you or remembered you from another job.

Henk shows different strategies in finding jobs. First, he contacts possible new clients by calling or emailing them. Secondly, and by far the most mentioned by participants, Henk mentions that he is being called because of a recommendation from friends or an acquaintance recommended him. This is in line with the theory of Granovetter (1973) who described that weak ties are often more profitable in finding work than strong ties. All freelance technicians that participated, stated that they do not have any trouble finding enough work. Interestingly, the majority of the participants described that many of their friends are theatre technicians as well. Jopie also subscribes the importance of his network:

The nice thing is that everyone works as a freelancer, so there are producers who change from production companies, you see. And because of that, I am also being asked by other production companies because of a company manager I once toured with that is now an executive producer [somewhere else].

Again, it seems to agree with Granovetter (1973), Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) and Lee (2011), who write that the social network is one of the most important factors in pursuing a career in technical theatre.

4.2.6   Career opportunities

It is important to take into account that the participants of this study are 27-40 years old. Most were 18 years old, or even younger, when they started working and that makes that they all have between ten and twenty years' experience and puts them more or less in the same stage of their career. This raises the question of what theatre technicians do after that many years of experience. Eric explains:

I told you earlier that I am giving up my job at the theatre and I couldn't have done that if I had not worked freelance. If I hadn't worked freelance for all those years, then I would have been stuck there. I cannot grow any more in this job, my salary scale is maxed out so I won't make any more money and the only career opportunity is the job of head technician (...) and I don't want that job.

Eric's story shows two topics. First, the limited career opportunities in the theatre. After fifteen years in the theatre he only has the opportunity to become head technician. But that is more a management position than a technical job and he would have had to wait another four years to apply for it. Next to that his salary scale was maxed out. Sjoerd mentioned that something similar can be applied to freelance technicians:

> When you work normal and hard as a freelance technician you have a turnover between the 50 and 60 thousand euro. That's fine. (…) But as a freelancer you have a maximum what you can do. You can raise your daily fee, but that won't add too much to your turnover. That's just not possible. Then you have to start selling things or think of something else.

Thirdly, it shows that because of his work as a freelancer next to his fixed employment that he had the chance to pursue another career. If he had only worked in the theatre, he feels that he would probably only have the skills, knowledge and network to work in the theatre. Noël told a similar story:

> At that time I was touring with [a big musical company] and I always wanted to be a light operator. You know, everyone that has achieved that is over 40 years old and at that time I was 23. And I thought, when I have achieved that, that is it. It's the most I can achieve in that line of work. (…) That is why I started developing myself in another field of work. Still within theatre and now I still have lots of stuff I can achieve here but that'll take at least 10-15 years.

Noël illustrates again, the limited career opportunities. A light technician for example, can go from a light technician to second operator to first operator. After that, career opportunities consist of becoming stage manager or technical director. Evidently, opportunities also consist of working for different or rather larger productions with various theatre makers and standards of making theatre. Another career switch that was mentioned was from company technician to house technician. Lisa stated that:

> Some of our technicians come from traveling companies, only they're a bit older. Those [technicians] want a bit more rest or have children. They want to be at home more often.

It thus seems, that there are four options in the longer career of a theatre technician: First switch from company to house technician. Second, work for different theatres and companies in, more or less, the same position. Third, be promoted to stage manager or technical director and finally, pursue a different career in or outside the theatre.

4.3   Cultural capital

To shed a light on how cultural capital plays a role in the work of theatre technicians both the questionnaire and the interviews are discussed below. First the findings of the questionnaire are presented, followed by findings from the interviews.

4.3.1   The Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of questions on cultural participation and was divided between two periods of time. The first set of the questions referred to when the participant was 10-12 years old and the second set of questions referred to the present time. In this section the most important results are reported.

First of all, it shows that parents of most participants were culturally active during the youth of the participants. All but one report museum visits varying from maximum once per year up to more than three times a year. Most reported are visits to non-art museums (12) and castles and churches (11) in contrast to modern art museums (4).

Participants also report that neither mother nor father often went to classical music concerts (9). By contrast, books were often read by fathers (9) and mothers (11). Also, 12 participants reported to have at least some CD's with non-classical music in the house. The amount of classical music CD's varied a great amount. 5 participants reported to have no classical music CD's, whereas 4 reported to have 51-100 CD's with classical music.

All participants reported to have no French books in the house and little books in German. It seems thus, that the cultural upbringing of the participants differed quite a bit. It is clear that parents were culturally involved in some way. In general however, the parents seem not to have been part of a cultural elite. Linking this to Bourdieu (1986) it seems that in the youth of the participants they did not obtain a highbrow embodied cultural capital.

This is being subscribed by what participants reported in the interviews. Many report that they learned to appreciate the real art, as they referred to highbrow theatre performances, during their work as a theatre technician. Rob, for example, illustrates:

When you grow [in the work of a theatre technician] and you are learning to understand why performances are made. You are gaining a better understanding.

Eric describes a moment in which he began to understand dance performances:

I could really understand the frustrations in such a calm office setting and then I thought: hey wait a minute, dance can have storylines. That was a turning point for me.

I said to myself that I needed to look at dance more often because it can be fun and
funny and it has more content than I originally thought.

Eric's quote illustrates a moment in which he, at once, understood a performance and that interested him so much that he went to see dance more often even when it was during his work. It is because of his job that he learned to appreciate dance, because he sees so many performances as a house technician. This again supports the idea that the institutionalized form of cultural capital is not that important, but that the cultural capital is gained by experience in the profession of theatre technician.

An important finding is the fact that the participants tend to be very culturally active now. For example, all but one report to visit theatre performances at least once a year. Museums (10), movie theatres (9), dance performances (11) and classical music concerts (9) are also visited at least once a year. That is a lot more than usual in comparison to the Dutch population of whom only 32% tends to visit museums, 42% visits movie theatres, 9% visits dance performances and 14% visits classical concerts (van den Broek, 2013, p.58,61,73).

Next to that, 7 participants also reported to go to non-classical concerts often, 4-11 times per year. This number cannot exactly be compared to the study of van den Broek (2013) since van den Broek only questioned visits to pop concerts and this questionnaire referred to "concerts other than classical". Nevertheless this number seems high when we compare it to the 25% of van den Broek that visited pop concerts. While visiting these concerts a wide range of genres are visited, varying between metal and punk to pop and jazz.

The questionnaire also addressed a an emerging form of cultural capital by counting in the factor of reading news (Prieur et al., 2008; Prieur & Savage, 2013). However, these results were not conclusive. Most participants tend to read some news and whereas some use three different types of newspapers and website to read the news, others do not at all. The three most mentioned media types were Nu.nl (7), NOS (6) and NRC/Volkskrant (5). Here the NRC/Volkskrant represent a more highbrow form, in contrast to Nu.nl what can be considered as more lowbrow.

All in all, when it comes to highbrow classical art, theatre technicians are in fact quite culturally active. Moreover, their cultural consumption is much more than the average Dutch person. Certainly keeping in mind that they work a lot and oftentimes work in the evening. This is interesting, because theatre technicians themselves do not consider themselves particularly culturally active. This adds to their embodied cultural capital and endorses what Roose &

Vandenhaute (2010) found in their study. Namely, that member of the theatre world have a lot of knowledge about theatre due to their experiences and visits in free time.

4.3.2   Reported cultural capital

During the interviews several aspects of cultural capital were addressed; what kind of performances theatre technicians visit in their free time and why, technical way of looking at theatre and the distinction between a good and bad performance. These will be discussed below.

As described in the previous paragraphs, theatre technicians are very culturally active and they visit theatre performances quite often. In the interviews there was also asked about other cultural activities. Though concerts and museums were visited quite often too, the participants could best explain their preferences and taste when it came to theatre. That is why only the results regarding visits to theatre are discussed here.

4.3.2.1   Motivations of visiting performances

First of all it is interesting to take a look into the motivation of theatre technicians in regards to visiting theatre performances. Several motivations were mentioned during the interviews as Jopie here illustrates:

> *Well, house technicians, of course, see a lot. So when I hear recommendations in different theatres about the same performance, then I'll check it out. (…) And eh, I read the booklet of the local theatre and I often go to performances with which fellow technicians are touring. But performances that I buy tickets for are mostly the ones playing in small venues.*

This quote shows a range of motivations mentioned by almost every participant. First of all, the recommendations of fellow technicians seem to be very important. That is because house technicians see a lot and therefore, if they are impressed by a performance, must be worth visiting. Certainly company technicians who often travel to different theatres hear which performances are appreciated by technicians of different houses.

Next to that, visits to performances of fellow technicians are also often reported. This is mostly mentioned by freelance technicians and fulfils another purpose than just visiting a nice performance. It is also a way to catch up with the fellow technician and gives the visiting technician an opportunity to network. Henk illustrates these blurring lines between socializing for work or pleasure that Lee (2011) described:

> *I make that choice because of two reasons. There is a nice performance and then I'll visit a premiere because I like that and because it is a beautiful performance, but it is also a moment to network, you know. Show the people that I still exist.*

A third, less mentioned, way of deciding is by reading the booklet of the local theatre and visiting whatever is appealing as for example Jopie and Sjoerd mentioned. More often, theatre technicians have certain companies that they like and that they visit if that company performs in a theatre nearby. Often mentioned companies are: Noord Nederlands Toneel (NNT), Ro Theater, Oostpol and D'Electrique.

Finally, house technicians in particular, stated that they sometimes help build a performance and that that raises so much curiosity that they decide to attend the performance. Usually it is then the technical theatre part that raises curiosity. Gerard gives an example:

> *A few years ago we had [a performance] and they had; I don't know how many cubic metres of cork hanging above the stage and I knew that it would fall down in one change-over and I wanted to see that because I thought that would make a nice effect…*

Now that is clear why theatre technicians visit theatre it is important to address how theatre technicians look at performances.

4.3.2.2   *Aesthetic disposition*

Regarding the aesthetic disposition (*see paragraph 2.2.4)*, technicians report three different way of looking at a theatre performance in the free time; technical, content and symbolic, see *Figure 3*. First of all the technical approach is the most often mentioned approach. Often this was referred to as occupational deformation, which means as much as looking at a performance as if you were the technician in charge. The subject of occupational deformation came up every interview. It also makes the distinction between looking at a performance in the way a visitor would, or not. Sjoerd tells about the time he went to visit a big musical production:

You see the people sitting behind the rolling decor and they are doing a crossword. I get

it, they have to sit there every evening for fifteen minutes. (…) When I asked other

people I went to visit the performance with: Did you see that guy doing his crossword?
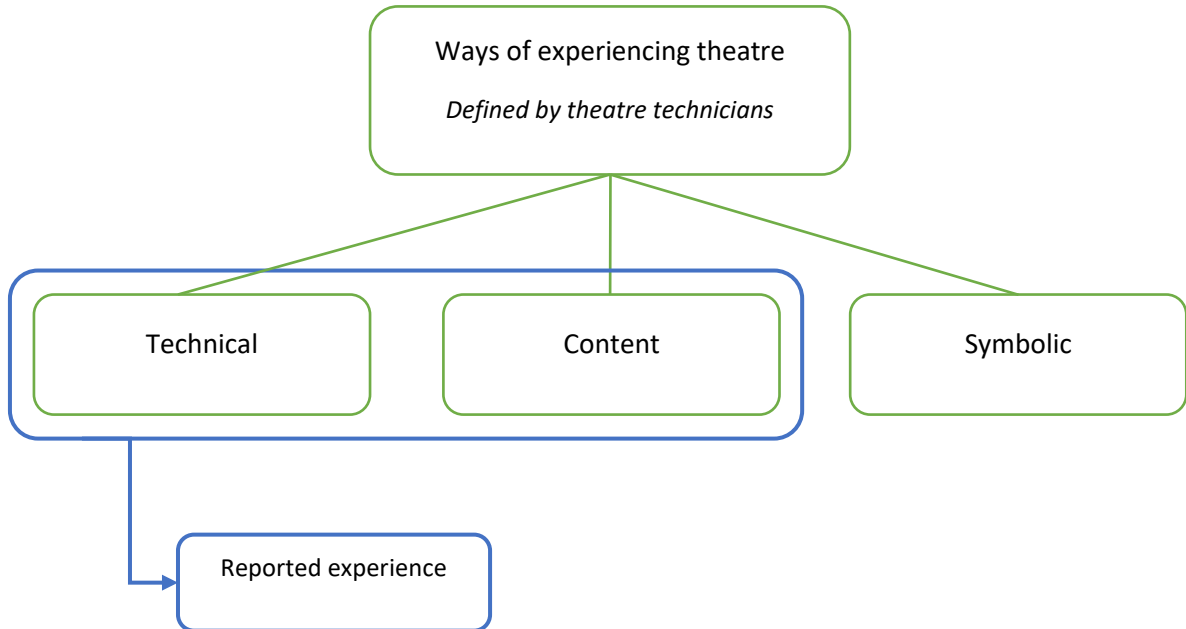

Figure 3 Experiencing theatre

They are all like: No, huh? So, as a technician you see more than they do.

The technical way of looking at a performance has various components. It can vary from little

details like cable management; are the cables neatly lain or tied to the fly bars, or do you them

hanging within sight lines? It can also refer to how well the technician is cueing the

performance. If that is not the case, then light or sound cues are not aligning with the acting on

stage and the timing is off. Further, it can refer to the light and/or sound design or the technical

set that is build-up. Lisa describes this as follows:

It really is annoying every now and then. Sometimes you're looking [at a performance]

and you think oh my god! You've got six moving heads hanging and one lighting fixture

is slightly older than the rest and has another colour temperature.

The technical way of viewing at a performance is not only negative, as Henk describes:

I try to look at the content of a performance and I mean, well I see the light and admire

a nice decor and think; wow that's nicely made. But I try not to look only in that way,

because eventually you want to see the performance in the way that it's meant to be. So

I try to switch off that mode and just enjoy the performance.

Henk illustrates here that the technical way is actually a kind of mode that one can switch on or

off. This was acknowledged by the majority of the participants. The others however, mentioned

that they could not switch off the technical mode. This points to the technical mode switching off being a skill that could be trained.

The second way of viewing a theatre performance is by focussing on the content. Henk mentions that that is: *"the performance in the way that it's meant to be"*. Hereby, he means the way that the director and the creative team have meant it. It is seeing the performance in the same way that the regular audience would see it. Thus, looking at the whole picture that is being displayed, the story, the acting, scenography, the technical theatre and how it all comes together rather than looking at secular parts. Striking is that this is a mode that only exists during performances that are considered good. A good performance even can take someone out of the technical mode and into the content mode. In the same way can a bad performance take technicians out of the content mode back into the technical mode.

The third way that theatre technicians report to be possible to look at a performance symbolic way. This means placing the performance in a societal (art) historical context. For example, in relation to the news or in the development of a certain director, or in relation to other versions of the same performance (e.g. MacBeth has been performed many times in many versions).

Striking is that only Rob reported an experience in which the symbolic way of looking at a performance can be found. He talks about a performance based on the game GTA5:

> *I remember very well that I had seen the performance and thought: this I would have liked to see when I was young. Say 16 or so. Because it's a really cool way that gets you thinking about what is reality? What do we do as a society you know. (…) It showed really nicely what the virtual world is and what the real world. And when does the virtual world end.*

Rob illustrates here that he links the performance to the real world we live in. He acknowledges the societal relevance and appreciates it a lot. However, this level of experience is almost never reported. What participants do mention, however, is that the technical mode seems to be considered less cultural. The majority of the participants call it a skill to have the ability to look at the content. These tend to be the participants that monthly, or even weekly, visit theatre performances in their free time and seem to have a higher cultural capital.

4.3.2.3   Talking about performances

Another aspect of cultural capital is talking about art with others. That is why in the interviews has been asked about how theatre technicians talk about theatre performances with others. This addressed two topics of talking with others; with fellow technicians and others.

Since theatre technicians work with fellow technicians every day in the theatre, it is obvious that they often talk about theatre. Most of the times technicians amongst each other talk about the technical aspects of a performance, as Jopie describes:

> The colleagues you meet in theatres and chat with about a performance, you often talk about what kind of lighting fixtures were used or how long the build-up was (…) and how capable the technicians were. However, with the sound technician on my tour I talk a lot about the content of a performance. But most of the times it is about our profession.

Henk also describes a difference in how theatre technicians discuss performances:

> There are quite some theatre technicians that do not appreciate art. You can notice it soon enough. Especially the people who are touring and operators, they are much more involved in a performance than the technicians that are building decor or are just building-up light and sound eh, the stagehands.

Henk illustrates here the difference between the different technicians and as described earlier, it is only logical that the operators have more involvement in a performance since those are the people that are most involved in the process of making a performance. Gerard, from the house technicians' point of view supports the claim of Henk:

> I don't have a lot of colleagues that are really involved in the arts. Some people say that they don't want to have anything to do with theatre, but just like to fly things. So those people only like the technical part and don't have an interest for the artistic side. That's fine. I on the other hand, have a lot of interest in the arts, I think.

A similar distinction between technical technicians (real techies) and more arts-involved technicians is being described by Jopie:

> Well, those are the people who have the real focus on the technical aspect. We call it the guys who talk in type numbers and specific types of lighting fixtures, the real techies. (…) I can turn on a lighting fixture fine, but I like the bigger picture more.

According to Roose & Vandenhaute (2010) the distinction between experiencing theatre as an art form, rather than entertainment is important. This is also reported by the participants who, all think that theatre is an art form. The distinction between entertainment and art is often

made and can even be a motivation to work for a certain performance or not as Hans-Jörgen explains:

> I don't mind working for dumb entertainment, to call it like that. But I don't prefer it. I'd rather work for a performance that I support and where we can achieve something.

Henk mentions a similar view:

> I like the subsidized companies the most, because the products are more professional in contrast to (…) for example Allstars the musical. It's called theatre, but there is nothing artsy to it. It's just a commercialized product when you ask me. (…)
>
> It's the same as comedians you know, there are exceptions but technically speaking and creatively it isn't really challenging. Maybe the content of what they are talking about, but as a technicians you've heard that after one or two times. So I try to work for [subsidized] theatre companies and dance companies.

Henk's description makes it clear that for him the right combination between technical and content is important to want to work for it. Next to that, as Michael (2017) stated, the highbrow art still seems to have more status and is appreciated more in general than lowbrow art.

To summarize, technical aspects of a performance are often discussed among theatre technicians. The appreciation of art, however, is important in the profession of theatre technicians. Oftentimes they learned to appreciate art during their work as a theatre technician. Here, the distinction between highbrow and lowbrow art is evident and can be a motivation to work for certain companies or not.

5 Discussion & conclusion

This study was based on the idea that the production of culture is a social process (Becker, 1982) and that it is important to look at all involved parties involved in the production of art. Inspired by the work of Gregory Kordsmeier (2017) who studied stage managers in theatre, this study has been set out to gain more knowledge of the working field of theatre technicians and was designed around the question: *How are the career-trajectories and the personal cultural capital of theatre technicians in the Netherlands related?* This final chapter provides a discussion of the sub questions as described in *Chapter 2*, followed by a brief discussion regarding the strengths and weaknesses of this study. Finally, some recommendations for future research are given.

5.1 What does the job of a theatre technician entail?

As has been described in *paragraph 4.1*, the field of theatre technicians is varied. It has been shown is that theatre technicians are key in making a performance happen. From building the performance to striking the set and making the working situation for the actors as pleasant possible. Theatre technicians report that they are in service of the performance and like that part of the job.

A distinction is made between the house and company technicians who have completely different job descriptions and responsibilities regarding a performance. Company technicians have the responsibility for building the best performance at a certain location at a certain time and house technicians help them do that. Next to that, it is shown that theatre technicians work in various positions and these positions overlap. For example a light operator can also work as a light designer or the light and sound operator are the same person. Next to that, freelance technicians tend to work both as a company technician and a house technician.

Furthermore, theatre technicians do have to have heart for the job and love to work hard. This supports the theory of Hesmondhalgh & Baker (2010) in which they claim that pleasure in work is important in creative industries. Heart for the performance is often mentioned, but not necessarily needed. Most technicians do have a motivation to work in the arts, whereas others find the technical aspect most important. This seems to be linked with the size of the production, which in the Netherlands is typically small. Since in small productions often only two or three technicians are responsible for the performance. These technicians do need to have a broad understanding of the performance and the technical aspects. In contrast to technicians working for large productions.

Next to that, theatre technicians, especially stage managers, light and sound operators, do have to understand the performance and do take responsibility for guaranteeing the artistic product. Operators sitting in the front of house see the performance every day and monitor whether the performance keeps it quality, regarding both technical and acting aspects and intervene when they think the quality is at risk. Other than Kordsmeier (2017) described, stage managers in this study do not give acting directions, but rather talk to the actors or, in rare cases, call a director to come visit.

Another important part of the job of a theatre technician is being creative and efficient. Efficiency is important since in the Netherlands theatre productions travel almost every day to a different location and time is thus limited. Being creative shows itself in finding solutions to make wishes of the director possible in the making process and in building the performances every day in a new venue. This creativity and efficiency seems to play a large part in the challenge of being a theatre technician.

Interestingly, it has been suggested that social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) is more important than technical skills. Company technicians and house technicians have to work with other colleagues almost every day. Communication is therefore, very important. The cup of coffee in the morning is therefore, an essential moment.

5.2   What are different types of career-trajectories of theatre technicians?

As was to be expected from Becker (1982) and Throsby & Zednik (2011), multiple career-trajectories of becoming a theatre technician exist. Most theatre technicians that participated ended up in their career by doing an internship or voluntary work. Internships and voluntary work were considered to be more important than attending a formal education to become a theatre technician. This hints to institutionalized cultural capital being less important than social capital. Despite that, nine participants have obtained a formal degree and many work, or have worked, at organizations where they did an internship. Next to the degree and internships, also the ability to network was named as an important skill. Supporting the theories of Hesmondhalgh & Baker (2010) and Lee (2011).

In line with Throsby & Zednik's theory of multiple job holding (2011) and Hesmondhalgh & Baker (2010) many of the participants pursued a career as a freelance technician. Even most technicians who had a permanent position, worked freelance next to it. This is being done for two reasons: One, to keep up with the professional field of technical theatre and two, to maintain the variety of work.

Interestingly, the participants formed a group of technicians who have about 10-20 years of experience and that seems to be a turning point in the career. Three participants mentioned that they were pursuing another career than solely as a theatre technician. Since the career-opportunities of theatre technicians are limited it raises the question where theatre technicians end up after that period of working experience.

5.3 How does the personal cultural capital influence the work of the theatre technician?

Theatre technicians work in the arts. However, this does not necessarily mean that they are engaged in the arts, as has been mentioned before. As can be seen in *paragraph 5.1,* some theatre technicians are merely interested in the technical aspects. The majority however, seems to be greatly involved in the arts.

Distinctions between various technicians have been found. Light and sound operators, together with stage managers, report to be very culturally and artistically involved. They show a large amount of interest in the content of the performances and their work is of direct influence on the artistic product. Theatre technicians, as have been defined in *paragraph 4.1.1* have less direct influence on the artistic product and are more concerned with building a performance. Yet, it has been suggested by the participants that a good theatre technician understands the performance he is working for.

Theatre technicians in this study show, in general, an understanding of theatre as an art form. This agrees with the findings of Roose & Vandenhaute (2010). This understanding is beneficial to do the job. Not only, by knowing how to work together with actors and the artistic team, which has to be the perfect combination of the right social skills and cultural knowledge. It rather presents itself in monitoring the artistic quality of the performance and the use of when to use certain technical techniques that fit with the ambience of a scene (e.g. fade-out rather than black-out). Naturally, the designer designed the, in this instance, light plan. The operator however, has to execute it every performance. In cases of the performance changing over time, which is often the case, the operator has to change his light plan a bit to what is shown on stage while staying in the artistic spirit of the performance.

This cultural capital has mostly been obtained by doing the work and seems thus, informal obtained cultural capital. It is obtained by working for different companies, seeing a large amount of performances in the profession of house technician and visiting performances in the free time.

It can also be concluded that, the cultural knowledge and the appreciation for certain art forms develops during the career of theatre technicians. Many participants reported not to have understood, or appreciated much of the highbrow theatre when they started a career in technical theatre. However, change was reported. Sometimes due to one specific performance, on other occasions the course of the change was not mentioned explicitly.

The reasons for theatre technicians to work for certain companies or houses are varied. The personal preferences of theatre technicians are influential in making career choices. Hereby, the highbrow art seems to preferred over the lowbrow art forms. This agrees with the findings of Throsby & Zednik (2011). Yet, as Eikhof & Haunschild (2007) have pointed out, the economic considerations can overshadow the artistic ones. This also seems to be the case for theatre technicians.

Aside from the cultural capital, social capital is also very important. On the on hand, for finding jobs and networking. On the other hand, to find the right mode to communicate with all other parties who are involved. Theatre technicians are a gate of communication to other parties. Not only to the actors, but in the case of house technicians also to other employees of the theatre.

5.4   How does a theatre technician perceive his/her role in the making of a performance?

Company technicians are quite humble in describing their role in the making of a performance. It often is implied that they just do their job. Yet they do have a major influence on the artistic product, as has been described by Kordsmeier (2017). This is specifically the case for technicians working in the profession of light, sound or decor technician. Yet they feel a part of the creative process. Often it is stated that it's not a technicians' place to give an opinion on the artistic product. However, in some cases directors and designers ask a technician for his opinion.

This does not mean that theatre technicians do not have an opinion of the artistic product. Theatre technicians see a lot and know what they do and do not like and can apply that to the context of the performance. In some cases artists even rely on the opinion and experience of theatre technicians.

Most of the times however, a technicians' role in the making of a performance is that of executing what the designer has designed and finding the rhythm of the performance together with the actors and the director.

Finally, company technicians hold an overview of what is practically possible in the remaining time until the premiere. While staying within the practical preconditions that are

given for making the performance. Here, theatre technicians, especially the stage managers, are negotiating between the artistic and technical staff. This is where the practical and artistic knowledge come together and it takes the right mode of communication to all parties to pursue the best possible result.

5.5   Is the Bourdieusian concept of cultural capital still relevant regarding theatre technicians? Or are new forms of cultural capital more applicable?

In Bourdieusian terms of cultural capital, theatre technicians seem to have a large embodied capital and little institutionalized capital. This results in prioritising practical experience over education. Learning by doing seems to be most important, together with the trait of curiosity to learn new things. Cultural capital is not something learned at the schoolor at home persé, certainly not the highbrow culture. Yet, parents of the participants were to some extent culturally active.

The real cultural and artistic involvement generally occurs when theatre technicians are working in their profession. This is when they see a lot of performances and obtain cultural capital that is suited for their work and this results in a large amount of cultural capital as agreed by Roose & Vandenhaute (2010).

It has been demonstrated that theatre technicians' cultural consumption is high. Hereby, the consumption varies between highbrow and lowbrow culture. As Michael (2017) and Prieur et al. (2008) described, the distinction between highbrow and lowbrow culture is still relevant. Theatre technicians acknowledge this distinction between highbrow and lowbrow culture and even attain more status to highbrow culture, as Michael (2017) also suggested.

Considering emerging forms of capital (Friedman et al., 2015; Prieur et al., 2008; Prieur & Savage, 2013) it is difficult to draw definite conclusions. The consumption of theatre technicians does not seem to be bothered by the distinction between highbrow and lowbrow art. Consumption seems to be dependent on opportunity, network and taste. Consumption is also not merely limited to theatre, but also museums and non-classical concerts are visited. For emerging forms of capital, for example reading news, too little data was collected to draw conclusions.

Regarding subcultural capital (Jensen, 2006; Thornton, 1995), the existence of a technical capital could be considered. It has been demonstrated that the technical way of looking at a theatre performance (*see paragraph 4.3.2.2*) exists and all technicians seem to recognize it. However, this technical way has been addressed as occupational deformation and could be applied to any profession (e.g. actors probably look at a performance from an actors'

point of view). Moreover, theatre technicians report the technical way of looking at a performance to be less cultural than the content way of looking at a performance.

Yet, it is not only the technical way of looking at a performance that is typical for a theatre technician. Certain skills, such as creativity, efficiency and a certain social skills, are also important for a theatre technician to perform his job properly. Then again, this could be applied to any profession.

Thus, the Bourdieusian concept of cultural capital seems to still be relevant in regards to the distinction between highbrow and lowbrow culture. However, practical skills and experience are in the case of theatre technicians more relevant than institutionalized cultural capital. However, it does result in a similar applicable cultural capital as other theatre professionals (Roose & Vandenhaute, 2010). Therefore, it must be acknowledged that the distinctions between various stages of cultural capital are not as fixed as previously assumed by Bourdieu (1986).

5.6 How are the career-trajectories and the personal cultural capital of theatre technicians in the Netherlands related?

Not everyone working in culture industries do is driven by artistic intentions (Fine, 1992). This is also true for theatre technicians. There is a differentiation reported by the real 'techies' that only speak in type numbers and microphone types and the more social and culturally engaged technicians. In general, more culturally engaged technicians also have positions in which they are more involved in the creative process (i.e. operators and stage managers).

The job of a theatre technician however, does not need a lot of cultural capital to be performed on a basic level. However, it has been reported that when theatre technicians understand more of the artistic process, the job is better performed. This does not merely contain experience in highbrow culture, but rather the large variety of cultural experience of theatre technicians is beneficial to understanding of artistic processes.

Next to that, since the majority of theatre technicians for freelance, the social capital is very important in the career-trajectories of theatre technicians. Finding jobs via network and word by mouth are more common than finding jobs via applying. It is this social capital that combined with cultural capital and the cultural network theatre technicians find themselves in. This social capital also shows itself in the day to day work, as theatre technicians do have to work with different colleagues every day.

Furthermore, sometimes, especially in large productions, the real techies are necessary because the production is so large that the electrotechnical side must also be performed by the techies themselves. Theatre technicians that are only touring with one colleague often have less hardcore technical skills but are all-round and their social skills are then again very important. Because, they rely on the collaboration between the house technicians and company technicians.

Finally, this study showed that company technicians seem to be more involved in the cultural products than the house technicians since they have helped make the performance.

5.7   Strengths & weaknesses

This study, as any other, contained some strengths and limitations. First of all, a strength is that in this study, a concise group of technicians has been interviewed where the range of positions fulfilled differed a lot. The interviews were rich and provided data that could answer all the research questions. Next to that, no problem was found in recruiting participants due to the network of the researcher. This also gave common ground to conduct interviews in the language of technicians, since it was already a familiar jargon to the researcher. This resulted in quite naturally going interviews in which theatre technicians indicated that they could tell everything that was relevant to the study.

Next to that, the member-check showed that the theatre technicians recognized what has been written in this thesis and this adds to the validity of the study.

Yet, she stages of the career in which theatre technician found themselves, did not differ. It would have been interesting to interview theatre technicians in other stages of their career as more experiences could have given an even broader view on the matters of cultural capital and career-trajectories.

Next to that, the original questionnaire was over 20 years old and mainly referred to the embodied and institutionalized classical cultural capital as Bourdieu (1986) described. The added questions on emerging forms of capital were inconclusively answered and could therefore, not easily be compared to findings of other studies.

5.8   Recommendations for further studies

This study showed some interesting results, yet some new questions have presented themselves. First of all, this study showed that after 20 years of working experience future career steps for theatre technicians seem to be limited. Future research could focus on the question: Where do theatre technicians work after that time?

Furthermore, professions that are also considered to be support personnel (Becker, 1982) are interesting to study. For example producers, to what extent are they involved in the creative process and what is their influence on the artistic product.

Regarding cultural capital, the blurring lines between formally obtained cultural capital and informally obtained cultural capital could be interesting to study. In Bourdieusian terms the distinction is still being made between high and low cultural capital, but in practice this seems to be more complicated.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX **A: Overview of participants**

	Pseudonym	Age	English translation of job title	Kind of employment	Dominant company/theatre	Date of interview
1	Eric	40	Sound technician	Fixed employment & Freelance	Theatre in Overijssel	26/03/2019
2	Hans-Jörgen	29	Light technician/all-round technician	Freelance	Youth theatre company	27/03/2019
3	Youp	32	All-round technician	Freelance	Theatre in Utrecht	28/03/2019
4	Henk	33	Light technician	Freelance	Variety of subsidized companies	28/03/2019
5	Koos	27	Decor technician	Freelance	Variety BIS companies	29/03/2019
6	Lisa	32	Fly system operator	Fixed employment	Theatre in North-Holland	29/03/2019
7	Lara	36	All-round technician	Freelance	Youth theatre company	30/03/2019
8	Jopie	32	Stage manager	Freelance	Dutch comedian	31/03/2019
9	Gerard	31	Stage manager	Fixed employment & Freelance	Theatre South Holland	01/04/2019
10	Noël	29	Research and design technician	Fixed employment	Opera house	01/04/2019
11	Sjoerd	33	Light technician	Freelance	Pop venues & theatre in Utrecht	02/04/2019
12	Rob	34	Sound technician	Fixed employment	Theatre company in Gelderland	04/04/2019
13	Ben	34	Stage manager/light technician	Fixed employment	Youth theatre company	09/04/2019

Interview guide

Dankjewel voor het meewerken aan mijn onderzoek. Zoals eerder besproken wordt dit interview opgenomen en kun je het interview op elk moment stoppen als je wilt. Alles wat hier gezegd wordt geanonimiseerd verwerkt. Het interview zal tussen de 30 en 90 minuten duren, maar als het langer duurt zal ik je zeker niet afkappen.

Voor mij ligt een lijstje met onderwerpen die ik sowieso wil bespreken. Deze zal ik echter niet stuk voor stuk afgaan. Het belangrijkste is dat we een goed gesprek hebben over jouw werk als theatertechnicus. Heb je nog vragen voor we beginnen?

Ja/Nee? Dan wil ik graag beginnen met de eerste vraag.

Beginvraag

Zou je willen terugdenken aan een mooi/indrukwekkend/belangrijk moment in jouw carrière als theatertechnicus. Kun je me meenemen naar dat moment en daar in detail over vertellen?

Carrièrepad

- o Hoe ben je ertoe gekomen om theatertechnicus te worden?
- o Heb je daarvoor een opleiding gevolgd? Zo ja, welke?

Werkzaamheden

- o In wat voor dienstverband werk je? (Dienstverband, voor een theater of gezelschap..)
- o Wat houdt jouw werk in?
- o Is je werk uitdagend? Zo ja, wat maakt het uitdagend? Zo nee, waarom niet?
- o Wat is jouw definitie van het vak van theatertechnicus?
- o In hoeverre voel je je onderdeel van het artistieke proces? Leg uit.
- o Zijn er verschillen in wat je werk inhoudt tijdens een maakproces versus touren? Wat zijn die verschillen en wat spreekt je meer aan?
- o Wat maakt voor jou iemand een goede theatertechnicus? (Eigenschappen/kennis)

Samenwerken

- o Hoe werk je samen met. Andere theatertechnici? Wat zijn de verhoudingen onderling? Hoe gaan jullie met elkaar om?
- o Hoe is het voor jou om samen te werken met andere disciplines? Bijvoorbeeld theatermakers en spelers of het verschil tussen licht en geluid?
- o Indien relevant: Hoe gaat zo'n maakproces in z'n werk? Wat is jouw rol daar dan in?
- o Indien relevant: Ben je als huistechnicus ook wel eens betrokken geweest bij zo'n maakproces? Wat was jouw rol daarin en hoe heb je dat ervaren?

Cultureel kapitaal

- o Heb je een favoriet kunstwerk/muziekstuk? Kun je me daarover vertellen?
- o Als je naar een voorstelling o.i.d gaat. Kijk je er dan naar zoals de rest van het publiek? Of heb je last van beroepsdeformatie? Zo ja, is dat erg?
- o Ik zie naar aanleiding van die vragenlijst het volgende: Weinig/veel consumptie/ouders wel niet/etc. Zou je daar meer over kunnen vertellen?
- o Hoe belangrijk is het voor jou dat je werk met de podiumkunsten te maken hebben? Zou je hetzelfde werk willen doen in een andere context? Bijvoorbeeld voor beurzen? Waarom wel/niet?
- o Als je met collega's over werk praat. Waar hebben jullie het dan over?

- o Indien relevant: Als je met andere mensen over kunst praat, waar heb je het dan over?

Active interview vraag
- o Ik zie zelf wel eens bij een première bijvoorbeeld, dat productie en techniek nog aan het opruimen zijn terwijl de rest van het gezelschap al aan het borrelen is. Heb je dit wel eens ervaren? En wat vind je daarvan?

Aan het eind van het interview

Zijn er nog dingen die je nog belangrijk vindt om te vermelden?

Voor het verwerken van alle gegevens zou ik graag met pseudoniemen werken. Heb je misschien een naam in gedachten, die niet je eigen is, die ik zou mogen gebruiken?

Het duurt nog een paar maanden, maar als je geïnteresseerd bent dan kan ik mijn thesis naar je opsturen.

APPENDIX C: Questionnaire

Vragenlijst

Fijn dat je deze vragenlijst wilt invullen. De vragen gaan over cultuurdeelname. Deels over de periode van toen jij 10-12 jaar was en deels over je huidige situatie. Probeer de vragen zo eerlijk mogelijk te beantwoorden, maar ga je antwoorden niet overdenken. Als je vragen hebt mag je deze altijd stellen.
Succes!

Wat is je leeftijd?

_____

Wat is je hoogst afgeronde opleiding?

_____

Let op: De volgende vragen gaan allemaal over de periode toen je 10-12 jaar oud was.

1) Gingen je ouders wel eens (met of zonder jou) naar een museum toen je 10-12 jaar oud was?
- a. nooit **(volgende vraag overslaan)**
- b. op zijn hoogst één keer per jaar
- c. twee tot drie keer per jaar
- d. meer dan drie keer per jaar

2) Naar wat voor musea gingen ze zoal?	**Nee**	**Ja**
a. musea voor de oude kunst	O	O
b. musea voor moderne kunst	O	O
c. niet kunst-musea (bijvoorbeeld: scheepvaart museum, volkenkundig museum etc.)	O	O
d. oude kastelen, kerken of andere gebouwen	O	O

3) Hielden je ouders zich wel eens (meer dan één keer per jaar) bezig met de volgende activiteiten?

VADER?	**Nee**	**Ja**
a. bezocht toneelvoorstellingen	O	O
b. bezocht klassieke muziekuitvoeringen	O	O
c. las regelmatig boeken	O	O
d. luisterde naar klassieke muziek op radio/tv/ platenspeler/band- of cassetterecorder/cd-speler	O	O

MOEDER?	**Nee**	**Ja**
a. bezocht toneelvoorstellingen	O	O
b. bezocht klassieke muziekuitvoeringen	O	O
c. las regelmatig boeken	O	O
d. luisterde naar klassieke muziek op radio/tv/ platenspeler/band- of cassetterecorder/cd-speler	O	O

4) Waren er, toen je 10-12 jaar oud was, opnames van klassieke muziek (LP's, bandjes, CD's e.d.) in huis en zo ja, hoeveel ongeveer?
- a. geen
- b. 1-10 platen/banden/cd's
- c. 11-50 platen/banden/cd's
- d. 51-100 platen/banden/cd's
- e. Meer dan 100 platen/banden/cd's

5) Waren er, toen je 10-12 jaar oud was, opnames van muziek, anders dan klassiek (LP's, bandjes, CD's e.d.) in huis en zo ja, hoeveel ongeveer?

a. geen
b. 1-10 platen/banden/cd's
c. 11-50 platen/banden/cd's
d. 51-100 platen/banden/cd's
e. Meer dan 100 platen/banden/cd's

6) Waren de volgende boeken bij je in huis?   Nee   Ja
a. een atlas   O   O
b. een encyclopedie   O   O
c. Franstalige boeken   O   O
d. Duitstalige boeken   O   O
e. Engelstalige boeken   O   O
f. boeken over kunst   O   O

7) Hoeveel van de volgende soorten boeken waren er in huis toen je 10-12 jaar oud was?

A. Lectuur (streekromans, detectives, e.d.)	**B.** Literatuur
a. minder dan 10	a. minder dan 10
b. 10-100	b. 11-100
c. 100-500	c. 100-500
d. meer dan 500	d. meer dan 500

Let op: De volgende vragen gaan allemaal over je huidige situatie en de activiteiten die je onderneemt als je vrij bent.

8) Welke van de omschrijvingen is op jou van toepassing?   Nee   Ja
a. ik volg wel eens radio-, tv, podcast of online   O   O
uitzendingen over kunst
b. ik luister wel eens naar uitzendingen van   O   O
klassieke muziek op radio, tv, of online
c. ik luister wel eens naar eigen platen/cd's   O   O
met klassieke muziek
d. ik bezoek tenminste eenmaal per jaar een toneel-   O   O
voorstelling
e. ik bezoek tenminste eenmaal per jaar een voorstelling   O   O
van een beroepstoneelgezelschap
f. ik bezoek tenminste eenmaal per jaar een uitvoering   O   O
van klassieke muziek
g. ik bezoek tenminste eenmaal per jaar een ballet van   O   O
een beroepsgezelschap
h. ik bezoek tenminste eenmaal per jaar een bioscoop   O   O
i. ik bezoek tenminste eenmaal per jaar een museum   O   O
anders dan een kunstmuseum
j. ik heb afgelopen maand een boek gelezen   O   O
k. ik volg het nieuws (tv, krant, online)   O   O
l. ik lees elke week een of meer opiniebladen   O   O
m. ik bezoek tenminste eenmaal per jaar een kunstmuseum   O   O
of tentoonstelling
n. ik ben lid van een vriendenvereniging van een museum   O   O
o. ik ben lid van een vriendenvereniging van een muziek- of   O   O

theatergezelschap

9) **Wil je hieronder aangeven hoe vaak je de aangegeven activiteiten uitvoert in je vrije tijd?**

I. radio, tv, podcast of online uitzendingen over kunst volgen
   a. nooit
   b. Minder dan 1 keer per maand
   c. 1-3 keer per maand
   d. 1 keer per week of vaker

II. radio, tv, of online luisteren naar klassieke muziek
   a. nooit
   b. Minder dan 1 keer per maand
   c. 1-3 keer per maand
   d. 1 keer per week of vaker

III. eigen CD's, LP's of banden met klassieke muziek beluisteren
   a. nooit
   b. Minder dan 1 keer per maand
   c. 1-3 keer per maand
   d. 1 keer per week of vaker

V. een theatervoorstelling van een beroepsgezelschap bezoeken.
   a. nooit
   b. Minder dan 1 keer per jaar
   c. 1 keer per jaar
   d. 2-3 keer per jaar
   e. 4-11 keer per jaar
   f. 1x per maand of vaker

VI. een uitvoering van klassieke muziek bezoeken
   a. nooit
   b. Minder dan 1 keer per jaar
   c. 1 keer per jaar
   d. 2-3 keer per jaar
   e. 4-11 keer per jaar
   f. 1x per maand of vaker

VII. een uitvoering van muziek, anders dan klassiek, bezoeken
   a. nooit
   b. Minder dan 1 keer per jaar
   c. 1 keer per jaar
   d. 2-3 keer per jaar
   e. 4-11 keer per jaar
   f. 1x per maand of vaker

IV. een amateurtheatervoorstelling bezoeken
   a. nooit
   b. Minder dan 1 keer per jaar
   c. 1 keer per jaar
   d. 2-3 keer per jaar
   e. 4-11 keer per jaar
   f. 1x per maand of vaker

VIII. Een dansvoorstelling van een beroepsgezelschap bezoeken
   a. nooit
   b. Minder dan 1 keer per jaar
   c. 1 keer per jaar

      d.   2-3 keer per jaar

      e.   4-11 keer per jaar

      f.   1x per maand of vaker

IX. Een bioscoop bezoeken

      a.   nooit

      b.   Minder dan 1 keer per jaar

      c.   1 keer per jaar

      d.   2-3 keer per jaar

      e.   4-11 keer per jaar

      f.   1x per maand of vaker

X. een museum bezoeken (kunst of niet-kunst)

      a.   nooit

      b.   Minder dan 1 keer per jaar

      c.   1 keer per jaar

      d.   2-3 keer per jaar

      e.   4-11 keer per jaar

      f.   1x per maand of vaker

Let op: Nog een paar laatste vragen.

10) **Als je naar niet-klassieke concerten gaat. Naar wat voor concert ga je dan? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)**

      a.   pop

      b.   rock

      c.   jazz

      d.   dance

      e.   hiphop

      f.   anders, namelijk:

      ………………………………………………………………………………………………

11) **Als je het nieuws volgt, wat voor bronnen gebruik je dan? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)**

      a.   NRC/Volkskrant

      b.   Telegraaf

      c.   AD

      d.   Lokaal dagblad

      e.   NOS

      f.   Nu.nl

      g.   anders, namelijk (Blendle, Facebook,Follow the Money, etc.):

      ………

INFORMED CONSENT FORMULIER

Naam van het onderzoeksproject	Theatertechnici als artiesten? Een sociologisch onderzoek naar de carrièrepaden en het cultureel kapitaal van theatertechnici.
Doel van het onderzoek	Dit onderzoek wordt geleid door Amber Bongaerts. Je bent van harte uitgenodigd om deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek. Het doel van dit onderzoek is om meer inzicht te krijgen in het vak van theatertechnici en een meer informatie te vergaren over hoe mensen in deze beroepsgroep over kunst denken.
Gang van zaken tijdens het onderzoek	Je neemt deel aan een interview waarin aan jou vragen zullen worden gesteld over je werk als theatertechnicus. Een voorbeeld van een typische vraag die je zal worden gesteld: "Hoe ervaar je het werken met verschillende groepen mensen zoals theatermakers en spelers?" Voorafgaand aan het interview vullen alle deelnemers een vragenlijst in. Hierin staan onder andere vragen over achtergrondgegevens, persoonlijke eigenschappen, en jouw vrijetijdsbesteding aan cultuur. Deze zal gebruikt worden om nog een breder beeld te krijgen van hoe jij naar kunst kijkt. Naar aanleiding van de vragenlijst zullen sommige dingen nog verder uitgevraagd worden. Van het interview zal een audio-opname worden gemaakt, zodat het gesprek later woord voor woord kan worden uitgewerkt. Dit transcript wordt vervolgens gebruikt in het verdere onderzoek.
Potentiële risico's en ongemakken	Er zijn geen fysieke, juridische of economische risico's verbonden aan uw deelname aan deze studie. Je hoeft geen vragen te beantwoorden die je niet wilt beantwoorden. Je deelname is vrijwillig en je kunt je deelname op elk gewenst moment stoppen.
Vergoeding	Je ontvangt voor deelname aan dit onderzoek geen vergoeding.
Vertrouwelijkheid van gegevens	Je privacy wordt maximaal beschermd. In een publicatie zullen anonieme gegevens of pseudoniemen worden gebruikt. Je zult op geen enkele manier herkenbaar zijn. De audio-opnamen, formulieren en andere documenten die in het kader van deze studie worden gemaakt of verzameld, op de beveiligde computer van de onderzoeker. Omdat de gegevens worden verzameld voor een masterscriptie zouden deze mogelijk wel door de beoordelaars ingezien kunnen worden. De gegevens worden echter nooit met derden gedeeld.

Toestemmings-verklaring	*Met de ondertekening van dit document geef je aan dat je minstens 18 jaar oud bent; dat je goed bent geïnformeerd over het onderzoek, de manier waarop de onderzoeksgegevens worden verzameld, gebruikt en behandeld.*
	Indien je vragen had, geef je bij ondertekening aan dat je deze vragen hebt kunnen stellen en dat deze vragen helder en duidelijk zijn beantwoord. Je geeft aan dat je vrijwillig akkoord gaat met jouw deelname aan dit onderzoek. Je ontvangt een kopie van dit ondertekende toestemmingsformulier.
	Ik ga akkoord met deelname aan een onderzoeksproject geleid door Amber Bongaerts Het doel van dit document is om de voorwaarden van mijn deelname aan het project vast te leggen.
	1. Ik kreeg voldoende informatie over dit onderzoeksproject. Het doel van mijn deelname als een geïnterviewde in dit project is voor mij helder uitgelegd en ik weet wat dit voor mij betekent.
	2. Mijn deelname als geïnterviewde in dit project is vrijwillig. Er is geen expliciete of impliciete dwang voor mij om aan dit onderzoek deel te nemen.
	3. Mijn deelname houdt in dat ik word geïnterviewd door de onderzoeksleider. Het staat van te voren niet vast hoe lang dit interview gaat duren. Ik geef de onderzoeker toestemming om tijdens het interview geluidsopnames te maken en schriftelijke notities te nemen. Het is mij duidelijk dat, als ik toch bezwaar heb met een of meer punten zoals hierboven benoemd, ik op elk moment mijn deelname, zonder opgaaf van reden, kan stoppen.
	4. Ik heb het recht om vragen niet te beantwoorden. Als ik me tijdens het interview ongemakkelijk voel, heb ik het recht om mijn deelname aan het interview te stoppen.
	5. Ik heb van de onderzoeksleider de uitdrukkelijke garantie gekregen dat de onderzoeksleider er zorg voor draagt dat ik niet ben te identificeren in door het onderzoek naar buiten gebrachte gegevens, rapporten of artikelen. Mijn privacy is gewaarborgd als deelnemer aan dit onderzoek.
	6. Ik heb dit formulier gelezen en begrepen. Al mijn vragen zijn naar mijn tevredenheid beantwoord en ik ben vrijwillig akkoord met deelname aan dit onderzoek.
	7. Ik heb een kopie ontvangen van dit toestemmingsformulier dat ook ondertekend is door de interviewer.

Handtekening en datum	**Naam Deelnemer**	**Naam Onderzoeksleider**
	Handtekening	**Handtekening**
	Datum	**Datum**

APPENDIX E: Codebook

Career:
- applying for job
- internships
- network
- colleagues as friends
- education
- autodidact
- variety in work
- freelance & fixed employment
- house & company technician
- Theatre & festivals
- Variety of companies
- "erin gerold" ended up in
- Starting at young age
- Interested from young age
- Interested by doing

Cultural capital
- Liked companies
- Distinction good/bad performance
- Technical knowledge
- Traits theatre technician
- Experiencing performances
  - o Technical
  - o Content
  - o Symbolic
- Visiting performances
  - o Friends/network
  - o Booklet theatre
  - o Following theatre maker/actor
- Cultural knowledge
- Education
- Social skills

Communication
- Involving house technicians in performance
- About performance
  - o Technical
  - o Content
- House technician
- Company technician
- Colleagues
- Friends
- Colleagues in theatre

Theatre technicians
- House
- Company
- Stage manager
- Light
- Sound
- Decor
- Fly system
- Traits good theatre technician
  - Efficient
  - Social
  - Technical knowledge
  - Cultural knowledge
  - Other

APPENDIX G: Theatre terms Dutch/English

Dutch term	English translation
Eerste man/eerste inspiciënt	Stage manager
Eerste lichttechnicus/eerste lichtman	Light operator
Tweede lichttechnicus/tweede lichtman	Light technician
Eerste geluidstechnicus/eerste geluidsman	Sound operator
Tweede geluidstechnicus/tweede geluidsman	Sound technician
Decortechnicus	Decor technician
Trekkenwandoperator	Fly system operator
Toneelmeester	Stage manager
Allround technicus	All round technician
Montageperiode	Technical week
Zaalwachten	Ward attendants