

The Work and Non-work of the Creative Worker: Professional Musicians

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds
Leeds Business School

June 2024

Declaration of Originality

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the Leeds International Doctoral Scholarship (LDIS) for the financial support that enabled me to fully devote hours to study, research, and writing work.

I express immense gratitude to my PhD supervisors, Professor Charles Umney, Professor Irena Grugulis, and Professor Vera Trappmann, for their continued support and guidance throughout the PhD journey. Your feedback and comments have been invaluable in shaping my writing practice, academic investigation, and expanding research ideas.

Thank you to all the academics who helped me get to this stage. Dr Lena J. Jaspersen's Research Methods Course was extremely beneficial in understanding qualitative research. Dr Isla Kapasi's Critically Assessing Research Course provided guidance on studying academic resources. Thanks to Professor Prashant K. Ghosh for being so supportive when I was considering applying for a PhD.

Thank you to Ms. Joanne Garrick for organizing various academic training sessions and the online writing retreat regularly. I particularly benefited from Professor Rowena Murray's writing retreat for its structure to incorporate writing tasks and taking breaks.

Working with various colleagues at the Leeds Business School has been a fantastic experience, and of course, I thank the Graduate School for their help and support throughout the PhD journey.

I dedicate this academic work to Bhagavān and my best friend, Popo.

Abstract

The creative industries are a vital economic sector attracting voluminous scholarship because of the precarity and inequalities embedded in them. Despite extensive scholarship examining inequalities in creative work, a fundamental aspect differentiating creative work - genre and its associated institutional factors and how genres can shape these dynamics, has been overlooked. This study remedies the gap by offering a novel contribution: Genres can be a foundational structure for research in creative work. This is a new development in the sense that it provides a novel framework to understand the nature of creative work and the intricacies of musicians' working lives, including their work and non-work experiences, while also providing valuable insights into musicians' labour markets. Consequently, it contributes to understanding the complexities and inequities inherent in the creative industries. Based on qualitative research involving forty-eight (48) informants, including women and men from various musical genres and employment status, using multiple data collection tools such as semi-structured interviews, diary studies, website, and social media research, and examining through the genre lens, the study found commonalities and variation between how creative workers perceive their work and what it entails. Musicians might only perceive paid music activities as work, whereas work includes music performances, teaching, and other paid tasks. The study reveals the variations in the nature of creative work across different genres, demonstrating that different genres of music entail distinct kinds of work. It uncovers varying contractual arrangements within artistic labour markets, where classical musicians combine craftsmanship and entrepreneurialism, while non-classical genres may emphasise the latter. The study highlights that unpaid work is indispensable for creative work despite its unpredictability in securing paid opportunities. Furthermore, it reveals the unequal experiences for musicians across genres, particularly in non-work activities, and highlights gender disparities, notably within the classical genre.

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Chapter 1

1. Introduction

1.1. Work and creative work

The landscape of work and employment is characterised by perpetual evolution, marked by a continuum of changes that have unfolded over decades. Davies and Frink (2014), in their historical analysis, have meticulously documented these shifts, providing invaluable insights into the dynamic nature of work across time and the separation between work and non-work domains. Such changes underscore the evolving nature of workers' participation in labour markets and the reconfiguration of traditional employment structures. In this regard, Katz and Krueger's (2016) research highlights the transition from traditional employment structures to an array of alternative work arrangements, signifying a broader transformation in how work is organised and conducted, with implications for the division of labour, the nature of employment relationships and the separation between work and personal life.

Deloitte's series on the future of work highlights the necessity for individuals to navigate such evolving work arrangements through ongoing skill development and acquiring enduring skills to handle precarious working conditions (Deloitte Insights, 2018). Concurrently, Throsby's (2012) recommendation to delve into the working lives of specific workers, such as creative workers, advocates for a deeper exploration of their working lives to glean broader insights into the intricacies of work and employment. This proposition gains traction as Haynes and Marshall (2018) posit that the working lives of musicians (creative workers) bear a striking resemblance to the contemporary workforce, rendering them a pertinent subject for scholarly investigation.

Furthermore, while Lingo and Tepper (2013) do not explicitly emphasise the importance of genres, they contend that it is essential to comprehend the content and quality of creative production to generalise insights. Their argument underscores the significance of the distinctiveness inherent in creative outputs, suggesting that understanding the nuances of creative work is crucial for gaining meaningful insights. Umney's (2016) study involving jazz musicians found that a complex interrelationship between informal work norms and formal

labour market institutions significantly shapes musicians' work practices, indicating the presence of institutional factors within the jazz genre and their impact on music work. Such discourse draws attention to genres in creative work. Also, it aligns with scholarship outside the realm of work and employment, which has underscored the fundamental role of genres in shaping creative work.

Within creative industries, genres serve as pivotal frameworks that influence artistic expression, audience reception, and industry dynamics. Scholarships focusing on creative industries have highlighted the significance of genres in various dimensions. These dimensions include the ideological variances within genres, as discussed by Frith (1996), the dynamics of genre popularity, as examined by Zuckerman et al. (2003) and Fletcher et al. (2018), the distinctive attributes characterising different genres, as analysed by Lena and Peterson (2008), and the specific language employed within genres, which serves to distinguish members from non-members explored by Becker (2008). However, it is notable that within the domain of work and employment studies, research focusing on creative work has overlooked the importance of genres in shaping creative work. Despite their critical role in shaping creative outputs and industry structures, scholarly investigations within this field have neglected the nuanced implications of genres. Thus, this thesis aims to address this gap.

The thesis contributes to the literature on work in the creative industries by providing a novel theoretical explanation of work and non-work for creative workers that ties the musical genre and professional musicians' working lives. By employing the lens of musical genres, this study elucidates the intricacies of work and non-work within the creative realm, thereby advancing understanding in this domain and extending the implications to comprehend work more holistically. The present study delves into the working lives of musicians across diverse musical genres, encompassing classical, jazz, and pop. The investigation sheds light on how institutional factors inherent in musical genres shape musicians' working lives. This exploration is particularly relevant as it underscores how genre-specific frameworks affect the creative worker.

Genres are not merely arbitrary labels; instead, they are foundational structures within creative work, providing essential frameworks that shape artistic expression, audience

expectations, and industry dynamics, particularly evident in the diverse working lives of musicians (Frith, 1996; Lena and Peterson, 2008). They serve as organising principles that structure creative production, guiding artists in selecting themes, styles, and techniques that align with established conventions. For musicians, genres such as classical, pop, jazz, rock, and hip-hop provide distinct compositional forms, and performance traditions that influence everything from songwriting and arrangement to production and presentation (Lena and Peterson, 2008). They help to establish shared understandings and expectations among audiences (Becker, 2008), allowing creative workers to communicate meaning and evoke emotional responses effectively. Also, genres shape the industry dynamics, including the production and distribution of creative products, funding opportunities available to creative workers and their career pathways (Frith, 1996). For instance, the classical genre is characterised by hierarchical institutions comprising orchestras and opera houses that play a pivotal role in shaping musicians through their established practices, aesthetic standards, and organisational structures (Bull, 2019).

Within the confines of orchestra and youth choir rehearsals, these institutions serve as crucibles where young musicians not only hone their technical skills but also internalise the implicit norms and values inherent in the culture of classical music. However, alongside the cultivation of musical excellence, these institutions also serve as sites of socialisation, where aspiring musicians navigate the intricate dynamics of interpersonal relationships and power structures. In contrast, the pop genre is characterised by a rich tapestry of entities and frameworks, including social media and online platforms, streaming services, and the burgeoning prevalence of independent and DIY (do-it-yourself) methods (Oliveira, 2023), which collectively affect the creation, dissemination, promotion, and financial aspects of pop music.

Similarly, the jazz genre is characterised by vibrant music scenes (Umney and Kretsos, 2014), with strong information sharing and mutual support networks (Umney, 2016) that may influence musicians' work practices. Thus, understanding the genre-specific dynamics, particularly among musicians, can provide valuable insights into the diverse challenges, practices, and opportunities that characterise creative work in today's society.

Genre is a conceptual tool used to classify various cultural products in fields such as film, music, literature, video games, popular culture, and visual art (Lena and Peterson, 2008). It describes expression and manner that "governs artist's work" (2008:697) and affects the artist's peer groups, the audiences that consume their work, organises production and consumption of cultural material, and the procedures involved in producing such products. Moreover, social contexts shape genres in various ways, influencing both their creation and evolution (Bull, 2019). Thus, genres act as both a reflection of society and a lens through which individuals engage with cultural products; in short, genres reflect the cultural context in which they emerge and influence how people interpret and engage with artistic works within that context. They shape people's practices by providing frameworks for understanding and categorising creative outputs, influencing how individuals perceive, consume, and participate in cultural experiences.

At the same time, genres are continuously shaped by people, events, and societal changes. People, including artists, audiences, and cultural critics, play a crucial role in shaping genres through their participation, feedback, and interpretation. Genres are fundamental to differentiating one creative output from another, offering audiences a means of quickly identifying their interests and preferences in a diverse cultural landscape. Lena and Peterson's (2008) research demonstrates the evolving nature of genres, particularly the development of institutional structures within genres over time, indicating genres are dynamic constructs that exist at the intersection of culture, society, and individual experience.

Genres share a common language, encompassing knowledge of music structures and repertoire. For instance, classical music often incorporates techniques like counterpoint (Bull and Scharff, 2021), while heavy metal songs and sounds are classified based on specific criteria such as hooks (Lena and Peterson, 2008). Another example includes 'The New Real Book' by Chuck Sher and Sky Evergreen, a compilation of jazz classics and pop fusion hits suitable for various occasions. These are shared lexicons within various musical genres which not only categorise bands and sounds but also act as a defining factor between insiders and outsiders within musical communities (Becker, 2008; Bull and Scharff, 2021; Bresler, 2022; Schmidt and Gruber, 2023; Prokop and Reitsamer, 2023). Moreover, it shapes musicians' professional and

personal lives and affects their artistic growth, career opportunities, and social connections within the industry (Frith, 1996).

Genres possess institutionalised structures that serve to demarcate and define their boundaries. High cultural institutions play a significant role in shaping how these genres evolve, impacting both the creation of cultural outputs and the experiences of those involved (Born, 2010). Despite creative workers' aspirations to transcend genre constraints, their artistic freedom is circumscribed by the institutional systems and settings within each genre. They find themselves constrained by the expectations of fellow performers, audiences, critics, and various collaborators essential for the production, distribution, and consumption of creative products (Becker, 2008). Different genres operate within distinct economic frameworks, with genres like pop music functioning predominantly within commercial markets, while classical and art music may operate within commercial, non-profit, or grant-based economies (Lena and Peterson, 2008). These variations in economic models correspond to differences in creative processes, organisational structures, audience engagement, and financial support, highlighting the diverse institutional landscapes of musical genres.

Genres exert a significant influence on creative work by providing a guiding framework that shapes the creative process. Studies deploying genres to understand various music categories like classical, jazz, pop, country, and urban music, as well as audiences' preferences for cultural products (Mark, 1998), reveal the institutional structures inherent in genres. Artists rely on the conventions and expectations within their chosen genre to craft their work, impacting everything from narrative structures to character development (Fletcher et al., 2018).

Moreover, genres play a crucial role in shaping audience expectations, as audiences approach creative works with certain preconceived notions based on the genre to which they belong. Additionally, investigations into organisational forms and restructuring, as well as competitive success within genres, shed light on their institutional dynamics (Hsu and Hannan, 2005; Hsu, 2006). Scholars exploring authors and writers within genres have reported on the institutional characteristics, with findings suggesting that topics perceived as masculine are associated with greater success, power, and prestige, leading to a normative expectation for women writers to conform to masculinised norms for success (Alacovska, 2017).

Moreover, genres are not static entities; they evolve over time in response to changing cultural trends, societal values, and technological advancements. Consequently, creative outputs within a genre often reflect the prevailing attitudes and concerns of the time in which they were produced. The scholarship on genres offers some valuable insights into the dynamics of creative work; genres provide a contextual framework to comprehend various artistic pursuits and facilitate a comparative analysis of working practices prevalent in different genres. Thus, a nuanced understanding of creative work necessitates considering genres and their institutional structures to discern patterns, draw comparisons, and derive richer insights into the dynamics of creative work. Furthermore, examining creative workers' working lives through the lens of genre sheds light on how institutional factors inherent in genres significantly influence their work practices and lives outside work.

1.2. Summary of field work

The study employed a purposive sampling technique to recruit informants representing diverse genres of music. A total of forty-eight (48) professional musicians took part in the study, including thirty classical musicians, nine jazz musicians, and nine pop musicians. This deliberate selection aimed to ensure a credible representation across different musical styles. Various methodological tools, including semi-structured interviews, diary studies, repeat interviews, social media, and websites, were employed to gather substantial evidence to enhance the study's credibility and trustworthiness. The combination of these techniques facilitated a multifaceted exploration of the subject matter, enriching the depth of understanding. Among the forty-eight (48) informants, thirty-three (33) individuals contributed to single interviews, while fifteen (15) participated in repeat interviews.

Additionally, twenty-two (22) individuals engaged in the diary study, with thirteen (13) recording single diaries, seven (7) recording two diaries, and two (2) recording three diaries. This diversified approach enabled the capture of nuanced perspectives and temporal dynamics within the musicians' experiences. The study meticulously documented website and social media activity for twelve (12) informants, comprising five (5) from classical music, four (4) from jazz music, and three (3) from pop music. Data collected from these sources were triangulated to strengthen the investigation's evidence base and augment its credibility. The

methodological approach employed for this research adhered to a qualitative research study, as outlined by Ritchie et al. (2014), ensuring a rigorous examination of the subject matter.

1.3. Summary of findings

The study delved into the intricacies of musicians' professional lives, revealing a spectrum of similarities and distinctions; a succinct overview of the research findings is presented here. The study uncovered commonalities among musicians, particularly in their early career stages. Notably, musicians across classical, jazz and pop genres participated in activities such as performing at various venues and providing music education (in this study, pop musicians did not participate in music teaching at the beginning of their careers). However, the study found disparities where classical musicians, even during the early stages of their music careers, participated in orchestral performances and vied for prestigious positions through auditions and competitions.

Additionally, networking emerged as another shared aspect, albeit confined within genre boundaries; for instance, in this study, pop musicians fostered connections with fellow artists and audiences (music consumers), while classical musicians cultivated relationships with fellow artists, music directors and conductors. However, regarding developing relationships with audiences (music consumers), the study found variations among classical musicians who were in their early career stages versus those who were many years into the profession. These disparities underscored the nuanced differences between seemingly similar professions within the music industry. Beyond these findings, the study shed light on the shared vulnerability experienced by musicians in the creative work market. Irrespective of genre or professional status, musicians grappled with feelings of powerlessness stemming from the uncertainty of employment prospects. This pervasive sense of vulnerability was compounded by financial insecurities and emotional strains, which were prevalent across various musical genres.

The study uncovered significant variations in musicians' working lives, encompassing barriers to entry into the creative work market, the nature of creative tasks, the scope of administrative responsibilities, learning and development activities, engagement in non-work

activities, and also the boundaries between work and non-work. These variations were intricately linked to the institutional factors within different music genres. The discussion chapter meticulously elucidates how institutional factors within genres exerted influence over musicians' work practices and contributed to labour market disparities.

Moreover, the study revealed that full-time employment afforded musicians the opportunity to engage in creative work consistently and to take structured breaks from their professional duties. However, such employment arrangements also constrained musicians' creative autonomy, as they often performed music assignments dictated by the employing music company or institution. While full-time employment emerged as a desirable option for those affiliated with prestigious organisations such as orchestras or publicly-funded opera companies, it proved precarious for individuals working in companies or institutions where music production was not the primary focus, such as churches or clubs. Furthermore, the study highlighted variations in the working experiences of women and men, particularly concerning the gendered distribution of household and childcare responsibilities. These disparities constrained women's participation in the creative work market and significantly impacted their participation in non-work.

By examining musicians' work practices using the genre lens, the study could discern how the institutional factors in musical genres shaped musicians' experiences and practices. Genres provided the cultural and organisational frameworks that affected expectations and opportunities available to musicians within specific musical contexts. Each genre encompassed its own set of conventions and industry dynamics, which impacted how musicians navigated their careers and engaged in creative endeavours. For example, the institutional factors governing classical music differed significantly from those of pop or jazz, thereby establishing the parameters within which musicians operated and shaping the types of opportunities available to musicians within each genre. Understanding how institutional factors of musical genres can impact musicians' work practices was essential for gaining insight into the broader dynamics of creative work, including identifying patterns of inequality, barriers to entry, and opportunities for expanding one's creative work.

1.4. Thesis structure

The section provides a systematic outline of the organisation of the document. Through this systematic arrangement, the thesis aims to articulate its arguments coherently, with each subsequent section building upon the preceding ones to construct a unified narrative. Following this introductory section, the thesis delves into the 'Literature Review'. This segment serves as the foundation upon which the thesis's arguments are built, providing an overview of existing scholarly works and findings relevant to the research topic. The literature review chapter does not merely summarise existing research but also provides a rigorous analysis of prior research, examining various perspectives, identifying gaps in the current body of knowledge, and highlighting key themes.

The literature review chapter covers several key areas: first, it provides an overview of the evolution of work over the years and how these changes have shaped the meaning of work and non-work. This analysis offers valuable insights into the context within which contemporary work practices have developed. Second, the chapter delves into the intricacies of work arrangements within traditional labour markets and explores phenomena such as multiple job holdings and their consequences on workers. Additionally, it highlights the influence of the institutional environment on individuals' work practices and their lives outside of work. Third, the literature review discusses the relevance of studying creative workers within artistic labour markets. It elucidates why the present study emphasises investigating professional musicians and how gaining insights into musicians' work practices can offer valuable perspectives on the broader landscape of work and employment.

Next, the thesis focuses on the methodology employed in this research. The *third* chapter, entitled 'Methodology', serves as a blueprint detailing how the study is conducted, the underlying motivations, the identified literature gaps leading to the research questions, and the chosen methodological strategy to address them. The chapter provides a summary of the fieldwork, highlighting the diverse range of informants from different musical genres, employment statuses, and genders, along with the tools used to gather data for the study. It delineates various phases of the fieldwork, offering specific signposts on the gradual development of themes - a distinctive feature of qualitative research. Additionally, the chapter

includes the fieldwork protocol, which ensures adherence to research guidelines such as attentive listening, capturing additional information using memos, maintaining a study bank, keeping a research journal, and adopting a sceptical approach to explore rival narratives. Further, the chapter elaborates on the purposeful sampling strategy and data collection tools used for the study, providing justification for why specific tools are deemed most suitable. Ethical considerations maintained throughout the fieldwork and all phases of the research are also discussed in detail. Finally, the chapter outlines data analysis strategies and the generalisation strategy employed for the study. It concludes with a succinct summary, encapsulating the key elements covered in the methodology chapter.

The *fourth* chapter of the thesis, entitled 'Exploring Genre Distinctions', provides essential context for the subsequent empirical chapters by explaining the institutional factors within musical genres that shape musicians' working practices, unpaid work, and non-work activities. It discusses the characteristics of three genres, classical, jazz, and pop, from the structured environments of classical music institutions to the improvisational nature of jazz and the commercial dynamics of pop music. The chapter draws from fieldwork to provide context for the empirical chapters. It serves as a framework for understanding the relationship between institutional contexts and musicians' activities. By discerning the various institutional factors in classical, jazz, and pop genres, the chapter provides the necessary context to understand the findings reported in the empirical chapters and their implications for musicians' activities across different genres.

The thesis then shifts to three empirical chapters which report the findings of the study. The *fifth* chapter, entitled 'Non-Work – What is it?', delves into musicians' perspectives on non-work, their engagement in diverse non-work activities, and their experiences regarding family time. The chapter presents varied views on socialising and music activity, concluding with insights into musicians' perceptions of work and non-work boundaries. Moreover, the chapter elucidates the intricate linkages between work and non-work, highlighting how institutional factors within musical genres shape musicians' experiences outside of work. Additionally, it examines the intersection of gender and genre, shedding light on how gender dynamics influence women's participation in artistic labour markets across different musical genres. By examining musicians' experiences of non-work, this chapter provides valuable insights into

their professional lives. Moreover, it helps to understand the socio-cultural and institutional factors that affect musicians' participation in non-work.

Chapter *six* of the thesis entitled 'Unpaid Work' provides a detailed account of the myriad activities that musicians undertake to sustain their music careers. It encompasses musicians' participation in various administrative, networking, learning, and developmental activities essential for their professional advancement. The chapter highlights the diverse nature of musicians' unpaid work and elucidates the intricate linkages between their work practices and unpaid activities. It illustrates how the absence of unpaid work may result in the absence of paid work. However, it also highlights that participating in unpaid work does not necessarily guarantee paid work. The detailed insights into musicians' unpaid work underscores the complexities of musicians' working lives. Moreover, it illuminated how institutional factors within musical genres can play a pivotal role in shaping their participation in unpaid work.

The thesis then advances to its next empirical chapter entitled 'Work in Creative Occupations'. This chapter provides an in-depth exploration of how musicians from various musical genres navigate artistic labour markets. It investigates the barriers they encounter in entering the creative field, their various approaches to sustaining a music career, and the diverse working conditions they face as creative workers. Moreover, the chapter evaluates the range of opportunities available to musicians across different genres, offering insights into the nature of creative work and its variations. By examining these variations, this chapter contributes to a deeper understanding of how institutional factors within musical genres influence musicians' entry into artistic labour markets and their ability to sustain a music career.

In the subsequent chapter of the thesis, entitled 'Discussion', which is chapter *eight* in the thesis, the focus lies on summarising the relevant findings and contextualising them within the existing body of research. The chapter serves an important role by offering a detailed analysis and interpretation of the findings. It evaluates the observed variations and offers explanations and insights into their broader implications. The chapter delves into several critical areas: musicians' entry into the creative field, their work arrangements, the nature of their creative work, their unpaid work and non-work, and gender dynamics in creative work.

This chapter provides a rich commentary on musicians' working lives, offering deep insights into ongoing debates in the realm of creative work and shedding light on broader aspects of work and employment. By contextualising the findings within existing debates in creative work, the chapter illuminates the complexities of musicians' professional experiences.

Chapter *nine* of the thesis entitled 'Conclusion' provides a contribution summary and demonstrates how the study has advanced knowledge in relation to existing research. It enhances the understanding of the research outcomes and their significance in the field. Further, the chapter lists the implications of the study, addresses its limitations, and outlines directions for future research. By offering recommendations for future research, it sets the stage for continued exploration of the research area. Ultimately, the chapter adds depth and clarity to the thesis, highlighting its relevance and scholarly contribution. The next chapter is the 'Appendix' section, which serves as chapter *ten* of the thesis. It includes various tables, the questionnaire guide, and examples of analysis that support the thesis. Finally, the thesis concludes with a bibliographic section. The bibliography is included to provide a detailed list of all the sources consulted and referenced throughout the thesis, ensuring proper attribution and allowing readers to locate the original works for further study.

In summary, the introduction chapter sets the stage for exploring the intricate aspects of musicians' working lives across different musical genres. It provides a roadmap for understanding the dynamics of musicians' work, non-work, and unpaid work. The study enriches the understanding of the complexities in artistic careers and contributes to broader scholarship by highlighting the unique challenges and opportunities faced by creative workers today.

Chapter 2

2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

Work, viewed as the central pillar of individual lives and the source of an individual's identity and livelihood, has changed significantly over the last several decades for workers in different occupations. Academic research and practitioners alike have reported that work continues to evolve. For instance, Davies and Frink's (2014) historical analysis concerning work and home indicates how work has evolved over many decades with the growth in markets and technology and how the ideal worker became a cultural icon (2014:19). Deloitte's (2018) report 'The Connected Worker, Second Edition,' equates work and productivity and presents a case for increased use of technology and developing new working practices to enhance workers' productivity, increased customer satisfaction and enable workers to stay connected with a variety of jobs they perform throughout their working day indicating, work can be a composite of various jobs.

Katz and Krueger (2016) have noted the shift from traditional employment relationships to an increase in alternative work arrangements and the rise of multiple job holdings throughout various occupations, indicating the evolution of work arrangements. Deloitte's report on the future of work indicated that work continues to evolve, and employers rely on a mixed workforce comprising traditional full-time employees, freelancers and contractors to accomplish business goals (Deloitte Insights, 2018). Also, the report suggested how individual workers need to plan for greater uncertainty regarding work, engage in lifelong learning and develop enduring skillsets to deal with the changing facets of work. This suggests that scholars and practitioners acknowledge work as emerging and evolving (discussed later in the chapter), highlighting the relevance of investigating people's work and their working lives.

The various changes in work practices and people's participation in various jobs had visible consequences; for example, being a part of the factory system meant work and non-work were viewed as separate domains (Kabanoff, 1980; Kuchinke, 2009); work took place outside the home, and home was a space different from work minus work demands (Ammons, 2012).

Ozutkua et al. (2018) noted that the factory system demanded accuracy standardisation rather than individualised designs; it was structured on regularity rather than spurts of work. It also meant a reduction in leisure-work choice because a worker who previously worked from home and earned a piece wage could allocate her time between income-producing activities and leisure. Industrialisation had other impacts as well, such as affecting men and women differently. Nicholas and Oxley's (1993) research reported different views regarding the effects of industrialisation on women and men. The optimistic view suggested how industrialisation opened up opportunities for women, created a sphere for women's work, improved their living standards, and provided financial independence. The pessimistic view, however, indicated how industrialisation pushed women into low-paid jobs, poor working conditions, and intermittent employment, leading to unequal sharing of unpaid family responsibilities and preventing them from competing equally in labour markets. These perspectives highlight that workers are part of an institutional setting or system. Changes in these institutional settings, such as employment arrangements, working hours, incomes, and the nature of work (whether in a factory or at home), affect workers in various ways.

What constitutes the institutional setting/system can be broad and can shape work outcomes in varied ways. Scholars studying work and employment have noted the importance of institutions in shaping employment relations, such as decisions for self-employment (Hevenstone, 2010; Hipp et al., 2015) and work experiences (Tomlinson et al., 2018), work and non-work lives (Nwagbara, 2020) and participation in non-work activities (Wang, 2001). Work-related institutions result from interaction among multiple actors, such as workers and their representatives, who collectively create an environmental context of rules and norms that shape workers' practices and experiences. They facilitate and constrain human behaviour.

As work continues to change in varied ways, which are discussed later in the chapter, there is a growing recognition of the need for new perspectives to understand work and employment. In this regard, scholarship has increasingly urged an investigation into the working lives of creative workers (people participating in creative occupations such as designers, artists, musicians, actors and similar occupations) to gain insights regarding work and employment relations more broadly (Throsby, 2012). Within this context, the creative worker is viewed as the figurehead of the workforce in any sector of work - combining resilience, coping mentality,

producing aesthetically perfect outputs, experiencing precarious working conditions, driving innovation and delivering economic success (Haynes and Marshall, 2018). Such characterisation positions the creative worker at the forefront of innovation and economic success. Notably, today's workforce is likened to that of musicians; they are described as "becoming more like musicians' labour" (2018: 461), reflecting the prevalence of precarious working conditions in traditional labour markets, akin to those experienced by musicians (Greer and Umney, 2022). This underscores the relevance of studying musicians' working lives as a means of understanding contemporary work dynamics.

Additionally, scholarship for over a decade has highlighted the need to study musicians' working lives and the dearth of literature in this area (Coulson, 2012; Umney and Kretsos, 2014; Everts et al., 2021). Thus, this thesis purposefully selected professional musicians (creative workers) (Coulson, 2012) to investigate their working lives and report their work and non-work practices, contributing to the literature on creative work and extending the learnings to understand work more generally.

While scholars suggest the need to examine creative workers to understand work more broadly, there are considerations to be aware of. Although workers in other industries often face precarious working conditions similar to creative workers, including musicians, it is worth questioning whether creative work truly mirrors work in general. Work in the creative industries requires specialised training in an art form, and creative outputs are the outcome of workers' creative aspirations. Moreover, they are vertically differentiated based on A list/B list criteria, where the ranking matters because money is at stake (Caves, 2000). The A list/B list property refers to the vertically differentiated talent (2000:7). The A list comprises a small group of very highly remunerated artists, whereas the B list includes a larger group of artists with little pay/reasonable pay/occasionally good pay/often struggling to make enough money from their art.

Unlike workers in the traditional labour markets, creative workers often cannot switch from one art form to another. Entering the creative field is not a happenstance but a matter of solid motivation. It is not just any work to sustain life; creative workers deliberately enter the field of artistic expression (Zhen, 2022) and make a living from it. This suggests that even if creative

workers' work practices resemble those in other occupations, there may be variations in their working lives. Further, building upon the understanding that scholarship acknowledges the potential for insights into broader work dynamics through the study of creative workers, the present investigation seeks to illuminate the extent to which insights gained from studying creative workers can inform the understanding of work more generally.

In creative occupations such as music work, conventional wisdom suggests the absence of a coherent and supportive institutional framework. However, Umney's (2016) research posited that institutional norms, including formal regulations and informal norms, affected musicians' (jazz musicians) work practices. Additionally, Stebbins (1968) highlighted the importance of camaraderie and shared goals in jazz music, while Umney (2016) underscored that jazz musicians are communitarian and depend on information sharing and mutual support. Although these aspects are not explicitly labelled as institutional factors, they play a crucial role in shaping jazz musicians' work practices.

Moreover, scholarship in creative work has noted institutional and ideological differences between various genres in the art world (Frith, 1996), how genres evolve into more institutionalised forms (Lena and Peterson, 2008), and the variations in genre conventions (Becker, 2008) that affect members' participation in a genre. Even if there is some evidence to suggest that genres can affect the production and consumption of creative goods, the ways in which these ideological and institutional differences and variations in genre conventions shape the working lives of creative workers (musicians) are almost invisible in the literature, a gap the present thesis will address.

As indicated in the introduction chapter (see Chapter 1, Introduction), the institutional systems in musical genres result in variations in labour market activity and influence musicians' work and non-work; this chapter reviews existing literature to account for the information reported regarding creative work and identifies relevant areas that need further investigation - indicating the gaps in the literature. The review found that musical genres differ institutionally and ideologically (Frith, 1996) and influence the production and consumption of creative outputs. The relevance of genres in scholarship concerning creative work was

indicated in Becker's (2008) 'Art Worlds' - understanding the art world involves knowledge of workers' characteristics and the bundle of tasks they perform.

The examples from various musical genres (classical, jazz, and rock music) indicated that the divisions of tasks in the art forms are so traditional that one regards them as given in the nature of the medium (Becker, 2008: 10). Fletcher et al. (2018) developed a framework named "genre-world" (2018:997) premised on Becker's (2008) 'Art Worlds' to indicate how genres govern the skills and expertise acquired by genre members and the rules followed in the creation and distribution of creative outputs. Zuckerman et al. (2003) highlighted the importance of genres, noting that creative workers (actors) develop genre-specific skills and expertise and build connections with other members within the genre to acquire future work.

In this regard, Umney's (2016) study indicated the importance of genres, it noted that even if jazz musicians achieved high levels of instrumental proficiency, it did not translate into jobs unless there were buyers (market/audiences) for elite jazz virtuosity, indicating other institutional factors (formal and informal work norms) can affect jazz musicians' work practices. Further, Haynes and Marshall (2018) noted that genre differences exist and briefly described the various employment arrangements prevalent in different musical genres (classical, jazz and pop); however, their study also suggested that genre differences can be overstated, which undermines the significance of genres in gaining insights into creative work (see Chapter 8, Discussion).

In contrast, Bull and Scharff (2021) noted that genres could affect the production and consumption of creative products (music), reflecting hierarchies in music work. Additionally, in a prior study, Citron (1990) reported the hierarchical structures in classical music and highlighted the unequal opportunities women experience compared to men in this genre. These examples from studies outside the realms of work and employment underscore the importance of institutional factors in genres. They suggest that genres are pronounced in various creative occupations, and even if genres have received minimal attention in research on creative work, they remain relevant. Recent studies may have overlooked their importance in understanding musicians' working lives, but it remains pertinent to use genre as an analytical lens to examine their work practices.

While scholarship surrounding cultural work has reported on the diversity of musical genres, there exists a significant oversight within work and employment studies focusing on creative work. While scholarship has extensively explored genres and the diverse nature of cultural production (Frith, 1996; Fletcher et al., 2018), the institutional factors within musical genres and how they affect professional musicians' working lives are almost invisible in the literature - a notable gap that the present investigation aims to address. Thus, the thesis purposefully examines professional musicians' work and non-work in three different genres of music - classical, jazz, and pop to elucidate how institutional factors shape professional musicians' work practices and lives outside work.

The literature review chapter provides a detailed examination of key themes relevant to the study. The first section covers work and non-work in general, elucidating the evolving landscape of work and employment and its repercussions on individuals, emphasising the influence of institutional settings/systems on the meanings of work and non-work in people's lives. The next section discusses the rise of creative industries; the review delves into the shift from craftsmanship to entrepreneurialism, engaging with debates surrounding creative workers' practices. Subsequently, it scrutinises creative workers' participation in artistic labour markets, the influence of various work arrangements on their lives, and the factors influencing workers' participation in artistic labour markets. Finally, the chapter focuses on the relevance of genres in examining creative work, particularly for professional musicians, identifies gaps in the literature and sets the stage for the subsequent research. The literature review chapter not only situates the study within existing scholarly discourse but also underscores its significance in understanding the intricate dynamics of creative work.

2.2. Work and non-work - emergent and ongoing

This section on work and non-work delves into workers' participation in labour markets and illuminates the impact of economic shifts and technological advancements on their working lives. It also reviews how the institutional environment shapes their work practices and lives outside work.

To view work and non-work as separate facets of life started to appear during industrialisation. Davies and Frink (2014) described the separation of work and non-work as a modern phenomenon and a slippery concept (2014:19) because it led to the gendered division of labour and compartmentalisation of time. The expansion of markets and advancements in technology, alongside the emergence of the factory system, is credited with creating a compartmentalised approach to life (Kabanoff, 1980; Nippert-Eng, 1996; Kuchinke, 2009; Davies and Frink, 2014). This restructuring involved a clear division between work, typically conducted during designated hours at the factory, and non-work activities, encompassing the remainder of one's life. This transformation, discussed by Nippert-Eng (1996:22), signifies a transition from the integrated "craftsman model of work," where leisure, work, and home coalesced into a unified existence, to the 'factory system' model, characterised by a distinct separation between work and non-work.

However, not everybody worked in the factory; a vast majority of workers, such as blacksmiths, artisans, artists (creative workers), and shopkeepers, worked and lived in the same place (Mokyr, 2001). There were other independent workers such as industrial consultants and chemists whose services factories purchased for expert advice (2001: 11). This suggests that workers had varied work arrangements in different occupations; full-time employment and independent consultants (freelance/ self-employed) coexisted. For workers outside the factory system, including craftsmen and artists, an apparent distinction between work and non-work was inconceivable as their livelihoods revolved around the demands of craftsmanship, often referred to as the craft workshop model of work (Inkson, 1987; Banks, 2010). Their working lives appeared as a composite whole, centred on their craft, similar to creative workers within the creative industries today, which shall be discussed later in the chapter.

For workers within the factory system, life in general was shaped by stipulated work hours, standards of production, regular days off from work, and remuneration received for employment. In this context, work is viewed as employment and generally understood as activities undertaken to earn a living (Parker, 1983), activities involved in providing goods and services of some value (Hall, 1987). Fenner and Renn (2004, 2010) described work as specific activities that people undertake in offices or away from home during formally contracted

hours, also described as normal working hours, which is forty (40) hours in a central work environment for compensation. Work includes mandatory activities, has separate values, social functions, and people, and occurs in distinct spatial and temporal domains (Nippert-Eng, 1996). Non-work is viewed as the opposite of work: time beyond formally contracted hours or outside contractual obligation, usually during evenings, at night, weekends, and holidays (Schlachter et al., 2018), time away from the physical workspace (Venkatesh and Vitalari, 1992), physically away from the manager (Staples, 2001) comprising activities performed outside workplace boundaries, such as family and society (Jayaraman and Mishra, 2022).

Post-bureaucratic forms of organising work (Appelbaum et al., 2000; de Laat, 2023), technological developments such as ICT (Information Communication and Technology) and digital technologies from the 1900s onwards changed the landscape and meaning of work and employment relations in varied ways. As Mokyr (2001) noted, people were not confined to the workplace to accomplish work; it was possible to share information and knowledge with people far away, which altered workers' work arrangements. The late twentieth and early twenty-first century saw changes in the economic landscape; the notion of cradle-to-grave employment was declining, and more people were working from home either as telecommuters or small independent businesses operating from home (Mokyr, 2001). People performed jobs from anywhere, anytime - at home, during transit and vacations, and beyond the traditional workday, resulting in the continued overlap of work and non-work (Von Bergen and Bressler, 2019).

In contemporary times, employment structures have evolved significantly, encompassing a wide array of work arrangements. These include independent contractors, on-call workers, casual employees, part-time positions, and full-time jobs, as highlighted in research by Katz and Krueger (2016). Furthermore, individuals have contractual obligations across various professions, as discussed by Hipple (2010); they have multiple jobs for pecuniary and non-pecuniary benefits (Bamberry and Campbell, 2012; Järvensivu, 2020), may hold various jobs throughout their working day, and use various technology to accomplish work (Deloitte Insights, 2018). This phenomenon highlights the evolving nature of what constitutes work, indicating that work transcends mere income-generating tasks. These diverse work

arrangements illustrate the significance of institutional settings, such as technological infrastructure and employment policies, in shaping workers' lives. As individuals hold multiple jobs across various occupations, they navigate through diverse roles and responsibilities, leading to an overlap between work and non-work. Such overlap significantly influences workers' work practices and their lives beyond work, which is explored further in the subsequent discussion.

2.2.1. Work arrangements affect workers

Over the past few decades, work arrangements have continued to change with a decline in long-term employment and a marked shift toward other part-time, casual /irregular work (Katz and Krueger, 2016; International Labour Organization [ILO], 2016). Sturges (2008) highlighted a trend where employers pass the responsibility of time and career management onto their employees. Such shifts suggest changes in institutional settings, where employers are redefining traditional roles and expecting employees to be more self-directed and autonomous in managing their careers. In this regard, Deloitte's report indicated that workers need to anticipate and navigate increased uncertainty in the workplace through lifelong learning and developing enduring skill sets (Deloitte Insights, 2018). Such varied changes in institutional settings within the employment landscape reflect broader shifts in work arrangements, such as people holding multiple jobs (Hipple, 2010), using various technologies to accomplish work and working from home to sustain their lives and careers. These work arrangements and their consequences are discussed here.

Multiple job holding refers to individuals engaging in several concurrent paid positions or simultaneous employment arrangements, which may encompass full-time, part-time, and self-employment contracts. In this scenario, individuals derive income from multiple sources by cobbling together earnings from various job roles (Bamberry and Campbell, 2012; Panos et al., 2014). People pursue multiple jobs for a variety of reasons. On one end of the spectrum, individuals in low-wage full-time or involuntary part-time positions take on additional work to supplement their income and cover expenses (Hipple, 2010). Conversely, those in stable and skilled occupations undertake multiple jobs to explore fresh opportunities and acquire new skills and knowledge (Järvensivu, 2020). They perceive multiple job holding as a means to

engage in meaningful work and progress towards their career development objectives. Additional motives for engaging in multiple job holding include seizing seasonal employment prospects, mitigating the adverse effects of economic downturns, maintaining social relationships in wider networks, fulfilling reciprocal obligations (Bamberry and Campbell, 2012), and adapting to shifts in the labour market landscape (Järvensivu, 2020). Interestingly, these patterns of holding multiple jobs in traditional labour markets resemble the practices in the creative fields. This phenomenon is prevalent among musicians, where individuals often engage in multiple roles simultaneously to support their careers and livelihoods (Bennett, 2008; Thomson, 2013; Lindström, 2016; Zhen, 2022).

However, holding multiple jobs has varied impacts on workers' professional lives, including less regulated workplaces, heightened flexibility, increased working hours, and working during unconventional times, consequently leading to increased stress, work-life imbalance, increased workload, and diminished job satisfaction. Bamberry and Campbell (2012) noted that the challenge lies not merely in the additional hours worked but in the complexity of managing varied job schedules, coping with frequent turnover in casual employment, and resolving time conflicts between multiple jobs, all of which spill over into other spheres of their lives. Järvensivu's (2020) study found that people holding multiple jobs had several professions closely linked to their competencies and networks; however, how people prioritised and organised the jobs was unclear. These studies highlight the varied challenges of holding multiple jobs. The subsequent section explores other work arrangements, including using technology (here, referring to ICT) to accomplish work and working from home.

Working from home refers to engaging in paid work from one's residence, irrespective of the nature of the work (Kurowska, 2018: 406). The concept of working from home gained prominence in the 1980s and 1990s, being championed as a cost-effective method for managing work and life outside work. However, the ramifications of this practice were observed to differ between genders. Powell and Craig (2015) observed that remote work facilitated the management of family responsibilities and afforded more leisure time by reducing time spent on work-related activities and eliminating commute time. Nonetheless, they noted disparities in time allocation between men and women concerning employment, household chores, and childcare. Women engaged in remote work were found to dedicate

more time to domestic responsibilities and childcare than their male counterparts, who allocated more time to work-related tasks. Kurowska's (2018) investigation revealed that the integration of paid and unpaid work was gendered, with women seamlessly blending both spheres while men typically did not.

Furthermore, scholars van der Lippe and Lippényi (2020) contended that remote work heightened the challenge of balancing home and family obligations, indicating how workspaces affect workers' time usage and work. The literature suggests that the transition from traditional institutionalised settings like offices to less conventional workspaces, such as remote or home-based work, can have gendered effects. On the one hand, working from home can offer greater flexibility and autonomy to balance professional and caregiving duties better; however, on the other hand, it can also risk reinforcing existing gender inequalities; women may face additional pressures to manage household chores and childcare while working from home. It also indicates that working from home is shaped by societal structures, with outcomes differing based on prevailing gender norms. Up to this point, the section has scrutinised a range of work arrangements, including multiple job holdings and working from home, highlighting the impact of these arrangements on the working lives of individuals. The subsequent focus will be on individuals utilising various technologies (ICT) to accomplish work.

Scholars posit that utilising technologies such as (ICT) can offer workers enhanced flexibility and autonomy, potentially benefiting both their professional and personal lives. Alexander et al. (2010) noted that using technology and unrestricted workspaces enabled workers to enjoy greater flexibility and meet urgent customer demands simultaneously. However, contrasting views exist regarding the outcomes of flexible work arrangements and technology integration. Von Bergen and Bressler's (2019) research revealed that flexible work arrangements often entail the expectation of constant availability, requiring employees to remain on call whenever contacted by their employer. Consequently, individuals may experience continuous engagement in work-related matters even during non-work hours, resulting in undifferentiated work and non-work.

Moreover, scholarship regarding technology usage and work has reported how technology use can lead to workers feeling compelled to engage in work-related tasks outside of their contractual obligations due to organisational pressure (Schlachter et al., 2018), resulting in unpaid additional work and extended hours. Additionally, Crowe and Middleton (2012) found that flexible work arrangements and ICT affect women and men differently, with women often experiencing less control over their work due to managing both personal and professional commitments simultaneously. Further, Nwagbara's (2020) study indicated that women encountered more challenges in balancing work and family responsibilities across diverse geographical contexts, illustrating how long working hours exacerbated stress for women due to gendered roles.

These studies suggest that in the evolving employment landscape, the use of technology to accomplish work presents a dual perspective; on the one end, it offers greater flexibility in allowing workers to manage their professional and personal lives more efficiently. However, on the other end, it also introduces new dynamics, such as the expectation of constant availability and the blurring of work and non-work boundaries. Moreover, these studies highlight that gendered differences amplify these challenges, as women often face greater difficulty in balancing work and family responsibilities due to traditional gender roles.

Thus far, the literature review revealed the diverse work arrangements and their diverse impacts on workers' lives. While some benefit from multiple job holdings and technology usage through increased flexibility and career advancement opportunities, others face challenges such as debt repayment and blurred boundaries between work and personal life. For women, working from home often involves balancing paid work with domestic responsibilities, intensifying their workload. In the context of the changing employment landscape, the overarching institutional framework encompasses the shift from traditional steady employment towards a diversity of work arrangements, including multiple job holdings, remote work, and increased utilisation of technology, shaping workers' experiences both in and outside work.

Furthermore, policymakers are integral to this overarching institutional framework; their decisions and policies shape institutional practices that govern various aspects of work

arrangements. Previous research has indicated how institutional policies/settings, such as extra holidays for full-time employees, extended shopping hours, and flexible work time, affect people's participation in various non-work activities (Wang, 2001:63). This suggests that although individuals may be motivated by their desires, lifestyle, and employment statuses, the actual decision regarding participation is constrained by the institutional settings.

It shows that institutional settings are pivotal in shaping workers' experiences, influencing the opportunities and challenges they face in balancing work and personal life. They provide the structural framework for various work arrangements, such as multiple job holdings, remote work, and technology usage, impacting individuals' lives both within and outside of work. Recognising the significance of institutional settings provides valuable insight into how external factors influence what people do, elucidating the broader context within which work arrangements evolve and their resulting implications.

Importantly, these institutional frameworks can affect women and men differently, shaping their experiences in the workforce and their working lives. Wilton (2007) found that despite similar educational backgrounds, women participated in work that involved continual skill development or socially useful work. They often ended up in lower-paying jobs compared to their male counterparts, reflecting unequal career paths and labour market outcomes. This disparity is further underscored by Catalyst's (2022) report, revealing fewer women in leadership positions across developed countries like the UK and USA.

Notably, women often face logistical challenges and spend more time on housework and childcare as they juggle family obligations alongside their professional goals (Hoyt, 2010). Mercer's (2023) report echoes these concerns, highlighting how inequities in household responsibilities and a lack of flexible work options can lead to burnout and hinder women's ability to thrive in the workplace, indicating the persistent gender disparities in the workforce. These disparities within the traditional labour market provide valuable context for understanding the experiences of creative workers within the workforce. This study seeks to explore whether similar gender disparities exist within the creative field and how the unique nature of creative work intersects with gender dynamics,

Summing up, the first section of the literature review chapter focused on exploring the dynamics of work and non-work, shedding light on the evolving landscape of work and employment and its impacts on individuals. It elucidated how institutional frameworks influenced the perceptions of work and non-work within people's lives. Furthermore, it delved into how various work arrangements unfolded within institutional frameworks and analysed the differential impacts of these institutional settings on women and men, influencing their experiences and opportunities within the realm of work.

As highlighted at the beginning of this section, creative occupations, which were outside the factory system and adhered to a craftsmanship model, were nonetheless influenced by industrialisation and technological advancements, thereby affecting the working lives of those in these fields. The next section of the literature review covers the realm of creative industries, exploring their unique characteristics, diverse employment arrangements, and pertinent debates surrounding the shift from craftsmanship to entrepreneurialism. Further, it identifies gaps in the existing literature, paving the way for further inquiry.

2.3. The creative industry – from craftsmanship to entrepreneurial

The section commences with a brief introduction to the creative industries, highlighting the diverse range of occupations, characteristics, and work arrangements in this sector. Following this introduction, the discussion shifts towards an exploration of the craftsmanship model of work and entrepreneurialism, alongside the debates surrounding their transition. Examining the transition from a craftsmanship model of work to entrepreneurialism reveals distinct approaches to creative and entrepreneurial activities. These disparities are later identified and summarised.

The literature review demonstrates that this transition reflects evolving societal values and aspirations. In this context, individuals are not only pursuing creative fulfilment but also seeking economic empowerment. Further, this section consolidates diverse perspectives on how institutional settings shape the creative worker and their work practices. It culminates with a concise commentary that highlights gaps in the existing literature.

2.3.1. The creative industry

The 'creative industries' is a broad term for many individuals and organisations from multiple fields, including technical and artistic creativity (Smith and McKinlay, 2009). They use creative processes or develop products that generate symbolic and aesthetic value (Strandgaard Pedersen et al., 2019) and support cultures and economic sectors (Cunningham and Potts, 2015). Based on the idea of creativity, there are nine occupational clusters: Advertising and marketing; Architecture; Crafts; Design; Film, TV, video, radio, and photography; IT, software, and computer services; Publishing; Museums, galleries, and libraries; Music, performing and visual arts (O'Brien et al., 2016).

The creative industries have specific characteristics; they lie at the intersection of arts, business, and technology and play an important part in the economic activity of developed countries. Artistic occupations are described as highly specialised fields where workers with specialised skills and talent collaborate to produce a range of creative outputs (Lingo and Tepper, 2013). It is also characterised by a structural imbalance, where an oversupply of workers (aspiring artists) meets an undersupply of jobs, skewing the risk/reward ratio, causing unequal opportunities for workers (Menger, 1999; Dowd and Pinheiro, 2013), increased participation of youth (Gibson, 2003), unpredictable incomes and periodic bouts of unemployment (Throsby, 2012; Blair et al., 2001). The low entry barrier(s) (Menger, 1999) and the lure of autonomy and freedom are the attractions of such occupations that encourage workers to enter the field. Consequently, they underestimate the risks of earning low incomes (Frey and Pommerehne, 1989), look for non-monetary benefits such as high social recognition, and overestimate their future income (Becker, 2008). This suggests that despite various obstacles, the allure of creative expression and perceived potential for personal and professional growth continue to attract individuals to pursue careers in these fields.

The work arrangements in the creative industries vary considerably; for instance, in the video games industry, employers want long-term commitment from game developers because producing video games requires high development investment (Teipen, 2008). As a result, workers are employed full-time, and companies often compensate workers using stock options (Lazonick, 2009). In contrast, film and TV industry workers often have short-term and

flexible contracts because film projects are distinctive, which lowers the chances of repeatedly using similar skills (Caves, 2000: 98-99). In media outlets such as newspapers and magazines, photographers are hired as commercial or staff photographers, which has declined over the years (Darian-Smith, 2016). Likewise, journalists have experienced a reduction in full-time employment opportunities due to cultural and technological shifts, alongside changes in professional working conditions within media production industries, resulting in a notable rise in the number of individuals opting for freelance journalism roles (Aubert-Tarby et al., 2017). In this regard, Fröhlich et al. (2013) noted how freelance journalists navigated challenging job markets by performing multiple jobs for additional income. They sometimes held conflicting positions, such as freelance journalism alongside public relations work, indicating the impact of employment dynamics on creative workers and their approaches to work.

Similarly, the work arrangements in music are diverse, leading musicians to hold multiple jobs to sustain their livelihoods (Bennett, 2008; Thomson, 2013; Zhen, 2022). For instance, in classical music, there are two prevalent work arrangements: first, creative workers find employment as orchestral musicians or opera singers, though this traditional model is in decline; alternatively, they pursue self-employment, managing portfolio careers as independent artists (Prokop and Reitsamer; 2023). Classical music boasts a greater number of potential employers compared to jazz and pop, as noted by Haynes and Marshall (2018). Specifically, pop musicians are commonly regarded as independent contractors (2018:461), indicating the varied work arrangements prevalent within music. The literature highlights the diversity of work arrangements in the creative industries, showing variation both between and within occupations.

Such diversity reflects the strategic approach of employing organisations to meet their diverse needs while maintaining a balance between flexibility and stability in their approach toward workers. Moreover, the prevalence of diverse work arrangements underscores the indispensable need for adaptability and resilience among creative workers to sustain a career within creative industries. Consequently, creative workers hold multiple jobs, both within and outside the industry, resulting in diverse earnings that may range from steady salaries to jobs with hourly wages.

Thus, it can be inferred that the characteristics of the creative industries, coupled with the strategic decisions of employing organisations, create an institutional setting that fosters diverse work arrangements, affecting creative workers' working lives. Despite challenges, the enduring appeal of creative work remains steadfast. Institutional settings play a crucial role in providing the framework within which creative workers operate; it influences their participation in labour markets. Changes in institutional settings can have a profound impact on creative workers' income, working conditions, and overall working life. The subsequent section explores a notable transition: the move from the craftsmanship model of work to entrepreneurialism.

2.3.2. Craftsmanship to entrepreneurial model of work

Similar to other occupations, industrialisation and technological changes meant increased capital invested in creative activities (Banks, 2007; Throsby, 2012; Coulson, 2012; Wright et al., 2019), leading to the growth of cultural production in areas such as music, theatre, film, and television production which altered workers' participation in artistic labour markets and artists developing 'portfolio careers' (Lindström, 2016). These changes catalysed the shift from the craftsmanship paradigm to a model of work centred on entrepreneurialism, a central topic of debate within the realm of creative work, which will be explored here.

As mentioned in the previous sections, the working lives of people outside the factory system, such as artisans and other creative workers, were shaped by the craftsmanship model of work, where the artist underwent formal training through an apprenticeship that enabled the transfer of tacit knowledge and professional skills from the master artist to the pupil (Banks, 2010; Lucassen, 2022). The craftsmanship model allowed workers to prioritise psychological welfare over production matters (Inkson, 1987). Scholarship of the nineteenth century seems to have believed that a "Golden Age" of craftsmanship existed (Inkson, 1987:174) that offered workers a psychologically rewarding life. However, some scholars have challenged the idea of a psychologically rewarding life (Clayre, 1975), suggesting that much work in the crafts has always been arduous, monotonous (Inkson, 1987), hierarchically ordered, and authoritarian (Banks, 2010).

Throughout history, men dominated artistic work, often leaving women artists underrepresented (Citron 1990) and their work undervalued, equating to mere amateurism (Quirk, 2016). Despite the belief that industrialisation ruptured the traditional craftsmanship model of work, empirical evidence suggests otherwise. Clayre (1975) contests the notion that industrialisation intensified a utilitarian approach to work, arguing that intrinsic satisfaction from work was not as widespread in pre-industrial societies; it was "less widespread in the past than in the imagination of those philosophers who wrote about work in the nineteenth century, though they themselves may have been among the small minority of human beings who perhaps did experience such work regularly and almost exclusively, and they may well have assumed it was more widely diffused than it ever had been in reality" (1975: 183-184).

Following this argument, it can be said that the craftsmanship model of work was more prevalent among men than women, with certain occupations, such as Inkson's (1987) potters, exemplifying this ethos by embracing economic insecurities for the sake of autonomy and self-expression. However, there were occasions where market demands took precedence over creative expression, challenging the notion of an ideal craftsman model. Moreover, while Collins (2000) highlights how artists frequently adapt their creative outputs to cater to audience preferences, other scholars have observed a broader transition from a crafts orientation to a more structured professional system within the creative industry (Banks, 2010; Lingo and Tepper, 2013). This shift underscores the evolving dynamics of creative work, where considerations beyond intrinsic satisfaction play a significant role in shaping creative outputs and creative workers' working lives (Coulson, 2012; Everts et al., 2021); workers are expected to work in an entrepreneurial way or have an entrepreneurial mindset toward work (Scott, 2012).

According to Scott (2012), in an entrepreneurial approach to work, creative workers produce artistic content while also performing additional paid work both within and outside the creative sector due to the lack of stable income from creative work. Operating within constraints of limited economic resources, they craft intricate products, such as recordings, videos, and live performances, to capture the attention of intermediaries, showcase their talent and establish themselves as serious artists. At the core of the entrepreneurial way of work lies the production of creative output and its extensive marketing to attract cultural

intermediaries capable of providing economic inputs for further creative projects, promotion, and utilising social connections to achieve broader recognition. Scott (2012) identified diverse entrepreneurial activities among creative workers, including marketing and promotional activities for image-building, audience development, and collaborations for making creative outputs for free. Similarly, Oliveira (2023) observed pop musicians participating in such activities, including music production, social media content creation, and tour organisation. These artists funded their creative productions through earnings from live performances, merchandise sales, and gig recordings, supplemented by familial support and personal savings when available.

Thus, drawing from literature on craftsmanship and the entrepreneurial approach to work, it can be observed that throughout history, tailoring creative outputs to suit audience tastes has been a longstanding trend in the creative industry. The essence of craftsmanship versus the entrepreneurial model lies in their differing priorities; comparing both models, it is evident that craftsmanship prioritises the intrinsic value of creative expression and the mastery of one's craft, focusing on the art itself before considering its commercial viability. In contrast, the entrepreneurial model places greater emphasis on marketing and generating financial resources to produce creative products to be marketed and sold.

While craftsmanship leans towards artistic integrity, the entrepreneurial approach emphasises adaptability and profitability. Despite this contrast, both models encompass elements of creativity and tailoring products to audience tastes, indicating creative workers' dual ambition alongside their aspiration to earn an income from creative work. In the contemporary landscape, creative workers' simultaneous involvement in non-creative paid work alongside creative production seems more pronounced. While this phenomenon may have occurred in the past, its prevalence in the present highlights the evolving landscape of creative work, indicating the necessity for economic sustainability in pursuing creative work. This change in the creative industries is the context in which scholarship concerning creative work, workers' participation in artistic labour markets, and their work practices are set.

Within this context, various scholars offer divergent perspectives on the impact of these changes on the complex relationship between creativity and commerce. Similarly, they offer

contrasting analyses concerning the exploitation and empowerment of creative workers within their respective industries and the dynamics of gender within this context. On the one hand, some scholars contend that the evolving landscape has created tensions between creativity and commerce (Smith and McKinlay, 2009; Thompson, 2009), thereby shaping the work practices of creative individuals (Umney and Kretsos, 2014). These tensions are posited to arise from the need to reconcile artistic aspirations with commercial (business or entrepreneurial) goals (Caves, 2000; Taylor and Littleton, 2008; Haunschild and Eikhof, 2009; Coulson, 2012), with entrepreneurial discourses impacting creative work (Gill and Pratt, 2008; Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009).

Alternatively, an opposing stance posits that the dichotomy between creativity and commerce may not fully capture the intricacies of creative work practices (Everts et al., 2021) because creative workers with varying levels of expertise may prioritise aspects of creative expression and entrepreneurial pursuits differently (Everts et al., 2021). Additionally, Schediwey et al. (2018) highlight the alignment between artistic and entrepreneurial goals, indicating their relevance for creative work.

Moreover, the gender dynamics within creative work challenge the notions of the divide between creativity and commerce. Fenwick (2002) noted that women's participation in creative work transcends the traditional binary of creativity versus commerce; their motivations for participating in creative work are often influenced by a complex mix of factors and the desire to pursue creative work. This suggests that the dynamics shaping creative work are multifaceted, highlighting the need for a more nuanced understanding of the field.

Furthermore, contrasting perspectives emerge regarding the exploitation and empowerment of creative workers within the industry; Comunian et al. (2011) depict artists as vulnerable to exploitation by corporations. Their perspective suggests that artists, drawn by the allure of creativity and a romanticised view of artistic work, enter the creative fields. However, once within these industries, they perform routine work, have little or no control over their job and work in career-less jobs, indicating the challenges creative workers may encounter within corporate-dominated creative industries.

In contrast, others portray creative workers as self-empowered individuals who take proactive steps to manage their careers, utilise technology to create products, maintain control over their creative output, and mitigate uncertainties in the industry by acquiring new skills and seeking out new customers (Throsby and Zednik, 2011), indicating creative workers as resilient and adaptable individuals capable of navigating various occupational challenges. Overall, these contrasting perspectives reflect the complex experiences of creative workers, where issues of exploitation and narratives of empowerment coexist.

Despite recognising the evolving landscape of creative work and the necessity of economic sustainability, scholarship investigating creative work within the work and employment context overlooks that artists are deeply immersed in their respective traditions, that stable patterns of behaviour significantly influence their actions and the role of genres in shaping production and consumption of creative products. It fails to recognise that genres can affect artistic expression and economic viability. Moreover, the intersection of gender dynamics and genres remains under-explored, highlighting a gap in scholarly research. It underscores the need to examine work practices through the genre lens for a more nuanced understanding of creative work.

Scholarship centred around artistic production indicated that genres play a central role in shaping various aspects of creative work. Lena and Peterson (2008) emphasise that creative activities are governed by genres, serving as fundamental frameworks guiding artistic expression. Becker (2008) highlights how genre conventions affect the participation of creative workers within genres. Building on Becker's (2008) work, Fletcher et al. (2018) indicate that authors are categorised based on genres, which dictate how characters are portrayed in writing. Additionally, Frith (1996) underscores how ideological and institutional differences within genres can significantly impact the activities and experiences of creative workers.

Further, Blair et al. (2001) argue against treating film workers as homogenous groups, suggesting that significant variations exist in their work experiences. This indicates that genres are integral to artistic traditions; they fundamentally shape artists' work processes, market positioning, and economic viability. Even though genres appear to be a relevant analytical category, scholarship investigating creative work within the work and employment area has

almost overlooked how genres can affect creative workers' participation in creative and entrepreneurial activities. The present study fills this gap by purposefully examining the varied work practices of creative workers (different groups of professional musicians) who belong to different genres.

Summing up, this section provides an overview of creative industries, highlighting key characteristics such as an oversupply of creative workers, low entry barriers, and intense competition. It delves into various work arrangements prevalent in creative industries and debates surrounding the transition from craftsmanship to entrepreneurialism. Furthermore, it explores differing scholarly perspectives on how this transition has impacted creative workers and their practices. The section also reveals gaps, which the present study aims to address. In the subsequent section, the focus shifts to examining the creative worker's participation in artistic labour markets and the factors influencing their participation.

2.4. Genres and their institutional characteristics

This section delves into literature concerning genres within creative industries. Genres serve as fundamental frameworks in structuring creative work. The institutional characteristics within them can directly affect creative work, highlighting their essential role in shaping artistic expression. Each genre possesses unique characteristics, acting as guiding principles for creative workers. For instance, musicians often reproduce behaviours learned within specific genres, reflecting the impact of genre conventions on creative output and workers' work practices.

Becker (2008) emphasised the importance of comprehending the art world by gaining knowledge regarding workers' characteristics and the diverse range of tasks they undertake. Examining classical, jazz, and rock music (different genres of music), Becker observed that the allocation of responsibilities within these art forms is deeply ingrained in the nature of that medium (2008: 10). Describing two different tasks, composition and performance; Becker noted that in classical music conventionally, these tasks were seen as highly specialised jobs and these activities occurred separately. Although there were composers who also performed,

the training in classical music continues to emphasise this division; nonetheless, most aspirants who plan to undergo training in composition are usually competent performers.

However, in jazz music, composition is much less important than performance. In jazz, musicians play standard tunes (blues and old popular songs) and improvise a song when performing. Here, performing and composing happen simultaneously with limited knowledge of who originally composed it. In rock music, the same person performs both tasks (composing and performing). Competent musicians compose and perform their music, and musicians who perform other people's songs are labelled as "copy groups" (2008:11). Thus, they are all musicians; however, the nature of their work is varied, the expectations that audiences have of them are not similar, and the tasks they undertake are varied. It provides a solid reason to look at genres in the social context and view them not only as text but as a set of cultural practices and norms that affect the lives of those who participate in these genres (Becker, 2008; Lena and Peterson, 2008).

2.4.1. Genre characteristics

Each genre has specific characteristics, and musicians reproduce behaviour as learned in these genres. As March and Olsen (1989) argued, "the behaviour we observe in political institutions reflects the routine way in which people do what they are supposed to do. Simple stimuli trigger complex, standardised patterns of action without extensive analysis, problem solving...To say that behaviour is governed by rules is not to say that it is either trivial or unreasoned...Rules can reflect subtle lessons of cumulative experience...By "rules" we mean the routines, procedures, conventions, roles, strategies, organisational forms...These routines may be procedural rules specifying processes that is to be followed under certain circumstances" (1989: 21-22). The argument that institutions reflect routines can be extended to genres of music to understand the work and non-work lives of musicians in different genres of music.

Lena and Peterson (2008) reported twelve (12) attributes of genres, which include organisational form, scale, and locus of activity for genres; the genre ideal, which depicts the vision of the music held by those within the genre; the performance conventions and codes

of genres, technological features of genre which include music making and distribution, the genre boundaries that allow members of a genre to class who belongs to a genre and who doesn't, the dress, argot, adornment and drug use enables cultivating genre community, the sources of income for artists and press coverage reflect the organisational forms. The locus and goals of a genre and the source of the genre name distinguish the various genre types and reveal the discursive structures in genre trajectories.

They argued that genres transition from one form to another; it can be understood as phases through which genres pass. They are briefly described to indicate the set of institutional structures in these phases and how genres evolve institutional forms. The various phases include Avant-garde, scene-based, industry-based, and traditionalist phases (Lena and Peterson, 2008). Their study reported the genre trajectories and the transition from one genre form to another, which revealed that genres do not have homogenous trajectories, and each genre form/phase has a set of institutional structures that are characteristic of that phase, which are discussed below.

In the Avant-garde phase, the genre is quite small, and they form around members with shared likes and dislikes of the music of the time. Usually, members play together informally to create a genre ideal. The genre text is not fully developed for a music genre in the Avant-garde phase, and members learn from listening to records and playing with various musicians. Musicians do not earn an income by participating in genre tasks but sustain a living by playing conventional music and non-performance work. The organisational form is like a creative circle; the organisational locus is homes, coffee shops, bars, and open spaces. Genres in the Avant-garde phase do not receive press coverage and are less institutionalised than the other phases.

In the scene-based phase, the genre is organised in local scenes. Scene refers to a community of artists, fans, and record companies who are spatially situated and enjoy similar music and lifestyle. Such music can emerge virtually and in localities where rents are low, residents are tolerant, there is diversity of all kinds, and police supervision is lax. Musicians who perform in scene-based genres cannot support themselves entirely from their music. They undertake other service jobs and depend on financial support from friends and family. Compared to

Avant-garde, genres in the scene-based phase are more institutionalised – conventions and performance presentations are codified, and social conventions comprising adornment, clothes, argot, and attitude are codified, which help to distinguish members from non-members. Scene participants can become band managers, club owners, or music promoters. Radio stations and local press can derive profits from them.

In the industry-based phase, the genre's organisation form represents industrial corporations, which include multinationals and independent companies. Genres in the industry-based phase have more institutionalised structures - the genre is market-based and includes singers and musicians who contract for their services, and humdrum partners provide ancillary services. The genre thrives as long as large numbers of fans and audiences-as-consumers generate large revenues. The industry is particularly interested in a genre if its sales potential increases. Musicians who participate in these genres experience competition, firms participate in developing genres by training artists to work within highly codified conventions, and record producers may coach songwriters and artists to make music within genre bounds (simple and muted) that shall appeal to a mass audience. Genres in the industry-based phase receive press coverage, which is un/favourable, and trade magazines report relative successes of songs.

Genres evolve into more institutionalised forms in the traditionalist phase, where the genre members focus on preserving the genre's musical heritage. They create a set of institutions such as festivals and educational programs to preserve music practice and inculcate a new generation of devotees in performance techniques and history and rituals of genres. Artists have periodic gatherings at festivals, reunions, and concerts; performers may earn a significant proportion of their earnings from performing genre music. Artist promoters and fans join clubs and associations devoted to perpetuating the genre, and supporters of these genres participate in disseminating genre information through internet discussions, journals, and trade magazines.

Bull and Scharff (2021) argued that scholarship needs to focus on the social aspects of genres (their study focused on classical music) to understand how such music is produced and consumed and the constraints and concerns around genres that shape the working lives of

musicians. Their study found that classical music occupied privileged status among other genres and was at the top of the hierarchy of musical genres. They reported that hierarchies existed within classical music – solo performing was ranked highest, followed by ensemble player, orchestral player, opera chorus, music therapist, music teaching, and any music-related admin jobs. (2021:680). Music teaching was considered a lesser form of music-making because of differently valued labour practices.

Overall, this section elucidates the significance of genres for comprehending the working lives of musicians. It shows the institutional factors in various musical genres and how the intricacies of the genre can affect processes of music production and consumption. Moreover, it shows that genres can have hierarchical structures built within them that can lead to social stratification in music, wherein certain genres command greater prestige than others.

Furthermore, the literature sheds light on the distinct labour practices as genres transition from one phase to another, and it also shows that not all music works are equally valued or viewed as meritorious. Consequently, the study underscores the relevance of genre as a fundamental category for illuminating the dynamics that shape musicians' working lives. In the following section, the focus shifts to examining the creative worker's participation in artistic labour markets and the factors influencing their participation in these markets.

2.5. Creative worker and artistic labour markets

This section focuses on what it is to be a creative worker - it covers literature concerning the classification of creative workers, their varied work arrangements as they participate in artistic labour markets, their working hours and varied sources of income, their non-work lives, and their work and non-work boundaries. Further, the section reviews the literature regarding factors that affect creative workers' participation in artistic labour markets and identifies the gaps in this area.

2.5.1. The creative worker

Creative work continues to be viewed as the epitome of work in the contemporary world, and working in the creative industries is considered prestigious (Coulson, 2012). The creative worker is at the centre of the creative industry (Banks, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Strandgaard Pedersen et al., 2019) and is known for their creative outputs. The following section delves into the diverse classifications of creative workers, considering skills, earnings, popularity, reputation, expertise, and creative outputs. These classifications illuminate the spectrum of positions creative workers may occupy within the industry.

Based on reputation and earnings, Rosen (1981) grouped creative workers as star performers to lesser recognised performers. Rosen (1981) discussed the "phenomenon of Superstars" (1981: 845) - referring to a small number of people who earn enormous amounts of money and dominate the activities they perform. Describing classical musicians, Rosen (1981) noted that first-rank performers have substantial incomes; the income difference between the first and second ranks is substantial even though most customers would hardly detect any difference. Another classification, as proposed by Caves (2000), involves vertically differentiating artists as A list/B list (Caves, 2000) because it affects their earnings. Such classifications underscore the financial disparities and hierarchical structures present within the artistic labour markets.

Based on expertise, Barley and Kunda (2004) grouped creative workers (software workers) as senior and junior, specialist and generalist, pros and bottom feeders (2004: 64) to suggest a spectrum of roles and tasks within the profession. The classification indicates distinctions based on autonomy, expertise and specialisation. Florida (2002) distinguished creative workers into two groups based on the nature of creative outputs: the core group of creative professionals who produce the highest order of creative work – they produce new products that are readily transferable and widely useful and the lower order of creative professionals who disseminate, reproduce, and implement the innovations generated by the core group. While this classification elucidates the diverse contributions within creative work, it implies a structured hierarchy of roles, potentially overlooking the fluidity and interplay between different levels of creative input. This rigidity in classification may fail to capture the dynamic

nature of creative processes and the collaborative efforts often involved in producing and disseminating creative outputs.

Based on skills, earnings, and purposes of creative work, Juniu et al. (1996) grouped musicians as amateurs, dabblers, and professional artists (musicians); dabblers engaged in music primarily for pleasure, using it as a diversion from daily activities. On the other hand, amateurs invested time in training and preparation akin to professional musicians. However, their performances may or may not have been compensated, and music was not their primary source of income. Unlike amateurs and dabblers, professional musicians earned their livelihood from playing music and were subject to market pressures. This classification indicates that creative workers may participate in the labour market in different capacities, with varying remuneration, and experience varied labour market outcomes.

The other classifications include dividing creative workers based on their career stages and popularity; Lehman and Wickham's (2014) study categorised visual artists into four broad categories - 'unknown,' 'emerging,' 'established,' and 'famous' (2014: 666); the unknown artist's work may or may not be marketable or recognised in the creative work market. In contrast, the famous artist and their creative outputs are almost inseparable, which suggests that creative workers' position in the profession can affect their participation in the artistic labour markets. Such classifications tend to indicate a creative worker's career trajectories, highlighting the spectrum of experiences and opportunities available to artists.

While the range of classifications within the artistic labour markets demonstrates the complexity and diversity of roles, experiences, and outcomes within the creative industries, they often fall short of capturing the full breadth of the creative process and the diverse realities faced by individuals in the industry. Although these classifications may serve as evaluative frameworks, they can sometimes oversimplify the complexities of creative work by grouping individuals into broad categories, potentially ignoring the context-dependent nature of creative work. For instance, consider genres in writing; an artist may find increased opportunities for producing and disseminating their creative output in a specific genre and gain greater popularity than others, indicating the limitations in simplistic categorisations.

Moreover, while classifications intend to direct attention to the relationship between popularity and earnings and economic inequalities in creative work, they may not provide a nuanced understanding of creative workers' earnings. For instance, research conducted by Lindström (2016) and Yoon and Heo (2019) categorised artists to illustrate hierarchical structures; they noted artists' diverse income sources, demonstrating their involvement in both creative and non-creative endeavours to sustain themselves financially. Working in the creative industries is often regarded as prestigious (Coulson, 2012), and it is often tied to how creative workers participate in various artistic labour markets. However, not everyone participates equally in the creative work market. Therefore, the following section critically reviews the literature on creative workers' participation in various artistic labour markets.

2.5.2. Creative workers' work arrangements

This section begins by examining the landscape of artistic labour markets. It provides a clear overview of the various markets where creative workers participate and highlights the diversity of their work arrangements and multiple job holdings. This section thoroughly examines how work arrangements affect creative workers, exploring why they often hold multiple jobs. The detailed analysis provides insights into the dynamics of these work arrangements and their implications for creative workers. Throsby (2012) noted that three characteristics of creative workers set them apart from traditional workers and make them an interesting subject of inquiry: *first*, because their earnings are low, they have multiple job holdings; these multiple job holdings may help them diversify in other creative fields (Throsby & Zednik, 2011). *Second*, creative workers face large periods of unemployment; they may be unemployed in the arts but employed in non-arts work (Menger, 1999), and third, they allocate working time to three types of jobs

- The market for creative work
- The market for arts-related work
- The non-arts labour market

Like Throsby (2012), other scholars have presented a similar categorisation; Menger (1999) described them as three separate labour markets - arts work, arts-related work, and non-arts work (1999: 545); Lindström (2016) described the areas as artistic work, non-artistic work, or

work related to art (2016: 45); and Khaire (2017) described them as strategies to navigate business and arts - selling artwork, working in an adjacent creative realm, and working in an unrelated field (2017:165). The present study uses Throsby's (2012) categories, where participating in the creative work market includes activities such as preparation, practice, rehearsal, research, and similar activities; activities for the arts-related work market include teaching in their art form; and the non-arts labour market may include working as a waiter in a restaurant or any other job in an unrelated field. Creative workers' participation in these three types of jobs/labour markets leads to various work arrangements, which are discussed here.

The work arrangements of creative workers are diverse and varied, encompassing a broad spectrum of employment structures and patterns including marginal employment, short-term employment, part-time work, employee-like pseudo-self-employment, traditional wage/salary, independent contractor, self-employment, sole proprietor, or other forms of entrepreneurial work (Menger, 2001; Ellmeier, 2003; Throsby and Zednik, 2011; Essig, 2015; Casper and Storz, 2017; Khaire, 2017). It may also include combining different employment contracts, mixing short-term employment and self-employment (Lindström, 2016), or stable employment and self-employment (Steedman and Brydges, 2023). This diversity reflects the fluidity in creative occupations.

Creative workers' work arrangements may be contingent upon their specific occupations; Eikhof and Haunschild (2006) noted the diverse work arrangements in different occupations, including open-ended contracts for orchestral musicians, project-based engagements for authors, and self-employment for sculptors (2006: 237). Additionally, within certain occupations, specific work arrangements may be more pronounced. For example, in fields like software development, project-based work arrangements are often more prevalent (Barley and Kunda, 2004) than traditional long-term employment contracts, suggesting temporary or contract-based employment. In contrast, in the video games industry, employers want long-term commitment from game developers (Teipen, 2008), indicating a tendency toward job stability.

Moreover, within a single occupation, variations in work arrangements are evident; for instance, in music, while some may secure traditional long-term employment with orchestras (Albinsson, 2017), others may have open-ended contracts (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006) or participate in project-based music work, (Umney and Symon, 2020) or participate as independent contractors or freelancers (Haynes and Marshall, 2018), indicating the varied work arrangements within the music. Furthermore, work arrangements may vary depending on the sector and the nature of the work involved; for instance, in the field of film and television, workers engaged in production and post-production functions are often engaged as freelancers, whereas in broadcasting, long-term employment is prevalent (Wing-Fai et al., 2015). Within media organisations, such as newspapers and magazines, workers may be employed as staff or freelance workers (Darian-Smith, 2016). This shows that work arrangements within the creative fields are contingent upon various institutional factors that affect creative workers' work arrangements.

The work arrangements within the creative fields often include holding multiple jobs across various artistic labour markets. It is common for creative workers to navigate multiple professional engagements in various labour markets simultaneously, leveraging their skills and expertise across different projects and maximising opportunities and income streams. For example, film workers may work in universities and teach filmmaking (a stable income source/ arts-related work) or run a small production company to support filmmaking (creative work) (Steedman and Brydges, 2023). Additionally, they may seek employment in non-arts markets due to the ease of finding such jobs and the flexibility they offer (Randle and Culkin, 2009).

Many visual artists frequently rely on non-arts jobs, such as healthcare, restaurant service, and retail, to sustain themselves financially while pursuing their artistic work as part-time artists (Lindström, 2016). Workers in fashion often utilise bootstrap investment, which involves sourcing funds from friends and family, to kickstart their designs. Subsequently, they employ a cyclical approach by channelling profits from one session into funding the next (Steedman and Brydges, 2023). This shows the diverse strategies that creative workers may deploy to sustain their careers and realise their artistic ambitions. It highlights the contrasts and complexities of pursuing a career in the arts: on the one hand, the pursuit of artistic work; on the other hand, the necessity to secure a regular income. Combining various work

arrangements and holding multiple jobs in various artistic labour markets may lead to highly fluid working lives (Umney and Symon, 2020) with little job protection for the worker (Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009).

Creative workers have diverse work arrangements and hold multiple jobs due to several interconnected factors, including the need to fulfil economic necessities (Coulson, 2012; Lindström, 2016; Brook and Comunian, 2018; Yoon and Heo, 2019), subsidise art making (Throsby, 1994), spread their occupational risk (Menger, 1999), stay relevant in their field and learn new skills (Barley and Kunda, 2004); fulfil artistic aspirations (Longden and Throsby, 2021; Zhen, 2022), and engage with community work pursuing art for social causes with wider audiences (Lingo and Tepper, 2013). Scholars such as Eikhof and Haunschild (2007) have highlighted that creative workers are driven by the artistic and economic logic of practice (the economic realities of their profession); consequently, they are open to participating in various artistic labour markets, both in and outside the commercial sector (Bridgstock, 2013; Lingo and Tepper, 2013) to develop diverse skills (Throsby & Zednik, 2011), without limiting economic rewards.

In summary, the work arrangements of creative workers encompass a diverse range, from traditional employment structures to various alternative work arrangements. While these arrangements may initially appear as flexibility for navigating artistic labour markets, they are deeply influenced by institutional factors within the creative industries. Economic uncertainties, such as the lack of access to traditional funding sources like banks for creative projects (Steedman and Brydges, 2023), policy limitations, such as the absence of government funding or grants for filmmaking (Steedman, 2018), and systemic issues such as insufficient income in visual arts, show how institutional factors can shape work arrangements for creative workers. Having examined creative workers' work arrangements, the following section focuses on their diverse income sources.

2.5.3. Creative workers' income

Income in creative fields is a complex subject marked by diversity, inequality, and uncertainty. Creative workers draw income from various revenue streams; however, their earnings can vary

widely with almost no stability. This section draws attention to creative workers' various sources of income, income disparities, and the unpredictable nature of earnings within the creative sector. Historically, artists have earned incomes from grants, street markets, and fairs from the salaried public, often supplemented their income from additional work (Woronkowicz and Noonan, 2019).

Similarly, very few creative workers nowadays have a single income source. They may earn from commissioned projects or hourly rates for the job. Their compensation can take other forms, such as bartering income for their performance (Duffy, 2016; Umney and Kretsos, 2014). Creative workers such as musicians now have unprecedented opportunities to monetise their compositions, performances, sound recordings, and personal brand, as noted by Thomson (2013). They participate actively in traditional revenue streams and other sources of income generation. Moreover, Hesmondhalgh et al. (2021) noted that music streaming is a vital revenue stream for music creators. Their study highlights the importance of how music streaming affects distribution and consumption of music making it a major source of revenue for musicians in recorded music. This indicates that drawing income from diverse sources remains a constant feature of creative work; however, the methods and opportunities available to artists have evolved significantly, reflecting broader shifts in society, technology, and the creative economy.

Creative workers' income may range from very little to complete paid creative work (Coulson, 2012). Professional creative workers earn a large part of their earnings from the creative work markets, meaning their earnings come from performing and selling creative work (Khaire, 2017); professional musicians earn a large portion of their income from making music (Coulson, 2012), for professional travel journalists, travel journalism is their primary source of income (Rosenkranz, 2019), and for professional technical contractors, it includes performing software jobs (Barley and Kunda, 2004). They make little or negligible earnings from arts-related work; for example, music teaching in the case of musicians, a novelist may write brochures, or a composer may write advertising jingles (Khaire, 2017). This suggests that professional creative workers tend to derive the majority of their income from activities directly related to their expertise, such as performances for musicians. Nonetheless, it

underscores that income from arts-related work also contributes to creative workers' earnings.

In the realm of creative work, the correlation between an artist's main body of work and their financial realities is a prominent facet for exploration, as it sheds light on how artistic output and popularity impact income. For example, in the late eighteenth century, English soprano Elizabeth Bellington's fame and earnings between £10000 and £15000 in the year 1801 reflect this. Similarly, contemporary musicians like Yo-Yo Ma, with a net worth of \$150 million, demonstrate that high incomes in arts are not new. However, it also highlights that even when artists or creative workers achieve significant earnings from their artistic pursuits, they often supplement their income with various other sources, indicating the importance of diversifying income streams and not relying solely on a single source for financial stability. It also reflects the dynamic nature of the creative work landscape where creative workers cannot rely solely on the arts to sustain a livelihood and must have multiple income sources to mitigate the risk of financial instability.

Moreover, such high incomes are an exception; many workers in creative occupations find themselves in a precarious position, making a meagre living (Gill and Pratt, 2008; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2009) and may often need familial support (financial backing) at different stages of their careers to continue doing creative work (Scott, 2012); film workers relied on family support to sustain low-paid and unpaid work periods (Randle and Culkin, 2009). Also, it is not uncommon for creative workers to be unsure of how they shall sustain beyond the end of the next project (Conor et al., 2015), indicating the uncertainties of earning a living or sustaining a career in creative work.

Particularly in the case of musicians, Zhen (2022) noted that creative workers (musicians) earned from more than three sources. Thomson's (2013) study on working musicians provides insights into their varied sources of income. The study identified eight different income sources and found that fifty-five percent (55%) of musicians earned from two or three income sources, and another twenty-six percent (26%) of musicians spread their income to four to eight sources of income (2013: 518), indicating how musicians spread their occupational risk (Menger, 1999) and the need to have varied sources of income to sustain a music career.

Moreover, Bennett (2008) reported how musicians supplemented their incomes by performing with teaching, and many allocated more hours to teaching than performing, indicating that while performing may be the primary artistic pursuit for musicians, teaching is equally relevant to supplementing their income. This underscores the inherent challenges of pursuing creative work, as not every creative worker can rely solely on their primary artistic pursuits for income. Because the main body of artistic work often fails to yield significant financial returns, many must supplement their earnings with income from arts-related or unrelated sources to sustain themselves in the industry.

Further, literature indicates gender disparities in earnings within creative work; women earn less compared to their male counterparts (Throsby and Hollister, 2003; Bennett, 2008). A recent study by Been et al. (2023) reaffirms this trend, suggesting that throughout the creative and cultural industries, women earned less than men (2023: 10); however, the study does not provide specific reason leading to such disparities in the income of women and men. Marchenko and Sonnabend (2022) shed light on gender disparities in income, revealing that compared to male artists, female artists predominantly earn much of their incomes from teaching work and sell fewer works in the art market. Similarly, Bull and Scharff (2021) found that in classical music, female musicians participated more in music teaching and faced challenges to sustain a performance career due to familial responsibilities, indicating differential labour market outcomes for women and men.

In summary, it is evident that throughout history, individuals have often had diverse income streams; however, in today's creative work landscape, there are more opportunities than ever before. Despite this, creative workers continue to experience precarious working conditions and income instability, making the field vulnerable for creative workers. While a few prominent creative workers may earn primarily from their core creative pursuits, the majority continue to depend on other sources of income to meet financial needs and sustain a career in creative work. This shows that workers grapple with income instability despite increased opportunities for creative work and income. Moreover, gender disparities persist where women typically earn less than men in creative jobs. Also, it shows that income instability in creative work is a systemic institutional factor that affects creative workers' work arrangements, compensation, and overall working lives. Furthermore, alongside financial

instability, the working hours for creative workers also play a significant role in shaping their working lives; the next section focuses on creative workers' working hours.

2.5.4. Creative workers' working hours

In creative occupations, working irregular and unsocial hours is a norm rather than an exception. This section delves into literature concerning working hours in creative work - what it involves, why people commit to working long hours, and its consequences. The working hours within creative work are shaped by various factors, including work arrangements (discussed earlier in the section) and occupational demands. These demands encompass not only paid tasks but also a range of unpaid work integral to participating in creative work. Creative workers often learn to work for extended hours early in their training and commonly accept this as the norm. Moreover, certain activities, even if they may not initially seem like work, play a substantial role in determining overall working hours. These aspects are discussed here.

Røyseng et al. (2007) noted that in some specialisms long working hours begin early; young artists (students in music/visual art) were willing to study longer than students in other categories and allocated several hours to artistic work without any alternate career plan, showcasing a distinctive dedication to their craft from the outset. These aspiring artists stressed the importance of hard work and honing their artistic skills with a singular focus. This sheds light on how institutional systems (educational systems) shape the working hours within creative fields, where individuals appreciate and accept prolonged working hours and correlate it with success in artistic work. This dedication among young artists highlights how occupational demands within creative fields often affect creative workers' working hours. Banks (2007) noted that creative workers can increasingly work during unsocial hours for an extended time and undertake various responsibilities to meet the demands of the occupation.

In this regard, Hesmondhalgh and Baker's (2009) study highlighted how working hours for camera operators increased from an eight-hour workday to ten hours and further pushed toward a twelve-hour workday without proportional increases in pay, indicating that creative workers are expected to work additional hours without additional pay. A similar pattern was

reported by Blair et al. (2001), suggesting how working hours for film workers are contingent upon various factors such as the nature of the project (commercial versus feature films), project complexity and budget, and the duration of shooting days however, these working hours exclude any preparation and travel time (which was the film workers personal time).

Contrary to Blair et al. (2001), Bielby (2009) noted that writers (women) working in film and television undertook work during hours of their own choosing; female writers working in film and television had more flexibility, indicating varied experiences of individuals across different occupations within the same field. This also underscores the level of control creative workers may have over their jobs; while some jobs may be subject to rigid schedules dictated by project demands, others, like writers, may enjoy greater freedom to determine their own working hours. In certain occupations, such as freelance editing and translation, working hours are heavily influenced by market demand, as highlighted by Gold and Mustafa (2013); freelance editors and translators face irregular workdays, irregular workflows, and last-minute work demands due to client requirements (markets). This shows how external forces beyond individual control, such as market demand and client needs, can affect working hours, indicating the broader influence of institutional factors, such as market dynamics, on people's working hours.

Additionally, it is important to acknowledge that in working in the arts requires performing various unpaid tasks to sustain creative work. Here, unpaid work includes various other activities necessary to support creative work (discussed later in the chapter) and does not include domestic and familial responsibilities. For instance, musicians allocated working hours to unpaid activities, including managerial, business, technical, and other activities such as travelling and education (Schediwy et al., 2018; Everts et al., 2021); they allocated forty-one (41) percent of their time to creative activities, including rehearsing alone and with others, performance, and songwriting and the remaining for other non-creative tasks.

Similarly, Thomson (2013) noted that musicians' working hours were dedicated to "hustling," which meant different things to different musicians. For some, it was selling merchandise; for others, it was travelling further to take gigs; for a few others, it was generating incomes using social media channels or writing grant applications. They allocated time to various activities

to gather income from varied sources and other back-office tasks, such as targeting fans and accounting for micropayments (2013: 523), indicating that musicians allocate their working hours not only to creative pursuits but also to a variety of non-creative activities.

Moreover, within the realm of creative work, certain activities, such as socialising, often perceived as leisure pursuits, can become an extension of work and influence creative worker's working hours. Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2009) noted that, within certain creative occupations, work hours often spill over into social settings like pubs and restaurants; for instance, drinking with colleagues after work becomes a ritual. This phenomenon is particularly prevalent among media workers, journalists, and musicians, who are not only expected but often pressured to participate in such social rituals (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2009).

Additionally, failing to participate in the pub culture may have varied consequences, such as reduced job opportunities, lower chances of networking with others, and exclusion from certain powerful cliques (2009: 15). This shows that while socialising can foster bonding with colleagues, it can significantly expand the boundaries of a working day and blur the work and non-work boundaries. Scholarship has highlighted the detrimental effects of prolonged work hours, including increased risk of accidents due to work-related stress, reduced leisure time, and the erosion of boundaries between work and non-work (Haunschild and Eikhof, 2009). Although socialising may initially appear to foster workplace bonding, it can exacerbate the existing challenges in creative work, affecting an individual's overall quality of life.

Thus far, the literature review has examined various facets related to creative workers, encompassing factors that distinguish them, the diverse work arrangements prevalent within artistic labour markets, the tapestry of income sources sustaining creative workers, and factors affecting their working hours and how it impacts their health and well-being. Despite the breadth of literature addressing creative workers' participation in diverse artistic labour markets, a notable gap persists within scholarly discourse concerning creative work within the context of work and employment—the influence of genres.

While existing scholarship has covered a range of factors relevant to creative workers, there has been an inadvertent oversight regarding the diverse array of experiences encountered within different genres. This oversight fails to acknowledge the interplay between genres and the individuals who participate in them (Lenna and Peterson, 2008). Hence, it is imperative to address this notable gap in understanding, to illuminate how genres shape creative workers' participation in various artistic labour markets. The present study endeavours to rectify this scholarly oversight.

In summary, the discussion revealed that long working hours are characteristic of artistic occupations and an interplay of several factors, such as occupational demands and work arrangements, shape the working lives of creative workers. Creative individuals become accustomed to extended work hours from the beginning of their training, a practice reinforced by educational institutions. It is further reinforced by occupational demands leading to extended working hours, with workers often participating in various unpaid work, including socialising, to sustain their careers in the creative fields. The literature shows how institutional factors, including educational practices and occupational norms, contribute to the extended working hours for creative workers, blurring the work and non-work boundaries. The following section draws attention to creative workers' non-work lives, their family time, and boundaries between work and non-work.

2.5.5. Creative workers' non-work

The following section explores the literature surrounding creative workers' experiences regarding non-work. In particular, it reviews the literature concerning creative workers' experiences of leisure and family time and the work and non-work boundaries. In recent research within the field of leisure studies, Roberts (2023) noted that although previous studies suggested that reducing work time was essential for expanding leisure time, recent findings indicate a different trend: when individuals have more time available from other activities, they allocate it to leisure pursuits without significantly reducing their working hours.

Additionally, a small portion of this surplus time may be devoted to paid work, indicating that individuals may prioritise and engage in leisure activities (non-work) alongside their

professional commitments. It also suggests a shift from the traditional hierarchical view of work and non-work toward a balanced relationship between work and non-work. While this shift in approach towards work and non-work may hold true in many sectors, it may not necessarily be applicable to creative workers (Essig, 2015; Scherdin and Zander, 2011; Woronkiewicz and Noonan, 2019) because work opportunities can coincide with individual passions (Bunderson and Thompson, 2009; Styhre and Norbäck, 2019).

However, there may be exceptions where creative workers occasionally participate in leisure. Inkson (1987) noted that professional potters pursued hobbies such as painting, photography, music, gardening, and sports. Additionally, researchers have reported instances where creative workers' non-work time is dedicated to work-related tasks, such as job searching or networking; Randel and Culkin (2009) noted how, for film workers, leisure meant looking for jobs.

Furthermore, for certain creative workers such as theatre artists, their leisure pursuits may serve instrumental purposes, contributing to their professional development or creative process; Haunschild and Eikhof (2009) noted that theatre artists participated in personal fitness (exercising) so their bodies could be in shape and look good on stage. Thus, scholarship highlights creative workers' intricate relationship with non-work and their participation in various leisure pursuits. On the one end, it challenges the traditional notion that non-work is strictly separate from work. On the other end, it suggests that for creative workers, non-work hours are not merely periods of relaxation but integral components of their working lives.

Further, Eikhof and Haunschild (2006) shed light on how creative workers (theatre artists) prioritised work over their personal lives. Their study described instances where theatre artists subordinated their private lives to work by staying away from financial commitments or rescheduling meetings with friends to meet occupational demands, indicating the impact of work on individuals' personal choices. This suggests that for creative workers, work commitments can often take precedence over personal pursuits, leading to adjustments to participating in various non-work activities and blurring the boundaries between work and non-work. It also highlights that even if recent trends may suggest that individuals tend to balance work and non-work, such a trend is far from true in the case of creative workers.

Moreover, these literature findings offer valuable insights into the broader institutional factors shaping the non-work activities of creative workers. Observations such as theatre artists prioritising work over personal commitments and film workers dedicating non-work hours to job hunting reveal the influence of key institutional factors, including job insecurity stemming from the prevalence of short-term contracts in films and theatre, intense competition within the theatre can create pressure for heightened performance, often leading individuals to prioritise work-related tasks over leisure activities, and industry norms and expectations which can prompt individuals to seek new opportunities, stay connected with relevant networks continually. It also shows that creative workers' work arrangements, including freelance or project-based jobs, and the nature of creative work, lead to the blurring of the boundaries between work and non-work.

In music, this dynamic is particularly pronounced, as activities traditionally considered leisure often intertwine seamlessly with professional pursuits. For musicians, activities such as practising, experimenting with new melodies, or simply listening to music for inspiration can all be considered integral parts of their work. Conversely, leisure activities such as attending concerts and socialising also serve as sources of inspiration and professional networking opportunities. This overlap between non-work and work-related activities blurs boundaries between work and non-work. For example, Juniu et al. (1996) found that musicians' views on rehearsing and performing varied based on their level of engagement. Professional musicians viewed rehearsals as work, and only three percent (3%) viewed performance as work, while a considerable portion of musicians, including professionals and amateurs, viewed rehearsals and performance as a blend of leisure and work.

In creative fields like music or theatre, drawing a clear line between work and non-work can be challenging because activities often possess characteristics of both. Two key aspects emerge in the literature regarding creative workers' non-work activities. *First*, institutional factors override personal desires and affect an individual's participation in non-work, and *second*, the linkage between work and non-work blurs the boundaries between them.

Another notable aspect reported in the literature concerns the shifting of boundaries between work and non-work. Scholars have noted that the boundaries between work and non-work

activities shift over the course of one's career because individuals' aspirations change over time (Lukan and Čehovin Zajc, 2022). While they may be blurred during the early stages, individuals tend to develop a more refined ability to navigate their work and non-work time as they progress in their careers. However, this emphasis on individual agency sometimes overlooks the significant role of institutional factors such as routines, norms, nature of work, and occupation in shaping these boundaries.

For example, Sturges (2008) noted that architects prioritised work over life during the early stages of their career, working extra hours, usually at home during evenings and weekends, to enhance their professional qualifications, gain acceptance among professional members and meet work demands. However, individuals in similar career stages but different occupations, such as engineering or construction, where it would be pretty challenging to carry out work-related activities from home, did not report such practices of working beyond defined working hours, indicating how occupations shape individuals' participation in non-work.

Lukan and Čehovin Zajc (2022) noted that work and non-work boundaries may shift throughout one's career. Their study observed how journalists initially integrated work and non-work due to the inherent demands of their profession, economic dependency, and genuine passion for journalism. However, later, they segmented work and non-work when transitioning to fields like public relations and corporate communications. Such shifts in boundaries may be due to changes in the labour markets and the nature of work and cannot be solely attributed to individual desires and choices. It reflects a nuanced interplay between personal factors and broader institutional influences, including occupation and work environment norms and routines. Additionally, the study's considerable number of female respondents suggests that family priorities may prompt occupational shifts.

Scholarship suggests that women may prioritise family responsibilities over work demands regardless of whether they work in traditional settings or creative work. This trend is evident in Nwagbara's (2020) research on workers in traditional industries and Tams' (2002) exploration of challenges faced by women in creative fields, noting that managing work and non-work was still challenging for women because of parenting and domestic duties,

indicating the influence of broader institutional factors on individuals' participation in non-work activities.

In summary, the above discussion draws attention to the diverse aspects and perspectives regarding creative workers' participation in non-work. While creative workers may occasionally engage in non-work or leisure activities, their participation may be influenced by instrumental purposes, such as job searching or pursuing hobbies related to their craft. Moreover, the blurred boundaries between work and non-work are characteristic of creative work, reflecting the merging of creative aspirations and professional demands.

Contrary to prevailing trends, where leisure and work may be prioritised equally, such trends may be less applicable for creative workers, given the nature of creative work. Institutional factors such as workplace routines, work arrangements, industry norms, job insecurity, intense competition, occupation, and gender dynamics affect creative workers' participation in non-work activities. Gender, in particular, significantly affects women's participation in non-work, as societal expectations and gender norms often influence their decisions regarding family responsibilities and work.

The literature review thus far has shed light on the multifaceted lives of creative workers across diverse occupations. Factors such as artistic skills, engagement in networks, and efforts to promote their work to wider audiences can significantly influence their participation in artistic labour markets, often necessitating additional unpaid work to support their creative pursuits. Scholarship suggests that creative workers participate in other activities to facilitate their participation in the creative fields (Thomson, 2013; Schediwy et al., 2018; Everts et al., 2021). The following section explores these aspects in detail.

2.5.6. Creative workers' skills

The artistic labour markets are such that employing organizations look for various skills and draw from a large pool of artists to manage their overhead costs and the team of artists (Menger, 2001). Consequently, such institutional practices have implications for the creative workforce; they develop a diverse skill set to remain employable in such labour markets,

pursue art, participate in non-routine and non-instrumental creative activity, meet market demands, and increase their chances of earning (Menger, 2001; Svejenova et al., 2015; Wright et al., 2019).

Success in creative work increasingly requires a broad range of skills, such as artistic finesse, business and marketing acumen, and networks, and creative workers allocate time for them (Thomson, 2013; Schediwy et al., 2018; Everts et al., 2021) because these factors affect their chances of earnings and future work. This section reviews the literature on creative workers' practices to develop skills and how they affect their participation in the labour market.

1. Artistic finesse

Artistic jobs are believed to be attractive for their high learning potential. Thus, creative workers pursue their craft, learn by doing, and continually revise their skills to widen their range of work experiences, achieve excellence, and increase their chances of earning (Menger, 1999; Menger, 2001; Barley and Kunda, 2004). Because a creative product is far more than a "utilitarian object" (Khaire, 2017: 6), creative workers develop ritualistic practices to better their craft and make flawless creative outputs (Miller, 2008). However, not all creative work depends only on artistic finesse but a combination of various skills.

Creative workers in various occupations develop a range of practices that enhance their artistic finesse. Miller (2008) noted how musicians allocated regular hours to music practices for developing expressiveness, proficiency, and musicality that can differentiate a star performer from other performers and enable them to become renowned musicians known for their originality. In contrast, Everts et al. (2021) noted that musicians allocated fewer hours to creative pursuits; they highlighted that musicians allocate more hours for managerial and business activities than creative pursuits.

This shows the variations in how workers in creative occupations may allocate time for artistic finesse or other skills and indicates that developing skills may not be a matter of personal desires; instead, other factors can affect what skills are relevant for the creative worker. For instance, in a study involving workers in UK television, Morris et al., (2023) noted that acute social skills were more important than technical competence; nonetheless, both were

necessary for individuals to be hired, indicating how various occupations can affect the skills that are relevant or more important than others.

In a study involving chefs, Pratten (2003) noted that chefs demonstrate an unending commitment to their craft by accepting long working hours as an opportunity to develop skills in a disciplined manner (Cain et al., 2018). They design innovative cuisines, explore artistic ideas to create menus, and use dedicated culinary labs to experiment with various cuisines that are presented at different summits and food festivals and also enjoyed for their intellectual, emotional, and aesthetic worth (Svejenova et al., 2015; Cain et al., 2018). This shows how creative workers develop practices to improve their craft and indicates the competitive aspect of creative work - workers in various artistic occupations desire to improve their craft and stay ahead of others.

Creative workers emphasize creative perfection because it sets the basis for ranking in the A list/B list (Caves, 2000), affecting their reputation, income, and access to creative work. Experienced, highly skilled artists (professionals) with strong professional reputations are preferred over lesser-skilled and loosely connected younger artists during assignment allocation (Menger, 1999). Highly skilled technical contractors called "gurus" (Barley and Kunda, 2004: 64) are revered for their ability to solve complex problems. Such workers experience considerable autonomy in their work and can exercise flexibility regarding what assignments they wish to take up and when. They can enjoy a temporary monopolistic position if their skills and talents are in demand (Menger, 2001). This indicates how markets (institutional factors) can control workers' skill sets because the skills in demand can have better earnings than others.

Thus, the literature highlights the importance of developing and maintaining artistic skills, even outside work hours, for it can impact their earnings and chances for future work. It also shows that developmental activities may vary for workers in different creative occupations. Additionally, it is not only artistic ability that matters; workers need various other entrepreneurial skills to sustain themselves in the labour markets, which is discussed next.

2. Entrepreneurial skills

Literature in creative work has couched several skills and activities under entrepreneurial skills – planning day-to-day activities, networking, marketing, and promoting one's craft, image building, reaching out to people via varied communication techniques, and simultaneously underlined the importance of cultivating such skills (Scott, 2012, Thom, 2016; Everts and Haynes, 2021; Everts et al.,2021). Creative workers acquire entrepreneurial skills on the job, for it affects their earnings (Menger, 2001). Freelance creative workers (journalists) need entrepreneurial skills, such as interpersonal skills to engage with audiences and marketing skills to sell their stories to media houses (Baines and Kennedy, 2010). Likewise, fashion designers use interpersonal skills to negotiate with intermediaries (Lehman and Wickham, 2014), build relationships with other designers and non-designers (Wright et al., 2019), and engage with customers.

Scholarship suggests creative workers need entrepreneurial skills such as business acumen to support themselves and sustain their careers. For instance, musicians must be self-supporting (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010) because labels take less responsibility for musicians (Hughes et al., 2016). As a result, they must create business opportunities to distribute and market their music to stand out in the crowd (Albinsson, 2017), indicating that creative workers (musicians) need broad competencies, not just discipline-specific skills. Everts and Haynes (2021) noted that pop musicians rely extensively on marketing, social media, and public relations to attract industrial assistance (attention from intermediaries) that they believe will advance their creative careers.

Likewise, fashion bloggers use social media to upload various content and receive feedback and input from users/readers on their content to improve rankings and increase followers and likes. Such initiatives improve their earnings because advertisers and their network of affiliates compensate individuals based on their potential to impact other members of the social media community (Duffy, 2016). This shows the relationship between creative work and entrepreneurial skills, how creative workers need various audiences, and the importance of entrepreneurial skills to sustain in artistic labour markets. However, there are differing views regarding entrepreneurial skills; Thom's (2016) study argued that self-employed creative

professionals must develop an entrepreneurial mindset like small businesses and entrepreneurs to succeed economically in the art business.

It remains unclear how skills responsible for the success and failure of small businesses can be equated to the creative worker. Identifying as a business versus being business-like is different because business-like behaviour entails a sense of responsibility, organization, and the skills necessary to perform and sustain as a musician (Coulson, 2012). Some critics have argued that becoming more entrepreneurial can lead to artists often ignoring the essential skills (the technical skills) needed for the craft (Lee et al., 2022). Such arguments indicate that entrepreneurial skills are new to creative work, which is not the case (see the craftsmanship model of work earlier in the chapter).

This suggests that entrepreneurial skills are relevant to creative work, and creative workers in various occupations develop and use entrepreneurial skills to sell their stories, negotiate with intermediaries, create business opportunities, engage with various customers, reach wider audiences, and overall sustain in the labour markets. Scholarship indicates the varied entrepreneurial practices, such as using social media for various marketing and business purposes (Duffy, 2016; Thomson, 2013; Everts and Haynes, 2021). Regarding entrepreneurial practices, scholarship has noted the relevance of networking in creative work (Caves, 2000; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012) which involves developing connections with relevant people or counterparts in other firms where copious information circulates between network members. This is discussed next.

3. Networking

Networking has gained much traction in studies concerning creative workers and their work practices because it generates material gains (Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012), such as new jobs/business opportunities, and offers the possibility of individual productivity and prosperity. It is an unpaid activity that cannot be abstracted from seeking work, production, and maintaining one's network; it is an integral part of the job (Randel and Culkin, 2009). Also, it is a relatively unconscious act where information is often passed on through social processes rather than purposefully designed occasions and facilitates job searching and switching

(Barley and Kunda, 2004; Coulson, 2012; Khaire, 2017), widening individual's connections with a broader group of people and sustains long-term relationships (Gold and Mustafa, 2013).

Networking has both inclusion and exclusion (Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012) characteristics, meaning networks have a strong tendency to contain others who are similar along multiple dimensions, including gender, age, and ethnicity, and simultaneously, networks can be closed to those who do not match group characteristics. Within the networks, opportunities available to an individual may be limited by their social position and background; it is likely to be highly influenced by the status and social position of the person involved in networking, indicating how networks can create and maintain boundaries affecting workers' participation. Creative workers participate in networking to secure their position among members of a profession and other professional groups, make themselves visible to acquire interesting projects, and showcase their work to influential people or senior staff (if working in organizations) (Sturges, 2008). Social networks can shape artists' (musicians') tastes and commitment to their art (Crossley and Bottero, 2015).

Musicians may identify with a particular music world by musicking (2014: 45) with artists. The nexus between creative activities and networking is interlinked, and scholarship in this field highlights their interdependence. Coulson (2012) noted that musicians maintained connections to conservatories and music colleges to build networks and remain current with existing practices so that such networks could be utilized in the future for employment. Likewise, Rosenkranz's (2019) freelancers (journalists) mobilized their human capital by staying connected with editors. When an editor moves out of a publishing house, the journalist restarts rapport building with the new editor to ensure collaboration between creative and humdrum activities can continue for an extended time. In the film industry, the need to be constantly 'networking' is an accepted part of the job.

Film workers rely heavily on networking and word of mouth to identify the 'right' candidate for the job (Blair, 2001). In many cases, it is a primary and sometimes the only tool for recruitment. Likewise, in the record industry, artists and repertoire managers use their networks to recruit new musicians (Zwaan et al., 2009). Further, the unpredictable nature of creative projects means that it is more economical for producers to employ workers on a

flexible basis for the duration that they are required (Throsby, 2012), leading to heavily relying on networking - who is known to whom and how (informal networking discussed later). This shows the significance of networking in creative work; the nature of work in creative occupations leads job seekers and recruiters to depend on networks to create the right fit.

Creative workers rely on a wider network of humdrum partners (who provide humdrum inputs) to expand their work. For example, chefs collaborate with publishers (Svejenova et al., 2015) to expand the outreach of their books. Artists look for galleries that align with their creative goals and acquaint themselves with various styles exhibited in galleries for future collaboration. Similarly, fashion designers look for celebrities (humdrum partners) who will present their costumes at fashion shows (Khaire, 2017). Humdrum inputs demand a wage for wherever they work. They do not care who employs them or what tasks they must undertake that are within their competence. They demand a wage at least equal to what they would earn in the outside markets for their type of input and competence (Caves, 2000:4).

These networks form an individual's social capital, which scholars argue enables creative workers to utilize their creative skills and talent (human capital) (Barley and Kunda, 2014; Khaire, 2017). Creative workers allocate resources to building and maintaining social capital for mobilizing human capital. In turn, social capital provides access to opportunities and feeds back advice into networks that enhance human capital (Barley and Kunda, 2004).

Given the significance of networking, creative workers deploy various networking strategies to develop connections with various people, which are discussed here. Creative workers (film workers) used several personal networking strategies to enter the field (Randel and Culkin, 2009). Some of these strategies include keeping an updated resume to share with anyone relevant in the field, ringing up contacts when at work, and not waiting until one is out of work. As new entrants in the music industry, musicians build contacts by attending jam sessions and performances (Umney and Kretsos, 2014); this initial networking can develop into "scenes" (2014: 580), which enable musicians to perform original music to an engaged audience. They also work for free when entering the creative field (Everts et al., 2021).

Informal networking was common among film workers because they worked together on several projects. Increasingly, there is evidence that reliance on personal networks, friendships, and informal employment practices provide the means of identifying and recruiting suitable people (Randel and Culkin, 2009; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012). Working with known people means one knows working patterns, expectations, and the overall experience of working with each other. Moreover, people want to reduce the uncertainty of new working relationships and avoid unsuccessful relationships, which can, in turn, affect an individual's reputation and future employment possibilities.

Creative workers (musicians and workers in media and television) often socialize with colleagues to build networks and look for new work opportunities (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2009). Barley and Kunda's (2004) technical contractors viewed social interaction as separate activities and devoted time to developing and maintaining relationships with professional colleagues. They made regular phone calls or sometimes met colleagues over lunch and allocated time to developing and maintaining relationships with professional colleagues but portrayed such activities as a part of everyday life.

Creative workers (fashion bloggers) attended social events such as social media conferences, blogger meet-ups, and other fashion events, for they were viewed as an investment in one's career. Such socializing, described as "compulsory sociality" (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 18), can be pleasurable and is considered necessary to survive in the field. However, the consequences of socializing include blurring of work and non-work boundaries (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2009); Duffy's (2016) study involving fashion bloggers notes that socializing was "necessary networking" (2016:449), where event sponsors expected bloggers to write about events in return for the invitation, leading to blurred work and non-work boundaries. This shows the reciprocity in networking.

Scholarship concerning creative workers' networking practices shows how networks can enable and restrict workers' participation in artistic labour markets (Randel and Culkin, 2009; Svejenova et al., 2015; Rosenkranz, 2019), their inclusion and exclusion characteristics (Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012), the reciprocity of built-within networking (Duffy, 2016), and the various approaches creative workers may follow to develop and maintain networks

(Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2009; Umney and Kretsos, 2014; Everts et al., 2021). Literature indicates that creative workers must allocate separate hours for such unpaid work and often spend resources to develop and maintain networks (Barley and Kunda, 2004; Thomson, 2013); in music work, scholarship suggests the significance of networking competence to establish a professional career (Røyseng et al., 2007).

Thus far, the literature review gives a detailed overview of the creative worker's varied work practices and what it is to participate in artistic occupations, including their position in the creative work markets, their various work arrangements, their working hours and incomes, their non-work lives and the range of skills and unpaid work needed to become a creative worker, and identifies gaps in the literature. Scholarship in the field is set in the context of the technological changes that have shaped creative industries and those working in them, with scholars sharing differing views on how the technological changes, on the one hand, have made creative work more appreciative and approachable and, on the other hand, made the creative worker more entrepreneurial and compelled them to move away from a psychologically rewarding life.

The creative industries are a vital economic sector and have attracted voluminous scholarship, where the predominant debate concerning the working lives of musicians is what shapes their work practices. In this regard, scholars have varied perspectives; work practices are shaped by aspirations to work cooperatively (Coulson, 2012); tensions between creative aspirations and commercial goals (Umney and Kretsos, 2014); attitudes toward music work (Everts et al., 2021); by structural conditions of the local context in which musicians participate (Everts and Haynes, 2021) and entrepreneurial mindsets (Schediwy et al., 2018).

Scholarship has indicated the precarity and inequalities embedded in them, yet surprisingly, one of the most important characteristics influencing creative work - genre and its associated institutional systems/settings have been overlooked. This study remedies the omission by investigating musicians' work and non-work lives using the genre lens. It shows that the institutional factors in musical genres shape musicians' work practices, how they get in and get on in the industry, and their lives outside work. The next section explains the significance

of genres in analyzing the work practices of creative workers, followed by a brief summary at the end.

2.6. Musical genres - the analytical lens

The preceding sections within the chapter highlighted that even if musical genres are relevant in understanding creative work, scholarship investigating creative work particularly in the work and employment area is almost invisible. This section draws attention to various institutional factors in musical genres and the significance of deploying genre as an analytical lens in investigating musicians' working lives.

Bayton's (1990) study noted how genres affect what musicians do - classical musicians are trained to follow a written score, particularly orchestral music, which is non-discursive, and classical musicians may find improvisation challenging. A classical musician focuses on detailed instructions in sheet music and follows the dynamics and fingerings without improvising compositions (Bresler, 2022). As Green (2003) noted, for classical musicians, ideologies surrounding tradition, musical excellence, and hierarchical structures may guide pedagogical approaches and expectations within educational institutions and perpetuate inequalities and reinforce gender stereotypes.

Stebbins' (1968) research provided valuable insights into the subculture of jazz musicians and shed light on the dedication required to excel in this art form. Stebbins noted that jazz musicians are deeply entrenched in passion and commitment, where music often took precedence over other aspects of life. Moreover, Stebbins highlighted the intricate social dynamics within jazz bands, indicating the importance of camaraderie and shared goals. Delving into the work practices of jazz musicians, Stebbins documented the relentless dedication required to master improvisation and refine musical skills, indicating the distinct practices in jazz.

Unlike classical music, where conventions such as emotional depths and 'getting it right' (Bull and Scharff, 2021; Bresler, 2022) are pronounced, in jazz, musicians are trained to improvise as they perform, and music is rarely written down. Meanwhile, in pop music, musicians rely

on their memories to perform. However, to an outsider, a trained musician can play in any genre, which is untrue, as Frith (1996) noted. For a classical musician to play rock, they need to actively learn new skills, especially in instrument usage. While proficiency in reading and interpreting written music is a significant advantage in classical music, it may not directly apply to the improvisational and stylistic demands of pop or rock genres. Thus, the varied characteristics highlight the diverse practices, values, and ideologies that shape various music genres. While classical music prioritises adherence to tradition, jazz music prioritises spontaneity, collaboration, and improvisational prowess, reflecting the distinct artistic sensibilities and cultural contexts of each genre.

The distinction between classical and jazz music can be attributed to the institutional factors inherent in each genre. Classical music, centered around conservatories and orchestras, emphasises adherence to tradition, following written scores and preserving heritage. In contrast, jazz music thrives within institutions such as jazz education programs, clubs, and festivals, which cultivate a culture of spontaneity, collaboration, and improvisation. These institutional factors shape musicians' divergent approaches to composition, performance, and musical expression. These genre requirements affect how musicians practice, rehearse, and perform music work.

The diverse skills beneficial in one genre can be redundant in another, as Frith (1996) noted earlier in the section. For example, session work requires different rhythmic and ensemble skills (Bull and Scharff, 2021), whereas musical theatre requires playing using a click track, indicating the varied skills required for music work. Unlike pop, classical music requires many years of training and internalising the norms and social structure of the classical world (Bayton, 1990; Prokop and Reitsamer, 2023). Unlike classical, jazz music requires individuals to showcase individual showmanship as well as close group collaboration between artists (Umney and Kretsos, 2014: 575).

Musicians/singers in the classical genres, particularly training to become opera singers, must practice several hours to sing without amplification, whereas, for jazz and pop musicians, singing was amplified. Classical musicians learn to play music in large prestigious venues, such as the Royal Albert Hall (Bull and Scharff, 2017) and cathedrals, where a specific attire

symbolises high prestige. Beyond merely providing spaces for performances, these grand and prestigious venues are integral components of the institutional factors in classical genres.

Moreover, the attire and protocol associated with performances in venues like cathedrals further reinforce the formalism and tradition inherent in classical music. In contrast, jazz musicians play music in organised scenes (Lena and Peterson, 2008; Umney and Kretsos, 2014), clubs, bars, and informal jam sessions (Stebbins, 1968). Venues where jazz musicians perform vary in terms of the audience's expectations and the type of atmosphere provided. While some jazz gigs may involve playing primarily for listening audiences, others may cater to a crowd that prefers dancing to jazz music. As Stebbins (1968) noted, in certain nightclubs, jazz musicians may enjoy unrestricted freedom to play whatever they please, while others may enforce conservative limits, potentially shaping the repertoire or style of jazz music. This suggests that workspaces (institutional factors) can impact music production. The type of venue, its atmosphere, and the audience's expectations can all shape jazz musicians' creative choices and performance styles.

Meanwhile, in the pop genre, music performances could be organised at homes, bars, and cafes or managed by industries in more established forms (Lena and Peterson, 2008). As Frith (1996) posited, for pop musicians, the visual elements, including clothing, hairstyles, and stage personas, played a crucial role because such elements enabled artists to construct and convey their identities to audiences. The visual elements of pop music are integral components of the institutional factors in a pop genre that shape the production and reception of music in pop. Various management agencies, record labels, concert promoters, and media outlets play a significant role in determining the visual aesthetics associated with pop music. These visual elements are the institutional norms that affect music production and the image of artists.

These distinctions between classical, jazz, and pop musicians based on their performance venues, attire, and artistic freedoms highlight the unique practices within each genre. Classical musicians' adherence to tradition and formality reinforces the perception of classical music as a refined and prestigious art form. In contrast, jazz musicians typically perform in more informal settings, allowing musicians to explore and experiment with a wide range of musical

possibilities. On the other hand, pop musicians frequently perform in various venues where the focus is on visual elements and entertainment value.

Also, the dynamics of authorship and performer identity vary between different genres of music. For instance, in pop music, authorship is a key concern, with the primary goal being to attract audiences and establish the artist's name and identity. This process, often referred to as 'star-making,' is heavily shaped by industry experts such as agents and organisations who aim to maximise profits from creative production. In contrast, jazz and dance music place less emphasis on authorship and individual performer identity (Hesmondhalgh, 1998). Instead, they prioritise a more collective approach to music-making, where collaboration and collective efforts take precedence over individual acclaim.

This reflects the distinct characteristics of different music genres. It underscores the commercial nature of pop music, where success is often measured by market appeal and individual recognition, and simultaneously contrasts it with the collaborative and communal nature of dance and jazz music, where success hinges upon collaborative networks rather than individual brilliance. These contrasting approaches in pop and jazz music reflect the institutional factors that have shaped each genre over time. While pop music prioritises individual acclaim and artist branding within a commercialised space, jazz music values collective creativity and improvisation rooted in communal traditions. These varied institutional factors shape the artistic practices of musicians.

Now, moving to the institutional legitimisation of genre boundaries, it is imperative to consider the broader institutional framework that shapes these distinctions. Bull and Scharff (2021) posit that genre distinctions within the music industry are not arbitrary but are legitimised and upheld by networks and educational institutions. For instance, classical musicians generally learned to perform with highly influential people, resulting in closely linked networks, which reinforces genre boundaries. The reliance on specific networks means musicians cannot play in other genres (Becker, 2008).

Performing within a specific genre entails being part of a community with shared knowledge and practices. As a result, once musicians establish themselves within a particular genre, they

tend to remain entrenched within it. Participation in genre-specific networks both enhances and constrains the development of skills necessary for performing in other genres, thereby creating barriers that make transitioning between genres challenging. This phenomenon (re-) produces genre hierarchies and reinforces established norms. This suggests that genres are not merely classifications of musical styles; rather, their institutional factors create intricate ecosystems where creative work manifests.

The observation that musicians tend to remain within a single genre once established highlights the strong sense of identity and belonging that accompanies genre affiliation. Working within the same genre can have varied consequences; it can enable artists to forge connections within the genre, expand their body of work, and deepen their expertise. However, it can also constrain them from diversifying regardless of their capabilities and limit their exposure to diverse opportunities for cross-genre collaboration. Zuckerman et al.'s (2003) study on actors similarly found that working within the same genre enabled actors to develop expertise and build connections with others within the genre, signalling future employers about the individual's genre-specific skills, yet it also risked typecasting, hindering diversification.

Conversely, Pinheiro and Dowd (2009) present a different perspective on the relationship between genre and artistic success, suggesting that those who embraced a broader range of genres attained greater critical success and higher earnings. Fletcher et al. (2018) noted that authors often gravitate towards particular genres due to their popularity and market demand. This disparity underscores the contextual nature of genre dynamics within various artistic domains. It shows how genres can serve as a useful framework for understanding creative work and audience reception.

Genres not only provide a useful framework for understanding creative work and audience reception but may also impact employment dynamics. The distinction between pop and classical music genres, as elucidated by Haynes and Marshall (2018) and Prokop and Reitsamer (2023), underscores the divergent employment models associated with each genre. They can be viewed at opposite ends where the pop genre is allocated to the freelance bracket (Haynes and Marshall, 2018) with minimal or no entry barriers, and classical is associated with

orchestral and solo work with high entry barriers (Prokop and Reitsamer,2023). Regarding classical music, Prokop and Reitsamer posit the two forms of employment prevalent in classical music: *first*, employed jobs at an orchestra, which they described as outdated, and *second*, portfolio careers. Their study reported stable jobs were available at the orchestra and musical theatre, and participating in auditions and competitions is a norm in classical music. In jazz music, employment included freelance, short-term contracts, or project-based work (Devroop, 2012; Umney and Kretsos, 2014). This suggests that musical genres can affect creative workers' work arrangements.

Additionally, the impact of genres can be seen in markets (consumption of creative products); Fletcher et al. (2018) developed a framework that they described as "genre-world" (2018:997) premised on Becker's (2008)' art world' to reveal the characteristics of the genre - 'popular romance' and explain how the genre operates underlining the rules followed in the creation and dissemination of a genre. They argued that the 'genre-world' comprises genre competence, is highly professionalised, and transcends national boundaries. Authors (members in a genre) acquire genre competence by learning to comprehend texts in a certain manner and then writing, producing, and distributing them in a particular way (Fletcher et al., 2018). Members of a genre reproduce conventions specific to a genre, indicating the institutional characteristic of genres.

Distinguishing genres is central to how record labels categorise creative products and organise the sales process. As Frith (1996) noted, the first thing that a record company asks about any demo tape is "what sort of music is it" (1996: 75-76). This question is not only an inquiry about the music but also about the consumer/customer (who will buy it). According to Frith, the genre defines the music in the market. The generic decisions are important because they affect the record labels and the performers. Once the genre is determined, it guides the performers in varied ways - performers are expected to behave (act, play, and look) in certain ways - the genre rules guide promotional photos and videos and every aspect related to the performer and the creative product.

Moreover, genres extend their impact beyond the realm of work, permeating various aspects of everyday life. Bresler (2022) noted that practising piano lessons was cheerless and insular,

and the institutional culture in music colleges instilled devotion and reverence to music. Prokop and Reitsamer's (2023) classical musicians reported pursuing a lifestyle conducive to preparing for auditions, which included restrained consumption of alcohol, taking supplements, eating healthy, physical exercise, and having leisure time. Other factors include how many hours of practice a week, how long such sessions should last, and the lifestyle one must maintain (drinking/smoking) during practice. Such factors, which seem minute, affect the working lives of musicians.

Furthermore, when considering the varied experiences of women and men within different genres, it becomes evident that genre dynamics intersect with gender. For instance, Bull and Scharff (2021) noted that in classical music, compared to men, women are more likely to teach. Women often dominate music teaching, are less likely to sustain performance positions due to family commitments, including domestic responsibilities and parenting duties, and may earn less than their male counterparts (Throsby and Hollister, 2003; Bennett, 2008). Women found fewer opportunities to forge careers as musicians and were less likely than men to audition. Women musicians struggled to be taken seriously as artists (Citron, 1990; Scharff, 2017) due to the long-standing association between masculinity and artistry in Western mythology (Bain, 2004).

Thus far, the literature suggests that institutional factors within genres can shape the artistic content that is produced and promoted. Genres provide a structure that helps both creative workers and audiences categorise and comprehend creative works. They can affect employment dynamics and reinforce genre boundaries and norms that can shape creative workers' work practices. Additionally, participation in genre-specific networks can both enhance and constrain skill development, reflecting institutional barriers to transitioning between genres. It indicates that genres are not merely artistic categories but encompass institutional frameworks that may shape various aspects of creative work. Given the genre's relevance and how it affects musicians' careers, work practices, earnings, and lives outside work, the present study employs genre as an analytical framework to understand creative workers' work practices and their lives outside of work.

In summary, the chapter offers valuable insights into the dynamics of work, creative industries, genres and various facets of creative work. It begins by reviewing the literature on work and non-work more broadly with an overview of work practices in the traditional labour market, indicating how institutional factors shape workers' work practices and life outside work. Then, the chapter explores the literature concerning the rise of creative industries, the various work arrangements in creative industries, and the shift from craftsmanship to an entrepreneurial model of work, followed by differing debates on how such a shift affected creative workers.

Next, the chapter sheds light on literature concerning genres and their institutional characteristics, indicating the significance of genres in comprehending the working lives of musicians. Furthermore, it focuses on creative workers' participation in artistic labour markets, their work practices, their non-work lives, and various factors that affect their participation in artistic labour markets. Finally, the chapter reviews literature concerning the various institutional factors in musical genres and highlights the often overlooked role of musical genres in shaping musicians' working lives. It identifies how these institutional factors can be relevant in understanding musicians working lives and the importance of genre as an analytical lens to understand musicians' work and non-work.

The literature review highlights a critical need to understand the work practices of creative workers, particularly musicians, to gain valuable insights into broader concepts of work and employment. The review identified divergent perspectives regarding creative workers' participation in creative and entrepreneurial pursuits. Prevailing perspectives on craftsmanship and entrepreneurial models often fail to acknowledge that artists are immersed in respective traditions and follow conventions and stable patterns of behaviour that shape their behaviours. Particularly in music, scholarship concerning how different genres shape musicians' work lives is noticeably invisible. Despite the clear relevance of musical genres as an analytical framework, this aspect remains largely overlooked in existing literature. This study aims to address these gaps by investigating musicians' working lives using the genre lens. By exploring how different genres shape musicians' work practices and experiences, this research aims to provide an insightful understanding of creative work and enrich the broader discourse on work.

Chapter 3

3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

The research aims to understand the perspectives of creative workers (professional musicians) on work and non-work in the creative field and present a meaningful description of work, non-work, and its boundaries for creative workers. *First*, it elucidates how creative workers attribute meanings to work, non-work, and boundaries by virtue of the genres (institutions) and employment within these genres. *Second*, it explains how this meaning shapes what they do and how they do it - the ways in which creative workers develop work and non-work practices and how the genres of music and employment shape the work and non-work activities of creative workers.

To accomplish the research aims, the study will answer the following research questions:

1. How do genres of music and employment status shape musicians' understanding of their work and non-work?
2. How do the meaning of work and non-work shape what musicians do and how they manage work and non-work boundaries?
3. Why do musicians in artistic labour markets have unequal access to creative work and unequal creative work experiences?

A qualitative research study was undertaken to fulfil the research aims. As the aim was to look at different music genres, this influenced selection; informants were purposefully selected from different genres of music that would enable exploring and understanding the central themes of the study (Bryman, 2012). The diversity of informants was maintained by recruiting informants with varied years of experience, gender, and employment status to ensure different perspectives were explored and the themes cut across the variety of informants. The study comprised forty-eight (48) informants from three different genres of music - classical, jazz and pop, employed/freelance, and women/men.

The study used a diverse set of tools, such as semi-structured interviews, diary studies, social media research, and website content, to provide an in-depth understanding of the social world of informants (professional musicians) with different employment statuses and varied music genres. The pandemic impeded the data collection for this study by obstructing face-to-face interviews and participant observation; this challenge was turned into an opportunity by incorporating online interviews combined with diary studies, one open-ended reflective question, and social media research to collect data and extending the study group to geographical regions beyond the UK.

As the fieldwork progressed, musicians' responses to music work appeared centered around the music genres they participated. For example, classical musicians described music training and performing with influential musicians, often sharing their music teachers' names and professional achievements. Pop musicians' descriptions were centered around various audiences and the challenges of playing cover music and not having opportunities for original music work (Greer and Umney, 2022). The genre divisions were apparent in responses during the interviews, which show the genre transcends national boundaries (Fletcher et al., 2018). Thus, recruiting informants from various musical genres was beneficial, irrespective of their location.

A summary of the fieldwork is presented here. The fieldwork involved recruiting informants from different genres of music using a purposive sampling technique. Forty-eight (48) (professional musicians) comprising - thirty classical musicians, nine jazz musicians, and nine pop musicians participated in the study. The study used varied tools such as semi-structured interviews, diary studies, repeat interviews, social media, and websites to provide strong evidence for the issue under discussion and add credibility and trustworthiness to the study. Out of the forty-eight (48) professional musicians, thirty-three (33) individuals contributed to a single interview, and fifteen (15) individuals participated in repeat interviews. Out of forty-eight (48) professional musicians, twenty-two (22) individuals participated in the diary study; out of which thirteen (13) individuals recorded single diaries, seven (7) individuals recorded two diaries, and two (2) individuals recorded three diaries.

The study recorded website and social media activity for twelve (12) informants' five (5) from classical music, four (4) from jazz music, and three (3) from pop music. Informants' websites were read before the interview to get an overview of their profile and any relevant information related to their work. No web pages were copied or stored. The social media posts provided information regarding various activities - specific announcements for gigs, new music composed, and other information that informants posted. Data collected using these tools were triangulated to provide strong evidence for the investigation and add credibility and trustworthiness to the study.

The methodological strategy for the present research was a qualitative research study (Ritchie et al., 2014) because, *first*, the study aimed to capture views of professional musicians concerning the nature of their work, the conditions and structure of their work, their life outside of creative work, and their standpoints on work and non-work boundaries; a qualitative study provided the scope for emergent ideas to understand real-world events instead of working with preconceived ideas. *Second*, the study took a naturalistic interpretive approach to explore and examine the phenomenon from the interior (Flick, 2018), where informants did not follow pre-defined questionnaires and expressed their views through diaries and conversations with minimal intrusion.

Third, the flexible nature of qualitative research study provides an in-depth understanding of informants' social world, experiences, and perspectives and takes research participants' accounts as the starting point. The study asks 'what,' 'why,' and 'how' questions, focusing on the process, resulting in data that was words/textual content, detailed, and complex, and not numbers. It was essential to consider contextual conditions such as institutions and social and environmental conditions to fulfil the research aims. People's lives unfold within these conditions, shaping their behaviours and practices.

Fourth, a qualitative study embraces contextual conditions and can explain behaviour by considering existing and emerging concepts and adding new insights into the research area, making it most suited for the present study. Also, the analysis retained the complexity, nuances, and uniqueness of participants' perspectives and was open to emergent categories

during the analysis stages, which makes qualitative research study the most suited methodological strategy.

Furthermore, due to the informants' diversity and the settings' complexity, the present study warrants using a range of data collection tools and varied sources of evidence. It integrates them to answer the research questions mentioned above. A qualitative research study recognizes the value of using multiple sources of evidence and triangulating data for a rich interpretation. Because only an in-depth investigation can unearth what is happening and why, such as what activities are understood as work, how hobbies can become work, why a vast range of unpaid work is the foundation of work (paid work) - a qualitative research study is appropriate to such an investigation.

The chapter is divided into five main sections, addressing different dimensions of the research fieldwork. The *first* section highlights the research problem and the relevance of investigating it followed by the epistemological location (the philosophical assumption of knowing what you know), the justification for data collection and analysis methods, and how the research approach unfolded throughout the fieldwork. The *second* section deals in greater detail with various stages in conducting fieldwork, including constructing sample participants and details of the data collection methods. The section explains why and how the data collection tools were deployed, the foreseen and unforeseen obstacles, how they were mitigated, and their limitations. The chapter has varied examples to facilitate the readers with the procedures deployed throughout the research process. The *third*, section addresses the ethical considerations in the study; the final section shows insights leading to the data analysis, followed by strategies for generalizing the findings.

3.2. Research problem and relevance:

Understanding work is like studying an emerging phenomenon; what constitutes work has continued to evolve (see Chapter 2, Literature Review), and scholars investigating various occupations have argued the need to examine work practices in the creative occupations to gain insights regarding work more generally (Throsby, 2012). As Haynes and Marshall (2018) noted, today's workforce can be viewed as musicians' labour because large sections of the

workforce in various occupations experience precarious working conditions, resembling musicians' working practices (2018: 461). Thus, understanding musicians' working lives can give more perspective to understanding work more broadly. In this regard, researchers have noted the limited studies concerning musicians' working lives and urged more research in this area (Coulson, 2012; Umney and Kretsos, 2014). Thus, the present investigation identified the following gaps in the literature and concertized the research problem.

First, scholarship has identified three different labour markets where creative workers participate: the creative work market, the arts-related market, and the non-arts market (Throsby, 2012; see Chapter 2, Literature Review). Literature suggests that creative workers face precarious working conditions; there are more people than there are jobs. Here, the problem is the assumption that individuals are chasing the same jobs, which may not be the case, and more investigation may be needed in this regard. Not undermining the precarious conditions that musicians face in artistic labour markets, the intention is to highlight that scholarship has not considered that genres are a fundamental aspect of structuring creative work, which is a gap in the literature.

Because creative outputs are varied and working practices associated with the production and consumption of creative outputs follows genre-specific conventions (Lena and Peterson, 2008), leading to differences in creative content, and varied creative work experiences. It may also lead to variations in musicians' participation in artistic labour markets. For example, musicians produce a range of creative content; songwriting, gigs at pubs, and composing a requiem are different creative outputs that require varied work practices. Thus, ignoring genres can limit our understanding of musicians' participation in various artistic labour markets, the working conditions they experience, the nature of creative work, and their access to creative work.

Second, a related area of inquiry is that although the literature has revealed that workers (musicians) in artistic occupations have multiple job holdings, there is not enough information on what shapes the selection of these jobs, which is a gap that limits our understanding regarding, why some musicians have several interesting projects, whereas others participate in more routine jobs regularly and occasionally have exciting work. Next, scholarship does not

provide sufficient information on why, for some people, multiple jobs are concentrated in a specific area of the creative work market while others hustle from one function gig to the other. Further, it is generally acknowledged that creative workers hold multiple jobs in the non-arts market for breadwinning (Lindström, 2016). Is that applicable to all creative workers, or are there variations that need to be explored and reported? Because musical genres are relevant in creative work (see Chapter 2, Literature Review) and have not received attention in the literature, there is a gap that genres' institutional factors can affect multiple job holdings, which needs investigation.

Third, scholarship investigating creative workers and their work practices appears almost divided concerning creative and entrepreneurial activities. Creative occupations expect creative workers to have creative and entrepreneurial skills because it increases the chances of success during project allocation (Menger, 1999) and affects earnings (Throsby, 2012). In the case of musicians, there are differing views in literature, with some emphasizing creative expertise (Lee et al., 2022), others highlighting the need for business acumen (Ellmeier, 2003), some others suggesting both skills are equally important and necessary to acquire creative work and sustain a music career (Schediwy et al., 2018).

Several others indicate that too much attention to entrepreneurial areas can negatively affect creative work (Everts and Haynes, 2021). Here, a binary perspective is problematic because the literature indicates that making creative products and distributing, promoting, and selling them is not new for a creative worker (see Chapter 2, Literature Review), and musicians allocate time to creative and non-creative activities (Thomson, 2013; Everts et al., 2021). Thus, understanding musicians' work practices regarding participation in creative and entrepreneurial activities may involve going beyond the observed phenomenon and examining factors such as musical genres that are fundamental to musicians' work practices, which is missing in the literature.

Further, creative workers' participation in creative and entrepreneurial activities may have changed over time, leading to divergent views regarding musicians' work practices. For instance, Albinsson's (2017) investigation reported entrepreneurial activities shape musicians' work practices. In contrast, in Coulson's (2012) study, musicians are described as accidental

entrepreneurs, and cooperation is central to shaping musicians' work practices. Umney and Kretsos (2014) have argued that the tensions between creativity and commerce have shaped musicians' work practices. Lingo and Tepper (2013) have argued that uncertainties in cultural industries shape workers' work practices throughout the industry.

However, assuming that there is an overall shift in creative workers' participation in such activities tends to suggest that musicians perform similar activities or participate in similar work practices, which may not be the case given the range of creative outputs, the skills, and expertise necessary for producing creative products and the income variations in creative work. Although scholarship contributes to understanding the various aspects that can shape musicians' work practices, there is not enough information on the experiences of musicians from various genres - how musicians in different musical genres allocate time to creative and non-creative activities, do musicians in various musical genres experience similar tensions between creative and entrepreneurial activities, are there any differences in work practices where musicians are either employed or freelance musicians or do women and men in creative occupations have similar working lives. These are some relevant areas that need more investigation to understand the working lives of creative workers.

Fourth, scholarship in creative occupations has indicated that creative workers use social media extensively to produce and consume creative outputs (Thomson, 2013; Everts and Haynes, 2021). It appears like a new labour market where creative outputs are produced, marketed, and sold, with almost no entry barriers (anyone can upload music on online platforms); however, only some end up monetizing creative outputs and generating an income through fans or subscribers, indicating varied experiences of participation on online platforms. Given that creative workers in the present day actively participate in social media, there is not enough information on why some workers can monetize online content whereas others don't.

These gaps in the literature indicate that musicians have varied experiences in artistic labour markets, they follow various work practices to sustain a music career, and there are inequalities in creative work. Thus, understanding musicians' working lives needs more investigation using an analytical frame of a musical genre that is very relevant but overlooked in the literature. Genres in music are significant, for they affect the production and

consumption of creative outputs. Scholarship concerning musicians' work practices in relation to musical genres is almost invisible in literature, and this study aims to remedy this gap.

3.2.1. Philosophical position

The philosophical position in the present research is that reality exists independent of the observer but is only accessible through the perception and interpretation of individuals; the external reality is multifaceted, and the purpose of research is to capture that reality in all its depth and complexity. The epistemological location is broadly within the school of thought, generally known as critical realism or subtle realism (Ritchie et al., 2014: 21), which recognizes informants' own interpretations of the issues researched, the importance of understanding people's perspectives within the context and circumstances of their lives and how that yields different types of understanding. The researcher's position is that the external reality is multifaceted, and the aim of the research is to capture the reality in all its depths and complexity. Thus, at the start of the research project, existing theory and research are used to plan the study's design, develop a sampling approach, and select appropriate fieldwork tools.

During the fieldwork and early stages of analysis, the focus was to explore and understand participants' experiences from their points of view. Here, the goal was to seek as much detailed information as possible about people's lives. Toward the end of the analysis, the research findings were put back into the context of existing knowledge. Combining various research methods is often necessary to answer the research questions. The present study followed Ritchie et al.'s (2014) pragmatic choice (2014: 22) - using appropriate methods to address specific research questions than aligning with a specific epistemological stance. It involves combining different research methods necessary to answer research questions. Here, the objective is to use the right research tools instead of methods confined to specific traditions.

3.3. Conducting fieldwork

The present section draws attention to the fieldwork process, including how research unfolded throughout the fieldwork, describing the different phases. The section describes the phases in the fieldwork, strategies, methods deployed for data collection, the reasons for deploying these methods and tools, and the challenges faced during fieldwork.

3.3.1. Phases in fieldwork

The present section focuses on the various phases of the fieldwork, highlighting the initial fieldwork plans, the changes made, and the reasons for implementing them. The objective was to collect data using semi-structured interviews and a diary study for an in-depth qualitative analysis. The initial plan was to conduct face-to-face semi-structured interviews on more than one occasion over nine months to one year and simultaneously conduct the diary study to capture event(s) in real-time (as they occurred). These methods were relevant to the study because semi-structured interviews are a conversation tool to gather knowledge and information about others (Brinkmann, 2013).

It is a widely used format for qualitative interviews because of their knowledge producing potential, allowing the scope for following up on relevant areas. Also, they engage the interviewer as a knowledge-producing participant, enabling the researcher to focus the conversation on issues deemed necessary for the research project. Although qualitative interviews are widely used for data collection, scholars have indicated that such tools are vulnerable to interviewer bias (Sovacool et al., 2018). This study, therefore, uses a diary study to counter the limitations of qualitative interviews; a *diary study* is a recording tool that captures particular events in natural settings and is a communication tool during repeat interviews. Combining qualitative interviews and diary study for data collection adds rigor because it provides valuable insights for the study by comparing what people say during interviews and what they record in diaries. It brings a methodological novelty to the study.

Due to the pandemic (COVID-19), there were restrictions on travel and meeting people face-to-face. Also, people started working from home, and many moved in with their families away

from their work locations, which created obstacles and demanded changes in the approach to collecting data for the study. Given these obstacles, some changes were introduced in the fieldwork process. Instead of meeting participants in person, observing them at their work locations, and interviewing them face to face, the process was moved to an online medium. This means participants were identified using online social media platforms, initial contact was established, and participants were screened based on the purposive sampling technique.

Face-to-face, semi-structured interviews were replaced by online interviews using video calls. Using semi-structured interviews online involved using the interview guide and asking open-ended questions in varied sequences based on responses (Salmons, 2012). The diary study was conducted as planned, and informants were provided with an electronic document to record activities and events in their own words. The diary format was structured to record weekly activities during waking hours - morning, afternoon, and evening.

An open-ended reflective question – 'Work for me is' was included in the diary for informants to write their reflections regarding work. The diary included one open-ended question to encourage informants to reflect as they write their diary records as part of the study. Next, informants were asked what work is, and their responses varied– from 'I don't know, I am here to discover what is work' to describing some activities as work.

The open-ended questions allowed the informant to express their views, which could be triangulated with interview data. Additionally, social media and informants' websites were used as research tools to collect data on social media posts and content on the website. Besides these changes, four other changes were introduced in data collection, which are detailed as follows.

After the initial three interviews, it was found that informants travelled to several cities worldwide for music work whether or not they lived in the UK. Informants - soloists, orchestral musicians, jazz, and pop musicians described traveling for work not only within the UK but also to other European countries such as Germany, Spain, and Italy; Middle Eastern countries such as Turkey and Iran; countries in east and southeast Asia such as India, Russia, and China; and the far west in the USA. One informant (soloist, classical) described living in Madrid and

performing in the USA and the UK throughout the year. Another informant (pop musician) described living in India and performing as an accompanist with renowned artists in the UK and USA for most of the year in addition to recording work in India. Orchestral musicians described traveling to a European country regularly each year to offer lessons in music and collaborating with other artists in countries such as Ghana and India for performances and music teaching. This pattern revealed that artists were not limited to geographical locations for music work. It also indicated that musicians' work practices were structured differently.

Because the interviews were conducted during the pandemic, and there were restrictions on traveling and live performances, informants described performing to audiences online, creating content that can be shared on platforms, participating in online music practice with colleagues, developing music programs, and music teaching to stay relevant and sustain a music career. However, not all musicians performed for online audiences or scheduled regular online music practice, and some did not even participate in online music teaching, indicating the variations in music work. Even the online content varied - pop musicians shared content regarding general topics on becoming a musician, whereas classical musicians shared content related to developing musicality. These complexities, which emerged during the initial data-gathering stage, were the driving factors for expanding the study beyond geographical locations and including informants from different genres and employment statuses.

During the initial interviews, and even later, informants (freelance musicians) consistently compared themselves with workers having full-time jobs to indicate that a salaried job means specific start and end times and work hours. Responding to non-work questions, informants (freelance musicians) drew immediate comparisons between their working lives and those they know with full-time jobs in music or other professions to suggest that there are no weekends for musicians.

It was also an indication to explore rival interpretations related to weekends and recruit informants from different employment statuses to benefit the investigation. So, informants with various employment statuses - full-time employment, freelancing, and those with full-time employment and occasional freelancing (here reported as hybrid employment) were included in the research to gather first-hand information and generate robust insights from

the investigation. They included musicians with full-time employment contracts in a major opera house in the USA and an orchestra company in Germany, and there were others with full-time music jobs in a club and church. Some of these employed musicians occasionally held freelance music jobs or music teaching.

Aside from these, there was some apprehension regarding the confidentiality of the informants' information. On questions related to their time away from work, there were occasions where respondents shared information regarding failed relationships or personal challenges to sustaining romantic relationships. Because such information was not part of the research, questions were tailored to seek information regarding domestic duties. Instead of using the broad term 'personal time,' a more direct term 'domestic work' was used to limit responses to enter areas that made the interviewee and the interviewer uncomfortable.

Also, regarding time usage/value of time, respondents would share the importance of time in playing notes, how time and notes are built, or the importance of time and embracing people, not differentiating between higher and lower ranked, but rarely responded in terms of hours spent on unpaid work and disproportionate earning, unless targeted questions such as 'how do you see your earnings concerning the time you allocate to music work?'

Informants who willingly participated in the diary study indicated their inclination to record diary entries during certain weeks. They expressed interest in maintaining a diary during a specific week because certain weeks were busier than others; informants described having more scheduled music work during that time. Also, there were times when informants said they did not have much work to record during a particular week but were happy to record whatever they did. There were instances when informants kindly offered to share their previous diaries to examine them to understand their working lives. As this was out of the scope of the study, such diaries were not examined.

Informants maintained diary records for about a week. Because the diary study was conducted at a time when there were several restrictions on working and travel, it was relevant to expand the data collection and include more than one diary from the same informant, enabling them to share records from their working lives and also to chronicle the changes during that time.

Twenty-two (22) informants recorded diaries for a week, seven (7) informants recorded two (2) diary entries for a week during different times to capture any changes to their working lives, and two (2) informants recorded three (3) diary entries for a week during different times. Because informants from various geographical locations participated in the study, the lockdown (due to the pandemic) was not standard for all informants.

Most informants recorded the diaries while working from home (lockdown time); however, there were occasions when informants worked from venues such as concert halls during the lockdown time. Some musicians recorded diaries at the times when the lockdown was eased or during times between two lockdowns, and very few informants recorded entries after the lockdown was called off completely and various venues started to reopen for music work or business as usual. In cases where informants recorded diaries for one (1) week, the data records were useful for understanding the variations in musicians' work practices across the data set.

In cases where informants recorded more than one (1) diary for a week, it was revealed that professional musicians' routines varied; for the same musician, no two weeks were similar, which creates challenges in examining work and non-work in the case of creative workers. Also, given the environmental circumstances surrounding data collection, the diary records revealed work and non-work activities for a few days in the week, and for the remaining days, there were no records because informants were unwell. Although the diary proved an effective tool for collecting real-time data (Radcliffe, 2013), it also indicated that in the case of creative workers, data records from more than one diary could be more useful.

The diary records indicate how institutional settings affect informants' working lives; they provided valuable insights into the lives of creative workers, some of them include the nature of unpaid work undertaken by various musicians from different musical genres, the varied experiences of non-work time for women in different life stages, and time allocated for music preparation - classical musicians participated in music preparation more regularly. In contrast, musicians in the non-classical genres occasionally reported music practice, women and men reported varying experiences of music teaching and participation in creative work, and some musicians (classical musicians/men) performed exciting work throughout the week. In

contrast, for others, most of the week included writing emails to various venues for work, updating social media, and occasionally doing some creative work.

Although adding more research tools could complicate the data collection process, simultaneously, it enabled data triangulation, enhancing the validity of qualitative research and the robustness of the study. For the present study, website, and social media activity for twelve (12) informants' five (5) from classical music, four (4) from jazz music, and three (3) from pop music) from different genres were examined. The website and social media posts were accessed without following musicians' accounts, only examining what was publicly available.

Websites were examined before and after the interviews, and social media posts were examined after the first interview. Before the first interview, approximately thirty (30) minutes were spent on the informant's website collecting information to assist the interview process. Later, informants' websites were studied after the interview to see the nature of promotional content informants uploaded, their program events (if any), and content describing their music, musical instruments, and names of important/relevant people they have performed with; approximately one hour was spent on each website after the interview.

It is generally argued that a research design must be in place before the research begins because it is the blueprint for the research procedures. The present study acknowledges the argument but also underlines that new challenges can appear in a qualitative research study, and new insights are gained during fieldwork (Pole and Lampard, 2015: 11). These continual developments encourage modifying certain research design areas to ensure the findings are robust (Thornberg and Charmaz, 2013; Ritchie et al., 2014).

As mentioned at the start of the chapter, the research aims of the study warrant a qualitative research study to investigate the issues at hand, and it is apposite to modify the design and report the modifications and how they benefited the study and strengthened it. The chapter shows the varied challenges and new insights during the fieldwork that contributed to modifying data collection methods. Also, the chapter highlighted the consequences of not

doing the modifications and how they would limit understanding of the issues under discussion.

3.3.2. Protocols during fieldwork

Throughout the data collection phase, specific procedures were followed, which included listening to participants and staying neutral and non-directive. It also involved maintaining the credibility and trustworthiness of the research, following some guidelines while collecting data, such as interviews, writing memos, and keeping a study bank, to name a few. These procedures facilitated the data collection and maintained an analytic perspective throughout the study. These are detailed as follows.

Listening to participants' descriptions, their mood when conversing, their surroundings, any motives that appeared, any intentions or deeper meanings - for example, informants emphasizing that they must do a lot of unpaid work and activities they particularly dislike, such as writing to venues and following up with them. Some informants described being creative with unpaid work, such as writing emails to venues, because they customized client proposals. Also, informants said they learned new skills and tactics to approach audiences because, in the present day, audiences do not spend much time listening or reading and are interested in quick entertainment.

Freelance musicians from different musical genres shared similar views regarding audiences' limited inclination to pursue art or listen to music. Listening allows capturing deeper meanings; here, informants described changes in audiences' responses and the resulting change in interacting with audiences. These facts provided the basis to explore why musicians develop connections with audiences or even create ways to reach out to varied audiences. This is tackled later in the thesis (see Chapter 5, Unpaid Work).

Going back to the protocols followed during fieldwork, for example, as the interviews were online, saying Hmmm or nodding the head in agreement versus patiently listening had different consequences, such as saying Hmm was recorded with the participant's recording, making transcribing difficult. The first interview had these disruptions. Also, nodding a head if

informants said, "isn't it?" may be considered a sign of approval, which may not always be true. So, patiently listening to the interviewee and if they were seeking validation, a follow-up question such as - "can you say more on this, please?" was beneficial to maintain a minimal structured direction during data collection using semi-structured interviews.

Having a study bank was beneficial - the study bank for the present study included a collection of journal articles and studies that could inform the present study on available methodologies, theoretical ideas, and data collection methods. It allowed exploring various advances in the field; for example, studies related to voluntary work and the boundaries around work (Schlachter et al., 2018) about professional musicians (Coulson, 2012), using social media research (Sloan and Quan-Haase, 2016) and working lives of musicians (Everts et al., 2021).

Referring to various studies was like a guide throughout the research. Also, tracking other studies in the field, like what was happening at the time of the study, was relevant, for instance, regarding funding for the arts during the pandemic. Have musicians benefited from government funding during the pandemic, and who has benefited? Has it affected musicians? Knowledge of various issues in the field meant having familiarity with varied areas that affect musicians' lives. For example, some basic ideas regarding funding for the arts gave initial ideas to examine how musicians were coping financially during the pandemic. Some of the classical musicians described exploring jobs that offered financially stable options, and one of the pop musicians mentioned he worked in the non-arts market for a week to support himself financially. Staying abreast with relevant issues can provide insights and open possibilities for further exploration.

The study ensured that trustworthiness and credibility were maintained - transparency was maintained in the research procedures - meaning the procedures were clearly stated so readers could review and understand them and undertake such examinations. The findings in the study are supported by evidence. An orderly set of research procedures minimized whimsical work and created rigorous research routines.

A researcher's journal was maintained throughout the study, containing a record of experiences, ideas, fears, mistakes, and confusion. A certain degree of the structure was

maintained throughout the study, such as recruiting informants, communicating with them via email before and after the interview, and recording various other information such as the informant's expression of feeling, their concerns related to their career, and sometimes related to their personal lives were noted which benefited the study. Following a certain process throughout the fieldwork proved relevant to mitigate the unanticipated events.

Also, having an explicit set of evidence consisting of the participant's description and the context in which it was expressed added credibility. Throughout the research, the intention was to look out for rival explanations to ensure the validity of the qualitative research study. For example, there were rival interpretations of music activity - informants described music activity as non-work, and there were informants who said anything related to music is work. These are rival interpretations; for the present chapter, the above example is detailed - if one of the interpretations of music activity is non-work, recognizing the rival interpretation that music activity is work means contrary to Yin (2016) not rejecting the original interpretation but accepting it. Because material settings produce varied realities, distinguishable rival narratives establish different perspectives that cannot be rejected and must be accepted.

Throughout the research study, deliberate attempts were made to seek rival interpretations to limit the possibility of being misguided and misled into concretizing findings for the study. A continual sense of skepticism was maintained by regularly asking questions such as whether descriptions are as they appear, whether participants are giving the most candid responses, and whether original assumptions were correct or needed change.

For instance, one informant's (classical musician) website information included video recordings of orchestral music being performed inside cathedrals (the video showed different locations). The website description indicated that the musicians regularly participated in orchestral performances at large venues. Maintaining skepticism meant asking more questions regarding the observed data. Thus, taking the website as the basis, the informant was encouraged to say more regarding the orchestral work. The interview responses revealed that the video on the website was an attempt to showcase musicality; many musicians participated and performed for free (see Chapter 5, Unpaid Work).

Having rival interpretations creates the scope to understand an issue more broadly, introduces several nuances into the frame for analysis, and limits making blanket conclusions about the study. Having a skeptical frame of mind enhances the robustness of the study. For example, why only one musician out of the forty-eight musicians who participated in the study held positive views regarding work at musical theatre, and the remaining participants found musical theatre as mundane and damaging to a musician's career in the long run.

In addition to rival thinking, triangulation was applied throughout the study - throughout the data collection, examining descriptions from different sources such as interview data, diary study, social media research, and written responses to a reflective question. For instance, there were consistent findings - having a scheduled time for domestic work - men described having hours scheduled for such tasks, and their diaries had similar notes regarding domestic chores.

Also, for triangulation, informants were sometimes asked questions on a topic multiple times to gather their views and represent them correctly. For example, one of the classical musicians in the study described the importance of practicing music, training with a voice teacher, and taking lessons in music. He reported similar notes in the diary. Triangulating data enabled reporting findings with confidence and ensured that participants' views were captured correctly. It outed those whose interview responses were inconsistent with what they did in practice; examples include musicians who spoke about the importance of taking breaks from work and participating in various non-work activities; however, their diary notes had no record of any non-work. Triangulating data gave a solid foundation to reflect on these facts and make the qualitative research study robust.

Protocols followed in the qualitative research study include using an interview guide (see Chapter 10, Appendices) with sufficient questions central to the topic. The semi-structured interview followed a conversational mode, which presented the opportunity for two-way interaction, asking follow-up questions, seeking more clarity on areas that appear relevant to the study, and asking open-ended questions. Also, a pattern was maintained for entering and exiting the interview. Sometimes, the interview may begin with a grand tour question such as "share your journey as a freelance musician," and at other times, drawing from prevailing

environmental circumstances (interviews were conducted during the pandemic). For instance, "do you have any recent updates in your professional circles regarding venues and when they plan to invite musicians and guests?" followed by questions central to the research and eventually getting to the desired level of details for the study. While exiting the interview, informants could ask any specific questions or needed clarifications if they wanted to.

One informant (classical musician) shared on her website, "when I work, I play and when I play I work". These lines were used as the starting point for the conversation. Collecting information about prospective participants can benefit the conversations during semi-structured interviews. It can provide a starting point or create links between different issues, encouraging the informant to share insights about their working lives. Before interviewing participants, certain protocols were followed, such as collecting more information about the interviewee from websites about their work, any specific areas they seemed to be interested in, the kind of music they played, information regarding venues/locations, music instrument, educational qualification, music qualifications, any award they won, or any other information.

The process of gathering data before the interview revealed some variations; some musicians (mostly classical) described training with highly accomplished musicians, others described touring and performing at various locations, and many others shared their accomplishments and educational qualifications. At this stage, it was apparent that there are fundamental differences in music work, and a genre-based analysis is a novel approach to understanding musicians' working lives because genres are a fundamental part of creative work.

Informants had some questions during the interview; nine (9) informants asked the researcher (myself) if the researcher was a musician and why she was interested in studying musicians. One (1) informant enquired if the researcher was from the government and collecting data for the government's use. Generally, most informants welcomed the research interest in musicians' lives and were interested in sharing their world. Other questions included whether the research findings can be shared, the thesis completion date, and details regarding PhD studies at the University of Leeds. Also, informants were curious about other participants' responses, especially regarding non-work. Two informants (women) shared they participated in the study to explore what non-work is.

Questions regarding income received a cold response. Informants suggested the researcher check the musician's union website pages for details on such questions. Some would say the rates are usually higher than the union rates; others would provide a response which was 'in this catchment, it is higher/lower. Occasionally, informants shared some numbers to indicate a ballpark figure applicable to musicians but refrained from sharing any income details.

Musicians were generally interested in sharing what they do and describing their creative projects in detail; musicians in classical music particularly described the variety of creative work they performed, whereas pop musicians described their creative strategies to reach out to clients and customers. Informants married/parenting duties highlighted how parenting constrained them. Overall, some aspects of the informants' lives were central to which other things were attached, an area in their lives that was subtly pervaded in their responses. The next section focuses on sampling strategy, recruiting participants for the study, and the tools for data collection.

3.3.3. Sampling and recruiting research participants

Based on the research questions, and as the research focus was to explain and increase the depth of understanding (Palinkas et al., 2015), the interview sample was purposive, with participants selected for what they could inform. The selection criteria for the study followed Coulson's (2012) description of a musician - "making a living from music, for a large part of their working life" (2012: 249). Interview subjects were requested to refer to others they thought might be willing or otherwise interested in participating in the research project.

Further, based on references, those people were recruited who were most likely to provide appropriate information (Mason, 2018; Robinson, 2014; Campbell et al., 2020). It included informants from various musical genres (classical, jazz, and pop) to make key comparisons and develop and test arguments (Mason, 2018: 89). For example, people who identified as musicians but performed music occasionally during weekends at friend's club and were employed in other occupations were not recruited. Also, the study did not include people who identified as musicians but were luthiers.

Many musicians described their music work before signing informed consent and participating in the study. For example, one informant (classical musician) shared the following details via email " *My friend [anonymized] passed on your details saying you were looking for musicians who can help with your research. Happy to do that if you can use me. I am a professional ...over thirty years experience and still earn the bulk of my income from live performance.*" Another informant (pop musician) shared participating in various music jobs such as producing music for television channels, performing as an accompanist to artists, and performing original music work (Greer and Umney, 2022). Thus, people from different musical genres who performed a range of music work and earned from music work were recruited for the study.

References from interview subjects improved the chances of finding more research participants and overcoming the refusals to requests for participation because the interviewees' mediation gave more weight to the requests for an interview. As a result, forty-eight (48) informants agreed to participate in the study. Out of the forty-eight (48) professional musicians, thirty-three (33) individuals contributed to a single interview, and fifteen (15) individuals participated in repeat interviews. Out of forty-eight (48) professional musicians, twenty-two (22) individuals participated in the diary study; out of which thirteen (13) individuals recorded single diaries, seven (7) individuals recorded two diaries, and two (2) individuals recorded three diaries. The study recorded website and social media activity for twelve (12) informants' five (5) from classical music, four (4) from jazz music, and three (3) from pop music that were examined.

Appendix A shows a table comprising participants from different genres included in the study; Appendix B shows the informants' family stage, and Appendix C shows the distribution of creative workers in different genres of music and participation in the creative work market. Appendix C does not include musicians' participation in the art's related market or the non-art's market. Participants for the study were identified and recruited from different sources - researcher's contacts, referrals received from interviewees and other professional bodies, and social media websites. The stages in recruiting participants are as follows:

Identifying research subjects through professional bodies and social media websites involved examining the creative workers' profile descriptions, including years of experience as a

professional musician, genre, and employment status. After identifying a prospective list of research subjects, an initial email message was sent requesting the invitation to connect with the prospective research subject, introducing the researcher and the research project, and stating the intention to connect. If research subjects accepted the invitation to connect, the second message was an invitation to participate in the research as an interviewee, seeking their interest to participate at a date and time mutually convenient to the research subject and the researcher. Appendix D provides more details regarding recruiting participants.

In case research subjects expressed interest in participating in the research study, a follow-up email was sent to the participant, comprising the project information sheet and consent form with details on how to use them, thanking them for taking part in the study and a request for a possible day, date, and time and any preferred online medium for the interview. The usual time to contact potential interview subjects was Monday and Wednesday between 10:00 am and 11:00 am (interviewee's time), which meant late afternoon or late night for the interviewer (the interviewer was based in India). Forty-eight (48) informants participated in online interviews from various countries - thirty-two (32) informants from the UK, nine (9) informants from the USA, one (1) informant each from India, Italy, Turkey, and Spain, and three (3) from Germany. By trial and error, this seemed to merit the best results in terms of responses.

The success rate for identifying potential interview subjects through professional bodies and social media websites was 6 to 7 percent. There were no refusals where interview subjects were identified through the researcher's contacts and interviewee's references. In cases where there was no reply from the potential interview subjects, a polite follow-up email was sent after ten days. Two follow-up emails were sent before pursuing other potential research subjects.

The intention of recruiting research subjects changed during the initial fieldwork. Initially, the goal was to recruit research subjects who were professional freelance musicians in the UK. However, as discussed in the conducting fieldwork section, the initial plan was altered, and research subjects were recruited from different genres, locations, and employment statuses. As the objective was to understand and explain work, non-work, and boundaries for creative

workers (musicians), having a diverse range of interview subjects provided interesting insights into the investigation.

As the fieldwork progressed, the genre characteristics became more apparent. For example, classical musicians followed an apprenticeship training style training with a 'master' and honing their craft, which was not observed in jazz and pop music. Unlike pop and jazz musicians, who described working in a cooperative environment, classical musicians described working in a competitive environment that was not very friendly. Next, although musicians from all different musical genres played music as a hobby, unlike pop musicians, where music was their identity to the audiences, for classical musicians, music was the authority, and they were supplicant to the music. As musicians, it was their duty to play music not just for themselves but to convey a message to members of society.

Also, in the present investigation, compared to pop and jazz musicians, informants trained in classical music had access to better paid jobs. Some of them performed various interesting creative projects that other musicians from pop and jazz genres found difficult to access. Through the fieldwork, it became apparent that genre members reproduce conventions specific to a genre (Becker, 2008). They acquire genre competence in a particular manner and produce creative outputs that reflect genre characteristics (Fletcher et al., 2018), making the genre a major analytical theme in the study.

As music careers were affected by gender (Berkers and Schaap, 2018), the intention was to maintain a gender balance when recruiting women and men from different genres. As interviews continued, it appeared that certain creative workers, notably men, were more willing to participate in the interviews than women. The informants include 15 women and 33 men, indicating an uneven proportion of women and men's perspectives in the study. Fifty-seven (57) potential interview subjects, comprising twenty-one (21) women and thirty-six (36) men, expressed interest in participating in the study. Out of twenty-one (21) women, six did not participate, and of the men, out of thirty-six (36), three (3) did not participate. Reasons include no publicity and lack of time; (two women) declined to participate because interviews would be unpublished. Other informants declined to record diaries, citing the lack of time to maintain diary records for the research. Although interviews with women and men creative

workers began to feel repetitive, indicating the reliability of the interviews to produce similar results and allowing the conviction that the findings were accurate and methods appropriate, there was cognizance that there were other perspectives and opinions that were not being represented in these responses. Table 3.1 shows the distribution of informants across employment status and gender.

Classical music		
Thirty (30) informants	Twenty five (25) informants freelance	ten (10) women sixteen (16) men
	Four (4) informants employed/freelance	one (1) woman three (3) men
	One (1) informant employed	one (1) woman
Jazz music		
Nine (9) informants	Eight (8) freelance	two (2) women six (6) men
	One (1) informant employed/freelance	one (1) man
Pop music		
Nine (9) informants	Eight (8) freelance	one (1) woman seven (7) men
	One (1) informant employed/freelance	one (1) man

Table 3.1: Informants genre: distribution across employment status and gender

Table: 1 is described as follows.

Among classical musicians, twenty-five informants were freelance: ten women and fifteen men. Four informants had hybrid employment; one woman was employed with an opera company, and three men were employed with opera and orchestra companies. Of the three employed classical musicians, one was reluctant to share details of his employment at an orchestra company because he was a barista occasionally. During the interview, while describing work and the various work practices, he was curious regarding the confidentiality of the information he was sharing. Twice he asked, 'this is all confidential?' One of the classical musicians (a woman) was employed with an opera company and did not freelance due to parenting duties.

Among jazz musicians, eight informants were freelance: two women and six men, and one informant had hybrid employment. He was employed with a church. Among pop musicians,

eight informants were freelance: one woman and seven men, and one informant had hybrid employment. He was employed at a club; however, at the time of the interview, he lost his club job due to the pandemic. He was employed at a university and was doing freelance jobs. He gave limited details about his club and university jobs and preferred speaking about his freelance jobs. Although Table 1 may suggest that the number of classical musicians in regular employment is higher than in jazz and pop, the difference is not significant. Even those with regular employment held freelance jobs alongside regular music jobs, indicating creative workers' participation in labour markets and the prevalence of multiple jobs in creative work (see Chapter 7, Work).

Professional musicians with hybrid employment entered the creative industries as freelancers and gradually secured employment in different organizations – large/small opera or orchestra companies, churches, or clubs. The study would like to point out that although professional musicians were employed in various organizations, the nature of work, employment benefits, working conditions, and job security varied. Among the informants were individuals employed at major opera, orchestra companies, and a church. However, there were significant differences in work and non-work experiences for informants in various organizations (see Chapter 5, (Non-Work); chapter 6, (Unpaid Work); and Chapter 7, (Work) later in the thesis).

Regarding data collection units, the main topic of the study is work, non-work, and its boundaries for professional musicians, which means units at the broader level (professional musicians from various genres) fulfilled contextual functions. The data for the main topic came from the units at the narrower level (data collected from individual professional musicians). The sampling challenge involved knowing which specific units to select and why. In the present qualitative research study, samples were chosen deliberately to include those that will give the most relevant and plentiful data, cover an in-depth range of information perspectives, and include units that can provide contrary evidence to include rival explanations for a subject of inquiry.

For example, a classical musician referred an ex-colleague, a soloist and chorus singer of a large opera company. He voluntarily retired from his full-time opera job and started freelancing. The referral informant was included in the study sample for insights on work non-

work due to changes in employment status, the importance of networks, and musicians' control over creative decisions. He could inform the study regarding the similarities and differences in a freelance job after a successful career in a major opera company. This would provide more depth to understanding how creative workers acquire freelance work.

The study sample comprised five informants whose spouse/partner was also a professional musician. Recruiting couples who were both professional musicians to share their perspectives on work and non-work could contribute to understanding the participation of women and men in creative work within different genres. Purposive sampling was used to maintain diversity in terms of gender and family. In the present study, only a single couple accepted to participate; they were interviewed separately. Their descriptions of work and non-work indicated how family duties can affect musicians' work practices. Their descriptions give a glimpse into the lives of couples who are in the creative industries.

There were four other informants, two men and two women whose spouses were professional musicians, but they were not keen to refer to their names for the study. Also, interviewees comprised professional musicians whose siblings were professional musicians. However, interviewees were less keen to share much information regarding their siblings, refer them to the study, or share information regarding the research with them. It was interesting to see that informants either described themselves as better performers than their siblings or sometimes said their siblings were better musicians but attained less success in music.

3.3.4. Data collection tools

The present study used different data collection methods to inform analytical interpretation and strengthen the study. They include – *first*, semi-structured interviews and include topics such as career history, description of their work and non-work activities, reflections on audiences, networking and socializing, reflections on developing various skills, reflections of their work, and financial aspects. On average, each interview lasted an hour and a half and was recorded using an electronic device or recording software on a computer and, immediately after the interview, downloaded and transcribed to ensure data safety. Interviews were transcribed verbatim.

Second, a diary study was used to investigate the various work and non-work activities informants performed to record activities they performed throughout, and one open-ended reflective question was to capture participants' reflections about work and uncover any in/consistencies in responses. *Third*, informants' websites and social media posts were examined to collect information on the content type, such as promotional messages, image building, work areas, awards, and scheduled performances. The rationale behind including various data sources is to enhance the study's validity and expand the scope for analytical interpretation.

Data was collected for in-depth qualitative analysis from the key informants using semi-structured interviews on more than one occasion over seven months. The diaries were distributed to the participants to capture event(s) in real time (as they occurred). In the following section, qualitative interviews and their appropriateness for the research are discussed in detail, followed by a discussion on qualitative diaries and their purpose in this research.

This research used a theory-driven semi-structured interview guide (Everts et al., 2021) for data collection. Although the questions were a guide, they did not follow a specified sequence, but all the questions were, by and large, covered during the interview. All interviewees were guaranteed anonymity. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. Bryman (2012) has highlighted the significance of recording and transcription in qualitative interviews. As qualitative researchers are interested in what interviewees say and how it is said, the recording captures the series of exchanges in an interview. Transcribing interviews allows for a more thorough investigation and analysis of what participants say during the interview process. Also, it provides the scope to re-examine the interviewee's responses, helps to counter any accusations related to the researcher's bias, and opens the scope for public scrutiny.

The semi-structured interview works best with research focusing on an objective method of inquiry to understand the informant's perspective regarding a phenomenon (Brinkmann, 2013) and move back and forth between topics. Semi-structured interviews allow asking

several open-ended questions, concrete questions such as "what are the hourly rates for gigging in your location?", gathering narrative information such as "how do you build a reputation as a musician or artist?" and using probes like "can you share something more regarding the use of merchandise and going to open mikes?" As part of the affordances of this technique, the research focused on various topics related to work, non-work, and its boundaries and explored ideas that arose during the interviews.

The interviews took place between October 2020 and April 2021. Here, the challenge was to schedule online interviews with professional musicians, given their schedules for promoting and performing online. As a result, interviews were scheduled ten to fifteen days after the initial email correspondence and receiving written consent to participate in the study. Nonetheless, this provided an opportunity to plan the interview in detail, gather as much information from the interviewee's webpage and weblogs (wherever applicable), and make notes on specific topics for inquiry during the interview. It also provided an edge to understand, discuss, and compare musicians' accounts of their work during these sessions.

The interview guide was designed to consider the following areas - informants' account of their work, interviewees' formative influence, informants' accounts of non-work practices and experiences, informants' relations with audiences, economic considerations, interviewees' perception of work non-work divide and balance, informants' perceptions regarding any other consideration as a creative worker. All the themes were derived from literature and concerns about work, non-work, and boundaries in creative industries. The interview guide provided a well-structured direction to the interviews and open-ended questions, allowing interviewees to express their opinions; (see Appendix E) for the interview guide.

A conversational style during the interviews gave rich insight into musicians' working lives, sometimes revealing the variations in their beliefs and actions regarding music work. For example, one of the informants described being frustrated by performing at noisy venues where he could not express his music. He used a chart comprising symbols of how music-making is about looking inward and engaging with the audiences on a deeper level. Interview memos were written to capture what happened during the online interviews and how people expressed their beliefs regarding music and work.

In another instance, a classical musician explained the meaning of creative work by sharing a document with music notes and some annotations indicating how he and his quartet interpreted a score. Writing memos immediately after the interview provided the context in which the informant shared their perspective, contributing to the analytic coding of data. In another instance, a jazz musician described working from a corner in her bedroom and turning it into an office during the day by separating the space from the rest of the bedroom by pulling the curtains before the start of the workday and then moving the curtains away after her work hours. These aspects of the interview were captured in the memos, which gave structure and context to the transcribed data that facilitated the creation of codes for analysis.

Also, there were times when open-ended questions did not lead to detailed responses; instead, informants gave single-word responses. One such instance happened during the interview, where a classical musician would direct each question to his recently published book on music and working in music. The icebreaking was hijacked when the informant seemed determined to suggest that the questions about the research project regarding work and its boundaries could be understood from the published book, and the interview was about to come to a complete halt. However, a question regarding the difference between non-work and work led to important insights regarding what it means to undertake creative work for extended hours and the absence of non-work.

The interview guide helped shift the focus and alter the questions to understand the participant's world and their everyday lives. Asking follow-up questions comprised following the interview guide and using informants' responses to ask more questions. For instance, a jazz musician said, "network is net worth." Here, encouraging the informant to say more about equating network to net worth and what he meant by that expression was helpful in generating information on how the network is linked to earnings.

So, following an interview guide and asking questions from responses received from informants. Writing memos for interviews includes writing notes about the environment, additional observations for each interview, and notes to self - any specific comments, observations, and reflections. Some additional practices to enhance filed notes include

reading the notes to recall any additional details during the interview that may have been missed and rereading notes to see for any emerging themes.

During the interviews, informants were encouraged to explain any challenges or issues they faced in acquiring and doing exciting projects or finding work, discuss interaction with various intermediaries, their experiences of doing the jobs they liked and disliked, and their free time. At times, informants would play instruments to show how they interpreted a score and share documents with notes on how they recreated music. Sometimes, informants would read out notes from their diaries to demonstrate the different projects they were doing. The flexible and iterative format enabled interesting interaction with informants and gaining valuable insights regarding work in the creative industries.

Although there were a few challenges with online interviews, which are discussed later in the section, video-conferenced interviews were effective in communicating with informants from various geographical locations. After the interview, informants were invited to participate in the diary study and express their willingness to continue the conversation if there was a need to corroborate, expand, or fill in any gaps in information noticed after a first analysis of the interview. Musicians agreed to continue the conversation; however, only some were keen to record diary entries.

Below are a few diaries showing the range of information recorded by informants; the examples include a detailed, sparsely filled diary. The diaries provided insights into areas that were less apparent during interviews or hidden aspects (Karadzhov, 2021; Plowman, 2010; Poppleton et al., 2008), for instance, women's participation in non-work or participant's specific behaviour (Radcliffe, 2013) pop musicians' participation in social media. Notes from the diaries were beneficial during repeat interviews to ascertain the range of activities musicians undertook, how often work and non-work were constrained in the case of women, and the range of unpaid work reported by musicians from different musical genres.

16 March 2021

Morning:

10-12.30 Practise violin and listen and make notes on yesterday's [REDACTED] recording

Afternoon:

2-4 String Quartet rehearsal at [REDACTED] Oxford Rd for concert in April

5.30-5.45 Radio 3 interview for broadcast next week

Evening:

6-8 Listen and make notes on recording made at end of rehearsal last week of orchestra playing Mozart 40.

Table 3.2: Classical musician's diary sample

31 March 2021

Morning:

9am-11:30am – Mailing list email prep/send.

11:30am – Review publishing contract.

Afternoon:

12pm - Research PRS TV claims/contact PRS.

12:15pm-1pm – Emails. Lunch

1pm-1:45pm – Phone call with publisher.

1:45pm-2:15pm – Emails/Enquiries.

2:15pm – Social media Sky promo post.

2:20pm-2:45pm – Learn acting lines.

2:45-3:15pm – Emails.

3:15-6:45pm – Visiting mums for dinner.

Table 3.3: Pop musician's diary sample

28 Feb 2021

Morning:

6:30am – The alarm clock rings. I almost roll out of bed, but hit the snooze instead. Boy, do I hate starting my Sundays this early.

6:40-6:50am – I actually get out of bed. This is important, because in that 10 minutes I had a very intense dream about a future engagement in liturgical music. I love my job, but I hate waking up early...but unfortunately, neither God nor Mass operate on any man's schedule...or something. I brush my teeth and hair, put on church clothes, and leave.

6:50-7:10am – The Sunday morning drive is usually a quiet one for me, primarily because I'm thinking ahead to the Masses I'm going to be doing. While the music is the same as the previous night, the fact that I have to sing on my own at the 8am Mass and lead a choir at the 10:30am Mass is enough to bring me to a higher level of focus.

7:10-7:50am – Rehearse for the 8am Mass.

7:50-8am – Quick drink of water and bathroom break.

<p>8-9:15am – Mass. This one proves a bit more difficult to sing than usual due to the sinus infection.</p> <p>9:15-9:30am – Set up my rehearsal space for the choir and brew up some Mystic Monk coffee (the beans are roasted by Catholic monks and are the only reason I enjoy coffee at all).</p> <p>9:30-10:25am – Rehearsing my small 4-person choir (coronavirus understandably decimated our numbers).</p> <p>10:30-11:15am – Mass. The choir sounded good. In particular, our part-song went really well. It gave me a flash of pride.</p> <p>11:15-11:45am – I take (15) minutes to eat lunch, and another (15) to dash off some emails to other office people.</p> <p>11:45am-12:10pm – rehearse with the cantrix (in the Catholic church, a designated solo singer). It’s getting a little hard to talk.</p> <p>12:15-1pm – The afternoon Mass (and my third). While usually I have a trio of women who help lead the music, one had lost her voice and the other was out of town...and the last has a great ear, but can’t read music, so I was up there with her. Near the end of Mass, I completely lost my voice – it felt like there was a stick obstructing my windpipe.</p>	
<p>Afternoon:</p> <p>1-1:30pm – Finished up some paperwork in the office. Admittedly distracted. By this point, I’ve been in the “focus zone” for almost 6 hours.</p> <p>1:30-2pm – Drove home, taking time to contemplate the morning and begin sketching plans for St. Edward’s Thursday rehearsal.</p> <p>2-3pm – Made lunch for the wife and myself</p>	

Table 3.4: Jazz musician’s diary sample

A diary study fits with the present research due to its compatibility with various research designs and suitability to generate authentic and personal accounts of complex and sensitive topics (Karadzhov, 2021). As participants record diaries, they reflect on reconstructing, reliving, and re-telling their stories of various experiences surrounding their everyday lives. It allows the participant to narrate their perspective on events and activities, enabling researchers to comprehend their views.

Poppleton et al. (2008) argued that diaries are preferred to understand work and non-work. Previous studies show that qualitative diaries have the potential to capture dynamism involved in work-non-work research (Poppleton et al., 2008), work-family interface (Radcliffe, 2013), job crafting and home crafting for enhancing meaning in life (Demerouti et al., 2020) creative processes in media work (Malmelin and Virta, 2019) to name a few. After the first

interview and before starting the diary study, informants were acclimatized with the objectives of the diary study, what the diary intends to capture, the expectations from diarists, and the importance of completing the diary so that they are not caught unaware or feel deceived into the study. An electronic Word document was used as the tool to record diary entries. The format for the diary was designed to record activities in three parts, as shown in the above examples- morning, afternoon, and evening for seven days. Participants were encouraged to record work, non-work activities, and any specific incidents in their own words.

The free format for recording entries allowed informants to record and reflect on the entries, simultaneously providing more insights for analyzing data. Participants were instructed to complete entries each day for seven days. At any time during the study, participants were not forced to record details or provide answers to questions that may not be relevant to the study. The diary study did not attempt to influence participants' responses. Interviews were conducted on more than one occasion, before and after diary recordings, to fill gaps in the information provided by the informants. Throughout the study, the ethical guidelines for data gathering and storage, always maintaining the anonymity and confidentiality of data, were strictly followed.

Besides semi-structured interviews and a diary, the research used social media content to collect data for the study. During the interviews, informants described using social media for work and entertainment. It seemed relevant to examine social media posts to gain insights for data analysis. Here, informants' social media posts that were available in the public domain were used to inform data collection, which meant it was not required to follow informants' social media accounts. Participants were not required to share any details of their business accounts.

During the interview, some informants voluntarily shared their social media account details, requesting to follow them with mild suggestions that liking their posts or subscribing to their channels was linked to their popularity and income. The social media posts gave an impression of the broadcast activities of informants; however, the impact of such posts was unclear except for the informant's view in the interview. Examining the posts gives an approximate indication of the content and the purpose of such content. Triangulation of data collected

using semi-structured interviews, diary study, participants' webpages, and social media posts are discussed in the analysis section.

3.3.5. Challenges in data collection

The data for the research was collected using semi-structured interviews through video conferencing, and diary records were collected in electronic documents. Other data sources, such as web pages and social media posts, were only accessible online, indicating the extensive use of internet technology for data collection. Although it appears convenient, several challenges accompany the convenience of online data collection, which are discussed as follows.

Interviewees did not show up for a scheduled online interview; there were occasions when informants did not turn up for the scheduled interviews. According to the informants, they either forgot about the interview, had something to tend to, or just missed the interview. If informants could not turn up for the interview at the scheduled time, an email was sent to them ten minutes after the scheduled time, requesting another date and time for the interview if they could not make it to the interview that day.

Not everybody had similar access to technology and could not always access their computers. As a result, there were a few challenges, such as signing and returning the written consent form. Even though there were delays in receiving the signed consent form from the participants, at all times, it was ensured that the written consent form was received from the informant before participating in the study.

There were several occasions when the conversation was disturbed during online interviews. Some instances include family members entering and exiting the room, sometimes pausing to speak to the informants about how long the call would last. Children would exchange greetings with their parents and be curious about what was happening. Sometimes, phone calls and doorbells would interfere with the interview. At other times, activities around the household, like the carpenter and electrician doing their jobs and the informant doing domestic chores, happened simultaneously with the interview.

Some men were reluctant to respond to matters related to life outside their creative work and even dogged such questions, saying everything was taken care of, and were reluctant to say anything more (see Chapter 4, Non-Work). There is limited information regarding their life outside creative work. During one interview, an informant started weeping while discussing his work and describing the various gigs. Suddenly, the participant was overwhelmed and was unable to continue the interview. Such situations can quickly become challenging, where, in moments, the participant can move from being comfortable to becoming emotionally disturbed. The interviewer was patient and waited for the participant to feel better; however, the participant could not continue the interview and signed off.

3.4. Ethical considerations

The study fully respected the ethical codes of the University of Leeds, ensured the confidentiality and anonymity of participants, and respected their rights, needs, and values. As the researcher accessed informants' working lives and how their careers developed, sensitive information was revealed frequently during data collection. Specific measures were employed to safeguard informants' interests, including sharing the research objectives clearly in writing and verbally to ensure that informants had complete information regarding the study. Informants confirmed their participation with written permission (signed consent form) to proceed with the research study. The informants' rights, interests, and wishes were prioritized during the study when reporting the data. If more clarity was required on the diary reports or social media posts, communication via email or online video calls was done to avoid misinterpretation. Transcriptions, written interpretations, and reports will be made available to the informant upon request.

3.5. Data management and analysis

The data analysis process started from the first interview and intensified after the data was collected from most documentary sources. All the non-textual data was transcribed verbatim (Hepburn and Bolden, 2017). Data management protocol was followed at all times, which included anonymizing data, deleting audio files after transcribing data, taking notes during

interviews, and writing memos attached to each interview - notes to self and notes about the interview, interviewee, or any other observation from the environment.

The thesis benefited hugely from the generosity of others. As Terkel (1975) described, "My tape recorder, as ubiquitous as the carpenter's tool chest or the doctor's black satchel, carried away valuables beyond price" (1975: 8). Often times during the interview phase, it feels "that the privacy of strangers is trespassed upon" (Terkel, 1975: 9); however, there are several moments when participants find the interviews as moments of relief where they can share their feelings and buried experiences. In the present study, some informants described the interview as therapeutic and shared how the conversation (semi-structured interview) was an eye-opener, for it helped them look at things they would like to change.

The present study maintained objectivity with emotionally charged data. There were occasions where informants shared emotionally sensitive information; for instance, there were occasions when participants described going through a challenging situation at work and in their personal lives; not having much work means not having enough money to fulfil family commitments. They also described doing work that involved extensive traveling, staying away from home for an extended period, and the impact on family life and even divorce. In such cases, it was ensured to enough space between interviews to overcome stressful information (Dickson-Swift et al., 2008)

Also, to remain objective meant listening to the description patiently and letting the informant complete the conversation. Writing memos with each interview proved helpful because the memo contained the details of the context of the conversation. Occasionally, informants would share information that was not directly related to the question. On such occasions, a similar question was asked again during the interview to solicit a response from the informant.

Once all the data was transcribed, it was organized to facilitate both analytic and comprehensive movements within the data. Initially, different sources were treated as distinct to see the kind of information and codes deriving from each. Also, a consolidated database was maintained to easily access information from and about every informant to compare the consolidated categories within the informant's context.

The data analysis strategy followed the principles of Ritchie et al. (2014) with some procedural variations according to the researcher's theoretical perspective that genres are ideologically and institutionally different (Frith, 1996), and they can be fundamental in shaping what people do. Personal decisions contributed to the process of making inferences and associations. The analysis goes beyond the surface description of the data, and arguments are made concerning the research questions, theorizing what might inform patterns in the data, as discussed further in the chapter.

At the data management stage, analysis began with the process of familiarization and subsequent labelling and sorting of data. The first stage of data management was followed by teasing out more analytic concepts and themes and interrogating them for patterns of meaning. Theoretical ideas guided the design of the study; however, at the beginning of the analysis stage, themes were grounded in data. As higher-order concepts were developed to explain patterns and linkage within data, the analysis turned to theoretical ideas or existing knowledge.

Documentary data, including participants' websites and social media posts, were analyzed as communicative devices (Flick, 2018) because these contents were written for specific purposes with target audiences in mind. For instance, one informant's (jazz musician) social media post on music work included inviting customers to a restaurant (venue) serving sumptuous food and having live music performances to entertain customers. The message included credentials of the informant's music band and images of food items - communicating to customers to enjoy weekends. Another informant's (classical musician) post on music work included the technicalities involved and the hours invested by various artists to make a creative output. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the data/observation (websites and social media) was examined beyond the surface description to explain what might inform the patterns in communication.

An iterative process was deployed, which involved reading and rereading the data and looking for keywords, trends, themes, or ideas to outline the analysis before analyzing the data. All examples of the same phenomenon, idea, explanation, or activity are coded with the same

label, which allows for combining passages of the same phenomenon. Also, it allows for managing, organizing, and retrieving data in a structured way. The list of codes was developed into a hierarchy to understand the relationships between codes. Two approaches were used for generating codes - concept-driven coding and data-driven coding.

As the research questions were theoretically driven and intended to address practical problems based on theory, concept-driven coding was used to create a list of key thematic ideas from the literature. As theory implicitly directs the investigation - what is examined, and a collection of codes was built using Ritchie et al. (2014) comprising thematic ideas from previous research and intensive reading of some interview transcripts (Gibbs, 2012).

As the research was based on theoretically driven concepts, there was an idea about some potential codes which gave a starting point to examine data from varied sources. The categories or concepts the codes represent may come from the research literature and hunches developed after intensive reading, through some of the transcripts and field notes, and asking questions such as what is going on, what the person is saying, and so on. The objective was to identify chunks of text that exemplify codes in the initial list. These codes were amended during analysis as new ideas and new ways of categorizing were detected in the text. So, codes were derived from previous literature and were grounded in the data.

For example, Brand image - Building a brand image or identity among industry colleagues and a wider audience was an analytic code derived from the data; informants described creating a brand image, having a distinct identity by wearing a suit when performing on stage, and sending personalized responses to followers. Another example is reputation - building a reputation among colleagues and a wider audience. This is a potential code from the literature that provides a starting point for examining data from varied sources.

Examining the text regarding why informants build a reputation and what approaches are deployed to build a brand image reputation is like moving between concept-driven coding and data-driven coding. As Gibbs (2012) noted, the objective is to generate theoretical codes to answer the problem under consideration. Moving backward and forward between these two approaches during the analysis was beneficial in fulfilling the research aims. A complete tabula rasa approach is unrealistic in the present research, where the objective is to understand

work, non-work, and boundaries. There are theoretical frameworks to explain work non-work, boundaries, and literature related to creative work, so a general idea about potential codes from previous literature gave a starting point, and the possibility of generating codes from ideas grounded in the data together was beneficial to generate theoretical codes. Examples of thematic analysis are included Appendix F.

For purposes of analysis, both paper-based and computer-based approaches were deployed. The paper based approach allows creativity, flexibility, and easy access to make codes. The coding ideas were transferred into the electronic version to continue the analysis. A word processor and spreadsheet were used to create the codebook. Memos were written for codes to apply codes consistently because the memo captures the code's nature and the thinking behind it. A word processor and spreadsheet were used to store extracts with the same code in separate files for each code.

As the codes were built as a hierarchy, a spreadsheet maintained extract with the analytic or theoretical codes. Each extract was tagged with the pseudonym of the respondent and some basic information such as employment status [fully freelancer (F) or salaried and freelance (S+F)], gender [women (W) or men (M)], and years of experience. Text coded by one code was attached to any memos about the code to ensure that the definition of the code still makes sense across all the extracts. This helped to assess whether the analytic ideas recorded in the memo elucidate the text of the extract and accommodate any modification in the memo if required after examining the extracts.

Following the coding of the transcripts, themes were developed to construct an initial thematic framework for organizing the data. Underlying themes, particular data were identified and grouped according to different levels of generality. A hierarchical arrangement of themes was useful to hold the overall structure of the analysis. At this stage, an analytical strategy was developed to identify the key questions that needed to be asked of the data to meet the research objectives, find parts of the data set that should be worked on first, and provide a firm foundation for any description and explanation that shall be produced.

Next, three descriptive documents were written regarding three broad themes. These documents were written using the thematic framework to establish what had been said about each subject area. For some cases, thematic charts were created summarizing what each informant said about the area, using the informants' original language where possible. This allowed for comparisons to be made between participants. This process was useful for analyzing data by participants' characteristics such as family situation, age, genre, and gender to identify deviant cases.

The next stage involved examining the comparisons and anomalies arising in the descriptive documents to develop ideas and explanations emerging from data. This process involved discussion with supervisors, returning to theoretical and empirical literature surrounding that area of work, non-work, creative workers, artists' working lives, creative industries, and the continual questioning of data. The results of the analysis are presented in the following chapters.

The thesis follows representational generalization (Ritchie et al., 2014) – meaning findings from the study can be generalized to the specific population from which the study sample was drawn because the study's purpose was to reveal the breadth and nature (qualitative research) of the phenomenon under study – here, work and non-work for creative workers. The range of views, experiences, and circumstances that shape the phenomenon under study are generalized to the parent population. Representational generalization requires that varied views or experiences are categorized within a conceptual framework because representational generalization takes place at the level of categories.

Summing up, the chapter begins with a summary of the research aims and the research questions that it intends to solve using appropriate methodological tools. Immediately next, it provides the background for the research problem by stating the gaps identified in the literature review and the methodological strategy that shall be deployed to answer the questions. Next, the chapter focused on the fieldwork, the phases of the fieldwork, and the protocols that the study maintained. The study would have benefited if it could gather more data on informants' earnings because debates concerning culture/creative production and economy are central to the study. Nonetheless, all relevant data gathered using multiple tools

were triangulated to ensure the study's trustworthiness. Further, the chapter discussed the ethical considerations maintained throughout the study. It detailed the data analysis techniques used for solving the issue at hand, briefly discussing the generalization strategy adopted by the study.

Chapter 4

4. Exploring Genre Distinctions

4.1. Introduction

The chapter aims to provide context for the subsequent empirical sections, presenting findings derived from empirical data with details regarding music genre distinctions, the characteristics within musical genres, and the factors that shape the working lives of musicians. Genre provides the foundation of creative expression, providing the framework upon which artistic works are structured and distinguished. From literature to film, music to visual arts, genres provide frameworks that define thematic and structural characteristics, guiding creative workers and engaging audiences. These categorisations establish expectations, communicate intentions, and foster communities of enthusiasts within creative industries. At the heart of genre differentiation lies the recognition of diverse artistic voices, each contributing to a rich tapestry of creative expression. Understanding the genre characteristics and the various institutional factors that differentiate them is relevant, as genres can affect the lives of creative workers. Thus, this study employs genre as an analytical framework to elucidate the nuanced variations in musicians' work practices.

This study views genre as a relevant analytical lens for studying creative workers' work practices because it provides a better grasp of the constraints and freedoms that workers may experience as they participate in creative work. Analysing their work practices within the context of genre helps elucidate how creative workers negotiate with audience demands while striving for creative expression, identify patterns of innovation. It sheds light on how creative workers may navigate tradition and novelty and illuminates how market forces shape creative decision-making, resource allocation, and work practices within specific genres. This chapter provides context for the subsequent empirical chapters by illustrating the various institutional factors within musical genres that shape musicians' work practices, unpaid work, and participation in non-work.

Classical, jazz, and pop music genres have various institutional factors that shape musicians' working lives. While these factors can affect musicians regardless of their specific genres, their

manifestations may vary across different genres. Therefore, examining musicians' working lives through the genre lens is relevant for gaining broader insights into their work practices. The chapter outlines the varied characteristics of classical, jazz, and pop genres, then examines the institutional factors such as markets and audiences, various norms, financial resources, technical skills and education, networks, branding and marketing, labour process and nature of workplace-specific to each genre and the gender dynamics which collectively form institutional factors in musical genres that can shape musicians' working lives. It underlines the relevance of using the genre lens to understand musicians' work practices and non-work lives.

4.2. Characteristics of musical genres

The current section explores the diverse distinctions and overlaps among musical genres, exploring the unique characteristics and traditions that collectively shape the creative landscape for musicians within each genre. Although classical, jazz, and pop music genres each have distinct characteristics, they also share common influences, such as the impact of educational institutions or traditions in different genres. For instance, classical music is deeply rooted in tradition and supported by established institutions such as orchestras, opera houses, and conservatories. It operates within a structured framework characterised by formalised training, adherence to historical performance practices, reliance on patronage systems and public funding. It strongly emphasises technical mastery, adherence to compositional forms, and the preservation of repertoire, with performances often held in prestigious concert halls and opera venues.

In contrast, jazz music, renowned for its improvisational spirit and emphasis on individual expression, thrives in more informal settings such as clubs, bars, and festivals. Steeped in a rich tradition of improvisation and collective interaction, jazz musicians navigate a dynamic and fluid landscape where innovation and experimentation are celebrated. The genre's emphasis on spontaneity, collaboration, exploration, and interactive dialogue between musicians is reflected during performances. Finally, pop music, driven by commercial appeal and popular culture, operates within a highly commercialised and fast-paced industry ecosystem. Pop musicians navigate a competitive landscape where success is measured by

chart performance, streaming numbers, and media visibility. The genre's emphasis on catchy melodies and relatable lyrics caters to a broad audience, with performances ranging from intimate club shows to large-scale arena tours. Often managed by record labels and entertainment agencies, pop musicians adhere to market demands over artistic aspirations or finesse.

While classical, jazz, and pop music genres each exhibit unique characteristics, there are some overlaps. However, these may manifest differently within each genre. Classical music, for instance, is traditionally supported by established institutions such as orchestras, whereas jazz has undergone institutionalisation over decades, and even pop music in contemporary times finds support from educational institutions. However, it is noteworthy that none of the pop musicians in this study were formally trained in music, underscoring the diverse backgrounds within these genres. It also suggests that distinctiveness and overlap coexist, shaping musicians' experiences in varied ways.

The following section delves into the institutional factors in these genres, exploring how formal institutions, various practices, norms, and cultural dynamics provide an institutional framework that shapes the working lives of musicians within each genre. These institutional factors, discussed in the following section, are derived from empirical data that highlights the distinctions among music genres while also indicating some overlaps. Thus, it underscores the significance of employing the genre lens to grasp the complexities of musicians' working lives, as it allows for a thorough examination of both the unique characteristics and shared elements across different genres.

4.3. Institutional factors across musical genres: variations and impacts

The institutional factors governing musical genres are diverse, reflecting the historical and cultural contexts in which these genres have evolved and the complex interplay of market demands, audience expectations, industry norms, and financial resources. Classical musicians, for example, often rely on institutional support from symphony orchestras, opera companies, and academic institutions, while jazz musicians may find opportunities for artistic expression in grassroots venues, jazz clubs, and educational settings. Pop musicians, on the other hand,

navigate a complex network of media platforms, talent agencies, and record labels, where commercial success is often prioritised over artistic integrity. Moreover, the institutional factors may affect access to resources, opportunities, and recognition differently across genres, making it relevant to understand these differences and appreciate the unique challenges and opportunities musicians may experience.

In terms of **markets**, classical music often caters to a niche audience characterised by a deep appreciation for historical repertoire, complex compositions, and virtuosic performances. In contrast, jazz music appeals to a more diverse audience, ranging from aficionados of improvisational technique to casual listeners drawn to the genre's infectious rhythms and melodic inventiveness. Pop music, driven by commercial appeal and popular culture trends, targets a broad audience base eager for catchy and relatable lyrics. While classical musicians may play background music in bars and restaurants before securing orchestral positions, both jazz and pop musicians frequently cater to similar venues, performing for diverse audiences, indicating that individual musicians may transcend these genre distinctions and work in different genres at different times; however, the study's findings suggest that such transitioning between different musical genres was infrequent. Despite these overlaps, each genre maintains its unique appeal, with classical focused on complex compositions, jazz on improvisation, and pop on commercial trends.

Consequently, the market dynamics shaping these genres vary considerably, where the audience's expectations also differ markedly across classical, jazz, and pop music genres. Classical music audiences, accustomed to formal concert settings and traditional repertoire, demand precision, nuance, and fidelity to historical performance practices. Jazz audiences, on the other hand, seek spontaneity, improvisational prowess, and interactive engagement from performers, often encouraging experimentation and risk-taking on stage. Pop music audiences, driven by the desire for entertainment, expect high-energy performances, charismatic stage presence, and infectious melodies that resonate on an emotional level. These differences underscore the distinct workplace environments and demands experienced by classical, jazz, and pop musicians, highlighting how each genre engages its audience in unique ways. Additionally, these varied forms of engagement manifest as distinct work

practices and labour processes for musicians within each genre (discussed in the next chapters).

Workplace environments and labour processes for musicians in various genres are uniquely shaped by the nature of their music and audiences' expectations. For instance, classical musicians may perform in formal venues such as concert halls or opera houses, where there is a strong emphasis on decorum and tradition. Their rehearsal process can be extensive and demanding, with a focus on achieving precision, accuracy, and interpretive fidelity to the composer's intentions. Additionally, classical musicians may engage in research and study to understand and adhere to historical performance practices, interpret notation styles of different eras, and maintain authenticity in execution. They need a high level of ensemble playing skills, the ability to follow a conductor's direction, and endurance over extended periods because performances can be lengthy.

Conversely, pop musicians may perform in a wide range of venues, clubs, and outdoor festivals, catering to audiences of various demographics where there is an emphasis on dynamic stage presence and high-energy performances. Their rehearsal processes depend on the music they perform, whether they are playing background music or music to entertain guests at a party or performing original music. Moreover, pop musicians may engage in delivering hit songs and melodies that resonate with mainstream audiences, often adapting their set lists and arrangements to suit the preferences of their fans. They need skills to create a spectacle for the audience and extensive marketing efforts to enhance their visibility and reach.

Jazz musicians may perform in more intimate and casual settings like clubs, bars, or jazz festivals, where there's a greater emphasis on improvisation and audience interaction. They may participate in solo performances and collaborations with small groups or big bands, requiring versatility in playing styles and ensemble dynamics. However, like their counterparts in pop, jazz musicians may also perform background music in bars and restaurants. Their rehearsal processes may include individual practice and on-the-spot collaboration because jazz musicians thrive on spontaneity, improvisational skills, and the ability to spontaneously react and interact with fellow musicians during performances.

Despite the distinct workplace environments and labour processes in various genres, there are notable overlaps in the experiences of musicians across different genres. Classical and jazz musicians, for instance, may participate in a rigorous rehearsal process to refine their craft; classical musicians may focus on precision and interpretive fidelity, while jazz performers may polish improvisational skills and ensemble dynamics. Furthermore, while classical music may seem more formal and structured, there is room for experimentation where musicians may inject their own expression when reproducing composed music. Moreover, pop and jazz musicians, for instance, may find themselves sharing performance spaces such as clubs and festivals and performing similar music. Additionally, the interactive nature of their performances indicates the overlaps in these music genres.

Industry norms and expectations further distinguish classical, jazz, and pop music genres. Classical musicians may adhere to strict performance standards, rigorous rehearsal schedules, and hierarchical structures within orchestras and opera companies, where conformity to tradition and authority is prized. They navigate hierarchical structures and conform to authority figures to thrive and sustain within the genres. Jazz musicians, conversely, may embrace a culture of innovation, collaboration, and improvisation, challenging established norms and pushing the boundaries of genre conventions. They may foster a dynamic environment where improvisation and experimentation are renowned, and musicians must continually redefine their art form.

Pop musicians may navigate a highly commercialised ecosystem, where image, branding, and marketability are as important as musical talent, with success often contingent on media exposure, streaming numbers, and chart performance, illustrating how classical, jazz and pop musicians operate within distinct industry norms, each characterised by its own set of expectations and challenges. Although each genre is distinctive in terms of culture and commercial considerations, it depicts some overlaps; for instance, both classical and jazz musicians may encounter hierarchical structures within their respective genres. While classical musicians may navigate hierarchical systems within orchestras, jazz musicians may encounter similar structures within bands or larger ensembles.

Financial resources play a crucial role in shaping musicians' experiences across genres. Classical musicians, often supported by institutional funding and academic scholarships, may enjoy greater financial stability and access to resources such as rehearsal spaces, instrument loans, and performance opportunities. They rely on access to high-quality instruments, practice facilities, ongoing education and training opportunities, financial support for private lessons, instrument maintenance and repairs, as well as attendance at music festivals, workshops, and masterclasses. Such financial support enables them to pursue their craft effectively and progress in their chosen field.

Jazz musicians may operate within a more decentralised and informal network of venues, clubs, and educational institutions, relying on gig-based income, crowdfunding campaigns, and merchandise sales to sustain their careers. They may rely on accessing vibrant jazz scenes, recordings of jazz standards, and the legacies of jazz legends for their skill development and repertoire building. Additionally, they require financial support for acquiring instruments, equipment, and recordings, as well as funding for travel to attend festivals, workshops, and performances. Limited access to these resources may hinder their ability to access jazz scenes and other opportunities for skill development and networking.

Pop musicians may operate within a complex network of contracts (including reciprocation) and sponsorship deals and jobs outside the creative field to secure financial support and advance their careers. They may depend upon various recording equipment, software, and resources for music production and distribution, which may involve investing in home recording studios, hiring session musicians or producers, and distributing music through online platforms and streaming services. Pop musicians may require financial support for these investments, which may come from various marketing and promotional efforts. Without adequate support, pop musicians may struggle to produce and promote their music. While all musicians, regardless of genre, require adequate financial resources to sustain their craft or pursue artistic endeavours, the unique demands of each genre shape the specific ways in which these resources are utilised and accessed.

Networks and connections, both within the industry and broader social circles, are vital for musicians; they foster collaboration, support, and career advancement. However, these

networks differ across genres, reflecting each genre's unique industry structures, cultural traditions, and community dynamics. For instance, classical musicians benefit from formal training programs, mentorship, and networking events hosted by conservatories, music schools, and professional organisations. Networking opportunities may arise through participating in various auditions, competitions, masterclasses, music festivals and collaborations with conductors, composers, and peers. They also expand their networks through relationships with fellow performers, personal connections, and word-of-mouth recommendations.

Similarly, jazz musicians may cultivate networks with fellow performers and may rely on word-of-mouth recommendations and personal connections to secure gigs and collaborations. While classical and jazz musicians share similarities in how they may cultivate their networks, there are differences between their approaches and those of pop musicians. Jazz musicians may build networks through jam sessions and festival circuits. Participating in jam sessions, local jazz societies, or clubs provides opportunities to connect with like-minded individuals, potential collaborators and other partners such as venue owners, booking agents, and recording engineers to boost opportunities for gigs and recordings.

Meanwhile, pop musicians may leverage industry connections, social media platforms, and influencer marketing strategies to build their fan base, attract sponsorship deals, and expand their reach. None of the pop musicians in the study were managed by talent agents, publicists, or record labels. Pop musicians shared varied opinions; some pop musicians were proud of their independence from record labels, while others actively pursued contracts with music companies for financial gain. Pop musicians often relied heavily on networking and self-promotion to build their careers, collaborating with other musicians, producers, and songwriters and leveraging social media platforms to engage with fans and industry professionals.

While musicians in all genres depended on networks and connections within the industry and broader social circles, there were distinctions between classical, jazz, and pop in terms of networking opportunities. Classical musicians may benefit from the established tradition of conservatories, while jazz musicians may have access to music institutions but with

networking opportunities that differ from those in classical music. Furthermore, despite pop being taught in music institutions, none of the informants in this study had received formal music training in the pop genre and depended heavily on informal networks and self-promotion.

Technical skills and education form the foundation of musicians' proficiency and artistic development across various genres. However, the specific requirements and emphasis on education and training vary significantly among different musical genres, reflecting the distinct traditions, techniques, and performance practices inherent to each genre. Musicians require a combination of formal education, practical training, and technical skills to excel in their craft. Formal education and practical training through private lessons hone musicians' skills and prepare them for diverse performance settings. Each genre demands exceptional talent and discipline, though the application of these skills varies according to the distinctive nature of the musical genre.

Classical musicians require impeccable technical skills in their chosen instrument or voice. This includes mastering complex techniques such as scales, arpeggios, and intricate passages found in classical compositions. Additionally, proficiency in reading sheet music and understanding classical music theory is vital for interpreting and performing repertoire accurately. They must demonstrate technical mastery, interpretive insight, and stylistic authenticity in their performances, often devoting years of rigorous training to develop proficiency in their instrument and command of repertoire. Many classical musicians pursue formal training through conservatories, music schools, or private lessons with experienced instructors. They often learn through apprenticeship, mentorship, and on-the-job training. These programs focus on building a strong technical foundation, developing interpretative skills, and studying a diverse repertoire spanning different periods and styles.

Jazz musicians, by contrast, also possess high technical proficiency, but their expertise is demonstrated through improvisation, which involves spontaneously creating melodies and solos over chord changes. Both classical and jazz genres demand exceptional talent and discipline, albeit in distinct and equally challenging ways. Jazz musicians also need to develop a deep sense of rhythm and be comfortable playing in various styles and tempos. Jazz

education often involves a combination of formal instruction and hands-on experience. Jazz musicians may study jazz theory, improvisation, and ensemble playing in academic settings or through private lessons. However, much of the learning in jazz occurs through practical experiences, such as participating in jam sessions and playing in ensembles. They often learn on the job, participating in workshops and ensemble rehearsals to develop their improvisational skills and expand their repertoire.

Pop musicians operating within a highly competitive and image-conscious industry must excel in songwriting, production, and performance, cultivating a unique artistic identity and brand that resonates with their target audience. In the realm of pop music, musicians typically require not only strong vocal or instrumental skills and technical proficiency but also the ability to convey emotion and connect with audiences through performance. Many learn through informal channels such as online tutorials, workshops, or mentorships focusing on practical skills—songwriting, arrangement, performance, and production—using various digital technologies. Self-directed learning, online tutorials, and collaborative sessions help them draw inspiration from diverse musical settings and cultural references.

Creativity is essential across all musical genres, from interpreting classical works and improvising jazz solos to crafting original pop songs. However, the distinctiveness of each genre demands high technical proficiency, strong performance skills, and continuous learning. While there are commonalities, the unique characteristics of each genre make it important to investigate musicians' working lives through the genre lens.

Branding and marketing are relevant institutional factors in shaping musicians' working lives, impacting their visibility, reputation, and success. They enable artists to create a unique identity, helping them stand out, attract fans, and secure opportunities. Such differentiation can boost revenue and open doors for collaborations and endorsements, contributing to overall commercial success. For classical musicians, establishing a distinct artistic identity and brand may be important to stand out in a competitive field. This may involve developing a unique repertoire or interpretation style, creating professional recordings and promotional materials, and maintaining a strong online presence through websites, social media, and streaming platforms. While establishing a distinct artistic identity and brand can be relevant

for many classical musicians striving to stand out in a competitive field, it is important to acknowledge that this imperative may not be as pressing for those holding permanent positions within orchestras or opera companies. For instance, a trombonist in a renowned orchestra or a regular chorister at an esteemed opera house might not face the same level of marketing and self-branding imperatives as freelance musicians or those seeking solo careers. In such institutional settings, the focus may primarily be on delivering exceptional performances within the ensemble and adhering to the artistic vision of the conductor or director.

Meanwhile, jazz musicians may cultivate a personal brand through their performances, recordings, and interactions with fans and industry professionals. This may involve showcasing their improvisational skills, interpreting jazz standards in a unique way, or collaborating with other musicians to create original music. Jazz musicians can also leverage social media platforms, email newsletters, and live streaming to engage with their audience and promote their music. Marketing efforts in the jazz genre may revolve around live performances, recordings that capture the energy of the moment, and engaging with audiences/fans in intimate settings such as clubs and festivals. In pop music, crafting a compelling image and persona is essential for musicians to attract and retain fans. This may involve developing a distinctive visual style, creating captivating album artwork and music videos, cultivating a strong social media following, and collaborating with various other artists, designers and photographers to create a cohesive brand identity that resonates with their target audience.

The approach to branding and marketing is versatile and can vary considerably depending on the genre of music and other factors such as the employment status of musicians, whether they are freelancing or holding permanent positions within musical institutions, as well as their individual aspirations and professional reputations, which play crucial roles in shaping their branding and marketing strategies. Musicians may practice distinct branding strategies tailored to genre characteristics and audience expectations. However, despite these differences, there exists some overlap, including the need to establish a strong connection with their audience, maintain a robust digital presence, and collaborate with other artists. Together, these considerations highlight the genre-specific considerations while still acknowledging the broader factors that influence musicians' branding and marketing strategies.

Gender dynamics in creative work, particularly within the realm of music, are complex, often reflecting broader societal attitudes and inequalities. These dynamics permeate various aspects of the music work, including composition, performance, production, and reception. Within music, traditional gender norms often prescribe specific roles and behaviours for men and women. Women may frequently encounter challenges related to representation and accessing various opportunities. Furthermore, the study's findings indicate that while genre-specific factors may shape musicians' work practices and lives outside work, gender factors cut across genre factors and affect various aspects of musicians' careers and personal lives. Regardless of the specific musical genre, gender dynamics significantly impact issues such as access to resources, career advancement opportunities, and non-work.

For instance, in classical, jazz, and pop music genres, gender dynamics play a role in determining the extent to which musicians can access creative opportunities. In classical music, gender disparities persist despite efforts to promote gender equality and diversity. Women may often encounter notable disparities in representation, particularly in leadership roles, soloist positions, and opportunities for commissioning new works. These persisting patterns echo historical patterns, where institutional biases, including gendered expectations, may pressure women to prioritise domestic responsibilities over their musical pursuits. Consequently, women musicians may opt out of starting families altogether to avoid compromising their career prospects, while others may face the dilemma of sacrificing family life to pursue their professional ambitions.

In jazz music, women may frequently struggle to secure appropriate performance opportunities, unlike their male counterparts. Even when their spouses are jazz musicians themselves, women in the jazz community frequently experience distinct barriers in accessing and navigating the professional landscape. These challenges are compounded by societal expectations, which often compel women to prioritise domestic responsibilities over their careers or shoulder a disproportionate share of household duties compared to their male jazz musician spouses, indicating the significant influence of gender factors within musical genres. The jazz world has traditionally been male-centric, with women often relegated to supporting roles or marginalised within all-female ensembles. Unfortunately, such patterns have not changed over time. The stark contrast between the experiences of women and male jazz

musicians underscores the pervasive impact of gender factors on their work practices and overall life within the jazz genre.

Similarly, in pop music, gender dynamics remain complex, as women pop musicians may confront objectification, exploitation, and double standards. Despite greater visibility and commercial opportunities, women still contend with pressure to conform to narrow beauty standards, sexualise their image, and prioritise marketability over artistic integrity, and may aspire to emulate their male counterparts, indicating the gender dynamics that can affect opportunities within the musical genre. Overall, gender dynamics in classical, jazz, and pop music genres contribute to disparities in access to creative work, with women facing systemic barriers and unequal opportunities for recognition, representation, and advancement.

In conclusion, the chapter has provided a detailed exploration of the various characteristics of musical genres and identified the institutional factors in musical genres that can shape musicians' working lives. By delving into the unique traditions, performance practices, and industry norms of classical, jazz, and pop music, the chapter provides a deeper understanding of varied institutional factors that can affect musicians working lives.

These differences in institutional factors are not merely academic distinctions but hold significant relevance for understanding musicians' work practices and lives outside work (discussed later in the thesis). The varying demands, opportunities, and challenges associated with different genres impact how musicians navigate their careers, pursue artistic expression, and balance personal and professional aspirations. For example, while classical musicians may prioritise formal education and adherence to tradition, jazz musicians may thrive on improvisation and collaboration in more informal settings. Similarly, pop musicians may prioritise commercial pressures and the need for market visibility, often sacrificing artistic autonomy for mainstream success. These distinctions underscore the disparities in the opportunities and challenges musicians may experience within each genre.

The insights gleaned from this chapter serve as a contextual framework to interpret the findings from the field, specifically musicians' firsthand accounts of their work practices and participation in various activities outside of music. By understanding the various

characteristics of musical genres and the institutional factors shaping musicians' working lives, this study provides a detailed understanding of the broader context within which these accounts unfold. This contextual insight allows to identify patterns, trends, and challenges unique to each genre, thus enriching the analysis and interpretation of empirical findings.

Moreover, this chapter is indispensable for placing subsequent empirical chapters within an appropriate context. By establishing a detailed overview of the landscape of musical genres and the institutional factors at play, this chapter lays the groundwork for a further exploration of musicians' lived experiences. It serves as a vital bridge between theory and practice, providing the relevant context needed to interpret empirical findings and advance scholarly discourse within the creative work literature.

Chapter 5

5. Non-Work – What Is It?

5.1. Introduction

Within the sphere of creative work, the demarcation between work and personal pursuits frequently becomes obscured, fostering a dynamic milieu in which work seamlessly integrates with the pursuit of creative aspirations. This chapter embarks on a journey to reframe our understanding of what constitutes non-work for individuals immersed in creative work. Rather than labelling certain activities as non-work, this chapter delves into the myriad of tasks and engagements that individuals undertake outside of their work roles, shedding light on their significance and impact on creative work. This chapter examines the diverse activities that individuals engage in, not as mere respites from work but as integral components of their creative lifestyles. Whether it is exploring hobbies, cultivating personal relationships, or simply taking moments of leisure, the chapter aims to uncover the rich tapestry of endeavours and contributes to a deeper appreciation and understanding of the multifaceted nature of non-work.

The chapter delves into the intricate connections between non-work and work, revealing the variations in musicians' responses. It delves into how an individual's profession, employment status, and gender can shape their non-work experiences while highlighting the impact of institutional factors within musical genres. By elucidating the diverse ways in which musicians navigate non-work activities and experiences, the chapter offers valuable insights into the intersection of genre and employment status on family time and non-work engagement.

Additionally, it addresses the gender effects that influence women's participation in creative work across different genres. This chapter emphasises the pivotal role of institutional factors in shaping non-work activities and experiences, thereby making a significant contribution to the thesis. It delves into the variations in musicians' responses based on their respective genres and gender. By exploring these nuances, it aims to offer a detailed understanding of how various factors intersect to shape musicians' non-work experiences. This exploration

elucidates the complex dynamics at play and their implications for individuals' participation in non-work activities.

The research findings indicate that although musicians made distinctions between their non-work and work activities, only a minority regarded non-work activities as leisure. Many musicians divided their time between unpaid pursuits and obligatory commitments. The findings revealed that while there was a generally accepted notion that non-work and work activities are distinct, there were a few exceptions among male classical musicians. This research revealed differences in non-work experiences and engagement among musicians, highlighting that classical musicians tend to enjoy greater opportunities for leisure pursuits like vacations and cultural enrichment compared to their counterparts in pop and jazz genres. Conversely, pop and jazz musicians often encounter financial constraints and time pressures due to the competitive nature of the creative industry, necessitating constant hustle across multiple creative gigs and maintaining visibility in the market.

Regarding socialising, this study found that classical musicians often view it as part of their work, while pop and jazz musicians see it as a collaborative way to interact with peers and share work-related information. The findings suggest that musicians also juggled various obligatory duties, which often intersected with family time. The study suggests that musicians experienced unequal family time depending on their life stage and employment status. Employed musicians tended to allocate more time to family activities compared to freelance musicians, but women, regardless of their employment status, often prioritised domestic duties over leisure activities, highlighting the gendered division of labour prevalent in the creative industry.

While blurred boundaries between work and non-work are common in creative professions, the study identified some exceptions, particularly among classical musicians. While some classical musicians integrated work and non-work seamlessly, others occasionally separated the two, indicating a fluctuation in boundary perceptions. However, such patterns were less pronounced among jazz and pop musicians, where work and non-work boundaries tended to remain blurred.

The chapter delves into the perspectives of professional musicians across classical, jazz, and pop genres, covering their views on non-work activities, family time, and work and non-work boundaries. It concludes by summarising the key findings discussed in three main sections: defining non-work, experiences of family time, and the fluidity of work/non-work boundaries.

5.2. Non-work - what it constitutes

The present section reports professional musicians' descriptions of non-work, their varied perspectives regarding non-work activities, socializing, and the regularity of non-work. The section underlines how the intersection of genre and employment status affects non-work and the gendered differences in non-work experiences.

5.2.1. Musicians describe non-work

Informants shared vivid descriptions of non-work; classical musicians described non-work as a distraction or a chance to unwind: *"I think just chilling out...I really like to, I think because my job is so demanding emotionally and demands a lot from me, yeah, emotionally and mentally. I like to do things that are very low"* (Sara, classical). For instance, Becky said everything related to music is work. Other activities, such as watching a show, going for a walk or a run, and doing something creative, like sewing or playing board games, were non-work activities because they were unrelated to music. Likewise, for Rose, the non-work activity involved watching Korean soap operas (entertainment), which she described as silly and less engaging.

Jazz musicians described non-work as spare time, activities performed for self-fulfillment, and hours outside contractual engagements, *"everything else other than music"* (Bob, jazz). *"non-work kind of non-career, just my own personal time"* (Josh, jazz). According to pop musicians, non-work meant switching off from work to a pleasurable time: *"So, there is there is a life outside music, but I don't really consider it"* (Mark, pop). *"the thing that doesn't relate to basically, your field"* (Jim, pop).

Except for a few classical musicians who viewed life as a composite whole and did not differentiate activities as work and non-work (discussed later in the chapter), all other

professional musicians described non-work as separate from work. For employed musicians, non-work included hours outside of their formal employment. This suggests a clear boundary between work and personal life, with non-work hours serving as a distinct time for leisure, relaxation, or pursuing other interests. Their description of non-work appeared more direct and regular because the hours at work were defined by others (employers). In contrast, freelance musicians were responsible for allocating hours for work and non-work, making the differentiation between work and non-work less clear and irregular.

The descriptions above indicate musicians' views on non-work and highlight the diversity that musicians take towards their careers and personal lives. They reveal nuanced insights into the personal experiences of musicians; classical musicians equated non-work to distraction or relaxation, indicating a strong commitment to their craft and perhaps a more structured approach to their profession. Classical music often requires rigorous practice and dedication, and anything that deviates from this may be seen as detracting from their focus and discipline.

In contrast, jazz is often associated with improvisation and creativity, so jazz musicians may see their non-working hours as an opportunity for spontaneous expression and self-fulfilment. Pop music often tends to be more commercially driven and accessible, so pop musicians may view their downtime as a chance to recharge and disconnect from the demands of their profession, potentially emphasising self-care. Employed musicians define non-work as time outside their formal employment, indicating a distinct separation between work and personal life, whereas freelance musicians manage the inherent flexibility and challenges of their diverse careers.

The intersection of genre and employment status underscores the diverse nature of musicians' experiences. It highlights the significance of understanding how genre conventions (institutional factors of musical genres; see Chapter 2, Literature Review) and employment status shape perceptions of non-work. Additionally, it suggests that while there may be commonalities in the experiences of musicians, there are also unique challenges and perspectives influenced by genre and employment status, contributing to the diversity and complexity within creative work. This calls for reflection on the broader implications for the well-being of creative workers.

5.2.2. Non-work activities

Exploring the boundaries of what constitutes non-work activities among professional musicians unveils intriguing insights into their working lives and priorities. This section delves into the diverse perspectives offered by musicians from various genres, particularly focusing on classical, jazz, and pop musicians. Notably, classical musicians emerge as having a broader spectrum of leisure activities compared to their jazz and pop counterparts. Additionally, the section explores contrasting views among musicians regarding socialising and music-related hobbies as forms of non-work engagement. Furthermore, it examines informants' differing views on who regularly incorporate non-work activities into their lives and those with minimal leisure time. By exploring these nuances, the section provides insights into the intricate dynamics of the professional musician's lifestyle and the varying degrees of access to non-work activities.

Describing non-work activities, classical musicians (freelance) shared various hobbies unrelated to music, self-care comprising personal care, keeping fit and 'me time,' and other leisure pursuits such as entertainment, vacationing, and pursuing other creative work. According to descriptions from Kathy, Rose, and Becky, non-work included hobbies, entertainment, keeping fit, personal care, 'me'-time, and socializing with friends. The following excerpts show classical musicians' descriptions of non-work activities:

Watching a good film... like going to film or theatre, I like to go to theatre, or any diversion or an art gallery, to see something else, and, art, of course is very, very special to me.
(Jane, professional cellist, classical, freelance – 35 years)

I'm going for a sail is not work. That's just pure; meditation is not work. It's a moment of peaceful and calm, where I don't have to think about work; I don't know what is not work; Being with my cats is not work. Very simple things in life. I'm having a coffee. I guess it's not work, unless I am with colleagues, then it's work because I'm socializing.
(Tiffany, concert violinist, music educator, classical, freelance – 5 years)

For classical musicians (freelance), non-work involved consuming cultural products such as watching live performances and visiting art museums and galleries: "*going to a live performance or listening to recordings, etc*" (Cindy, classical). It included non-demanding activities that excluded professional people or colleagues. It also included vacationing; Oliver, Rosy, Roy, and Sara described taking time off from work for vacations. "*I do take days off, and I do take weeks off*

sometimes you know like in the summer I'll go on a holiday and won't care about it. But there's just an understanding that when I come back, I have to then make sure that I've got a couple of days to get back" (Sara, classical). *"a big switch off for me is those two weeks in Bulgaria. Every year in the summer I go back there and it's very difficult because the first few days I'm still on the computer...then slowly... I'm leaving the computer and then a week after I don't even see it."* (Rose, classical). Taking time off from work and going on vacations was available to those with adequate resources, such as money and a reputation within the industry, so their time off may not affect work. *"Holidays, I consider important, and that's a good feeling to put them in the diary. And then know that if even if something really worth financially worthwhile came in, you can just say no, I am on a holiday it's booked and planned. So, as a freelancer, there's always that feeling Oh, could I maybe we should change that...But I think maybe the older you get the more you realise that, and the more stable you feel financially"* (Roy, classical).

These descriptions suggest that classical musicians engaging in various hobbies, consuming cultural products, and taking vacations are closely tied to their financial resources and reputation within the industry. Musicians with adequate financial means and a solid reputation are more likely to afford leisure activities and take time off from work without financial concerns. This correlation underscores the influence of socioeconomic factors on the lifestyle choices of classical musicians, as those with greater financial stability and industry recognition may feel more confident in balancing work and accessing various leisure activities.

These descriptions highlight the demanding nature of their work and the challenges associated with taking time off due to the potential impact on performance from reduced practice hours. This underscores the established norms within classical music where musicians must dedicate regular hours to practice in order to uphold their performance standards. Examples provided shed light on the uncertainties inherent in the classical music labour market, such as the risks of losing work opportunities and impacting the balance between work and non-work pursuits. Nonetheless, access to financial resources and a reputable professional standing enables classical musicians to detach from work and dedicate time to leisure activities. These instances demonstrate how institutional frameworks within the classical music genre, encompassing genre conventions and labour market dynamics, shape classical musicians' participation in non-work activities.

For jazz musicians (freelance), non-work included leisure and self-care activities only if work was absent from their routine, indicating non-work was conditional (musicians participated in non-work if they did not have any professional demands at the time). None of the jazz musicians described taking time off to pursue leisure. According to Jill (jazz), non-work activities included maintaining the house and self-care *"something that I'm going to do for myself, whether it's, or life things that I need to do like groceries or laundry or I mean, but that's like things that make my life like if I have clean clothes that feels much better than like dirty clothes"* (Jill, jazz)

Her diary records included meditation, workouts, reading, and doing chores: *"21st February 2021; Morning – 9:00 – meditate and read, 10:00 – workout; Evening – make pizza, hang out with husband; 22nd February 2021: Morning – Workout, Grocery run for week; Evening – watch Netflix, reading books"* (Jill's diary notes). These excerpts and diary records suggest that non-work activities may constitute leisure, personal time, and domestic work, indicating women combined domestic duties and personal care. Combining domestic responsibilities with leisure/personal care was a common feature for women across genres and employment status (discussed later in the chapter), indicating how institutional factors in gender cut across genres.

For Josh (jazz), non-work was leisure; it involved watching music performances online by other artists, which, according to Josh, are entertaining and inspiring. He said, *"my spare time, the one thing that I'll be really most interested in, if I'm surfing the internet, or looking on, social media or something is musical activity that really inspires me... I'm never really interested in anything else. It is a passion, and it is an obsession"*. Although Josh described non-work as a personal time unrelated to his career, he allocated non-work to learning music skills from other musicians to improve his craft. According to Josh, his interest in other activities, such as gardening or exercising, fizzled out quickly, and he turned to music every time. Josh's diary indicates three entries for keeping fit (running or exercising in the park) and time with his partner during the evenings.

Likewise, for William, non-work activities included music (music was a hobby, as well as work) and other leisure activities such as playing video games and entertainment. In another example, Jill described refraining from music work during evenings; however, her diary notes indicated otherwise; non-work hours were allocated to recording music. These descriptions suggest that jazz musicians combined leisure and various unpaid work. Although jazz

musicians described non-work as activities unrelated to music (described previously in the section), their hobbies and leisure activities were instrumental, indicating work and non-work were blurred for jazz musicians.

Further, none of the jazz or pop musicians in the study described taking time off from work or vacationing. Instead, jazz musicians described that they could not take off because that could mean loss of work, *"I'm constantly on call, seven days a week...If you choose to not always be on call, then you have to be happy in knowing that you might be losing out on things"* (Greg). Taking a vacation to satiate wanderlust was unfeasible because vacationing was expensive. *"to travel while you just explore on your own, so you also need money. And as a musician, you don't usually have enough money to do that"* (Josh, jazz). They described purposefully combining leisure and work; Paloma said that because she was visiting her family near a beach location, she connected with venues around the place to perform during the evenings, combining work and non-work (vacation).

These descriptions revealed a nuanced relationship between work, leisure, and personal responsibilities for jazz musicians. They engaged in non-work activities only when professional demands were absent, indicating a conditional approach to leisure and self-care. Moreover, while jazz musicians described non-work activities as unrelated to music, their hobbies often revolved around musical pursuits, blurring the boundaries between work and leisure. Additionally, jazz musicians' transient interest in non-musical activities like gardening, exercising, or spending time with family which quickly gave way to a return to music-related work, highlights their strong attachment to their musical profession and the need to be continually present in the jazz labour market (musicians must be visible at various music scenes to acquire work; see Chapter 7, Work) even during leisure pursuits, indicates how the institutional systems/settings in the jazz genre affect musicians' non-work.

Their findings revealed the lack of jobs and low incomes in jazz labour markets (see Chapter 7, Work), which constrained jazz musicians' participation in non-work. Unlike classical musicians, whose non-work included participating in various activities and occasionally taking breaks, jazz musicians' non-work activities were limited, and they prioritized work over non-work. Remarkably, neither jazz nor pop musicians took time off for leisure or vacation, citing concerns about potential loss of work if they did so. This absence of distinct breaks

underscores a lack of separation between work and personal time. Interestingly, women in the study, across different music genres and employment statuses, seamlessly integrated domestic duties with leisure and personal care, illustrating the diverse nature of women's roles as they navigate not only their professional endeavours but also domestic responsibilities and personal well-being (discussed later in the chapter). Overall, these findings paint a picture of jazz musicians' participation in non-work activities, indicating how work, leisure and personal responsibilities are intricately woven.

Like jazz musicians in the above examples, for pop musicians (freelance) , non-work included occasional leisure such as going for walks or enjoying a meal and various other hobbies un/related to music (often these hobbies were instrumental, blurring work and non-work boundaries). Pop musicians Simon, David, and Jim shared their views on non-work: *"I do have weekends when I switch off from it and the evenings... I've enjoyed video calls and seeing people that is not related at all to music. I need that switch off time as well"* (David, pop). *"watching Netflix, also going out with friends, going out for drink walking the dog. And the thing that doesn't relate to, basically, your field"* (Jim, pop). Jim's diary notes indicated various non-work activities such as spending time with his fiancé and watching television series, visiting his mum, going for a walk, spending time on the PlayStation, taking lessons in driving, taking off, and doing nothing.

Although Jim and David described participating in various non-work activities, they indicated that the venues were closed due to the pandemic, so they could allocate time to activities other than music. However, David said he was unsure whether taking breaks from work would be a possibility after the venues opened for work. These descriptions revealed how the absence of jobs (because there were no audiences) at a certain time (during the pandemic) influenced musicians' participation in non-work. Pop music work depends on the market/audiences (institutional systems/settings), indicating how institutional factors in the pop genre affect musicians' non-work.

Like jazz musicians, pop musicians had limited non-work activities and no vacations. They described performing other creative activities that can be perceived as a hobby; however, for pop musicians, such activities were instrumental. For instance, Ann and James said they wanted to stay productive and do something creative or learn something new, and not doing

anything was like wasting time. *"I think I can never fully relax...because I think I'm always, always thinking of things, whether I'm working or not I'm always thinking of things that I could be doing with my time to be productive"* (Ann, pop). According to Ann, outside of music work, she would write, draw, or make creative products (here, referring to designing merchandise). These activities were an extension of her music work; the merchandise contained original music lyrics or some branding to promote Ann's music. She described selling these merchandise items online and during music shows.

Likewise, James mentioned watching film tutorials to learn new techniques and stay busy if not performing any music work. *"I'm keeping myself busy, my mind busy. I'm not the guy who can just chill have beer with friends and party...I can be there for like an hour or so, but after that, it comes on my face... Let me go I am not enjoying this, this is not my space"* (James, pop). His diary notes indicate that James equated time on social media to 'wasting time,' and he noted watching telly usually late at night occasionally. According to James, doing nothing was frustrating. These descriptions suggest that pop musicians did not have sufficient music work and preferred to appear busy in various activities un/related to music work. Instead of switching off from work, pop musicians focused on developing other skills for instrumental purposes. These examples indicate that a lack of proper jobs and irregular income can affect people's non-work and time usage.

The findings shed light on the multifaceted relationship between work and non-work activities among pop musicians; while non-work for pop musicians encompassed occasional leisure activities like walks and meals, as well as diverse hobbies often still connected to their music careers. The closure of venues due to the pandemic prompted a shift in their engagement with non-work pursuits. This highlights the influence of institutional factors such as market demand and audience availability on musicians' leisure time. Moreover, some pop musicians extended their music work into activities like designing merchandise, blurring the boundaries between work and non-work. Despite facing frustration from the lack of sufficient music work, pop musicians preferred to remain productive, focusing on skill development for instrumental purposes rather than idleness. These findings underscore the intricate interplay between work, leisure, and external circumstances in shaping pop musicians' participation in non-work activities.

Comparatively, these findings align with the experiences of jazz musicians, who similarly blend leisure and work, albeit with a stronger emphasis on music-related activities. However, classical musicians may exhibit different patterns, given the traditional structures within classical music that often allow classical musicians to participate in non-work regularly, as discussed in the above examples.

These examples indicate the inequalities in the experiences of non-work for musicians from various genres. They suggest the vulnerability of jazz and pop musicians in the creative work market - absence from the labour market could lead to no music work. They indicate the varied institutional systems/settings in musical genres and their influence on musicians' non-work. These institutional systems/settings affect other non-work activities such as socializing; unlike classical musicians, who viewed socializing as instrumental, pop and jazz musicians viewed socializing with friends (colleagues from the music field or with people unrelated to music) as non-work, as discussed later in the chapter.

The study provides insights into the non-work activities of pop musicians, suggesting that they had limited access to non-work engagements. However, it is essential to acknowledge that these findings may not necessarily apply universally across all segments of the pop or jazz musician population. If the study were to include elite musicians within these genres, the dynamics of non-work engagement might differ. Elite pop or jazz musicians may have greater resources, flexibility, and access to exclusive leisure opportunities compared to their non-elite counterparts. Consequently, while the study sheds light on the experiences of a specific subset of pop musicians, the inclusion of elite musicians could offer valuable insights into the nuanced variations in non-work activities. The current findings have provided insights into the experiences of freelance musicians across various genres. However, the subsequent section will shift focus to explore accounts of musicians with traditional full-time employment offering a contrasting perspective on their non-work activities.

Some of the informants (classical musicians) were employed with various music organizations such as orchestra and opera companies, and one jazz musician was employed at a church as a music director. Their accounts regarding non-work suggest some musicians could regularly allocate time for leisure, vacations, and other unpaid music work (see Chapter 6, Unpaid

Work) because non-work time was outside employment hours; the work and non-work separation was straightforward. *"I like cooking. Me and my girlfriend we like cooking. And we go for walks with dogs. Also, musical things so composing, doing projects. We will record a video of some of my compositions.... I go to pick up mushrooms, or go for walks, hiking, or cycling"* (Alan, classical). Like Alan, Dina, and Tom described performing various non-work activities, including voluntary work, self-care, and pursuing new hobbies. According to Dina, a salaried job enabled her to explore other hobbies, such as painting and pottery, without worrying about earning a living.

Unlike freelance pop musicians Ann and James discussed above, Dina did not report pursuing new hobbies for instrumental purposes or monetizing the paintings and pottery items. Tom, on the other hand, described donating voice lessons to pupils and donating time for stage management jobs and other creative projects. These descriptions indicate the importance of long-term employment (found in the classical genre, although declining) over a freelance job (prevalent in the pop genre) that enables people to participate in non-work regularly without worrying about the next job opportunity.

However, not all employed musicians had similar non-work experiences. Tim (jazz musician) was employed at a church. Here, although the separation from work seemed straightforward, there were occasions when Tim reported performing church work outside employment hours, and his family (wife) participated in work-related discussions with other members of the church. He described feeling threatened with losing his job if the pastors were disappointed with his performance. Tim's diary notes indicate meeting colleagues outside his regular work hours: *"27th February, Evening: 6:15-9pm – Went to dinner and talked with parish pastors about upcoming music through Easter, as well as musical shifts he wanted to make in the parish overall. [anonymized] are both great company, so it was a lot of fun for my wife and me"* (Tim's diary notes). Tim's example indicates how institutional systems/settings in employing organizations influence non-work.

The non-work experiences of classical musicians employed at music organizations such as an orchestra or opera (institutions where producing music is primary) and a jazz musician employed at a church (where producing music is one of the many tasks) varied, indicating how the intersection between genre and employment can create non-work variations. Compared to a jazz musician's employment at a church, classical musicians' jobs with music organizations

appeared more stable, enabling classical musicians, and constraining the jazz musician's participation in non-work. Musicians' accounts from various musical genres highlight the variations in non-work activities and experiences. Such variations were reported in socializing and music activity, which will be discussed next.

5.2.3. Socializing

Musicians shared differing views regarding socializing; for pop musicians, socializing was non-work. David, Jim, and Ann described socializing with musician friends. Ann and David's diary notes indicate hiking with musician friends, discussing music album releases, and making EPs (Extended Play). David described chatting on various topics during the hike, including information regarding studios to record original music. According to pop musicians, discussing work during non-work time may not be an agenda; instead, discussion regarding music work and fun activities could happen simultaneously; there were no demarcations. Jazz musicians described combining work and socializing; for instance, Josh said, "*meeting at another musician's house to play on his weekly livestream concert*" (Josh's diary notes), followed by drinks and dinner. Likewise, Paloma described catching up with colleagues discussing children or gardening between film orchestral music performances, which she said, "*is very much part of music work*" (Paloma, jazz). For jazz musicians, socializing with colleagues was an inherent part of a musician's life that blurred the boundaries between work and non-work.

However, for classical musicians, socializing with industry colleagues was an extension of work and instrumental. "*I'm having a coffee. I guess it's not work, unless I am with colleagues, then it's work because I'm socializing*". (Tiffany, classical) "*I mean having coffee...But even those meetings for coffee, not with my sister, but, with colleagues... it's therapeutic...if it's really as courting a colleague, then it is work*" (Macy, classical). These excerpts suggest that classical musicians differentiated socializing based on personal or professional relationships, unlike pop and jazz musicians, where such differentiation was not reported. Pop musicians described being friends with musicians; for instance, Ann said, except for her boyfriend, all her other friends were musicians. Classical musicians, on the other end, shared having very few musician friends; for instance, Hayden and Jane mentioned that classical musicians were extremely competitive and secretive regarding their work or other opportunities or any problems. According to Jane,

in classical music, it was "*dog eat dog*", musicians hardly trusted other musicians. Their descriptions suggest how genre conventions (competitive environment in the classical genre - musicians generally compete with one another to stay ahead) affect collegial relationships.

These examples suggest the variations in musicians' perception of socializing in various musical genres. Musicians from the pop and classical genres occupied extreme positions, where pop musicians viewed socializing as non-work - a pleasurable activity irrespective of the people within and outside the industry. In contrast, for classical musicians, socializing with colleagues was an instrumental activity; the meaning of socializing changed depending upon the people involved - it could be work if colleagues or others within the industry were involved and non-work if people were outside of it. The variations in perception regarding socialising among pop and classical musicians can be elucidated by genre characteristics and norms in a genre. While pop musicians may view socialising as a pleasurable activity conducive to networking and collaboration, classical musicians may approach social interactions more strategically, recognising the potential implications for their professional careers.

The descriptions from pop musicians indicate they practiced a cooperative pattern of functioning. In contrast, classical musicians followed a competitive pattern of functioning, which influenced how people in musical genres perceived professional relationships. Jazz musicians' views appeared within these extremes, suggesting that socializing and music work cannot be separated, indicating the close-knit networks in jazz music. Their descriptions indicate the social aspect of the music production process. Unlike classical music, which is non-discursive and analytical and requires musicians to perform specific notes, in jazz music, the cohesiveness and cooperation between band members influence music production - the genre-specific characteristics and conventions contribute to the institutional systems/settings in musical genres that affect musicians' behaviour patterns.

5.2.4. Music activity

Musicians had contradictory views regarding music activity; for freelance classical musicians, anything related to music was not a non-work activity; however, musicians in the pop and jazz genres and those with salaried jobs (classical musicians) shared similar views; they viewed

music activity based on the purpose of performing music. The differing views are discussed here.

Classical musicians employed in music organizations such as orchestra and opera, described categorizing music into - music as work (includes rehearsing and performing concerts; work practices performed for others for pay), as a hobby pursued during the non-work time (includes any other music activity unrelated to work, performed occasionally for self-fulfillment), and as unpaid work pursued during the non-work time (includes practicing, taking voice lessons, making creative products; work practices directed toward others without pay). For example, Dina described singing any pop song as a fun activity (song/music that she would not pursue as a career). Here, the differences between various music activities were clear, based on specific purposes. As Dina was employed as a chorister, differentiating between music that is work and outside of it was straightforward. In contrast, Becky, Jane Sara, and Tiffany (freelance classical musicians) could not make such a differentiation because they did not know what their next music job would be. In these examples, employment enabled musicians to separate non-work music activity from a music job.

Likewise, musicians in the jazz and pop genres differentiated music activity based on the purpose of playing music; they said music activity was non-work without performance objectives or pay, or when they played music casually with friends or played any random music as fun. Jim (pop) mentioned playing music on the keyboard just for fun (run your fingers down the keyboard, just playing some random tunes) was different from playing tunes for a performance. Likewise, Leo (jazz) described playing music or singing as a non-work activity because the intention was to have fun with friends and not accomplish any specific goals (practicing for future performance or earning). In another example, Paloma (jazz) said:

invited a colleague here... to play through some music, just not because it's working towards a performance, but just because it's playing through some music for pleasure, that would be using my skills in a non-work situation... interesting conversation with my colleague about how to interpret the music, and in my opinion, that is then going to be applied directly into my work or my next performance.

(Paloma, professional flutist, vocalist (jazz), jazz music, freelance – 10 years)

According to Paloma, practicing music or interpreting musical scores with friends can benefit music work in the future (here referring to paid music work). However, at the time, such

activities were non-work because of the social setting, and the purpose of playing music was directed toward self-fulfillment and not accomplishing a professional goal. These excerpts suggest why music may not be perceived as real work (see Chapter 2, Literature Review). Josh's description highlights the distinction made by pop and jazz musicians between music-related activities as either work or leisure, based on factors such as their structure, production, and the social context surrounding music performance. This differentiation is particularly evident within the jazz genre, where rehearsals and performances are often followed by informal social gatherings.

In contrast, freelance classical musicians did not categorize music based on different purposes; instead, they viewed music as an inherent need, which involved playing music and sharing it with others and not for self-consumption or personal enjoyment. *"I remember one very wise musician...saying, she plays for her own satisfaction. Now that, that's such a put down in the music world. Because...it wasn't and need to be supplicant to the music...our purposes, which is to interpret and to be at the mercy of the writer, the composer. So that's the need to, and there's a lot of joy along the way, in that"* (Roy, classical). Roy and Sara (classical musicians) said playing music was always pleasurable; however, the relationship with music was not casual; instead, it was about performing appropriately and 'getting it right'. Musicians in the classical genre exhibited an attitude of gratitude for their ability to play music and a sense of obligation to serve it. This perspective reflects a reverence towards music, viewing oneself as a chosen conduit for its expression. Additionally, music institutions played an important role in reinforcing genre conventions through years of training, shaping classical musicians' perception of music activities.

These examples indicate the varied ways musicians from different musical genres viewed music. They gave meaning to music activity depending upon the institutional systems in which they learned music and practiced and produced it - the intersection between genres and employment status shaped musicians' perspectives regarding music activity as non-work or work. The vivid accounts of musicians from various musical genres regarding non-work activities thus far indicate how the institutional systems/settings in musical genres influenced musicians' non-work activities. The next section discusses the regularity of non-work.

5.2.5. Regularity

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, for employed musicians, non-work was regular, whereas, among freelance musicians, non-work was regular for some (primarily classical musicians) and irregular and residual for others. Some classical musicians described taking breaks from work annually (regular). In contrast, jazz or pop musicians could only take time off occasionally (irregular or residual) due to monetary constraints and their vulnerability in artistic labour markets. Also, compared to women, where non-work was either irregular or residual because they combined non-work with other obligatory duties, non-work was more regular in the case of men. Here, regular indicates how often musicians routinely participated in non-work activity. Residual indicates the absence of routine participation in non-work activities and the occasional time left after tending to all obligatory activities (paid and unpaid work). The examples in the following sections indicate the gendered experiences of non-work.

Rose (classical), for instance, described forcing herself to stop doing music-related tasks, usually late at night, and then watching telly. In another example, Kathy's diary records show one non-work activity, 'me-time' during the week - 'enjoying a large glass of wine.' Non-work was either irregular or residual in the case of women. Also, there were several occasions where informants (women) described combining non-work leisurely activities with household chores or parenting duties (see Sara's diary notes in the section family time in the chapter). Women with children described combining various activities, which included household duties, parenting with very little or no time for any non-work, or pursuing any leisure see Ria's description in the section family time in the chapter); in another example, Macy mentioned that she hardly had any time left after managing the house, taking care of her child and her education needs, music teaching responsibilities both online and in person, preparing for concerts if any.

In contrast, men reported non-work as a regular activity; the diary notes and excerpts from Wilson, Rob, and Andy indicate that men regularly performed non-work activities, occasionally combining leisure and domestic chores. For instance, Wilson's diary records show various non-work activities performed regularly during evenings. His diary notes are *"23th August 2022, Evening:7 p.m. thought about dinner... about 8:30 p.m, Glass of wine and watch a movie on*

the TV. (I used this time while at my desk to get it in order. Made a note to myself to work on desk file folders on my next free day; 25th August 2022, Evening: 8:00 p.m. Had dinner out! Tonight, I'm feeling wild and crazy! So, I am going out and have a few drinks.; 27th August 2022, Evening: 9:30 Popcorn and movie time! Watched two movies". Likewise, Rob's diary records show different non-work activities unrelated to music, which include driving to and from work (concerts), occasional personal care, leisure activities with family, often domestic and leisure together.

These examples indicate that men regularly pursued various non-work activities, and women struggled to find time to unwind or relax. Although Rob's diary notes indicated combining leisure such as watching telly and doing some domestic chores, they were occasional, unlike women, where such behaviour was regular. Not only in the classical genre, but women in jazz and pop genres, including women employed with large orchestra companies, reported similar non-work experiences, indicating the institutional effects of gender on women musicians' non-work experiences. In previous examples, accounts of musicians regarding non-work indicated how institutional factors in genres influenced non-work activities and experiences. However, concerning the regularity of non-work, musicians' accounts demonstrated how gender cuts across genres to produce inequities in non-work. A similar pattern was found in family time experiences, discussed in the next section.

Summing up, the findings in the above section indicate how institutional systems/settings of musical genres can affect the meaning musicians attach to non-work. Musicians (except a few men in classical music) across various musical genres viewed non-work and work as separate parts of life. However, there were some differences - for classical musicians, non-work was a time to unwind and take breaks from work, and for musicians in jazz and pop, non-work was residual. Using the genre lens to examine professional musicians' non-work activities uncovered the following: *first*, the variations in non-work activities for musicians in different musical genres where jazz and pop musicians were constrained from participating in non-work activities due to limited financial resources and the need to remain active (visible) in the creative work market. In contrast, classical musicians had access to a wide variety of non-work activities because they were financially secure and had a reputation, which meant they were less vulnerable in the creative work market compared to musicians in non-classical genres.

Second, watching telly and shows on digital media appeared to be the most common leisure activity among musicians; however, only classical musicians participated in other forms of cultural consumption, such as watching live music performances, attending art exhibitions, and visiting museums. Next, the findings indicate how institutional systems/settings in musical genres affect the meaning musicians attached to music activities and socializing; classical musicians viewed music activity and socializing with people related to music as work. The institutional systems in the classical genre encourage competition and virtuosity, whereas cooperation with fellow musicians is necessary for music production in jazz. These genre conventions contribute to the institutional systems/settings in a genre that lead to variations in non-work and meanings musicians attach to non-work activities.

Fourth, the intersection of genre and employment status influences the regularity of non-work; thus, informants with stable salaried jobs could allocate regular hours for non-work activities and pursue a wide range of activities, whereas for freelance musicians, non-work was irregular. *Finally*, the findings suggest how gender produces inequities in non-work, where men participated in non-work more regularly than women, and for women, non-work was generally residual. In addition to participating in leisure as non-work, life outside work includes family time and fulfilling other unpaid activities necessary to sustain a life, which are discussed in the following section.

5.3. Non-work - family time

Professional musicians have atypical working lives, where working during evenings and weekends is commonplace. An investigation into their family time activities and experiences suggests that musicians' employment status and life stages affect their family time experiences; here, the focus is on obligatory duties (household and parenting duties). The inquiry into family time is relevant because it affects an individual's participation in creative work markets, indicating the linkages between work and non-work. For some musicians (women), family time was exacting, and they viewed obligatory duties not as non-work but as a different type of work (necessary work) with no definite hours. In contrast, men described such activities as non-work, with well-defined hours and activities indicating the variations in family time for women and men in various musical genres.

Using the genre lens, the study found that irrespective of the genres in which musicians performed, people's life stages and employment influenced matters concerning family time. This section revealed how gender can cut across genre and employment and generate family-time inequities. Because leisure and family time are not mutually exclusive, there were several instances when obligatory duties were combined with leisure. These are discussed here.

5.3.1. Unequal family time

Musicians from various musical genres described varied experiences of family time, which included performing minimal obligatory duties to being immersed in such tasks with no time for leisure or any other non-work. Classical musicians who were single (here, the term "single" refers to individuals who are not married and without kids) described having no time for any obligatory duties and sometimes no time for personal life. *"In terms of, domestic matters, almost no time for that...I wouldn't have time to cook for myself. No, I would, have done probably half an hour to clean my flat"* (Rose). *"my private, personal life this is never my priority. And it, it's never going to be...And I've had that with, with my previous boyfriend as well, and it's not something that I care about. If it's there, it's there. It's great. If it's not, it's not there. And, that's it. It doesn't affect me, in what I'm doing"* (Tiffany). They prioritized music work over everything else, often willing to sacrifice personal life (not being in relationships, not having children) with limited participation in obligatory duties. Their diary records indicate no information regarding domestic or any obligatory duties.

However, for single individuals with a salaried job and living with family, it meant they had more time with family and other activities. *"I guess I've been spending a lot more time with family because I've been able to which has been really nice"* (Dina). Unlike single musicians, who described having no time for obligatory duties and personal life, for Dina, a salaried job and living with family meant she could allocate hours for various other activities and not worry about obligatory duties. Also, for men, living with family meant few obligatory duties (discussed later in the section). These excerpts suggest the variations in obligatory duties for people who were single and lived with family or alone, indicating how family can affect an individual's participation in obligatory duties. The absence of family/cohabiting partners constrained musicians from participating in life outside work.

The experiences of living with family or cohabiting were not similar for everyone. In the case of couples cohabiting with kids (in the study, Stella, classical), women shouldered most of the childcare duties. As Stella described, having no time after her job and childcare responsibilities to pursue any other hobby or music-related activity. There were occasions during the interview when she would attend to her child and participate in the interview simultaneously. Although Stella had a salaried job (soprano in a major opera company) and was cohabiting with her partner, family time was often involved in fulfilling parenting duties. Dina and Stella had similar jobs; however, their experiences of family time differed. Here, one notices how gender cuts across genre and employment and constrains women's participation in life outside work.

The study found that even for professional musicians, childcare and household duties were primarily women's responsibilities (discussed later in the section). Women shouldered most of the parenting and house duties; even after attaining the best education, succeeding in competitions, and moving up the ladder in the profession, they were forced to maintain family-abiding social norms, which also affected their participation in the creative work markets. The findings indicated that women experienced changes in work practices and life outside of work at various life stages – single living with/without family, married with/without kids, cohabiting with/without kids, and single women with children.

Pop musicians Ann, David, and Simon were single, and their family-time experiences were similar to those discussed above. *"because I live on my own, I'm always just thinking about work because I've got nothing better to do. But when I have company, I am distracted"* (Ann). Living alone can affect an individual's non-work time, and turning to work seems like an escape. Their diary records indicate occasional chores/running errands; obligatory duties were almost negligible for single individuals. The study found that even if musicians lived alone and had limited obligatory duties, their families participated in music-related work.

For David, family time included visiting his parents during holidays, leisure time with family, and singing his composition to his parents for feedback. In one of the diaries, David noted, *"31st March 2021, Morning: Today I went right back into songwriting...I had asked my dad for some feedback on my new songs during the previous weekend and he'd given me some things to think about;*

11th April 2021, Afternoon: I finished my poem and got some quick feedback from family before sending it off", indicating how the family participate in music-related activities. In another instance, Ann described receiving feedback from her father on music compositions and her parents cautioning her regarding organizing music tours.

These descriptions highlight how work activities may seamlessly enter family time, blurring the boundaries between work and non-work. These examples indicate how musicians' life stages influenced their participation in family time, how living with family enabled creative workers to participate in non-work by moving away from work, people living with family had few obligatory duties (exceptions included women and women with children), how family members participated in musicians' careers - contributed to the production of creative outputs, provided the financial support needed to sustain the uncertainties of artistic labour markets (see Chapter-7, Work).

The image of family time changed, with an added layer of responsibility. For individuals married or living with a partner, without children (here, the term "without children" refers to individuals who did not have children and those whose children had moved out), their family time activities and experiences differed from those who were single. Among classical musicians, the description of family time differed for women and men. Often, women described combining obligatory duties with leisure. Sara said being a freelance professional violinist was physically and emotionally demanding; family time is, *"I think, just chilling out."* However, Sara's diary records indicated combining domestic duties such as cooking, doing the bins, and housework with other non-work activities such as relaxing, watching television, and reading during these times.

In contrast, men described family time as non-work, either participating in leisure or occasionally combining leisure and some domestic duties, indicating how gender factors can cut across genres. For instance, Oliver described family time as non-work, which included staying home during the evenings, playing with his children, and occasionally cooking a meal. Rob's diary notes indicate combining domestic chores, leisure, and childcare. *"16th November 2020, Morning: Non-creative work: domestic, Evening: domestic/leisure; 17th November 2020, Morning: Non-creative work: About 2 hours of emails and work on my accounts, all the rest of the morning – domestic*

– *basically organizing my autistic son to get him, start the day of learning life skills, exercise etc etc; Evening: Non-work: domestic/leisure all evening"* (Rob's diary notes). These examples suggest the variations in family time for musicians in various life stages and the varied family time experiences of women and men in classical music. Unlike the single individuals discussed above, being married, or living with a partner meant participating in obligatory duties. However, the extent of participation in such duties varied for women and men; compared to men, women described combining or prioritizing obligatory duties (discussed further in the section).

Jazz musicians Josh and Jill described performing household chores occasionally. Josh maintained two diaries during the study. In both diaries, he reported performing domestic chores/ running errands once a week and reported spending time with his partner occasionally. Jill reported grocery shopping and cooking meals between practicing music and other music work. The diary notes from jazz musicians suggest similarities with accounts of classical musicians regarding family time activities and experiences.

One cannot avoid obligatory duties when living with a partner/married. Their accounts regarding family time indicate men participating in obligatory activities in a limited way, whereas, for women, family time meant performing various domestic duties. The pattern was similar for pop musicians; James and Mac mentioned nothing related to household duties, and Mark's diary record shows one entry "*Life requirements... Shopping etc...*" (Mark's diary notes). These examples imply that people's participation in family time changes during their life stages; however, the institutional effects of gender are more pronounced in musicians' lives outside of work.

At the time of the interview, due to the pandemic, most of the musicians described performing music work from home. Their accounts highlighted the gendered patterns of working from home. Although professional musicians, the distribution of paid and unpaid work, including domestic and childcare, was unequal for women and men. The findings suggest that women were burdened with more duties in various life stages with residual non-work time. Unequal distribution of work also influenced women musicians' participation in artistic labour markets, who juggled between managing the home and acquiring work. The next section discusses women's participation in obligatory duties and its consequences.

5.3.2. Women and obligatory duties

Women not only combined obligatory duties with leisure but often prioritized obligatory duties and accommodated work so that household responsibilities were not ignored. Kathy said that family is most important to her. She described cleaning, washing, cooking, and performing other household tasks so the family can have a good time together. *"housewives, we've got to do that"* (Kathy, classical). Although Kathy is a professional freelance pianist, trained in Western classical music, a winner of several music competitions, and regularly performed with orchestras and musical theatres in London, she identified as a housewife and not as a professional musician when describing family time. According to Kathy, managing the household and parenting are women's jobs. She described accommodating music work (practicing for a concert) between chores.

Women, irrespective of their employment status, prioritized obligatory duties and often allocated several hours to such tasks. For Stella (discussed above), a salaried job ensured she had separate non-work time. However, most of the non-work involved caring for her baby. According to Stella, she was often constrained by parenting duties and hardly had time for other activities, such as learning to record and post videos on social media like her musician colleagues. She said, *"at least half of my artist friends have no children. It was just it's very difficult to be free and also raise children...when you're working as an artist, you're like feeling alive and excited and making connections with other people and then you go and you're taking care of your kids and it could be more boring...and then your partner is having a great time working... I think it's really hard"* (Stella, classical). The demands of artistic occupation may conflict with an individual's life stages and constrain people's participation in creative work or even the expansion of their careers. Women, especially, may sacrifice personal life goals (see Tiffany's example above) for their music careers.

Even in cases where both partners were professional musicians, women shared the load of housework. For instance, Jill and her husband were professional jazz musicians; she did not describe anything related to sharing household responsibilities with him or his participation in chores. In another instance, Ria described prioritizing parenting over music work *"I suppose I don't do an awful lot other than just my job and, and parenting, there's not a lot of time to do anything"*

else is if I'm not working, I'm with the kids" (Ria, classical). However, unlike Ria, her spouse, Greg, a professional jazz musician, described limited parenting duties and nothing related to household chores. Instead, he described performing multiple jobs (some in the non-arts) for additional income, engaging with community development programs, and learning a new instrument to improve his chances of getting more work at the workplace (in this case, musical theatre).

The above examples may suggest that men did not participate in household or parenting duties; however, that was not the case. As discussed in previous examples (see Oliver and Rob's description above), their participation was limited to certain activities and often for specific hours. Jack mentioned how parenting duties constrained him from pursuing various hobbies. *"our seven year old and three year old boys, sort of keep me and my wife pretty busy"* (Jack, classical). Jack's diary records show parenting on multiple occasions for a few hours on days his wife was at work and not all days of the week and reading only once.

These examples partly explain why men could allocate hours regularly for various music work whereas women could not (see Chapter 6, Unpaid Work). They suggest why women's experiences of family time become complicated due to parenting duties - Kathy, Ria, and Stella, all professional musicians, described barely having the time to do anything recreational or even practice music. Even if individuals were creative workers, the gendered distribution of domestic and parenting duties was similar to other fields (see Chapter 2, Literature Review).

Summing up, the findings regarding family time indicate that participation in family time changes with an individual's life stages; however, the influence of the life stages varies for women and men, irrespective of employment status and musical genres. The findings revealed the following: *first*, single musicians who lived with family could experience more non-work time than those who lived alone; here, work and non-work were often blurred and occupied by work. *Second*, family time was more burdensome for married/cohabiting individuals because they had compulsory duties that constrained their participation in non-work.

Third, family time activities and experiences indicate that obligatory duties affect women and men differently. Compared to men, women shouldered more household responsibilities alongside professional work and often prioritized obligatory duties - domestic and childcare. In contrast, men either did not participate in any obligatory duties or their participation was limited. The activities performed and hours spent on obligatory duties were fluid for women but mostly fixed for men. Although the creative industries are projected as the fastest growing, with workers adept at managing labour market uncertainties, and creative work is deemed prestigious, the unequal distribution of obligatory duties between women and men in creative work implies that such claims are based on the experiences and success stories of a few men who hardly have any obligatory duties.

Up to now, the two sections reported empirical observations regarding non-work, indicating how institutional systems/settings in various musical genres contributed to the meanings musicians attached to non-work, their participation in various non-work activities, and their non-work experiences. The findings suggest that gender can cut across the genre's institutional systems/settings and employment status and create variations in non-work experiences for women. Further, the accounts of musicians from different musical genres have demonstrated that a clear work and non-work division is unlikely for creative workers participating in artistic labour markets, and the next section, 'Work and Non-work boundaries,' tackles this issue.

5.4. Work and non-work boundaries

Previous sections in the chapter reported musicians' perspectives regarding non-work and their experiences of non-work. In most cases, non-work appeared blurred, a time comprising leisure, relaxation, and other activities, including music-related unpaid work and other domestic duties); however, there were a few exceptions where non-work was distinct. At the beginning, the chapter indicated that few classical musicians (men) refuted the idea of non-work; in their view, life is a composite whole where work, non-work, or anything else is a part. Thus, the informants for the study included musicians who refuted the classification of activities as non-work and those who viewed work and non-work as separate aspects of life.

The present section regarding work and non-work boundaries reports findings from musicians where work and non-work boundaries were either integrated or blurred and musicians' accounts concerning the impermanence of work and non-work boundaries. Integrated work and non-work boundaries mean activities do not have separate meanings or are not categorized as work or non-work; life is a composite of all activities. Blurred work and non-work boundaries mean activities have distinct meanings and are categorized as work or non-work; however, boundaries are blurred because activities are less differentiated. Impermanent work and non-work boundaries suggest that such boundaries may appear, become blurred, or shift in an individual's routine.

5.4.1. Work and non-work boundaries blur

Excluding the accounts of some classical musicians (men) discussed later, other informants viewed work and non-work as separate. However, they described that the work and non-work boundaries blurred due to factors like career stage, the demanding nature of their work during busy seasons like festivals, unpaid work such as socialising and social media, and engaging in non-work activities to support their work.

Most musicians across various genres experienced blurred boundaries between work and non-work during their early career stages. For example, accounts of classical musicians Tristan and Jacob, jazz musicians William and Leo and pop musicians David and Simon highlight the commonalities experienced by musicians during this phase of their careers. However, during later stages of their careers, classical musicians could participate in non-work activities but not regularly. In contrast, jazz and pop musicians found it challenging to take breaks from work even at this stage. Moreover, occupational demands and the instrumental use of non-work meant that blurred boundaries between work and non-work were common among musicians. Exceptions existed, notably among a few classical musicians, who described being deeply immersed in creative work, where leisure activities and music production were almost inseparable. These are reported in the following sections.

Classical musicians Jacob and Tristan described performing various activities, including paid and unpaid work, during the early stages of their careers, resulting in blurred work and non-

work boundaries. Tristan described extensively participating in social media activities to showcase skills and talents and reach various audiences. In another example, Jacob described holding multiple jobs in various labour markets to earn a living alongside a music career. *"I've never had any of those luxuries...it is so much harder...because sometimes auditions are really expensive or competitions, can be expensive as well and they take a lot of time...I have always had to have teaching job on the side"* (Jacob, classical). These descriptions suggest the challenges of entering the creative field, which involve participating in various unpaid work and holding multiple jobs, making it difficult to ascertain what constitutes work, thus blurring the work and non-work boundaries.

Likewise, jazz and pop musicians described participating in various gigs and competitive events, developing connections with industry people, working with bands, and creating their music band - allocating hours to a range of paid and unpaid activities to gain a foothold in the creative work market leading to undifferentiated work and non-work. The following examples from jazz and pop musicians demonstrate the similarities in work practices of musicians during early career stages, which affects work and non-work boundaries. *"how do we get ourselves out there is by doing different competitions remix competitions. Beat battles, everywhere that you're able to get yourself out there... really keep on building relationships"* (William, jazz). *"we're all managing these portfolio careers where we're playing different projects and in doing functions and teaching and everything, we all need to allocate our time to work to those projects"* (Leo, jazz). These excerpts illustrate how musicians invested substantial time and energy in their craft, extending their commitment beyond conventional work hours. Juggling multiple projects, from competitions to networking, reflects the busyness of their daily routines. Such intense involvement often blurred the boundaries between work and non-work.

Similarly, descriptions from pop musicians highlight the prevalence of overwork during the early stages of their careers, resulting in blurred boundaries between work and non-work and detrimental effects on their health. *"I have in the past, struggled with that work separation, and certainly when I first went self-employed... and I worked really, really hard; did over 300 gigs, and it was hard to I didn't really have much of a separation...now I think I've got a little bit better on it"* (David, pop). *"I've been playing gigs to earn money, and at certain points that's taken a real toll on me because of the nature of the playing"* (Simon, pop). These excerpts indicate that pop musicians struggled to maintain a clear separation between work and non-work activities. The intense workload,

including the volume of gigs and relentless schedule, left little room for differentiation between work and leisure, leading to potential physical and mental strain. Moreover, given the challenges of entering the creative work market (see Chapter 7, Work), musicians expressed feeling overwhelmed as they balanced both paid and unpaid music-related tasks alongside non-musical work to sustain their livelihoods and secure further music-related opportunities. Additionally, as signposted earlier, beyond the early stages of a musician's career, the blurred boundaries between work and non-work persisted, influenced by factors such as occupational demands and the instrumental use of non-work activities.

For instance, musicians described working relentlessly, sometimes for weeks and months, to meet work demands, indicating how occupational demands can blur work and non-work boundaries. For instance, Dave (classical) described Christmas as a busy period when he would work for many months without taking breaks, often leading to exhaustion from overwork. For Dave, non-work included practicing yoga and reading; however, occupational demands often constrained him from pursuing non-work activities because the time between music work was allocated to interpreting orchestral music scores and planning for conducting orchestral work.

Likewise, Tim (jazz) described working additional hours preparing for Easter and Christmas (see Tim's example in the previous section). The time between working hours at the church was allocated to meetings with organizers, working dinners, and involving family in celebratory preparations at the church. These accounts imply that seasonal events can intensify workload and potentially lead to burnout among musicians, regardless of their specific genre. It suggests that occupational demands in the music industry can permeate various aspects of a musician's life, blurring the boundaries between work-related tasks and personal time, regardless of their professional status.

Furthermore, instrumental use of non-work activities can exacerbate the challenge of differentiating between work and non-work. For instance, classical musicians described participating in non-work activities as ultimately benefitting their music work. Similar practices were common among jazz and pop musicians, where differentiating between unpaid work and instrumental hobbies proved challenging. This phenomenon was also observed among

classical musicians who believed in taking breaks from work but with the aim of benefiting their professional pursuits.

They described how non-work was necessary to stay productive at work, deliver better performance, and stay more agile and responsive to music, thus blurring the work and non-work boundaries. *"It is really important to have other hobbies and pastimes. Otherwise...you just become obsessed...Music is a response, your response to life, it's not life itself"* (Andy, classical). However, Andy's diary records did not mention any hobbies or pastimes, indicating that while Andy recognized the value of pursuing diverse interests outside music work, he may have struggled to pursue hobbies and pastimes alongside his music career.

As Andy, other classical musicians Sara, and Dave described, non-work was necessary to avoid exhaustion and remain fresh at work, which indicated non-work as purposeful. In another example, Wilson (classical) described practicing yoga to improve his voice quality and enhance his onstage performance. Such activities were not 'leisure for the sake of leisure' but were instrumental. Participating in non-work to improve work indicates the importance of work (music work) and how work affects people's non-work, leading to blurred work and non-work boundaries. This suggests that within music, the distinction between work and non-work may frequently blur where individuals engage in pursuits that may seem recreational but ultimately contribute to their professional development, complicating this differentiation further. However, for some classical musicians, the distinction between work and non-work was non-existent. They embraced a holistic view of life, considering various activities as interconnected components rather than separate domains. These are discussed next.

5.4.2. Work and non-work boundaries integrate

Regarding work and non-work boundaries, few classical musicians (men) viewed life as a composite whole and refuted the ideology of compartmentalizing life as work and non-work. Descriptions from Malo, Mike, and Matt indicate there are no activities/times that are non-work. The following excerpt indicates that:

what's work, and what isn't. That's a very blurry line for me. In fact, there is no line. And the best way I think I can describe it for you is that being a musician is not what I do but I am. I was born this way I think.

(Malo, violinist, composer, conductor, classical musician, freelance – 20 years)

According to Malo, being a musician is a vocation, the purpose of his life. So, all his actions are aligned to fulfilling that purpose, where categorizing activities as non-work or work is highly unlikely. For Malo and a few other musicians such as himself, participating in interesting activities such as reading, writing, poetry, and music compositions was an everyday fair. *"creativity is always available to you, there's a fountain of it and it's always available to tap, and it's very difficult to stop it once the tap has been turned on...how can I differentiate between work and non-work well? That's tricky because I have explained in terms of the creative process, there is no border because the creative process is in has no cut-off"* (Matt, classical). They viewed creativity as a continuous process where a musician draws inspiration from everything and everyday life, indicating the integral linkage between creative work and life outside of it. As a result, there were no divisions. *"there is non-work? I just work"* (Mike, classical).

For this group of classical musicians, there were no dull moments or mundane activities throughout waking hours; neither described participating in any household responsibilities, leisure activities, or time with family. Mike's diary records show various music-related activities, such as playing the clarinet at a concert venue, music teaching, book publishing, and discussing a famous music festival with colleagues. [name removed to anonymize]. *"30th March 2021, Afternoon: 2:00, call on possible ideas for publishing, 5:00, Zoom call with US company on more sponsoring of clarinet course; Evening, 8:00 work on book; 31st March, Morning, 2-hour meeting on ...Festival"* (Mike's diary notes). The diary notes and descriptions from these classical musicians do not suggest their participation in activities unrelated to music.

Instead, their descriptions suggest a continued engagement with music work' as if life in general and music were intertwined. For instance, Matt described writing music compositions on shopping receipts, even in a grocery store. In another instance, Mike mentioned his publishers had booked a first-class travel and stay to various locations worldwide to promote a book on music compositions. His itinerary included traveling to various locations as a tourist and meeting various people at venues to promote the book, indicating how music work and life were tied together as one composite whole. For this group of musicians, there was an integral interconnectedness between the various activities they participated in, and separation between activities was not possible.

These accounts vividly illustrate the immersive nature of a creative worker's life, where individuals were deeply engaged in intellectually stimulating activities that dissolved the boundaries between work and leisure. The findings strongly suggest that when an individual's work involves participating in creatively fulfilling activities, undertaking intellectually stimulating projects with no distinction between paid and unpaid tasks, and prioritising work over household obligations or financial management, the integration of work and non-work boundaries may become inevitable. However, such a reality existed for only a few classical musicians (men). None of the other musicians (discussed above) shared similar accounts except for Henry (classical), where work and non-work boundaries were blurred initially and later integrated (discussed later in the chapter).

Thus far, the findings suggest that musicians' work and non-work boundaries can be integrated or blurred, and their participation in various activities affects their work and non-work boundaries. It also indicates that work and non-work boundaries are impermanent and shifted in a person's routine throughout their career. These are discussed in the following section.

5.4.3. Work and non-work boundaries and impermanence

In the examples provided earlier, musicians described situations where the lines between work and non-work activities were not clear-cut. They often mixed professional tasks with leisure or included work alongside their daily chores, indicating that these boundaries are not fixed and can shift over time. In the case of employed musicians, although the work and non-work separation were straightforward, their descriptions indicate occasional music work outside employment hours and participation in various non-work activities (see previous section non-work). For example, Dina, Martin, and Tom described participating in various activities outside employment; for instance, leisure - movie nights with family (Tom, classical) and pursuing hobbies like pottery (Dina, classical) - time away from employment was fully allocated to non-work, thus separating non-work from work.

However, their hours outside employment also included music work such as writing orchestral compositions (Martin, classical) and auditioning for solo performances at small orchestra companies (Dina, classical), music teaching - time away from employment was allocated for

additional (paid/unpaid) music work or building a freelance music career parallel to the full-time job, thus blurring work and non-work boundaries. These examples indicate that even in a salaried job where work and non-work separation appeared straightforward, the boundaries between work and non-work were not static but shifted in a person's routine.

In the previous section, classical musicians (Sara, Rosy, Oliver, and Roy) described separating non-work, taking vacations or breaks from work, not performing any work-related activities during these times, blocking work diaries, and not accepting music jobs, including new projects, almost creating a boundary between work and non-work. However, they shared that such switching off from work happened occasionally; on a day-to-day basis, the work and non-work boundaries were blurred *"I try to when in the evenings to be free when the kid is home so that's that I don't, but even then, thanks to the horrible possibilities of cell phones and computer, there comes in an email which I answer or something, which is bad. I mean I tried to, I tried to make division but I'm ashamed to say that I had failed so far"* (Oliver). Likewise, Sara's descriptions and diary notes indicate combining work (sending emails to colleagues), domestic duties (doing bins), and leisure (watching telly). These accounts from classical musicians indicate the impermanence of work and non-work boundaries in a person's routine. Unlike employed musicians, where non-work was structured more regularly, for freelance classical musicians, participation in non-work was more irregular. Nonetheless, in both cases, the work and non-work boundaries shifted in the individual's routines.

Thus far, examples from classical musicians have indicated the impermanence of work and non-work boundaries. These boundaries shifted within individuals' routines, sometimes blurring or distinctly separating work from non-work activities. Moreover, the study found a significant shift in boundaries, where initially, the work and non-work boundaries were blurred; however, over time, these boundaries appear integrated *"I think I thought when I was younger, that I was a musician for an hour or two and then I was a partner for an hour or two. And then I was someone who drank in the pub for an hour or two, and then I was, so I'm goanna go to bed for an hour or two. I realize now that actually no, I'm all those things at once"* (Henry, classical).

It shows Henry's shift in perspective from compartmentalising various activities into distinct time frames to realising how these activities are not mutually exclusive or sequential. It

illustrates the integration of work and non-work boundaries, where the distinction between professional and personal life becomes less rigid, and various aspects of life coexist simultaneously

In the case of jazz and pop musicians, the shifts in work and non-work boundaries was more constrained. These musicians described allocating their time outside of work hours to activities necessary for their music careers, blurring the distinction between work and non-work. However, two jazz musicians, Jill and Tim, managed to establish boundaries by restricting evening communication to pursue other interests. *"I need to have at least an hour or two in the evening of doing kind of nothing in order to be able to sleep because otherwise my brain just stays on. And it fires and then I'm laying in bed for like hours"* (Jill, jazz). Likewise, Tim described switching off from work-related communication, spending the evenings with his spouse, cooking meals, playing video games if there was no music work, and not doing any music, not even for fun. However, their diary notes revealed otherwise; work took precedence over non-work (examples early in the chapter suggest jazz musicians allocated time between work assignments to create original music, acquire new jobs, or do other music-related tasks).

These descriptions suggest that despite their expressed need for downtime in the evening to facilitate sleep, their diary notes indicate a different reality; work consistently took priority over non-work activities. Examples from earlier in the chapter illustrate how jazz musicians allocated their time between work assignments to engage in activities such as creating original music, securing new jobs, or attending to other music-related tasks. This suggests that, despite the desire for relaxation, the demands of their work often superseded their personal needs or preferences, indicating that work and non-work boundaries rarely shifted because jazz musicians had to continually maintain visibility in the creative work market to sustain their music careers.

Meanwhile in pop music, musicians' livelihoods was intertwined with the fickle preferences of audiences, and the ever-shifting tides of the market. The pandemic serves a poignant example of how musicians work, and non-work boundaries were affected. When venues were forced to shut down, and live performances came to a halt, pop musicians grappled with the sudden disappearance of their primary source of income and found unexpected free time on

their hands. Examples from pop musicians (David and Jim discussed early in the chapter) indicated how non-work was linked to the absence of jobs and audiences: the absence of music work due to the pandemic (because venues were shut) meant they could participate in non-work, which was otherwise challenging.

However, it is important to note that these non-work activities were performed out of necessity rather than choice. Additionally, the absence of music work prompted pop musicians to explore alternative sources of income, thus blurring the work and non-work boundaries. Similar to jazz, pop musicians' participation in work and non-work spheres is intricately intertwined with the dynamic nature of the creative work market. The fluctuating market forces, and audience preferences dictate not only the availability of work opportunities but also influence the boundaries between work and non-work, indicating the linkages between the creative work markets (institutional factors in musical genres) and boundaries between work and non-work.

Summing up, the study found that musicians varied in their perspectives on work and non-work boundaries. Some classical musicians didn't differentiate between activities, viewing life as a whole, while others, including musicians from different genres, saw work and non-work as separate. Employed musicians typically had clearer boundaries, with structured non-work time, although occasional blurring occurred. Overall, the findings suggest that work and non-work boundaries can shift over time, as observed in both employed and freelance classical musicians.

In contrast, musicians in the jazz and pop genres often experienced blurred boundaries between work and non-work. They tended to prioritise work over taking breaks, intertwining their hobbies with work-related activities. These variations can be attributed to the institutional factors within different musical genres. In jazz and pop music, musicians often performed function work or gigs at multiple venues, leading to jobs that were more easily replaceable. This increased their vulnerability in labour markets, resulting in fewer breaks taken or work opportunities declined. Conversely, classical musicians generally experienced greater financial security. While this did not necessarily make them less vulnerable in the

labour market, they typically held positions where their jobs were less dispensable. This afforded classical musicians more flexibility to engage in non-work activities.

In summary, the chapter presented musicians' perspectives on non-work, exploring the meanings they associated with it, their engagement in various non-work activities, family time, and the boundaries between work and non-work. Through the genre lens, the investigation into professional musicians' non-work activities and experiences revealed how various institutional actors within the musical genre shaped musicians' work practices, consequently impacting their participation in non-work activities. The findings indicate the following: first, musicians in the classical genre could participate in various non-work activities. In contrast, jazz and pop musicians exhibited limited participation in non-work pursuits, primarily due to the challenge of disengaging from work obligations. This difficulty stemmed from financial constraints and the ongoing imperative to maintain visibility within the competitive creative job market.

Second, compared to freelance, employed musicians had more structured non-work and regularly participated in various non-work activities. However, for women, this was not the case; their participation was irregular, and often, non-work (leisure) was residual. *Third*, musicians' participation in family time changed throughout their life stages; living alone meant one could participate in family time in a limited way, whereas living with a partner/married/cohabiting meant variations in family time for women and men. The findings suggest inequities in non-work regularity and participation in family time; compared to men, non-work was more irregular for women; they shouldered most of the household and childcare duties and often combined obligatory duties with leisure. Accounts of female musicians from various genres and employment revealed similar patterns, indicating how gender cuts across genre and employment and leads to non-work variations.

Next, musicians in the classical genre perceived any music activity, even socializing with people related to music, as work, whereas musicians in the non-classical genre viewed music activities as work/non-work depending upon its organization, production, and social contexts and socializing with colleagues was perceived as a part of musicianly life. These variations can be mapped to the genre conventions (institutional systems/settings) where musicians in the

classical genre focus on competition, 'getting it right', and moving ahead of others. In contrast, musicians in the jazz genre focus on building closely-knit groups, and pop musicians regularly depend on other musicians to acquire music work.

Finally, the findings suggest that musicians' work practices and the genres in which they participate influence the work and non-work boundaries - for musicians whose work practices involved exciting and creative projects, no mundane activities or obligatory duties, the work and non-work boundaries were integrated; there was no classification between activities because all the tasks were directed toward attaining creative pursuits. In contrast, work and non-work boundaries were blurred, where work practices included participation in some creative work, various unpaid work, and obligatory duties necessary to sustain a music career. The findings in the chapter contribute to explaining the variations in non-work activities and experiences of creative workers.

Chapter 6

6. Unpaid Work

6.1. Introduction

It is generally acknowledged that work involves receiving remuneration for performing certain activities; however, the activities necessary to sustain work but not remunerated are what informants described as unpaid work. The present empirical chapter deals with musicians' perspectives regarding unpaid work that affects their participation in artistic labour markets. The absence of unpaid work could lead to the absence of work, indicating the significance of such work practices. People in similar occupations may have varying unpaid work (here, not including the domestic, childcare, and caring duties) because it is tied to their work. However, participating in unpaid work may not lead to work; the present chapter demonstrates this.

The chapter contributes by demonstrating the variations in unpaid work and how institutional systems/settings in various musical genres influence the paid and unpaid activities that musicians perform to sustain a music career. This chapter contributes to the overall thesis by demonstrating that working as a creative worker (here, professional musicians) depends on various other additional work, and work is not limited to remunerated activities. Although performed in anticipation of acquiring work, these unpaid activities do not guarantee work.

The findings provided valuable insights into how institutional factors in various musical genres shape unpaid work - administrative, network, and learning and development activities; these are summarised here. Across classical, jazz, and pop genres, distinct patterns emerge in terms of how musicians participated in administrative, network-building, and learning and development activities. For example, planning and scheduling, an administrative activity, varied among musicians; classical musicians described setting clear goals related to practice hours, repertoire mastery, and skill enhancement, underscoring their commitment to continual improvement and mastery. In contrast, jazz and pop musicians placed emphasis on expanding their networks, securing gigs, and promoting their music effectively. Their goals often revolved around acquiring new performance opportunities and enhancing visibility within their respective genres.

Notably, for some jazz musicians, the unpredictability of their profession meant that rigid planning was not always feasible, as their work was dependent on market dynamics and audience demand. In classical music, musicians often undergo rigorous formal training in conservatories or music schools, fostering a culture of discipline and goal-setting centred around mastering specific pieces or techniques. In contrast, jazz musicians depended on networking and collaboration, with planning and scheduling revolving around securing gigs and aligning with the availability of venues and other musicians. Similarly, in pop music, planning and scheduling are driven by commercial imperatives and market dynamics. These institutional factors inherent in each music genre shaped how musicians approached their planning and scheduling activities.

Classical musicians' accounts described maintaining music sheets, instruments, and office equipment. In contrast, musicians in the non-classical genres described maintaining invoices to secure their earnings. Some maintenance activities, such as bookkeeping and correspondence, were common activities among musicians from various genres and employment statuses; however, the accounts from musicians suggest that compared to jazz and pop musicians who spend several hours a day to reach out to new venues for new work, chase venues/clients for payment, classical musicians allocated very little time for such tasks.

The study found that musicians from various genres valued networking with relevant people within genres for collaborations and acquiring work, thereby creating, and maintaining genre boundaries. Musicians followed various practices to build and maintain networks; however, the findings suggest that musicians in different musical genres have varied networks and variations in approaches to developing networks. Classical musicians described reaching out to music composers and music directors in various orchestras; jazz musicians, on the contrary, focused on strengthening connections with popular bands and band members/leaders and going to jazz scenes where they could develop connections. Pop musicians were market/audience driven and emphasized gaining familiarity with audiences and venues that could give them regular work. The study found variations in how musicians connected with wider audiences - classical musicians advertised their creative outputs, whereas pop musicians advertised themselves.

Participating in music work and sustaining a career in the classical labour market involved maintaining a certain level of professional expertise, leading musicians to allocate regular hours for music practice and other developmental tasks. However, only a few musicians in the classical genre could allocate hours for such work because others, particularly women, were constrained from participating in them even if it was necessary to sustain a career in classical music. In the non-classical genres, very few musicians prioritized music practice. Most musicians participated in some developmental activities, including learning new instruments, turning creative ideas into creative products, or learning new technologies; such activities may appear as hobbies but were instrumental. Musicians participated in various developmental activities to support their existing music jobs or expand their work in creative and non-creative fields.

Unlike freelance musicians, where unpaid work occupied large portions of their working lives, such work was not absent for employed musicians. Bookkeeping, taking music lessons to continually improve musicianship and networking with people in the music industry were common unpaid work practices. The accounts from musicians indicate gendered differences in unpaid work; women and men planned and scheduled different activities. Unlike men, where planning included activities related to music work, for women, planning, and scheduling included a range of activities, including music work, domestic and other responsibilities. The study found how women's life stage and professional demands in classical music constrain their participation in activities necessary to sustain a music career.

The findings are reported in three sections: administrative, network, and learning and development activities. The section on administrative activities covers various tasks such as planning and scheduling, maintenance, and correspondence. The section concerning network activities covers how musicians in different musical genres develop and maintain connections with industry partners and audiences. It shows the variations in musicians' networks. Both administrative and network activities show features of an entrepreneurial model of work - reaching out to various people to showcase creative outputs and promote them, managing finances, and organizing various activities to sustain a music career. The last section covers learning and development activities, which can be viewed as creative activities that musicians

pursue to stay in artistic labour markets. The chapter is relevant because it reveals the significance of unpaid work in sustaining a music career.

6.2. Administrative activities

Professional musicians performed various activities to manage day-to-day operations, referred to as administrative activities. They include planning, scheduling different tasks, and maintenance tasks such as repair for instruments and office equipment, bookkeeping, and organizing other work-related items such as files, folders, and music sheets and correspondence with existing clients, prospective industry partners, and venue proprietors related to music work. Informants used various technologies such as computers, the internet, and software to facilitate administrative activities. A genre-based inquiry shows that administrative activities vary for musicians from different genres. Although unpaid, these activities appear integral to a musician's work. The section examines the range of administrative activities, explores the linkages between unpaid work (here, administrative tasks) and work, and underlines the differences between the various groups of musicians.

6.2.1. Planning and scheduling

Musicians reported activities they intended to accomplish in and outside work, referred to as planning and scheduling. Classical musicians described planning and scheduling as a process to record their achievements, keep track of working hours and off days, and record the type of projects they are doing. *"I need to know personally; this is very personal. I need to know how much work I've done. How much practice I've done in a day, and achievement wise and because I'm not working a nine to five, so I'm not clocking on and off. So, I have to set my own structure"* (Roy, classical). Likewise, for Hayden and Andy, planning involved organizing hours for music practice, music teaching, preparing for upcoming performances, social media, and correspondence tasks.

It enabled them to understand time usage and decide on future projects and their course of action, indicating the linkage between unpaid work and work. *"I know that if I don't have a specific plan to do something else, I would feel like I'm wasting my time, somehow. Yeah, it's, pretty much a personal decision"* (Cindy, classical). They described maintaining work diaries to track such activities. For

instance, Sara described maintaining a diary to track work assignments and other activities she aspired to accomplish in the coming months. *"I've got a good idea of what I'm doing for the next three months, and then after that I'm not so sure sometimes"* (Sara, classical). According to freelance classical musicians, planning and scheduling enabled them to build a structure of tasks they intended to accomplish over time to manage their working lives better. These descriptions indicate that classical musicians' plans and scheduling centered on creative work.

Unlike classical musicians, who described planning and scheduling as personal activities necessary to structure (have control) their working life, jazz musicians believed that planning and scheduling and everything related to it was market-driven, more like going with the flow except for one jazz musician (Jill) who described weekly monthly and yearly goals. According to Josh, planning was not an option. *"you just have to take it as it comes, which is actually a good thing because it's a more natural way of living. No one knows what's happening next year or year after. So, you just you just try not to invest in any real plan"* (Josh, jazz). Like Josh, Greg said he was in *"seven different places,"* - holding multiple jobs in various artistic labour markets (creative, arts-related, and non-arts work market) prioritizing work that was regular and had a higher income. At the time of the interview (during the pandemic, musical theatre was closed, which was his regular income job), Greg said that he had very few performing jobs and was exploring administrative jobs for a regular income.

These descriptions suggest the uncertainties in jazz labour markets, which constrained musicians from planning and scheduling or creating a structured working life. The absence of planning and scheduling activities indicates that, for jazz musicians, work was a response to the market's demands. Describing the uncertainties in jazz labour markets and why planning and scheduling were unlikely, jazz musicians said music jobs could appear anytime, leading to frequent changes in plans. *"there was an important protest at Parliament not long ago...I wanted to, the reason I couldn't is because I was working that day...I had to take paid work... there's no saying no to any kind of paid work"* (Paloma, jazz). They indicated the fleeting nature of music jobs; as Bob mentioned, he was offered a music job on a cruise ship, which suddenly disappeared (see Bob's example in Chapter 7, Work); consequently, plans were made and changed.

Except for Jill, who shared a variety of activities un/related to music that she planned to achieve throughout the year, other jazz musicians did not report any plans related to music goals or practicing schedules to master their craft or training for upcoming performances. However, some of the diary notes from jazz musicians indicate regular music practice (Josh) or correspondence with venues/clients (Paloma).

For pop musicians, planning and scheduling included keeping track of venues they would contact for music work, organizing music tours and music launches, marketing/self-branding on social media platforms, social media interactions with audiences, photoshoots, and video recordings. Even though pop musicians expressed aspirations for performing and composing original music, none described any plans for making music. *"17th January 2021, 2pm – 2021 plan document (calendar of events and planned announcements, mailing list and social media content and schedule, current merch/CD stock inventory)"* (Ann's diary records). *"I concluded the afternoon's work by thinking about next week...I wrote down my plans from Monday onwards: Monday (admin day) - Complete tax return 2020/2021; Look into migrating website domain to new host; Contact more actors for 'It's Cold Outside Today' recording - Post Edge Studios website article... Friday - Brainstorm new content ideas for social media; Contact James from [anonymized] about song commissions for Hong Kong"* (David's diary records). According to David, Tuesday and Wednesday were allocated as songwriting days; however, his diary records indicate that large parts of working days were occupied with social media and website work, with limited time for composing music.

The accounts of musicians from various musical genres indicate the variations in planning and scheduling activities, which can be mapped to the institutional systems/structures in musical genres. For freelance classical musicians, planning and scheduling were centered around music work - practicing and preparing for concerts. These tasks enabled them to structure their workdays. In jazz music, the approach to planning and scheduling diverged from the more structured frameworks found in classical music. Instead of adhering to rigid plans, jazz musicians accommodated their schedules based on the availability of gigs and other performance opportunities. Meanwhile, pop musicians focused on building self-image, websites, and social media to increase their popularity. Further, the study found that gender and musician's employment status affect planning and scheduling activities, which are discussed next.

Unlike men, where planning and scheduling activities were related to music work and nothing outside of it, women included a range of tasks related to music work and other areas of life, such as domestic chores, parenting duties (wherever applicable), managing finances, and music work. For example, Jill (jazz musician) shared a list of activities from different areas of her life. During the interview, she shared different calendars for home, family, work, conferences, teaching, blogging, watching shows, practicing, touring, exercising, and spending time with her husband. Some activities had specific timelines, whereas others were unscheduled. Jill described the list as a plan: *"This is things that I want to do in a year, which is going to be due. This is my three-month goal. This is my two-week goal. And this is all the things that I'm doing"* (Jill)

In another instance, Kathy (classical musician) described creating a schedule to manage music practice for concerts, household duties, parenting duties, music teaching, and doing all of these without any time for leisure. Ann (pop musician) shared that planning also included maintaining a record of her personal and professional finances in one place because personal expenses would impact professional expenses. *"I spend whether it's like on bread or like business, on my website. Every single expense I have, I log into a document... so then at the end of the month... Okay so this month I've spent 100 pounds on my website...or spend 100 pounds on clothes this month. Oh no, I need to not do that again. So, I log everything"* (Ann, pop). The previous chapter (see Chapter 5, Non-Work) indicated how women combined various work and non-work activities; here, their planning and scheduling reflect a similar pattern. The findings indicate the difference in time usage for women and men, where women, even as professional musicians, bear the burden of domestic responsibilities and childcare and reproduce the traditional patterns of managing work and life outside work.

For employed musicians, planning and scheduling activities were twofold: *first*, following a pre-set plan, doing things within the constraints of employment, which included rehearsing the music, preparing for concerts, and any other employment-related activities. *"in the regular nine to five job, you are told what to do"*(Tom, classical). *Second*, keeping track of various activities outside the employment hours, including exploring new projects, building a parallel music career, and developing activities for advancing one's career. Tim (jazz) shared similar views,

indicating how full-time employment leads to structured work practices. However, what constitutes the work practices may vary (see Chapter 7, Work).

The working lives of employed musicians were more structured and planned than those of freelance musicians because the employment contracts ensured the time usage and accomplishments made. These descriptions suggest the variations in planning and scheduling activities within and without employment, indicating how employment status affects planning and scheduling activities. Along with planning and scheduling, musicians described performing other administrative activities, including maintenance and correspondence, which are discussed next.

6.2.2. Maintenance

Musicians reported several activities necessary to continue working in music, remain productive, secure income, and sustain a career, here referred to as maintenance. They include instrument care, organizing work-related equipment such as computer hardware, software, books, music sheets, and other stationery, and bookkeeping. Even if musicians belonged to different genres of music or were employed/freelance, some of the maintenance activities were common.

For instance, bookkeeping; Cindy's (classical musician) diary records showed one entry for bookkeeping; likewise, Tom (classical musician/employed) recorded two separate entries regarding filing tax returns. *"2nd January 2021 Afternoon: Income tax reminder from accountant - start the process! 15th March 2021, Evening: Taxes - finished tax forms (not much in business expense this year - no paying gigs all last year)"* (Tom's diary records). *Another entry in Tom's diary read "29th Dec 2020, Morning: Apply for unemployment benefits (what a pain!)"*. *Similar activities were reported by jazz and pop musicians. "5th April 2021, Afternoon: I invoiced the agency for yesterday's gig."* (David's diary records). *"27th November 2020, Afternoon: This afternoon I spent time filling in an invoice for lessons taught at a music school"* (Paloma, 's diary records). The accounts from musicians suggest that performing unpaid work is a characteristic of creative occupations irrespective of musicians' employment status.

Regarding maintaining records, Josh (jazz) described keeping several records for client invoices and tracking payments/ from clients because of multiple jobs in the creative work market. Holding multiple jobs meant working with clients/venues with different payment cycles - some may pay at the end of the month, some after the end of two months - meaning the payment cycles were varied, indicating the delayed and irregular incomes in jazz music and the necessity to maintain accounts for work-related transactions such as travel and other expenses. According to Bob (jazz), he is paid for music performance and teaching, but the administrative tasks, although unpaid, are the support work necessary for performing any music work - performances or/and music teaching.

Although these tasks can be described as support tasks, accounts from classical musicians show that maintenance activities may involve extended hours of unpaid work and are performed at any time. *"16th November 2020, Afternoon: About 1 hour of basic admin – accounts, re-organising my office etc. 20th November 2020, Morning, and Afternoon: Whole day spent setting up, restoring data etc. 21st November 2020, Morning, Afternoon (two hrs) Evening: same as yesterday, really, but task expanded into wholesale reorganization of my workspace and filing system. 22nd November 2020: More computer/office set-up/reorganization – ALL DAY and EVENING"* (Rob's diary notes). Likewise, Wilson described printing and binding music sheets late in the evening. *"this is what I did last night while I was working that music. They send it to you...I have to print it out...together in book form and then in a spiral folder"* (Wilson, classical), indicating work (here referring to paid music work) depended on unpaid work.

It also indicates how genre conventions (using sheet music) expand unpaid work for classical musicians; they need sheet music to take notes and mark voice modulation and other technicalities of performing the music correctly (for producing creative outputs), which is not required for jazz or pop musicians. Instead, jazz musicians often adopted a more improvisational approach to music-making, which set them apart from their classical counterparts. While jazz and pop musicians may use sheet music as a reference or a starting point, they may diverge from it during performances, improvising melodies, harmonies, and rhythms on the spot. This improvisational element is a defining characteristic of jazz, allowing musicians greater freedom for self-expression and spontaneity in their performances. Further, Rob explained that detailed notations in classical music are a long tradition to portray a music

score accurately. The orchestra has a detailed picture of what the composer wants the music to sound like and how different parts of the orchestra will come together. Thus, orchestral musicians must possess sight-reading proficiency, a skill essential for classical musicians but not necessarily required for jazz and musicians due to the improvisational nature of the genres, indicating how genre-specific skills and conventions guide music production and the various unpaid work associated with it.

Other maintenance activities included instrument care. Classical musicians reported various examples of instrument care; for instrumentalists, it involved caring for their musical instrument - Roy's (cellist) diary showed two entries related to instrument maintenance – taking the cello bow to be rehaired and fetching the bow two days later. For singers, instrument care included maintaining their voice quality. *"05 March 2021, Morning: This morning I warmed up my voice to see what shape it was in from a long rehearsal the night before for my recital... I decided to rest my voice for the next few hours before I practiced... I only practiced particularly challenging passages in order to not overuse my voice so that it will be in good shape for tomorrow"* (Dina's diary notes), indicating the various instruments in music work and the varied unpaid work practices to maintain them.

None of the jazz or pop musicians who regularly performed cover songs or function gigs reported such work practices. This suggests the stringent requirements for music production in the classical genre. Also, it shows the contrast between the work practices of jazz or pop musicians who regularly performed cover songs or function gigs and those of classical musicians or singers preparing for recitals. Musicians in jazz and pop were more accustomed to adapting to various performance settings and repertoire quickly. Unlike classical musicians, they might prioritise versatility, spontaneity, and audience engagement, traits that are often valued in the jazz and pop music

These accounts from professional musicians suggest their participation in various maintenance tasks; however, a genre-based investigation shows that maintenance activities were different for musicians in different groups; activities necessary for musicians in the classical genre were irrelevant for those in jazz and pop. The examples from jazz musicians indicate the additional work they must perform to secure their incomes. These examples

suggest the maintenance activities necessary to continue music work. Musicians participated in other administrative activities, which included correspondence with various people to acquire work, following up for payments, and developing professional relationships; these are discussed next.

6.2.3. Correspondence

Creative workers described communicating with various industry partners and clients/ venues to manage day-to-day activities such as pitching new ideas, negotiating fees, chasing for payments, answering work-related emails and phone/video calls (communication), responding to queries, and sorting out logistics regarding performances. It also involved communicating with influential people to share creative ideas and demonstration pieces to seek work opportunities and generally maintaining communication with relevant networks and people who can influence work opportunities. The present section covers both communications for day-to-day operations and maintaining networks.

Classical musicians described maintaining correspondence with venues to seek new work and build professional relationships with relevant people to get their foothold in the music industry. *"22nd November 2020, Evening: I wrote letters to concert venues which is quite difficult given the current economic climate. In my career stage, I have to approach the venues as supposed[sic] to them approaching me. Many feel I have to perform for free or donations especially at this time. I do this mainly for exposure, but reluctantly... I also chased up venues I have previously written too [sic]. It is important to me to build good relationships with potential clients. From my experience writing personal letters gives a more personal touch as supposed[sic] to just emailing for a concert"* (Tristan's diary notes). *"10th March 2021, Morning, drafting letters to conductors... no one's looking, you've got to show them that you're there"* (Andy's diary notes). These descriptions suggest that musicians allocated separate hours for correspondence (unpaid work) with various people. They described correspondence as a necessity during early career stages for reaching out to people and making themselves noticeable in the labour markets.

Accounts from other classical musicians suggest that regular correspondence involving phone conversations or emails to maintain a working relationship is a necessity not only during early career stages but throughout one's career in creative occupations because they enable

musicians to be noticeable in relevant networks *"to be in touch constantly with as many important people"* (Oliver, classical), indicating the importance of knowing the right people for acquiring creative work. Oliver calls these tactics *'playing the game'*.

Musicians described maintaining regular correspondence with various people in the music industry and outside of it for various reasons; Tom (classical, employed) mentioned acquiring a stage manager job and performing other theatre work (both voluntary) because he knew important people in the industry. These descriptions suggest the importance of regular correspondence with relevant venues, people, and networks in creative occupations. They suggest the significance of allocating time for unpaid work to acquire work, indicating the linkage between unpaid work and work.

Regarding correspondence, accounts from jazz and pop musicians suggest some similarities with classical musicians. They described communicating with venues to seek work opportunities. *"I sing jazz standard which are tried and true favourites in the public. And like I might say a famous thing like Frank Sinatra like this famous crooner and jazz singer, so that people will immediately relate to it"* (Paloma, jazz). It also involved following up on invoices and payments. *"invoicing, sending invoices for gigs I've done, chasing invoices as in sending them is easy, but chasing them sometimes things slip through the net, because some gigs take longer to pay than others"* (Josh, jazz). As mentioned in the earlier section, jazz musicians maintained records to secure their incomes; a related necessary activity involved chasing clients to secure one's income.

In another example, Anthony (pop) described corresponding with venues like coffee houses or bookstores to sell tickets for Turkish music programs and host the show. He offered to give the venue five percent of each ticket sold to perform at the venue. Unlike classical musicians, who described reaching out to influential people within the industry, pop and jazz musicians did not mention anything about interacting with influential people. Instead, they described interacting with colleagues because musicians needed each other for music performances or collaborating on projects.

Although the examples underline the importance of regular communication with various people, classical musicians allocated only a few hours to such work. For instance, Dave and

Sara mentioned allocating just over an hour to emails and correspondence because such activities can be exhausting and can take one away from doing the real work, which is music. For classical musicians, correspondence was only a means to an end. In contrast, jazz and pop musicians allocated several hours daily for correspondence, writing creative emails to venues for work. *"I spend three to four hours in what I call admin, which means following up jobs, trying to get jobs... And I mean, this is really what you have to do"* (Paloma, jazz).

Thus, musicians' accounts from various genres indicate some similarities regarding correspondence; most musicians allocated time for correspondence with various people within and outside the music industry. Maintaining regular communication was viewed as necessary to acquire work, expand one's creative ideas, stay noticeable in relevant networks, and even secure income. However, the findings revealed some variations; unlike jazz and pop musicians, where regular correspondence included venues and clients, classical musicians maintained communication with conductors and music directors. These variations can be attributed to the nature of music production in various genres.

The institutional factors in musical genres - in the classical genre, music production involves large-scale preparation and organizations, whereas, in non-classical genres, music production can happen on a smaller scale at a local level, catering to buyers/markets/music consumers; these factors influence musicians' correspondence within genres. Classical musicians were concerned with developing regular correspondence with various influential people in the industry to showcase their musicality and gain access to relevant networks. Jazz musicians were concerned with reaching out to various venues to maintain continuity in work. Pop musicians were selective regarding their correspondence with people in the industry and often reached out to colleagues for work, indicating that varied creative outputs required partnering with varied people; accordingly, they influenced musicians' correspondence with people within the industry.

Summing up, the findings suggest musicians' participation in various administrative activities (unpaid work) and how administrative activities are necessary to acquire music work and sustain a music career, indicating the linkage between unpaid work and work. Administrative activities appear similar for musicians from various genres; however, the study found that

institutional contexts in musical genres mediate people's participation in administrative activities. The findings indicate that gender effects were more pronounced in planning and scheduling activities. Like administrative activities, musicians participated in other unpaid work, which included networking with various people and learning and development activities; they are discussed next.

6.3. Network activities

The previous section indicated the significance of various unpaid work, including developing and maintaining professional relationships with various people within and outside the music industry to acquire jobs and sustain a music career. This section regarding network activities demonstrates the relevance of maintaining professional relationships in creative occupations. It examines musicians' participation in various unpaid work to develop connections with industry partners and wider audiences. These activities affect musicians' participation in artistic labour markets.

Musicians described various network activities, including maintaining regular correspondence (covered under administrative activities), socializing, and working for free to develop connections with industry partners. Musicians described using the internet technology extensively for network activities. They used various online mediums to reach out to wider audiences - music consumers, share music-related information, and sometimes engage in a one-on-one conversation to receive feedback. These are discussed here.

6.3.1. Connection with industry partners

Musicians described offering to work for free and socializing with industry partners for instrumental purposes. Industry partners include important music professionals – music directors, conductors, producers, other artists, orchestra managers, and musician colleagues. They also include other artists, intermediaries such as agents and fixers, and humdrum partners. Classical musicians described reaching out to people in the industry and *working for free* to showcase their skills and later turn them into professional opportunities. Like Wilson

described contacting the music community in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and offering to work (perform) for free, he said:

I mean, the fact that I sang as a volunteer at the symphony chorus... because I wanted to get my wings back...the conductor of the symphony chorus is... nucleus of the musical community...So all of a sudden, he's referring me to all these other things. So, you never know how you're going to be connected to somewhere, someone else.

(Wilson, musician (specialty voice opera and freelance) - 39 years, and freelance musician 2 years)

In another example, Rose described creating an orchestral program in collaboration with other artists (all the artists worked for free) and sharing the program on social media platforms and various websites to showcase successful musicianship. The program involved performing difficult musical pieces in large spaces such as cathedrals. The intention was to attract audiences' attention to the music, demonstrate her conducting skills, expand her network, and reach out to industry colleagues for work.

Although Rose identified as a concert pianist and conductor and co-owned a film orchestra company with her sister in London, she aspired to acquire more work in classical music which is considered more serious and intense than film music. These examples indicate that working for free is acceptable in the classical labour market, and musicians may often take this approach to showcase genre-specific skills to people who can influence acquiring music work. It shows that appropriate skills and knowing the right people in the music industry can affect people's participation in the creative work market. Here, one notices how musicians partner with each other and work toward a common cause - showcasing musicianship and drawing the attention of recruiters or music producers, indicating the entrepreneurial features in unpaid work practices.

There were other examples where musicians offered to perform any work unrelated to music to maintain professional relationships with people and participate in other jobs while simultaneously acquiring skills in other areas in creative occupations. Tom's diary notes suggest participating in unpaid work unrelated to music at a theatre company where he volunteered for stage management and other production work. *"29th December 2020, Evening, [anonymized] board meeting (volunteer to stage manage a show in June-The Last 5 Years (subject to covid protocol), set up time to help fix leak in [anonymized] storage unit). 30th December 2020, Morning, Help fix [anonymized] storage warehouse roof"* (Tom's diary notes). Because Tom was employed at an

opera company as a singer, he participated in various other creative jobs (as a volunteer) to learn new skills.

Working for free enabled him to participate in stage work and be involved in various other matters of the theatre company, thus becoming an integral part of the organization. According to Tom, volunteering was an opportunity to give back to society, and working for free was about maintaining relationships with people. According to classical musicians Cindy and Dina, music schools often encourage musicians to perform music (work) for free; as a result, musicians, from the start of their careers, embrace working for free and reproduce these behaviours throughout their careers.

These descriptions from classical musicians suggest the value they accorded to maintaining professional relationships with influential people and working for free was like making inroads into various areas in the creative work market. They reveal that working for free is acceptable, and creative workers (here musicians) can go to varied lengths to remain visible in the creative work market, may develop connections with industry partners who can influence acquiring genre-specific music work and maintain relationships with industry partners to expand their area of work.

Even when partnering with other artists, musicians described working with artists from similar genres - Rose and Sara described working with various artists for orchestral performances. Both musicians were asked whether they selected jazz musicians for orchestral work or film orchestra work, and their response was jazz musicians are different, indicating the genre divisions in creative occupations. Further, Sara mentioned that musicians from different genres, such as jazz and classical, may exhibit distinct characteristics and approaches because early specialisation and training shape musicians' identities and skill sets within specific genres. They show how musicians' behaviours maintain genre boundaries and legitimize genre divisions and how the institutional factors in musical genres influence musicians' connections with industry partners. The next examples from jazz and pop musicians indicate that working for free can be an action for reciprocation within networks and an acceptable work arrangement to maintain professional relationships.

Like musicians in the classical genre, jazz and pop musicians described working for free to maintain professional relationships and remain active within relevant networks. Jazz and pop musicians described working for free at the start of their careers so they could play to an audience, gain acceptance, and develop popularity with audiences (see Chapter 7, Work). That aside, they described working for free as reciprocation, building trust with industry partners, and acquiring more work. The study found that working for free was an acceptable way to offer and return favours, in a way creating an opportunity for more work:

relation matters a lot... I work with people without any contract or anything... they need something by tomorrow, sometimes they do not offer any money... I do my work... they're goanna come back saying you had worked on this project...I enjoy that relationship... today's world, networking is very important.

(James, keyboard player, composer, producer, pop music, freelance – 16 years)

Musicians James and Ann believed that working without money would encourage recruiters/industry partners to return with more work. It was like offering assistance to others to benefit oneself and others. Like James, Ann described recording music at a local studio and not paying for the recording equipment or any studio time because the studio was new at the time; she was an upcoming artist, and the studio offered to record her songs to get her views on the recording equipment - the partnership benefited both.

These descriptions suggest that working for free enabled pop musicians to develop professional relationships with various industry partners, acquire music work in the future, and support members of a network; musicians work for free (unpaid work) within their networks (with people where reciprocation is possible). Here, musicians participated in network activity (working for free) to build and sustain a community of various industry partners who can mutually benefit from one another.

Throughout these examples regarding developing connections with industry partners, the accounts of musicians from different musical genres indicated how genres influence the connections people make and the networks in which they participate. They show how working for free (network activity) is instrumental - targeted to specific networks/people/industry partners who can influence acquiring more work. Pop musicians did not reach out to concert organizers; instead, they worked with humdrum partners where they could participate in making original music work. On the other hand, classical musicians participated in unpaid

work to showcase successful musicianship to concert organizers and music producers/directors, indicating how musicians forge connections with relevant people within their genres and develop connections that enable them to expand their music work and maintain genre boundaries. These examples show how genres govern the networks and affect people's participation (developing and maintaining connections).

Developing connections with industry partners included *socializing*; however, there were differences in how musicians in various genres perceived socializing. Pop musicians described socializing with industry partners as non-work even if they discussed matters related to music production or upcoming gigs and shared ideas concerning work (see Chapter 5, Non-Work). For jazz musicians, socializing with other musicians and artists was a part of a musician's life, and separating it from music was unlikely. Classical musicians viewed socializing as instrumental and an extension of their work. These differences in perspectives towards socialising among jazz and classical musicians can be attributed to the distinct norms within each genre.

In jazz music, socialising with fellow musicians and artists is often deeply ingrained in the culture of the genre. Socialising in jazz circles fosters a sense of camaraderie, creativity, and mutual support among musicians. Additionally, since jazz often involves improvisation and collective interaction, the ability to communicate and connect with other musicians on a personal level is crucial for successful performances. Conversely, classical music has traditionally been associated with formalised structures and institutions such as conservatories and orchestras, where even if collaboration is integral to ensemble playing, the social dynamic tends to be more formalised and structured.

For classical musicians, socializing involved purposefully meeting colleagues over a meal or drink, participating in various recreational activities, or sometimes just catching up. *"28th April 2021, Evening, meeting and rehearsal with conductor and friend [anonymized], and afterwards dinner with him and violinist friend [anonymized]"*. *"30th April 2021, Evening, concert and dinner afterwards with conductor and manager"* (Oliver's diary notes). Musicians may allocate hours after work to socialize with professional colleagues to maintain professional relationships or purposefully invite influential people for meals because such activities can affect people's chances of

acquiring work. *"I went to lunch with one of the producers who I'd worked with as a composer. Asked him Look, can I pitch you a play? Said, Yeah, sure. Was it no more than 45 minutes? If it's 45 minutes, I'll probably sell it"* (Henry, classical). In another example, Matt described how socializing and meeting people at various events lead to work opportunities:

The opportunities were garnered by hard work by continually sending in demonstration pieces of music. Pitching music to directors and producers and hoping I could sell something...It was built up in that way... going to film festivals, going to networking events, writing to people, offering to take people out for lunch just in order to talk to them and pitch to them.

(Matt, composer and poet, freelance musician, 41 years)

In classical music, socializing with industry partners meant seeking work opportunities. *"if you're socializing with other musicians, there is always this thing behind your head where you're like, I am socializing so that I'm going to have link with this person and then I can work with them, maybe later in the future"* (Tiffany, classical). These accounts from classical musicians demonstrate the instrumental aspects of socializing - networks provide material gains, and they enable people to expand their creative work and acquire various interesting projects in the creative work market. They indicate the importance of informal relationships in creative occupations where personal connections with influential people affect an individual's chances of acquiring work. Both groups - musicians(s) and the organizer(s)/recruiters participate in these informal relationships, which can be viewed as informal contracts between these groups.

Thus, for classical musicians, socializing can be understood as unpaid work because it is objective-driven and allows people to explore various areas of work, build connections with various people, and utilize them to acquire work. In contrast, for jazz and pop musicians, socializing was non-work, not driven by any agenda to acquire work. They viewed socializing with colleagues and other industry partners as an inherent aspect of a musician's working life, which could also affect one's chances of acquiring work, indicating the differences in musicians' perceptions regarding socializing.

These variations can be mapped to the institutional systems/settings in musical genres; in jazz and pop, musicians depended on cooperation with colleagues to acquire or expand music work, and music work was organized through collaboration with other artists to enter new markets, whereas in classical music acquiring work involved competing with others, getting the music right, and meeting the expectations of conductors, music directors, and producers.

Thus far, the section on network activities reported how musicians from various musical genres participate in unpaid work, including socializing and working for free to develop and maintain connections with industry partners. The next section examines the other unpaid work that musicians perform to develop connections with audiences. The accounts from various musicians suggest that audiences (music consumers/buyers) are important for them and affect their popularity and chances of acquiring music work.

6.3.2. Connection with audiences

Informants described the audience as an integral part of being a musician, almost suggesting that musicians play to an audience, not themselves. Musicians view audiences in varied ways; for some, the audience is a source of inspiration; for others, a creative artist needs an audience to deliver their product (as producers need buyers); also, the audience provides recognition to an artist. Here, audiences include various buyers/music consumers.

This section draws attention to how musicians from various genres use internet technology - websites and various other online platforms to showcase their achievements, share information regarding new music projects and performances, and even develop one-on-one communication with music consumers. Musicians described allocating time regularly for updating webpages and posting online content - unpaid work necessary to advertise one's achievements to build a reputation with music consumers and draw attention from potential recruiters. Such unpaid work can be viewed as entrepreneurial activities the musicians performed to remain visible in the creative work market.

Overarchingly, it appears that professional musicians in different musical genres connect with audiences and promote their work. However, there are variations in how musicians engage with audiences and the information or content they share. For instance, jazz musicians shared content regarding the venues - pubs/restaurants where they were scheduled to perform; they advertised the venue and the music.

In contrast, classical musicians advertised their achievements, new music projects, and music education content. Pop musicians promoted themselves as busy artists performing gigs at

different venues on various days of the month. They demonstrated their expertise in music and other fields. The variations in musicians' unpaid work (online activities) can be attributed to their musical genres. Musicians with full-time employment had limited online activity compared to freelance musicians. These are discussed here in detail.

Musicians employed at large opera companies had their profiles displayed on the web pages of their employing organization. In the case of Tom and Dina, the opera company's website had a detailed profile of their work, expertise, the awards they won, and the various performances at the opera. Those with personal websites shared information regarding their orchestral projects at the opera and any other music work they undertook. For instance, Tom (classical, employed) shared information about private voice lessons. His posts read "*Private Voice Lessons with [anonymised] During lessons we work on vocal techniques and musical coaching (language, musical interpretation, appropriate roles, etc). The individual lessons can be tailored to your needs...[anonymised] is a singing actor that has performed for more than 45 years. He holds a Masters... Recent musical theatre performances include...Most notably he sang the role of...His concert performances with orchestra include Beethoven's...and Faure's Requiem*"(Tom's post on social media). Here, the online post is an offer to teach music, some details regarding the teaching pattern, and Tom's credentials. There was no content related to any upcoming performances or any other accomplishments. During the interview, Tom mentioned that he only volunteered in various music-related work outside his opera job.

In another example, Anthony (pop, unemployed from music but employed in another job) described making short podcasts - summaries of various books and music poetry for audiences. According to Anthony, people preferred listening to short podcasts and online videos to reading books. These descriptions indicate limited online activities. There is not enough evidence to suggest that musicians with salaried jobs developed connections with audiences, shared lots of music-related information, provided regular updates on upcoming performances, or interacted one-on-one with audiences.

There was one exception; unlike Tom and Anthony, Tim (jazz, employed) was employed at a church as a music director; the church website said 'Tim - music director sacred music' whereas, on his website, Tim identified as a trumpet player "with lots of energy" who can

perform in any genre, classical, sacred music, rock, and pop music. Tim advertised his profile as a versatile musician who can perform in any music genre. Because Tim held multiple jobs in various artistic labour markets alongside his church job, he did not set boundaries for acquiring freelance work. However, there is no evidence to suggest that Tim participated in various other online activities to develop connections with audiences, which was not the case with freelance musicians, which are discussed next.

For classical musicians, their website provided information regarding interesting projects, orchestral work they undertook, a list of prestigious venues they performed, and their associations with important people. Their website had details of their qualifications, awards, and accomplishments, specific insights on making music, and other content related to developing techniques and skills in music. For instance, the centre of Henry's web page had a comment from one of the UK's leading film critics describing him as the greatest score composer for silent film music. When asked how information regarding music work and commentaries from various sources was helpful, Rob (classical) said, "*people value you and your work*". Like Henry, Rob's quartet website featuring music work and accomplishments had a list of reviews/commentaries from various media houses around the world, including The Times, The Guardian, New York Times, BBC Music Magazine, The Strad, and others. In another example, Malo's webpage said - "*If you find a job you love. You will never do another days work in your life*". His website has a separate section describing music-related projects in a non-creative field (see Chapter 7, Work), indicating how musicians perceived music work and their participation in various creative jobs.

In the case of jazz musicians, the website provided information regarding a musician's career and the details regarding past and future projects, indicating an artist's achievements and any association with other artists. Although musicians' websites, in the case of jazz and classical, appear to provide similar information, some variations are discussed here. According to Paloma (jazz), a website is a 'calling card' - meaning it represents the person and generates interest in those who look up information on the musician. Paloma's website had information regarding the jazz bands she performed with, her chamber music group, film orchestra work, recent album recording, and collaboration with a British composer for chamber music.

Likewise, William's website included information regarding his collaboration with some popular artists and the music scores he created for leading fast-food chain companies, entertainment brands, and top sports companies. Their websites had no reviews or commentaries from independent sources; instead, they provided facts related to gigs, commercial music production, and limited information regarding original music making. Jazz musicians regularly updated their websites with the latest music work information to share with venues and other audiences (music consumers). Unlike classical musicians, where the website was centered around creative work and content related to music production, the website provided more commercial information for jazz musicians, indicating the variations in engaging with wider audiences.

Like jazz, pop musicians' websites included information regarding past and upcoming performances at various venues (pubs, restaurants, and market festivals) and new EP and album recordings. Their website was more like a shop offering various products to visitors - blog posts and articles, merchandise, song lyrics, and music videos. For pop musicians, the website was a place to sell their image/personality. *"I came to a realisation... it's not just my music that I have to sell anymore it's my personality too... People buy personality just as much as they buy the talent.... if people go to watch me at a gig and they like my gigs and come back more and more and get to know me as a person, then that's great if people get to know me as a person first, and therefore want to start coming to my gigs, then equally great, I think they go hand in hand for me"* (Ann, pop). *"For me, the article is about making my voice heard... I've spent so long, kind of gaining reputation as a musician ... I write an article about music and music education. It's my way of showing the public my knowledge and sharing my passion with people that can't see me every day"* (Jim, pop). These descriptions show pop musicians' entrepreneurial approaches to reach and develop connections with wider audiences.

In another example, David made a similar note in his diary. *"7th January 2021, Afternoon, Much of this afternoon was spent working on some new website articles. I was writing a new piece on 'how to write comedy songs' which should hopefully attract attention towards my work as a songwriter for hire"* (David's diary notes). These excerpts and diary notes indicate pop musicians' dependence on markets. They allocated hours for various unpaid work (writing blogs, articles, creating merchandise) to build credibility with audiences and gain popularity with audiences because it affects their

chances of acquiring music work. The accounts from various musicians suggest variations in how musicians from different musical genres develop connections with wider audiences to expand their popularity as artists. They suggest the linkage between musicians' popularity and their chances of acquiring music work.

In addition to the websites, musicians participated in various social media activities, which included sharing information regarding recent achievements, upcoming shows and performances, and one-on-one communication with audiences. In classical music, those in higher professional positions used social media to share updates on new creative products and recent accomplishments. For instance, Henry (classical musician) regularly updated his social media accounts and posted his accomplishments. In his post, he credited his collaborators, described the various activities that contributed to making a music piece, and invited audiences to watch it. *"10th November 2022, So here's the massive, final piece of work to end the year - my new Concert Drama production of [anonymized] with [anonymized] the [anonymized] conducted and orchestrated by my wonderful friend and collaborator [anonymized]...adaptation of the book... nursed through five years of increasingly difficult times... folks so don't miss out on a ticket. Already one of the recommended Christmas shows in [anonymized]"* (Henry's social media post). In another example, Oliver described meeting his followers on his social media channels, sharing personal advice on improving cello practice, and giving interviews about developing and enhancing one's performance as a soloist.

According to Oliver, building a social media presence and interacting with audiences on a one-on-one level or in groups was one of the ways to remain active in the creative work market during the pandemic when live performances were cancelled. He described regularly posting content for paid subscribers, which affected his non-work (see Oliver's diary notes in Chapter 5, Non-Work), indicating how unpaid work interferes with non-work. This shows that social media influenced musicians' earnings and enabled them to reach wider audiences. However, not everyone had similar experiences (see Chapter 7, Work).

Unlike classical musicians holding higher professional positions, those in the early stages of their careers described other approaches to reach various audiences. Classical musicians Tristan and Andy said that musicians must reach out to the right audiences and wider

networks of people and advertise their work, skills, and unique abilities. *"20th November 2020 Afternoon, I spent time editing my website and keeping information up to date. This is due to the concerts I have coming up from the end of November; 24th November 2020, Evening, I was updating my [social media] channel. To prepare for a new premier of Fridays concert; 25th November 2020, I spent time reviewing my [social media] page to be sure that my followers are informed of upcoming events. I have begun a promotion to be sure the post reaches all followers"* (Tristan's diary notes). These diary notes were similar to posts shared by pop musicians (discussed later). Also, Tristan described maintaining regular contact with audiences by sharing appreciation notes and messages and individually responding to feedback or questions. *"for instance, like when people comment...I, take the time to reply to each individual person don't just copy and paste reply... build up relationships that way"* (Tristan, classical).

Classical musicians in the early stages of their careers participated in more entrepreneurial activities than classical musicians who were several years into the profession (previous examples from Sara and Dave suggest they allocated limited time for online activities and more time for creative activities). The empirical findings throughout the thesis substantiate that musicians' work practices in the classical genre have features of craftsmanship and entrepreneurial model of work. Here, one notices that within the classical genre, musicians in the early career stages allocate several hours for entrepreneurial and creative activities; they view entrepreneurial activities, such as interacting with audiences, as equally relevant as creative work.

Pop musicians described using social media regularly to announce upcoming gigs, promote the venues where they performed, look for work opportunities, connect with other artists, and maintain connections with audiences at a one-on-one level. For instance, Ann and David shared on their respective social media accounts about performing original music at a festival where attendance was free. Ann shared festival highlights and invited audiences to attend the event. Like Tristan in the previous example, Ann described maintaining one-on-one connections with audiences. She described sending personalized letters to her audiences thanking them for their support. In one of her recent social media updates, Ann posted pictures of handwritten notes and lyric posters with a message that read, *"Some handwritten letters all ready to be posted with my brand new lyric posters! Thank you so, so much for the support with*

the latest single, guys, you have no idea how much it means to me" (Ann, pop), indicating how pop musicians develop connections with audiences/music consumers at a one-on-one level; sending thank you notes and gifts (unpaid work) to music consumers. It shows pop musicians' dependence on buyers/markets/audiences.

The various accounts of musicians from different musical genres indicate that musicians generally develop connections with wider audiences; the findings suggest that employed musicians have less participation than freelance musicians, where websites and social media are used extensively to connect with wider audiences. Here, musicians' unpaid work practices have some similar entrepreneurial features, including sharing information regarding music work, showcasing versatility in projects, inviting audiences to attend music performances or purchase music, and information regarding various collaborations with influential people. However, the variations in developing connections with audiences include focusing on building an image/personality, maintaining connections on a one-on-one level, and establishing authorship, in the case of pop musicians. In contrast, musicians in the classical genres focus on their creative outputs.

Summing up, the findings suggest musicians' participation in various unpaid network activities, including developing and maintaining connections with industry partners and wider audiences (buyers/music consumers) to continue music work. The findings reveal the linkages between network activities and work; musicians work for free, socialize with various people, and regularly update websites and social media because unpaid activities are necessary to acquire music work. The findings suggest that *first*, musicians follow and maintain genre boundaries when working for free; such unpaid work is target oriented and performed to acquire music jobs or stay relevant within networks.

Second, socializing was unpaid work for classical musicians because they purposefully met colleagues and other influential people to share creative ideas and acquire projects. In contrast, for non-classical musicians, in this case, jazz and pop musicians, socializing with colleagues was common practice, not intended to acquire music work; nonetheless, socializing with colleagues was beneficial because musicians anyway discussed music performance, jobs, and various opportunities available in the labour market.

Next, audiences (buyers/music consumers) were important because they affected musicians' popularity and earnings; in this regard, classical musicians focused on drawing the audiences to creative products and the nuances in making music, whereas pop musicians focused on drawing the audiences to themselves which shaped the content musicians' published on various online mediums. Thus far, the chapter reported musicians' participation in various unpaid work, including administrative and network activities; the final section of the chapter reports musicians' learning and development activities - unpaid work necessary to be a musician.

6.4. Learning and development activities

The earlier discussion reported the linkages between work and unpaid administrative and network activities. Musicians described participating in other unpaid work, including activities that enabled them to expand their creative work, improve the production of creative outputs, and increase their chances of earnings. This section on learning and development activities concerns the above activities. The section has two parts, which cover musicians' accounts regarding music practices and other creative pursuits. It reports the variations in musicians' learning and development activities, indicating the linkage between musicians' work and their learning and development activities.

6.4.1. Practicing music

Musicians employed in opera companies, such as Stella and Tom, both classical musicians, described taking music lessons and practicing with a teacher regularly to maintain voice quality and attain higher performing standards. They participated in music lessons outside employment hours and during non-work time and allocated additional time and money for such developmental activities. Other employed musicians, such as Tim (jazz), did not describe taking any music lessons.

Some freelance classical musicians described allocating hours regularly to learning and practicing music like a few employed musicians. They often described the link between music practice and earnings to the extent of suggesting that practicing music can increase earnings

and finding music work. *"the more you practice, the better you get. I think it's Greg Norman said, the more I practice the luckier I get"* (Dave, classical). *"investing in practice hours is very important because it increases your earning potential when you're 40"* (Becky, classical). *"people are realizing or acknowledging the fact that I'm good at what I'm doing, because I've trained and practice so much"* (Tiffany, classical). Likewise, for Sara and Rose, both classical musicians, practicing was an integral part of their musicianly life.

For such musicians, practicing music was continual learning and development because it not only affected their work and earnings, but was necessary to continue working in the classical genre. *"So, after a very long path of studies...you have to continue working and in the end it's the kind of work where you're supposed to practice hours and hours"* (Cindy, classical). The descriptions reveal the institutional systems/settings in classical music that shape unpaid work. Sustaining a career in classical music involved practicing music regularly.

Although several classical musicians valued music practice, the findings suggest that there were no guarantees that higher-level practice could lead to better jobs (see Chapter 7, Work). Even Becky (see earlier example), who viewed music practice as an investment, described holding low-paid orchestral jobs and other teaching jobs to supplement income, being on the orchestral extras list, and waiting for job opportunities to materialize. The study found that not everyone in the classical genre allocated regular hours to practicing, even if it was necessary to sustain a career. Cindy described her inability to keep up with regular music practice, for she had to look for work.

Likewise, Macy described the challenges of not practicing often due to household responsibilities and childcare. Kathy and Ria mentioned similar challenges and said they practiced during an upcoming performance or relied on sight reading. A similar pattern was described by Stella, who, although employed at a major opera company, described facing challenges in keeping up with learning and development activities, childcare, and household responsibilities (see Chapter 4, Non-Work). This shows how the institutional systems/settings in the classical genre can limit women's participation in activities necessary to sustain a career in classical music, leading to unequal participation of women and men in the creative work market and inequities in creative work.

Here, it is relevant to note that women in classical music who described allocating time for learning and development activities were either single or without childcare responsibilities, indicating how, in the case of women, life stages (see Chapter 5, Non-Work) shaped unpaid work - the gender effects cut across genre's institutional systems/settings. Compared to women, men in classical music often allocated several hours for developmental work. For example, Tristan's diary entries from 20th November 2020 to 26th November 2020 shows practice on all days "*20th November 2020, Morning: My usual practice routine begins with scales, arpeggios... sight-reading 4-part harmonies. I have to repeat several times... 21st...I spent my morning practicing the Haydn sonata... I had a rigorous practice morning from working on my London programme of Mozart...I spent time on each bar working in detail and preparing each hand separately. Afternoon: I practiced Haydn sonata...The last movement is quite tricky...I practised my repertoire for the concert...26th November 2020 Afternoon: I practiced the Mozart and Debussy for my upcoming concert*" (Tristan's diary notes).

These examples indicate how institutional factors in the classical genre influenced musicians' learning and development activities. They reveal the linkage between work and unpaid practice; through years of music training in music schools and colleges, individuals learn to prioritize music and the significance of continued learning to sustain a music career. The narrative that classical musicians had the best jobs or that more practice leads to better jobs was true only for a few people.

Unlike classical musicians, pop musicians David, Simon, and Ann described allocating only a few hours to practicing songs before the gigs. For pop musicians, more than artistic fineness, the audience's acceptance was necessary to become successful in music and acquire music jobs. In his diary, David noted practicing a bunch of cover songs for two hours before a gig in case he needed them. Because pop musicians performed cover songs repeatedly in various functions and gigs, very little practice was involved in performing the job. Also, there was not enough original music work in the pop labour market (see Chapter 7, Work), dampening related learning and developmental activities related to music work, indicating the linkage between work and unpaid work.

Among jazz musicians, except Josh, who reported practicing music regularly, and Jill, who recorded a few hours of music practice during the week, other jazz musicians practiced music when there was an upcoming performance. Josh recorded two diaries each for a week. In both diaries, he reported rudimentary practice on all seven days of the week. He also recorded doing additional practice on some days. Jill's diary records show irregular occasions of music practice; however, during the interview, Jill mentioned practicing music regularly.

In another example, Greg and Paloma, both jazz musicians, described practicing music before upcoming performances. "*practice is limited at the moment*" (Greg, jazz). Because the interview was conducted at the time of lockdown (due to the pandemic) when most venues were shut, jazz musicians had limited music jobs. Thus, very few jazz musicians allocated hours to practicing music (except Josh; see example above); instead, they allocated hours to acquiring work with limited focus on developmental activities.

These descriptions from pop and jazz musicians indicate how the market influences musicians' learning and development activities. In pop music, where commercial success often takes precedence, musicians may find themselves constrained by the demand for familiar, commercially viable songs rather than original compositions. Consequently, pop musicians rehearsed popular tunes that catered to audiences, further narrowing their musical repertoire and learning experiences. Similarly, in jazz, the diminishing presence of vibrant music scenes and the dwindling audience engagement may impede musicians' ability to innovate and evolve through practice.

Overall, the accounts from various musicians indicate the institutional systems/settings in various musical genres. Because in classical music, music production depends on getting the music right and involves large-scale preparation, a lot of coordination, and professional management, it would behoove classical musicians to allocate regular hours to music practice. Unlike jazz and pop (non-classical genres), where music production depends on buyers and shared knowledge (in jazz) and productions are smaller, musicians tailor their learning needs to suit market conditions. Because pop musicians participated in function gigs, they allocated hours to learning the music necessary for the job. Likewise, in jazz, one notices how the lack of music jobs led to reduced music practice, indicating the linkages between music work and

unpaid learning and development activities (music practice). Learning and development included pursuing other creative pursuits that would benefit or support music work, which will be discussed next.

6.4.2. Other creative pursuits

Musicians described participating in various other creative pursuits, including learning new instruments, conceiving new creative ideas, looking for funders or sponsors to turn them into creative products, and learning other skills that may either support music work or create new sources of income. These activities were not hobbies; instead, they were instrumental.

Classical musicians described the unpaid work that goes into conceiving a creative idea, working with various other artists, and pitching it to various sponsors, with no certainty of turning it into a creative product. *"There's a lot of unpaid work with the TV stuff, because I have to basically pitch an idea to the [anonymized] before they'll buy it. And the last idea that I had, it took myself and my director and the company we were working with eight months to get the [anonymized] to say yeah"* (Henry, classical), indicating that not all creative products are traded, there can be a long hiatus between conceiving a creative idea and turning it into real creative output. Like Henry, Sam(classical) described conceiving the idea of a digital concert and applying for grants to the British Council to sponsor the project so the creative output could be delivered to selected audiences for free. Likewise, Becky and Tiffany, both classical musicians, shared their experiences regarding creating tailor-made creative products for schools and applying for funding to support their creative initiatives. Becky received funding, whereas Tiffany did not, which meant the many hours of unpaid work were neither turned into a creative output nor remunerated, indicating the challenges and uncertainties surrounding creative work.

Jazz musicians described participating in making original music - Jill (jazz) described recording and producing music independently. Josh (jazz) described working with a new band occasionally to create new forms of music. According to Josh, their band could not produce the music because of the lack of funds, and the project never gained full shape. These descriptions indicate that aspirations to make creative products were not enough. Only musicians with substantial financial resources could sustain performing unpaid work for an

extended time, and only those who were successful in acquiring funding could turn creative ideas into real products, indicating that although the various examples throughout the chapter demonstrated the linkage between unpaid work and work, not all unpaid work would translate into work.

Besides making creative products, musicians in different musical genres described learning other skills such as learning a new instrument, skills related to recording music and using technology for music production, and various other skills unrelated to music to participate in the non-arts labour market. In this regard, musicians from various genres described learning something new for instrumental purposes. The study found similarities in musicians' perspectives regarding pursuing unpaid activities that could affect their work in many ways.

For example, Greg (jazz) described learning a new instrument as a hobby so he could gradually play professionally. According to Greg, in musical theatre jobs, musicians can earn a higher income if they play more than one instrument; musicians who play more instruments make more money than those who play single instruments. Because musical theatre was Greg's bread and butter job (see Chapter 7, Work), he learned other instruments to increase his chances of earning a higher income. Ann (pop) described learning Garage Band, a software program that allows users to create music using various instruments on a single platform. According to Ann, knowledge of other instruments would enable her to orchestrate her original composition and participate equally with other artists in music production.

In another instance, Wilson (classical) described learning the clarinet so he could perform with the community musical band. *"it's a wonderful outlet for me because I'm meeting networking. All these people in the wide community who are music teachers, musicians... I just met the lady who...asked me to sing for her daughter's wedding"* (Wilson). Macy (classical) described learning the technicalities of recording and building a recording studio in her garage to reduce music teaching work and undertake other music-related work. However, she later described not pursuing the recording project, learning to work as a guide, and simultaneously learning some software work to have multiple sources of income, which suggests that musicians in the classical genre may explore work opportunities in the non-arts market, though none of the informants in the classical genre reported performing non-arts work (see Chapter 7, Work)

Summing up, the findings show musicians' participation in various unpaid learning and development activities to improve performance, chances of earnings, and expand work. The study found variations in unpaid music practice, which can be mapped to institutional factors in music genres - few classical musicians practiced music regularly because it was viewed as a necessity to sustain a music career; it could affect their chances of acquiring music work and earnings in the classical labour market. However, in the non-classical genres, music practice was not prioritized; instead, it was linked with the upcoming music job. The absence of music jobs could lead to no music practice.

The study found some similarities in musicians' unpaid work, including participation in various developmental activities such as developing new creative ideas, learning new musical instruments and other music-related technologies to enhance music production, entering new networks, and expanding work. The findings suggest that unpaid developmental work can remain unrecognized without financial resources, and only musicians with financial backing or support from sponsors and funders can manifest creative ideas into creative products. Musicians' participation in various learning and developmental activities indicates that work has no boundaries; even if people identify with an occupation, the limited opportunities in artistic labour markets (see Chapter 7, Work) means people may continually venture into other areas in search of new work.

In summary, the chapter on unpaid work covered musicians' participation in various unpaid activities under three sections - administrative, network, and learning and development activities. The study found a linkage between musicians' work practices and unpaid work - meaning unpaid work was necessary to continue work; thus, the institutional context of musical genres influenced paid and unpaid work. Musicians' participation in unpaid work revealed how acquiring music work, performance accomplishments, participation in various influential networks, reaching wider audiences, and even earnings depended on unpaid work.

The empirical findings suggest variations in musicians' unpaid work practices; *first*, for musicians in the classical genre, unpaid work practices show features of craftsmanship and entrepreneurial model of work, whereas in the non-classical genres, here referring to pop and jazz, unpaid work practices were skewed toward the entrepreneurial model of work. Such

variations were found in administrative and learning and development activities where classical musicians planned and scheduled hours of music practices, keeping records of music accomplishments and new skills learned. They maintained instruments and music-related documents because music production depended on them. In contrast, pop musicians planned activities to contact venues for music jobs and other promotional activities to gain popularity. In jazz, musicians depended on market scenes and buyers/audiences for music; there was no planning and scheduling involving buyer or market needs.

Second, the findings indicate the significance of networks in creative occupations. They indicate how musicians valued professional relationships with various industry partners, influential people, and wider audiences. However, they developed and maintained professional relationships within genre boundaries - meaning musicians networked and collaborated with people who participated in the same genre. None of the musicians reported developing professional relationships or collaborating with members of other genres; however, it is an unresolved area, and future research can provide insights into how creative workers from various genres collaborate (see Chapter 8, Discussion).

The unpaid network activities indicate the entrepreneurial features of unpaid work where classical musicians participated in socializing and maintained regular correspondence with influential people in the industry to pitch creative projects or acquire music work. They even offered to work for free to showcase successful musicianship and enter into influential networks. In contrast, musicians in the pop and jazz genres did not participate in socializing for instrumental purposes; they worked for free to reciprocate and maintain professional relationships with various partners within networks.

Next, the study found that musicians from various genres and employment statuses participated in unpaid work; maintaining instruments, office equipment, and work-related records and bookkeeping were common tasks among various musicians. However, unlike freelance musicians who performed lots of unpaid work, employed musicians had limited participation. Few employed musicians allocated time and money for developmental work, such as taking music lessons with a teacher to maintain their performance levels at work.

Finally, the findings indicate variations in unpaid work practices for women and men - for women, planning and scheduling involved music work and other domestic responsibilities, which explains their time usage. In contrast, men included activities regarding music work. Also, unlike men who allocated regular hours to learning and development activities, women's participation in these activities was constrained due to their life stages. The findings from the chapter, including the linkage between unpaid work and work, contribute to expanding knowledge regarding work that is remunerated and its dependence on work that is necessary but unpaid.

Chapter 7

7. Work in Creative Occupations

7.1. Introduction

The present empirical chapter deals with what informants (musicians) agreed as work – performing music work for remittance. It explores their involvement in diverse activities within artistic labour markets, hinting that work extends beyond music alone (see Chapter 8, Discussion). The chapter illustrates how institutional settings within musical genres affect creative workers' participation in artistic labour markets. It reveals that musicians engage with three distinct artistic markets - creative work, arts-related work, and non-arts work - both at the outset and throughout their music careers.

The chapter contributes toward understanding and explaining how institutional structures within musical genres can shape the work practices and career trajectory of creative workers, including entry into the creative work market, acquisition of creative work, nature of creative work, and sustaining a music career. The study found no homogenous patterns for entering the creative work market or sustaining a music career. The study's findings reveal that creative workers' labour market activities are intricately tied to the institutional frameworks of their respective genres. The investigation aimed to explore and understand work and non-work for the creative worker. This chapter significantly contributes to the overall thesis by showcasing how institutional structures within musical genres shape labour market activities and outcomes.

The empirical findings are briefly summarised here. In the early stages of a musician's career, the landscape of the creative labour market exhibits a degree of uniformity across different musical genres. During this phase, musicians described participating in various jobs, ranging from performing at function gigs to teaching music. However, there are exceptions, particularly within the realm of classical music, where musicians may occasionally secure opportunities in orchestral work. Classical musicians emphasised the importance of honing their skills during their formative training years, positioning themselves ahead of their peers. They described the value of establishing connections with influential people within the industry to enter and sustain a career in the music profession.

Pop musicians described facing various challenges in securing original music jobs (see Greer and Umney, 2022) and instead performing other artists' songs at various gigs and functions. Unlike their counterparts in classical music, who described focusing on perfecting their craft, pop musicians emphasised authorship and gaining traction among audiences as consumers. Their work practices revolved around meeting the demands of the market and appealing to audience preferences. Interestingly, the study found that music teaching was not prevalent among pop musicians' activities. Instead, some pop musicians participated in creative activities outside the realm of music altogether.

The jazz genre appears to occupy a middle ground between classical and pop music in terms of work practices. They described participating in jazz scenes, collaborating with various bands, and developing formal/informal relationships with fellow band members because it influences both music production and the acquisition of performance jobs, indicating the importance of networks in jazz music. Additionally, jazz musicians described participating in music teaching because it was perceived as a more accessible approach to entering the music field. Moreover, they described exploring diverse avenues of employment, including performing non-creative jobs within and outside the creative sector.

In contrast to freelance musicians, who experienced fluctuations in their engagement within the creative work market, musicians employed by large music institutions described performing creative work consistently and occasionally involved in music teaching. This pattern underscores the presence of inequalities within the realm of creative work. Moreover, the investigation revealed the gender disparities in creative work where female musicians expressed reluctance to music jobs requiring auditioning or competition participation, citing constraints imposed by household and childcare responsibilities.

This chapter is relevant because it sheds light on the diverse work arrangements for professional musicians across various musical genres. It underscores the range of paid work that musicians participate in and highlights the high levels of insecurity and the financial and emotional challenges they may experience throughout their careers. The study involved musicians with various employment structures: few were employed in salaried positions, some had hybrid arrangements combining salaried and freelance work, and the rest were freelance musicians. Informants comprised thirty classical musicians trained in Western

classical music, nine jazz musicians (including two with training in classical and jazz), and nine self-taught pop musicians specialising in pop/contemporary music.

The chapter is structured into three main sections, each providing an overview of different aspects of musicians' working lives. The first section examined the pathways musicians take to enter the industry and the array of opportunities available across different musical genres and analysed the phenomenon of multiple job holdings. Additionally, it examined how networks influenced musicians' entry into the creative work market and addressed the myriad challenges they faced along the way, along with strategies employed to overcome these obstacles. The *second* section reported the various work practices employed by musicians to sustain their music careers. The final section of the chapter examined musicians' experiences of working conditions as they progressed through their careers.

7.2. Entering the creative field

This section examined the diverse pathways young musicians undertake as they transition from education to professional work within the creative industries. Through a genre-based investigation, it unveils how the institutional structures within genres affect musicians' entry into the creative work market. The study found that there were no linear pathways for entering the creative field, even for classical musicians who traditionally found employment in music institutions like opera and orchestras. Instead, these musicians participated in a variety of music and music-related jobs as a means of entering the field. In contrast, pop musicians faced prolonged transition periods, often working outside the arts sector while attempting to enter the creative work market. Jazz musicians, meanwhile, juggled freelance music work alongside teaching and non-arts jobs.

The study found that there were no linear pathways to enter the creative field even in the case of classical musicians, where conventionally, music institutions such as opera and orchestra companies offered permanent employment to classically trained musicians; instead, they performed a variety of music and music-related jobs as a means of entering the field. Particularly in the case of pop music, musicians faced extended transition periods, often working in the non-arts market while making multiple attempts to enter the field. The study found that jazz musicians straddled between freelance in musical theatre, function gigs, and

arts-related work such as music teaching and performing non-arts work. The study highlighted the disparities in work opportunities for those entering the creative job market.

In the study, every participant recalled starting music as a hobby in childhood. While some always intended to become musicians, others admired certain musicians, and a few began casually and later pursued music as a career. The transition from hobby to profession was intentional, leading to variations in work practices for entering the creative work market. The study's informants detailed the diverse approaches to entering the field; classical musicians underwent apprenticeship training for several years, jazz musicians learned formal music education after completing school education, and pop musicians were mostly self-taught.

7.2.1. Pop musicians – entering the creative work market

Pop musicians described learning the requisite music skills with family members or by ear. They had no formal music training, and playing music was a hobby initially. *"Don't forget music was a hobby at the start for me. I was lucky enough to be good enough and worked hard enough to turn it into my job"* (Jim, pop). They described various approaches to enter the creative work market (here, music work) - playing at different venues and functions to enter the music field. For instance, Ann described playing music at pubs or restaurants on weekends and evenings alongside her office job. In another example, Daniel described learning traditional Persian music at home and playing at family gatherings and school events.

The other approaches to enter the field were composing original music, playing in local bands, or making one's own band. *"I started writing songs about the age of 12. And then I formed a band with friends from my primary school days... and we played local venues in South Wales...until I went to college... I played in four bands all over London...So, yeah, I played in many bands there, and we made an EP, which was featured on the radio. We did a television performance"* (Mac, pop). Likewise, Jim described playing in local bands during the initial years before performing professionally at various venues. Another approach involved busking alongside multiple jobs in the non-arts market (like an office job, teaching), producing and selling other artistic products (non-music) such as pottery and jewellery, and composing music and promoting it on different social media platforms during own time.

The findings show that pop musicians start small, playing for friends and family before moving on to local venues, indicating they begin their music careers by performing in familiar and intimate settings before expanding their reach to a wider audience. They may not receive any financial compensation for their performances, yet they perform in these settings to gain experience, practice their craft, build confidence, and start establishing a presence in the music scene. Additionally, pop musicians rely heavily on pleasing audiences and getting noticed by venues to make a living, indicating their dependence on both the market and audiences; their ability to attract listeners and secure performance opportunities directly impacts their financial success and increases their chances to enter the creative work market.

This reflects the institutional structures within the pop genre, the systems and norms that dictate how pop music is produced and consumed. In the case of pop musicians, the institutions involved include music venues and promotional networks that can act as gatekeepers influencing entry into the creative work market by providing platforms for performance and promotion. However, participation in the creative work market did not automatically lead to exciting or original music work; instead, creative work was routine, repetitive, and involved playing other people's music, which was often frustrating. In contrast, classical musicians' experiences indicate that they pursued different pathways to enter the field, as detailed below.

7.2.2. Classical musicians – entering the creative work market

Classical musicians described undergoing formal music training in Western classical music from a young age, dedicating several hours to learning music, and gaining the requisite skills to enter the creative work market and acquire professional music work. Their training can be described as an apprenticeship that enabled musicians to perform professionally alongside training. *"I started playing the violin when I was five, and my parents both...they love string instruments, so they started us all off... I went to school, Cheatham School of Music... then I went to the College of Music here in Manchester for my undergraduate...I did a little bit of freelancing just before I finished my undergraduate"* (Sara, classical). *"I've known from the age of five, I wanted to be a pianist... went to study, at music school, in Winchester, ... got a scholarship, I went to the [Royal Northern] College of Music...I was there for four years as an undergraduate, and then I became a junior fellow... where I was paid to basically stay there and accompany all the other students for their exams and recitals and things"* (Kathy,

classical). These excerpts imply that musicians adhered to established genre conventions in their training and practice as a means to enter the music industry.

This adherence to tradition was instrumental in acquiring the skills and proficiency necessary to enter the creative work market and gain access to paid opportunities. Their descriptions indicate the gradual progression through multiple institutional frameworks, including training rituals, participation in competitive environments, performances in grand venues such as concert halls, and working with various groups of musicians. - training in a simulated environment that represents the professional world of classical music, indicating institutional structures within the classical genre. These structured pathways significantly affect musicians' preparedness for entry into the classical work market. Moreover, their approach to work resembles the craftsmanship model of work (see Chapter 2, Literature Review).

Some musicians viewed the transition from music training to the music profession as organic. For example, Dave said, *"it was a pretty much a relatively smooth segue from university into the profession."* This implies that undergoing training in reputable institutions, such as universities or conservatories, not only provides educational resources but also opens doors to opportunities like auditions and competitions, highlighting the interconnectedness between institutional factors and individual experiences within the classical genre. Moreover, it suggests that institutional factors can play a pivotal role in shaping the pathways for musicians as they navigate from educational settings to professional careers. The following sections discuss the various opportunities available to classical musicians.

- **Classical musicians – various opportunities**

Classical musicians had numerous opportunities in the music field, including participation in competitions and securing paid engagements while training. Becky and Oliver, for example, noted that winning prestigious competitions opened doors to numerous performance opportunities. Becky described securing work with a reputable chamber orchestra after winning a prestigious chamber music program and an international viola competition.

Furthermore, Becky mentioned that her involvement with the chamber group led to domestic performance opportunities and various international engagements. *"When I won this German*

national competition, which came with fifty (50) concerts in a year. So, from no concerts, until then I had no concert, I was just a normal student, and from suddenly, for I suddenly had fifty (50) concerts" (Oliver, classical). Their descriptions indicate that success in classical music can lead to a cascading effect of opportunities, expanding one's professional landscape. They suggest the high entry barriers in classical music and the musicianship required to differentiate oneself in this competitive field. They underscore the influence of institutional factors within the classical music genre. Institutions such as prestigious music competitions serve as gatekeepers to professional opportunities in the field.

While training at reputable institutions and winning competitions may guarantee entry into the creative work market, this is a reality for only those few who emerge victorious. Classical musicians described participating in auditions as another route to secure music jobs with prestigious opera and orchestra companies or to join the roster of extra players for orchestras. However, those who were unsuccessful in competitions or auditions or unable to access these competitive routes explored alternative methods to enter the creative work, often similar to those in jazz and pop genres. This suggests commonalities in the approaches adopted by musicians from different genres when trying to enter the creative work market.

Moreover, musicians who succeeded in auditions secured full-time positions in major orchestra or opera companies or obtained short-term contracts with them as freelance musicians. The audition process involved live performances for a panel, with winners decided after multiple rounds. Those pursuing higher-paid or full-time positions described balancing other music-related gigs or teaching while auditioning to meet financial needs and sustain their efforts. The following examples include the experiences of Martin, Tom, and Dina, who provide insight into what it means to secure an orchestral job. For example, Dina described dedicating two years to auditioning after graduating in music, sustaining herself by freelancing as a music teacher, taking low-paying jobs, and finally securing a full-time position at a major opera company.

Likewise, Tom and Martin described auditioning after completing their music degrees. Both Tom and Martin credited their conservatoire training for preparing them for auditions. Tom auditioned for multiple orchestral positions before securing a job at a major orchestra company, highlighting the perseverance necessary in the process. These descriptions indicate

the length of time invested in securing a high-ranking job, highlighting the demanding nature of pursuing orchestral positions. Additionally, they underscore the importance of financial stability when pursuing a career or job in classical music. They indicate that while these opportunities may exist, they may not be equally accessible to all individuals due to the competitive nature of classical music

Musicians who don't make it past the final rounds of auditions can join orchestra "extras lists". These lists include a list of talented performers hired by orchestras on an as-needed basis. Becky, for instance, described joining Munich's major orchestra extras list, allowing fixers to contact her for performances when required. Additionally, the financial barriers associated with auditions and competitions can create boundaries that affect aspiring musicians' access to opportunities for music work. Because participating in auditions and competitions demanded significant financial investment and unpaid practice hours, these opportunities were accessible mainly to financially secure individuals who could participate in various competitive activities without worrying about earning a living or relying on others for financial support. The following excerpts underline the challenges:

musicians audition all the time and get nothing. That's just the way our life is. My first professional audition [anonymized], I got it...luck that I had, favoured the prepared, I prepared many, many years for that opportunity...I still auditioned lots for other stuff and didn't get anything.
(Tom, singer (opera, musicals, voice-over, backup, choral, radio), freelance musician – 35 years)

having to do all these auditions and you have to pay for so much of it out of pocket... auditions have application fees... travel... hotel so it all just becomes very expensive...you have to have another source of support.
(Dina, regular chorister, freelance singer, and music teacher – 6 years)

These insights highlight that acquiring jobs in the creative work markets involves not just talent and preparation but also financial stability. While luck may play a role in securing opportunities, additional sources of financial support are necessary to sustain a career in music. For example, Dina indicated that financial constraints could limit people's access to music jobs. Likewise, Joe and Jacob described how high costs associated with auditions, including travel and accommodation expenses and time required for preparation, deterred them from participating and competing for high-ranking jobs.

Classical musicians who did not succeed in auditions or competitions or could not afford to participate sought alternative avenues to enter the creative field. *"it's quite common in the classical field in general, if you are really good... you won an important competition or you become famous... you get an agent and basically you start working as a performer... if you don't have any particular reason to be so popular, you have to find your chances to perform on your own"* (Cindy, classical). Cindy indicated the repercussions of winning and losing competitions in classical music. The description highlights that in classical music, success often hinges on factors such as winning competitions or gaining fame. While winning competitions or gaining fame may lead to employment opportunities facilitated by agents, those without such recognition must independently seek multiple jobs in various artistic labour markets.

Thus far, the findings indicate that competitions may be a common route to acquiring music work, especially in classical music. Initially, both men and women engage similarly in competition and recognition. However, as careers progress, significant gender differences emerge in their labour market outcomes. For instance, Macy and Kathy described participating in auditions early in their career but later refrained due to stress and family responsibilities. Their experiences highlight how women's participation in the labour market evolves, compared to men, indicating the gender effects on women's involvement in classical music.

The findings highlight that in the classical genre, crossing over competitive structures like auditions and competitions is crucial for accessing high-ranking jobs. Despite this, gender disparities persist. Conversely, jazz and pop lack such barriers, yet they present fewer opportunities for aspiring musicians to enter the creative field. This discrepancy in opportunity highlights that different genres offer varied pathways to musicians entering the creative field. These discrepancies in opportunities between musical genres can be attributed to the institutional factors in musical genres that shape each genre's norms and practices.

- **Classical musicians – multiple job holdings**

Classical musicians typically aimed for orchestral jobs due to the prestige and opportunities they offered. However, the limited availability of these positions led many musicians to take on multiple jobs, such as playing with smaller groups or bands, freelancing with orchestras, and teaching music. *"very few people walk into an orchestral job...by the time I left I was already playing*

in one or two groups, and I built up some status and some contacts. And so most like most of my contemporaries. I started off doing a bit of teaching. And there was a bit of freelance playing...we would go off and do weddings and recitals and some of the other work was orchestral" (Jack, classical). Similar to Cindy, Jack's description highlights that not all classically trained musicians immediately secure an orchestral job; instead, they pursue alternative avenues to build their careers. They gradually established themselves within the profession, accruing status and making valuable connections along the way, indicating similarities in the work practices among classical, pop, and jazz musicians. While musicians in all three genres participated in creative, arts-related, and non-arts work markets, unlike jazz and pop musicians, classical musicians participated mainly in creative and arts-related jobs, occasionally venturing into non-arts work with creative projects (discussed later in the chapter).

Additionally, classical musicians entered the creative work market through "snowballing," where one job opportunity leads to another. *"freelance work began because the phone began ringing...there was no moment where I defined myself as a freelance worker, or, as a professional musician, it just emerged"* (Roy, classical). *"the way you got work was to be sitting next to somebody in a casual orchestra...And basically, if that player is likes you, and you're playing well together...if they've got a date next week...and they can't do it, then every chance that they might actually say actually could you do this date for me. And, it just took off like that... it's just very organic"* (Jane, classical). This indicates that in classical music, freelance work often emerges spontaneously rather than being consciously pursued as a career path. It typically evolves from personal connections, networking, and opportunities arising from the needs of other musicians or ensembles. These examples suggest that in the classical genre, connections are forged through performances, leading to work opportunities.

Unlike pop music, where audience appeal matters, in classical music, peer recognition may lead to new work opportunities. They also imply that classical musicians had access to a diverse range of job opportunities, including orchestral work, occasional session gigs, function performances, and music teaching. This diversity provided a mix of both interesting and repetitive jobs to musicians within the classical genre. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that musicians in the classical genre typically had access to a broader range of creative activities than pop musicians when entering the creative field. However, for jazz musicians, entering the creative field was not significantly different from pop, as discussed below.

7.2.3. Jazz musicians – entering the creative work market

Jazz musicians entered the creative work market with formal training in jazz music performance; two out of nine jazz musicians also had training in classical music. Like musicians in the classical and pop genres, jazz musicians described playing music as a hobby, learning music/instruments available in school as a creative activity, and undergoing formal training in music during later years. They described their entry into the creative field with an understanding of the challenges of pursuing a music career: scarce performance opportunities, unstable job prospects, and the realisation that a music degree doesn't ensure career sustainability. *"I didn't always think that I'd be a professional musician because we were told quite explicitly that... career in playing was not a very stable profession"* (Josh, jazz). Josh noted that music schools informed aspiring musicians about the uncertainties in the jazz job market, leading them to accept any available music gigs and view music work as just another job, not just pursuing art.

In another example, Greg mentioned, *"but it's a job at the end of the day and whether you're playing something you're really enjoying or... a lot of the stuff that we did on the cruise ships was not enjoyable music was not satisfying music, but you have to make it sound like it is"*. These descriptions indicate that the experience of playing certain types of music might not align with personal preferences or artistic fulfilment. It shows the pragmatic reality jazz musicians experience when entering the creative field; the professional obligation to deliver quality performances regardless of personal preference.

The study found that jazz musicians completed one job, moved on to the next, and held multiple positions to sustain their lives without refusing any professional work. This was true from the entry stages throughout their careers. *"you don't want to say no to professional work as a musician because if you say no to one thing, you might miss ten more"* (Josh, jazz). This suggests that opportunities are interconnected, highlights the importance of seizing every chance for work, and refusing a job can have broader consequences than just missing out on a single opportunity.

While similar trends were found among classical and pop musicians, there were differences in the nature of their music jobs. Classical musicians often transitioned from one orchestral work to another. In contrast, jazz musicians might move from function gigs to cover songs, indicating that while musicians across genres followed a similar pattern of transitioning between jobs, the specific nature of their work varied significantly (discussed later in the chapter). Further, these descriptions indicate how the institutional factors within the jazz genre, including educational institutions and labour market conditions, affect their entry into the creative field. Jazz education institutions instil a mindset of seizing every opportunity; due to the industry's competitiveness and sporadic gig availability coupled with the scarcity of opportunities in jazz labour markets, musicians feel compelled to accept any opportunity that comes their way.

Examples from Jill, William, and Tim reveal how musicians in jazz respond to the scarcity of jazz performance jobs when entering the field. They described performing non-music, non-creative jobs in the creative work market to sustain a living while remaining active in their field. Jill described the oversupply of jazz music graduates compared to available jobs, indicating a mismatch in supply and demand affecting performance job opportunities. Moreover, Jill described her experience working with an opera company on the education side, which involved non-creative tasks such as classroom management, which were frustrating as they were deviations from creative work and were not aligned to her qualifications. *"there was a disconnect because my degree was in jazz from [anonymized] voice performance, and I was not using any of that information"* (Jill, jazz). It suggests that musicians may feel disconnected because of a lack of utilisation of the knowledge, skills, or qualifications acquired through their music degree.

On the one end, it shows the underutilisation of skills; on the other, it demonstrates the broader consequences on creative workers' working lives. Further, William described diversifying his income by producing hip-hop records and working as a manager until his music gained popularity (claiming to reach thirty-four (34) million plus streams on a streaming platform), indicating jazz musicians participation in various labour markets - creative, arts-related, and non-arts work markets at the early stages of their careers.

In another example, jazz musicians Josh and Tim described how changing market trends affect jazz musicians:

when I started doing freelance stuff, and I live in [anonymized], which is freelance music capital of the world... it's very competitive, for one, and it's a constantly changing scene...new artistic movements kind of crop up and die very quickly...really competitive. It was very...kind of hard to mouth...I just need to go get a day job...for part of my existence, and I'll do the music stuff, half and half. And that worked really well

(Tim, music director, jazz music, employed 1.5 years/freelance – 9 years)

Josh described a similar perspective. Their descriptions indicate that financial instability and the preferences and purchasing decisions of music buyers can significantly affect musicians' work practices during the early stages of their careers. It shows the relevance of market dynamics and audience preferences in jazz music genres. Tim's description of the competitive freelance music scene and the need to balance a day job with music work reflects the challenges of market competition and the institutional factors, such as market trends and norms that shape opportunities and economic realities for jazz musicians.

The way work is structured in jazz music may lead to uncertainty for musicians and affect their ability to break into the industry. *"I was doing, doing a few gigs and...I had, I got a little bit of teaching as well...then I actually got offered some work. like a tour...And then that tour sort of disappeared like it became clear very quickly that it wasn't a legitimate opportunity...ended up moving...with my folks...playing locally up there, and I did some more teaching...then I went to work for cruises"* (Bob, jazz). The excerpts suggest a pattern of instability and uncertainty surrounding jazz musicians' work arrangements, further demonstrating the challenges they may experience maintaining consistent work opportunities.

It also indicates how such uncertainties can prompt jazz musicians to seek alternative avenues of work, thus partly explaining why jazz musicians hold multiple jobs. Beyond performing gigs and collaborating with different bands, they supplemented their incomes through teaching and other non-arts work. Unlike classical musicians (not all) who accessed music jobs through various competitive events, jazz musicians (most of them in this study) accessed jobs in various artistic labour markets, accepting any opportunities that arose to maintain visibility in the creative field. Greg echoes Bob's sentiment, highlighting the primacy of networks over auditions in the jazz scene. He critiques audition processes as unfair and inadequate for selecting musicians. *"someone can play brilliantly or read brilliantly or do this or that brilliantly... they try and audition people, and occasionally they employ somebody who has a brilliant audition, and then six*

months later, it is just a liability and a real problem." (Greg, jazz). These descriptions indicate the significant role personal relationships play in the hiring process.

It suggests that the jazz community is tight knit, where musicians often prioritise working with individuals they know and trust rather than strangers who may excel in a single audition. They suggest that competitive processes are less suited to assessing a musician's long-term suitability, indicating the communal aspect of the jazz genre where compatibility within a group is paramount and long-term relationships are valued over short-term individual performances. Overall, the descriptions suggest that for jazz musicians, entering the creative field involves building strong connections within the tight-knit jazz community to secure work opportunities.

These descriptions highlight the significance of music bands and cooperation between band members in jazz music. Being able to fit in or be like other band members and reproduce patterned behaviours conducive to the functioning of a band is a crucial aspect of jazz music. These elements constitute institutional factors within the jazz genre that affect musicians' entry into the creative work market.

Summing up, the findings from the first section highlight the various institutional factors in musical genres that affect musicians' entry into the creative work market. Key similarities include a scarcity of music-related jobs, no straightforward pathways to music careers, engagement in live performances at diverse venues, occasional orchestral opportunities (predominantly for classical musicians), and involvement in music teaching (especially relevant for classical and jazz musicians).

The findings highlight diverse work practices among musicians entering the creative field. *First*, classical musicians faced high entry barriers, requiring extensive training and success in auditions and competitions. Pop musicians, though not needing formal training, depended on gaining popularity to break into the industry. Meanwhile, jazz musicians, even if professionally trained, relied on musical skills, market demand, and networking within jazz scenes to enter the field.

Second, musicians from different genres encountered varied entry opportunities. While classical musicians may secure orchestral positions or freelance gigs through auditions and competitions, pop and jazz musicians found fewer direct avenues for entering the field, often balancing occasional creative work with non-arts employment. *Third*, the findings suggest that musicians from different genres see music work differently. For pop musicians, music work is equivalent to gaining popularity and recognition for their original work. For classical musicians, music work is an artistic pursuit; for jazz musicians, music work is a job, though not devoid of artistic expression or popularity.

These variations can be mapped to the institutional factors in various musical genres, where pop places a strong emphasis on commercial success and public recognition, classical emphasises artistic excellence and mastery, and jazz is rooted in improvisation and versatility, shaping musicians' work practices as they enter the creative field. The institutional factors in musical genres and their influence on musicians' work practices are explained later in the thesis (see Chapter 8, Discussion). Thus far, the chapter has covered musicians' diverse approaches to entering the artistic labour markets, highlighting distinct characteristics within each genre. The findings suggest no homogenous patterns for entering the music field. The upcoming section reports how musicians sustain their careers, including the nature of their work and their work arrangements.

7.3. Sustaining a music career

The prior section reported musicians' participation in artistic labour markets and how institutional factors in musical genres can shape work practices in entering the creative work market. This section reports how musicians across different musical genres sustain their music careers. To sustain a music career, creative workers participated in various artistic labour markets with diverse contractual arrangements, broadly classified as full-time employment, hybrid roles combining full-time and occasional freelance work, and freelance arrangements. It then explores how these arrangements influence musicians' work practices and shape their careers. By examining routine and non-routine aspects of creative activity, this section distinguishes between musicians who experience engaging work and those involved in more mundane tasks within the creative work market. Professional musicians earn

most of their income from music work (creative work market) (see Chapter 2, Literature Review); here, they include composing and music performance (playing an instrument, conducting, and singing). Like the previous section, the present section reports on each musician group separately for ease of understanding, meaningful comparison, and gaining insights into factors that affect their music careers.

7.3.1. Musicians – employed

The study participants included six musicians employed with music organisations - four with hybrid employment; one participant, Stella, cited parenting responsibilities as the reason for not engaging in freelance work (see Chapter 5, Non-Work), while another, Tom, pursued voluntary creative and non-creative work.

Employed musicians, particularly those working with opera or orchestra companies, adhered to established routines outlined by their employers, including work hours, rehearsal commitments, and any necessary preparations for performances. For instance, Stella, Martin, and Tom described specific routines related to work hours, concert days, and practice schedules. *"the first 10 to 12 weeks of just music rehearsal, we go and sit in a room five hours a day, six days a week"* (Tom, classical). *"We have different concerts, Thursday evening, Friday evening, Saturday, normally we are off or we play in the neighbouring cities like...and Sunday, our main concert"* (Martin, classical). These descriptions suggest that music organisations have a structured and intensive rehearsal schedule for musicians. They also highlight the dedication and time commitment demanded by their employer (music jobs). Further, Stella said *"these big opera companies there's kind of rehearsal period, built into, like any kind of work that you do, so you don't necessarily need to spend a lot of time by yourself at home working on the music"*, indicating there is a structured rehearsal period embedded into musicians' workflow.

These descriptions indicate that classical musicians employed within music organisations participated in a structured work environment where regular music practice, concert performances, scheduled working hours, and remuneration were integral components. While musicians may engage within a structured framework, there may be limited flexibility for creativity. Wilson's account suggests how employment can affect musicians' work practices.

Wilson contrasted the structured nature of his former role as a tenor with a major opera company with the challenges of freelance work. According to Wilson, once he entered the opera, all he had to do was get on the stage and perform. In contrast, freelancing demanded seeking out opportunities, self-directed practice, and adapting to irregular hours and uncertain pay, suggesting a trade-off between stability and artistic expression within structured employment. Wilson's perspective was echoed by Tom, who offered a similar viewpoint on the relationship between employment and work practices:

what I do at [anonymized] is a structured work...Outside of that, it's all what I do, I can go here I can go there and accept this job... It's more about being guided or told what you are going to do...When I sing opera, that would be a difference. I have no real choices, other than that artistic choice of how I portray somebody or how I sing something within the context
(Tom, singer (opera, musicals, voice-over, backup, choral, radio), freelance musician – 35 years)

These descriptions highlight the contrast between structured employment within a specific organisation and the freedom associated with freelance work. It indicates the difference between being directed by an organisation regarding various issues and independence in making choices as a freelancer. Moreover, they suggest how, even in creative work, tasks and responsibilities are predetermined within a structured work environment. These descriptions highlight classical music institutions as pivotal institutional factors within the genre, shaping musicians' work practices. These institutions establish structured patterns for music production, with employed musicians adhering to these frameworks, thus legitimising genre conventions.

As discussed in the previous section, the employment opportunities for classical musicians varied from those available to jazz and pop musicians. Tim's account indicates how contractual arrangements can shape musicians' work practices. Unlike the few classical musicians employed with large musical institutions discussed above, one jazz musician (Tim) was employed at a church as a musical director with multiple responsibilities: participating in the choir, teaching music, handling administrative tasks, and organising events for occasions like Christmas and Easter.

This suggests that while both classical and jazz musicians were salaried employees, they functioned within different institutional settings, leading to variations in their assigned tasks. These differences in employment settings and responsibilities reflect the diverse contractual arrangements in the creative work market. They show how the variations in employment in

various musical genres shaped what work is and what it is not the nature of creative work, and the production of creative outputs. Some of the employed musicians also engaged in occasional freelance work within the creative or arts-related markets, which is discussed in the following section.

7.3.2. Musicians - hybrid employment

Four musicians' participated in hybrid employment, including occasional freelance work alongside their salaried positions. They occasionally held multiple jobs in the creative or arts-related market. Musicians participating in hybrid employment described taking on freelance opportunities outside of their regular work hours and occasionally allocating personal time to pursue such opportunities. Two (men) of the four musicians, freelance work included creating and promoting their work online; however, they did not prioritise selling their creative products. *"practicing and writing music, composing or arranging because it's an amazing...I don't do it professionally... I did...amazing work we did two years ago about the influence of the climate changing on the Four Seasons from Vivaldi"* (Martin). Like Martin, Anthony described working with intricate musical harmonies and crafting new compositions, yet they shared a common reluctance towards monetising their creative outputs, emphasising their passion for music-related activities such as practising, writing, composing, or arranging.

This suggests musicians in hybrid employment may pursue creative activities not as a profession but as an enjoyable pursuit. However, while they were not opposed to monetising their creative outputs, they may not have prioritised this aspect. It indicates that, unlike freelance musicians who rely on income from their creative work and other work arrangements, musicians with salaried jobs may have the flexibility to engage in creative activities without the immediate pressure of monetising their output. Moreover, the security provided by their salaried employment may allow them to make innovative products and retain original ideas, affording them a more experimental approach to their craft. *"I was so furious and asked him that you need to just play the notes that I have written for you"* (Anthony). These examples revealed that musicians may cherish their original compositions dearly. With the stability of a salaried job providing financial security, these musicians can confidently assert

their authorship over their work, knowing that their livelihood is not dependent on compromising their artistic vision.

It demonstrated the non-routine and non-instrumental dimensions of creative work, where outcomes and success were uncertain. Additionally, musicians with hybrid employment described performing freelance work in the arts-related market, such as music teaching, to supplement their income and ensure financial stability. They described offering private music lessons either in person or online. Accounts from Anthony, Martin, and Dina suggest they undertook additional work for multiple purposes: it provided a steady income stream, mitigated the unpredictability of the creative industry, expanded their professional opportunities, and established a parallel career in music.

Among the four musicians with hybrid employment, one jazz musician (Tim) stood out for his diverse work arrangements. Tim held multiple jobs across all three artistic labour markets – creative work, arts-related, and non-arts market. Alongside his job as a music director at a church and performing gigs during evenings and weekends, Tim described working as a pool cleaner on a weekly basis to maintain connections with influential individuals (see Chapter 6, Unpaid Work). Through these social networks, Tim often secured gigs for his creative work. While Tim's example is one instance, it serves as a valuable case that can be indicative of the work practices of jazz musicians. It suggests that jazz musicians juggle multiple jobs to sustain their careers and income. This reflects the reality of many musicians, especially in genres like jazz, where consistent income from performances alone may be insufficient.

These examples indicate that participating in hybrid employment enabled musicians to pursue a freelance music career. They may function as freelance amateurs, occasionally monetising their creative products while also working as employees within different organisations. Their ability to participate in different capacities in various artistic labour markets may enable them to build diverse skill sets and simultaneously lead to increased competition for opportunities. However, the findings indicate that despite holding salaried positions, individuals experienced disparities in their employment conditions, thus affecting work practices and perpetuating inequalities within creative work. Moreover, the comparison between classical, jazz and pop musicians further elucidates this point. Classical musicians

employed by large music companies may have greater stability than a jazz musician employed at a church or pop musicians employed at a pub who faced job loss due to the pandemic-induced closure of venues. While hybrid employment can provide flexibility and diversified income streams for sustaining a music career, the specific arrangements and opportunities available to musicians vary significantly based on their genres. Up to now, the section has reported the work practices of musicians with full-time and hybrid employment arrangements. The remaining section reports the work practices of freelance musicians in different musical genres.

7.3.3. Classical musicians and artistic labour markets

Among freelance classical musicians, sustaining a music career varied significantly, as some may juggle many project-based jobs, while others mainly rely on hourly-paid jobs, occasionally acquiring creative projects. This diversity meant musicians often held multiple jobs in creative and arts-related fields.

For instance, Sam described reading several interesting books such as collected letters of Glenn Herbert Gould (20th-century pianist Canadian classical pianist), Baltasar Gracián's book 'How To Use Your Enemies,' the collected works of Charles Stanley Causley and Eckhart Tolle to conceptualize an orchestral performance. Sam's description appears as leisure that workers in other occupations would undertake when away from work; however, for composers such as Sam, Henry, and Matt (discussed further), such tasks were everyday work.

Likewise, Henry's diary notes indicated a variety of interesting projects. *"16th December 2020, Morning: ...then finishing a piece for the mother of a friend...A lot of editing work on a new violin sample to get it sounding as good as possible... new series on [Anonymized] Movies, Afternoon: Continuation of the [Anonymized] Movies strings... finally completing the seven pieces by 7.15 pm"* (Henry, classical). The descriptions and diary notes suggest that musicians had varied skill sets, performed diverse creative projects, and worked for extended hours - Mike read out notes from his diary *"Sunday, I've got a lesson at 10:30 in the Morning And then from 12:45, until the Evening I'll be presenting on this course...Last Thursday, I was taking part in a colloquium... I was presenting a talk...And last Wednesday, I had a meeting at 9:30 with my publishers...and a meeting at seven o'clock in the Evening, and in between those times I'm writing a new book at the moment...on Friday morning... And then in the afternoon and Evening, I was adjudicating the [anonymised] festival (a music festival)"* (Mike, classical). Like Mike,

Matt said he worked twelve to thirteen hours composing music and writing poetry. Not all classical musicians had similar work practices (discussed later in the section).

These examples paint a nuanced picture of classical musicians (men) deeply entrenched in various activities, including music, academia, and intellectual pursuits. They indicate that such musicians lead busy lives, meticulously balancing myriad activities ranging from composing, editing, teaching, and presenting to attending meetings with various industry partners and adjudicating music festivals. Their involvement in composing and editing suggests active engagement in the creative process, where they strive for excellence in producing musical pieces and refining them to achieve the desired quality, indicating the nature of creative work. Additionally, their work practices reflect the ideological values of classical music – complexity, originality, emotional depth, and long-term investment; musicians' work practices legitimised classical genre conventions. Moreover, their ability to juggle multiple jobs, continually learn and participate within the music community contributes to sustaining a music career.

The findings indicated a gendered division of work within the classical genre: men held high-ranking creative roles, while women were largely absent. This division can be linked to the gendered distribution of unpaid housework, which afforded men more time and opportunity for creative pursuits (see Chapter 5, Non-Work). Unlike men, women primarily engaged in smaller-scale music compositions, such as creating music scales for their students' practice, indicating a disparity in creative outputs between genders.

Moreover, it is relevant to note the distinction between classical musicians with hybrid employment, who participated in creative work for non-instrumental purposes, such as composing music for personal expression or sharing it with a wider audience, and freelance classical musicians, for whom all creative work served instrumental purposes. This indicates how the intersection of genre and employment arrangements shaped activities that constitute work.

Classical musicians (freelance) described earning most of their incomes from high-ranking creative work - commissioned projects and orchestral performances; Oliver described playing close to sixty (60) concerts in a year, of which ninety percent (90%) was with orchestras, as a soloist, and ten percent (10%) chamber music. Henry described earning most of his income

from music compositions, films, and commissioned projects, instrumental performances, and some music teaching. They described having multiple sources of income, such as music libraries, music printing, and publishing, and some of the classical musicians described occasionally receiving money as a goodwill gesture from publishers. *"I have sold a new radio play but that won't be commissioned until next year... I've suddenly got a whack of money from [anonymized] my publishers who have some money from the cultural recovery fund and said we're passing this on to our clients"* (Henry, classical).

Another source of income included monetizing reputation via online mediums. The study found two musicians (Henry and Oliver) monetizing their popularity via online mediums. Henry described raising funds via an online platform to meet financial needs. *"my social media is fairly huge...I put 1000 pounds as the initial figure that I wanted to raise...by the end of the [anonymized] Fund, which was about six weeks, I had over 8000 pounds"* (Henry, classical). In another instance, Oliver described creating social media content and selling them to online audiences. *"I'm obliged to give some content because 256 people pay money to see something"* (Oliver, classical). I

These excerpts demonstrate that musicians achieve financial stability through their creative work, including selling creative products and receiving significant funding from their publishers. They indicate a diversified approach to income generation involving leveraging social media platforms to generate financial support. Moreover, it suggests that musicians' popularity may facilitate their ability to generate earnings through online platforms.

The classical musicians discussed above represent only a segment of the broader landscape within the classical genre. Another group of musicians in this genre participated in a diverse array of work practices that encompassed both well-paid and low-paid opportunities, ranging from creatively fulfilling jobs to mundane tasks in the creative and arts-related work market. They described performing orchestral jobs, session work, musical theatre, function gigs, performing at music festivals, music teaching, and music therapy. Few musicians described performing music printing jobs (printing sheet music for others) alongside music work. These musicians described taking on well-compensated music jobs to meet financial obligations. These opportunities also served as compensation for their involvement in less lucrative, more creatively fulfilling activities. For example, Rosy (classical) said session work means she could

earn 300 pounds per session; performing three sessions, she could earn close to 900 pounds for the day. The excerpts from Sara and Roy show this:

If you get one of those a month, you're like great, and now that means maybe the following week say I might have a project where maybe I'll have taken these projects with one of my orchestras, ... the amount of work that it takes to prepare is much higher.

(Sara, violinist, freelance musician – 8 years)

When you're sorting out the diaries commercial against non-commercial and practice...on that what I'd say, is this taking me away from an audience... but is it the income I could get from this thing allow me to have more time at my art...my ultimate craft and that's, the holy grail that you can improve all the time, your art and your craft.

(Roy, cellist, freelancer musician – 30 years)

These descriptions indicate a delicate balancing act that musicians often undertook between various types of gigs and projects, as well as the sporadic nature of high-paying projects. Additionally, they indicate the decision-making process behind accepting different types of music jobs; musicians weighed factors such as commercial viability, practice time, and the potential impact on their artistic development when acquiring music work.

Moreover, they revealed the varied nature of creative work in classical labour markets and how musicians juggled multiple jobs and participated in creative work that enabled them to attain a minimum income level (income to sustain a life and music career). According to Rosy, compared to session work where earnings were high, in orchestral jobs, earnings were low, somewhere between one hundred fifty (£150) and two hundred fifty pounds (£250) for a concert; nonetheless, they were intellectually stimulating and creatively satisfying. Also, this suggests that unlike session music work, which can be spontaneous and require little rehearsal, orchestral engagements are typically planned well in advance and demand several months of personal practice for upcoming concerts, indicating the contrasting labour processes involved in different creative pursuits.

Classical musicians described holding multiple jobs to supplement their incomes and sustain a music career. Sara and Roy's diary entries reveal their diverse weekly engagements. Sara participated in orchestral work, live-streamed performances, session work, quartet rehearsals, and music teaching. Similarly, Roy's week encompassed music teaching, cello rehearsals, recording sessions, and playing cello for Catholic Mass. These diverse multiple job holdings further illustrate that sustaining a music career may involve relying on diverse work

arrangements that meet financial needs and expand their skills and opportunities for acquiring work.

In addition to holding multiple jobs in the creative work market, most classical musicians in this study described participating in music teaching. Several musicians, including Mike, Sara and Roy, described providing private music lessons. Few classical musicians described mentoring exceptionally talented musicians and occasionally offering master classes. Oliver's diary notes are: *"01 May 2021 Afternoon:6 hour masterclass in Malaga"*. The various diary entries of classical musicians indicate a spectrum of music teaching engagements, varying from occasional masterclasses or mentoring to offering private music lessons regularly. Interestingly, the study found notable variations between women and men in their participation in music teaching.

None of the women classical described offering masterclasses or mentoring exceptionally talented musicians. Instead, they described participating in various unpaid activities to enhance music teaching. Cindy mentioned utilising various pedagogical tools to improve music teaching, while Katy and Macy described providing counselling sessions to pupils to aid them in performing well in their music examination, and Tiffany, Macy, and Becky discussed creating practice scales, converting them into sheet music for pupils, and producing backing tracks for music practices, indicating the differing levels of involvement of women and men in arts-related work, particularly music teaching.

Another finding shows that sustaining a music career in classical genres isn't merely about participating in creative pursuits and music teaching but also about undertaking entrepreneurial tasks. These included tasks such as securing work through agents for those who had them or independently seeking out opportunities for those without representation. *"So, if I say I only want to play these five pieces, then they would implement that...they don't get paid until unless there's a concert, and if there is a concert, they get 20%."* (Oliver, classical). Like Oliver, Henry, and Mike said, their agents were responsible for locating interesting projects and promoting their work to wider audiences, indicating that musicians often collaborate with agents to secure performance opportunities, demonstrating a proactive approach to managing their careers. Additionally, few classical musicians demonstrated their

entrepreneurial spirit by diversifying their creative endeavours beyond the creative work market by exploring avenues such as performing in unconventional settings like hospitals and care homes or using music for organisational development purposes. They described expanding their musical work to support causes they deemed essential, while also finding fulfilment in creatively satisfying music. Four classical musicians described doing music work outside the creative field. The following excerpt is an example of that:

I'm working for the Alzheimer society and an ensemble that's called [anonymised] console. So, we work in care homes, we give sort of little sessions, concerts, it's between sessions and concerts, where we interact with people with Alzheimer's or with dementia...The second one I've been doing is with a system using a school... works in all South America... started as a way to take the kids out of the street. So out of drugs and violence and stuff like that...kids would be going to the music school, instead of being by themselves outside in the street.

(Tiffany, concert violinist, music educator, classical music, freelance – 5 years)

In another example, Jack (classical) described incorporating dance drama and orchestral music to make it appealing to the present generation: *"it just adds another dimension, and this is what I've been thinking for years. We can't just turn up and do a concert; it's just not enough anymore. And so I think societies change all the time, and we have to move, we have to move with them"* (Jack, classical). These projects were a means to reach a wider audience by making classical music more accessible and an approach to sustaining a career while meeting higher goals, such as contributing to society.

Likewise, Sam (classical) described, it was an opportunity to experiment with music, working with management consultants and collaborating with organizational development practitioners to use music for employees. Sam's website has a short video showing glimpses of integrating music into organizational development and change - "power of music to inspire transformation in people, teams and organizations."

These excerpts suggest how classical musicians diversified their activities to sustain their music careers. Instead of solely participating in the creative and arts-related market, they ventured into the non-arts work market, blending their music work with social causes and community outreach programs. Their work practices to sustain a music career involved combining craftsmanship models of work and entrepreneurialism. Jack's emphasis on adding additional dimensions to their concerts to create more immersive and dynamic experiences

that resonate with diverse audiences indicates how classical musicians adapt to contemporary audiences' evolving preferences. Additionally, they demonstrate entrepreneurialism among classical musicians; by taking a proactive approach, classical musicians enrich their careers and remain relevant in the creative work landscape.

Thus far, the section reported freelance classical musicians' participation in artistic labour markets and their work practices to sustain a music career. Despite their common identification as classical musicians, there existed a notable variation in creative work, music teaching, incomes, and their multiple jobs. While some regularly participated in intellectually stimulating projects, others balanced creatively satisfying projects with financially rewarding work, which may or may not align with their creative interests. The absence of uniformly high-paying projects and intellectual work can be attributed to the institutional factors in classical genres - the hierarchical structures within classical music often dictate that only those who can successfully transcend these barriers, earning significant reputation along the way, are able to access creatively fulfilling work consistently.

These hierarchical structures in classical music not only foster competitiveness in acquiring creative jobs but also limit consistent access to such opportunities for less successful individuals, prompting proactive efforts to secure creatively fulfilling work and sustain their careers. A stark reality that emerges in these findings includes the gender disparity within the classical genre, indicating the systemic challenges and barriers impeding women's access to creative opportunities available to their male counterparts. The dominance of men in classical music serves as a key institutional factor within the classical genre, where gender norms have traditionally favoured men over women in creative work. The following sections examine accounts of jazz and pop musicians' for sustaining a music career.

7.3.4. Jazz musicians and artistic labour markets

Sustaining a career in jazz music involved holding multiple jobs across all three artistic labour markets - creative work, arts-related, and non-artistic work. They described performing at various venues, function gigs and musical theatre. For instance, Greg described working with one of London's largest musical theatres as a 'bread and butter' job because it provided him

with a reliable income, regular work, and opportunities for higher earnings. *"So two shows on Wednesday and two on Saturday. And then one day off in a week, then on top of that, if you're doing Sunday shows you get more money, you get double pay for Sunday"* (Greg, jazz). This suggests the demanding nature of music work in musical theatre, or similar productions and the financial incentive provided to performers for working on weekends. According to Greg, the musical theatre job enabled him to settle in London, buy a house, manage a family, and afford childcare, indicating how a stable and adequately compensated job can facilitate individuals to accomplish personal and familial aspirations.

Despite the financial benefits associated with musical theatre, none of the informants, including classical, pop, and jazz musicians, expressed a strong interest in musical theatre except for Greg. This suggests that while financial stability is essential, many musicians may not prioritise less creatively fulfilling opportunities (see Roy's description in the previous section compared to Greg's description). Compared to any other music job, function gigs were available more frequently in the jazz labour market. They enabled musicians to sustain a music career even if they were less satisfying creatively *"it's just completely aesthetically removed from the music that I that I'm passionate about. Preparing music that I'm not necessarily interested in, playing in a way that I don't necessarily want to but need to, for the purposes of the, of the job"* (Leo, jazz). *"if you want to earn a living as a musician, unfortunately, you just have to be around lots of people. So people need entertaining...parties...have engagements...just have to be around people or else it's not gonna work"* (Josh, jazz). These excerpts suggest that jazz musicians must make a trade-off between personal artistic preferences and professional demands.

They may need to meet the expectations of a job, which not only involves performing at events or other social gatherings but also includes engaging with a wide range of people in order to sustain their livelihood and a music career. This suggests how the organisation and production of music may be shaped by the demands of different music scenes and the need to cater to specific audiences or buyers. Moreover, they indicate the significance of community and networks within music scenes. Furthermore, they suggest that while individual artistic desires are essential, they are often mediated by the institutional factors of music genres, where commercial imperatives and audience expectations may shape musicians' decisions in creative work.

Although gigs at various venues were more common than other creative jobs, musicians had to perform many gigs to earn substantial money as the pay per gig was divided among band members and varied. *"I'd get a restaurant gig, but even those, you need at least one other person, maybe you're making \$150 for the two hours that you're there, but you got split"* (Jill, jazz). The excerpt reflects that even if jazz musicians may secure gigs, each individual's share may not be substantial, highlighting the challenge musicians face in earning a sustainable income from gigging.

Moreover, musicians' pay for performances could vary depending on the venue, ranging from monetary compensation at higher-tier venues to non-monetary compensation like dinner at lower-tier ones, indicating jazz musicians' vulnerabilities in jazz labour markets. This scenario reflects institutional factors such as the lack of appropriate jobs that compel jazz musicians to undertake more gigs to make ends meet. These institutional factors within the jazz genre inhibited musicians from earning a sustainable income, leading jazz musicians to work extra hours creating original content during their non-work time (referencing Chapter 5, Non-Work), recording and producing music independently, and disseminating it to various audiences, buyers, markets, and music consumers. As a result, their work and non-work boundaries were blurred by these entrepreneurial activities.

Beyond the creative work market, jazz musicians held multiple jobs in arts-related areas such as music teaching and non-arts market. Greg described holding administrative jobs alongside music teaching and other music-related jobs. Paloma and Jill described providing private music lessons several days a week, adjusting schedules to fit learners' availability, leading to irregular and lengthy working hours, akin to women in classical music. However, the study found that musicians with alternative income sources were not consistently enthusiastic about music teaching.

For instance, Jill said, *"I generally will not work with students under the age of, like, 15, who are not serious... I'm not working with little kids, I, that's not where I find my passion or my joy. I do work with older adults, who are very passionate hobbyists"*. Jill described having multiple income sources, including sync licensing, editing, writing critiques, mentoring, authoring, and songwriting and viewed them as more rewarding than music teaching. Likewise, Josh showed less eagerness to pursue music teaching and instead felt more comfortable with gigging, even if it meant accepting music jobs with unfavourable working conditions, uncooperative colleagues, and inadequate

management. Despite music jobs being less creatively satisfying, they were well-paid and frequently available, and declining gigs could risk future work opportunities; a similar pattern was found among pop musicians (discussed later).

In contrast to classical musicians who expressed a preference for music teaching over function gigs, jazz musicians exhibited varied attitudes. Even if this trend was particularly notable among jazz musicians, it was not universal; many of them resorted to music teaching at lower rates. For example, Greg described teaching music to children in community centres, and Paloma described teaching music in areas where the hourly rate for such services was comparatively lower than in major cities. These examples reflect the complex economic dynamics within the jazz genre, where musicians frequently made trade-offs between financial stability and personal preferences to sustain their music careers. These examples reveal how institutional factors in jazz shape musicians' work practices; the pressure to maintain a steady income may compel musicians to accept subpar working conditions to sustain a music career.

Furthermore, in jazz, musicians held multiple jobs primarily to sustain their livelihoods, contrasting with classical music, where multiple jobs supplemented income and provided avenues for expanding creative work. Unlike classical musicians, jazz and pop musicians often pursued original creative work outside the function gigs, which were the main income source, highlighting the institutional differences between the two genres and shaping musicians' work practices and income sources. Pop musicians' work practices were similar to jazz in certain aspects; nonetheless, several differences are discussed in the next section.

7.3.5. Pop musicians and artistic labour markets

The section reports on pop musicians' work practices to sustain a music career and how the institutional systems in the pop genre influence these work practices. They described participating in various creative and non-arts work markets to sustain a music career and popularise their image to wider audiences.

"I'm playing a covers show like in a pub or a restaurant...annoyingly they're the kind of gigs that that pay...playing covers gigs every weekend it's a miserable cycle of just playing other people's songs" (Ann, pop). It highlights musicians' dissatisfaction and frustration associated with the repetitive nature of playing cover songs at gigs in various venues. It suggests that music jobs can be described as creative work, but the underlying reality is such jobs can be unfulfilling creatively even if they provide regular income. Like Ann, Simon, and Jim mentioned, playing gigs at different venues, sometimes in different cities, and often facing frustrating working conditions such as low pay, unruly crowds, and long working hours to sustain themselves in the creative work market.

Pop musicians occasionally performed original music alongside cover gigs. David reported in his diary performing at a new studio to a live audience, with the music live-streamed. *"4th April 2021, Evening: I arrived at [anonymized]...we got straight on with the gig...I was able to perform several cover songs and original songs for a live-stream audience that peaked at 180 viewers. My largest in a very long time!"* (David's diary notes). Both Ann and David described subsidising ticket prices, opting for low-tiered venues, and even collaborating with local artists as a strategy to attract more audiences for performing original music work. This indicates pop musicians' proactive approach to promoting and sharing their original music with the public and simultaneously highlights the financial constraints and uncertainties pop musicians may experience in sustaining their music careers. While their work practices revealed entrepreneurialism, their vulnerabilities were evident in their need to carefully manage costs while still striving to attract audiences to their original music performances.

Overall, pop musicians' work practices highlighted the critical role that audiences play in their careers. This was particularly evident in their efforts to distinguish themselves through their creative output, active presence on social media platforms, and ventures into creative work beyond music to build a reputation for future opportunities. According to David, he had more avenues to perform because his performances were different from what others generally offered in the market. *"my music is quite a niche...I call it satirical folk...and I think that sets me apart from a few of my peers, and it gives me the opportunity to play quite a few comedy clubs, and comedy festivals"* (David, pop).

Additionally, David described wearing a suit every time he went on stage, ensuring a memorable and distinguished presence. Likewise, Simon described performing songs that were deeply devoted to his faith in God, and Ann described sharing personal stories alongside her original compositions, offering insight into their creation and significance. These examples indicate the various practices pop musicians performed to create distinct identities and deeply connect with audiences. Pop musicians cultivated an audience base as it could enhance their earnings from creative work and contribute to building their image. These examples highlight the institutional factors of the pop genre where broader appeal and profitability shape musicians' work practices.

Moreover, pop musicians extensively participated in social media to promote their work and monetise their content. For example, David and Mac, both pop musicians, described creating and uploading music videos to showcase their songs and attract audiences, indicating the shift in the way pop music is marketed and consumed, highlighting the various possibilities of organising and producing music on a smaller scale and even in virtual spaces.

However, such work practices may have several consequences; on the one hand, social media may present new opportunities for pop musicians to directly engage with their audience, promote their work, be more independent and experience greater autonomy in creative work. On the other hand, it may intensify competition and require pop musicians to adapt to rapidly changing trends to maintain visibility and relevance in the creative work market. Interestingly, the study found that despite the widespread use of social media for promotion, only two classical musicians successfully monetised their online content, indicating that while musicians may maintain a regular online presence, monetising social media content can be challenging for many.

Furthermore, pop musicians undertook low-paid gigs to showcase themselves as busy artists, with their earnings sometimes dipping as low as fifty pounds (£50) per gig. *"I do prioritize having the work, just because it looks better on my reputation to have the work, and a little bit of money... more frequently than, a gig diary... who's just got one gig...even though they might be earning quite a lot from that gig"* (Ann, pop). This perspective reflects a common trend among pop musicians, who may prioritise securing a high volume of gigs over maximising earnings from individual performances. They emphasised the perception of being in high demand, as it contributes to

their reputation and visibility within the music scene. It shows that the perception of being in high demand and consistently booked for gigs holds greater importance in pop music, indicating that within the pop genre, a strong emphasis exists on visibility, reputation, and perceived success.

Summing up, this section discusses musicians' work practices, the creative aspect of their work, earnings, and working conditions. It highlights how institutional factors in musical genres shape musicians' work practices, resulting in variations in what constitutes work across various genres. Additionally, it explores how the intersection between genre and employment shapes perceptions of work and how musicians' practices validate genre conventions in various ways. The findings include: *first*, sustaining a music career as an employed musician involved consistent salaried income, diverse creative opportunities, and fewer unpaid hours compared to freelancers. However, the nature of work varied among employed musicians; despite holding salaried jobs, employment in major orchestras or opera companies differed from music jobs in pubs/clubs or churches.

Second, despite limited creative freedom, a salaried job remains an attractive option for musicians because it allows them to develop creative ideas without financial concerns and explore freelance work to mitigate uncertainties in the creative market. While holding multiple jobs can reduce non-work participation, it enables them to mitigate uncertainties in artistic labour markets. *Third*, the findings indicate variations in musicians' creative work; for some classical musicians, creative work involved almost blending leisurely pursuits into professional projects. For others, creative work involved orchestral and session performances, chamber music work, and occasional gigs - almost balancing between routine and innovative tasks while considering income factors.

Additionally, the findings highlight gender disparities in creative work in the classical labour market. Conversely, in the non-classical genres such as jazz and pop, creative work mainly involved performing at functions and venues, which were frequent but creatively less satisfying. This highlights the hierarchy within musical genres, where genres are valued differently, and the opportunities for creative work may vary accordingly.

Next, the findings revealed disparities in the extent of creative and entrepreneurial activities among musicians in different genres. In classical music, the craftsmanship model prevailed, focusing on dedication to artistic excellence after securing minimum income, while jazz and pop genres exhibited a stronger emphasis on entrepreneurialism. Finally, the study found that sustaining a music career extends beyond participation in the creative work market; instead, most musicians participated in all three artistic labour markets. However, classical musicians predominantly undertook music work in the non-arts market, whereas their jazz and pop counterparts typically performed non-creative work.

In summary, the chapter found a spectrum of approaches among musicians regarding entering the creative field and sustaining their careers. Notably, there were variations in musicians' work practices across different musical genres, reflecting the distinct institutional factors in musical genres and how they shaped musicians' work practices. Musicians in various genres held multiple jobs in different artistic labour markets to manage incomes and pursue music. The findings indicate, *first*, distinct entry requirements across music genres; classical musicians face high entry barriers, needing professional qualifications and advanced musicianship. In contrast, pop experienced low entry barriers and could enter the field without formal education, whereas jazz musicians depended on shared musical knowledge to enter the creative work market.

Second, in classical music, musicians' work practices were centred around craftsmanship alongside entrepreneurialism. In contrast, the non-classical genre musicians exhibited a stronger emphasis on entrepreneurialism. Additionally, the study found hierarchical structures in musical genres, where musicians in the classical genre had access to more creative opportunities and higher incomes than jazz and pop musicians. Moreover, gender disparities were apparent in classical music, where women's participation in high-ranking music jobs was almost negligible.

Furthermore, most musicians participated in all three artistic labour markets for various reasons, including supplementing their incomes, maintaining regularity of pay, expanding creative pursuits and building an image. Classical musicians particularly explored creative

ventures in non-arts labour markets. In contrast, jazz and pop musicians undertook non-creative tasks in these markets.

Overall, this chapter significantly contributes to our understanding of musicians' work practices, spanning from entry into the field to sustaining a music career. It sheds light on how these practices vary across musical genres, highlighting how institutional factors inherent to each musical genre shape musicians' work practices. It underscores the importance of examining musicians' work through a genre lens.

Chapter 8

8. Discussion

8.1. Introduction

This chapter summarises the relevant findings from the preceding chapters. Musicians' work and non-work lives are discussed, and explanations for the observed variation in musicians' working lives are drawn. The research focuses on understanding work and non-work for creative workers, particularly musicians, to provide new insights into these concepts broadly (see Chapter 2, Literature Review).

The investigation contributes to the literature on creative work by demonstrating how institutional factors in musical genres generate labour market variations. These include musicians' entry into the artistic labour market, access to contracts, work arrangements, multiple job holdings, the nature of creative work, and the prevalence of unpaid work to sustain a music career. It highlights the disparities in musicians' experiences of non-work, indicating how institutional factors in musical genres can also affect musicians' lives outside work. This study demonstrates that genre-based disparities in work practices and non-work life are crucial for understanding musicians' working lives, serving as a gateway to broader discussions on the subject.

The study's findings provide valuable insights to advance ongoing discussions within the realm of creative work, including the debates centred around creativity and commerce as well as opinions surrounding craftsmanship and entrepreneurialism. Although some scholars argue that the craftsmanship model of work is being replaced by entrepreneurialism, this study suggests that these shifts should be viewed as a spectrum, where the craftsmanship model and entrepreneurialism intersect in varying proportions across different musical genres. This study does not advocate the idea of a complete shift, as its findings illustrate an interplay of craftsmanship and entrepreneurialism within classical music, while in jazz and pop genres, there is a lean towards entrepreneurial practices. It underscores the importance of employing genre as an analytical lens for investigating creative work and elucidating its impact on various facets of musicians' working lives.

Building on Throsby's (2012) study, which states that creative workers participate in three distinct artistic labour markets (see Chapter 2, Literature Review), this chapter examines crucial aspects of musicians' working lives. Each section follows a consistent structure, beginning with a summary of empirical findings from preceding chapters, followed by a critical analysis and interpretation of these data. It is organised into five main sections. The *first* section, 'Entering the creative field,' examines the entry barriers musicians experience when entering the creative work market. It identifies common challenges across classical, jazz, and pop genres, such as financial constraints and competitive pressures, while also examining distinct entry barriers unique to each genre, illustrating how institutional factors in musical genres can affect musicians working lives.

The *second* section, 'Musicians' work arrangements,' discusses musicians' participation in various artistic labour markets, including their employment types, including full-time or freelance employment, and their multiple job holdings. It analyses the work arrangements that are common among musicians across various genres, highlighting similarities in how musicians navigate employment opportunities. Additionally, it explores how work arrangements can vary significantly between musical genres, thereby influencing musicians' working lives in varied ways.

The *third* section, 'The nature of creative work,' focuses on opportunities for artistic expression, working conditions, and the financial realities experienced by musicians. It critically examines the range of creative work where such activities can be mundane and repetitive for some intellectually stimulating for others. It highlights the overlaps and variations in the nature of creative work for musicians across different genres. A genre-based analysis reveals the complexities and varied experiences of creative work.

The *fourth* section, 'Musicians' unpaid work and non-work - a dual perspective,' examines the diverse additional tasks that musicians must perform to support their work and sustain their careers. This section discusses unpaid work and non-work in a unified manner, aiming to gain insights into the interconnectedness of musicians' work practices and their lives outside work. It elucidates the common tasks across various genres while emphasising how different genre-specific contexts shape the prioritisation of such activities. The fifth main section, 'Gender dynamics in creative work,' discusses the gender disparities within music work. It highlights

that while institutional factors within specific musical genres can shape musicians' working lives, gender dynamics can override genre effects. It critiques persistent challenges faced by women, including limited time for creative pursuits, increased household responsibilities, and the impact of industry norms on personal decisions like marriage and parenthood.

Additionally, the chapter includes three thematic sections aimed at interpreting the findings presented in the main sections. 'Commentary on musicians' working lives' offers critical reflections and interpretations derived from the preceding discussions on various aspects of musicians' working lives. 'Insights into debates in creative work' provides broader perspectives on the challenges within creative work. 'Insights on work and employment' provides perspectives from musicians' working lives to explore broader implications regarding work and employment practices beyond the creative sector.

8.2. Entering the creative field

This section analyses the various entry barriers musicians may experience when entering the creative field. It discusses common barriers across classical, jazz, and pop genres, such as limited access to well-paid jobs, financial constraints and challenges in acquiring full-time employment at the start of their careers. Additionally, it examines unique barriers specific to each genre, demonstrating how genre-specific conventions and norms (institutional factors) can affect musicians' entry into the field and shape their working lives.

Despite the unique barriers, there are common entry challenges that musicians may experience when entering the field. Regardless of their genres, most musicians may participate in similar music jobs, including low-paid music jobs such as performing gigs at various functions and music teaching; classical musicians also perform some low-paid orchestral jobs, and some of them participate in auditions and competitions to secure high-ranking jobs. Also, none of the musicians in this study acquired full-time employment at the start of their careers; instead, they had alternative work arrangements (freelance jobs, temporary jobs or contractual jobs) to support them while they looked for full-time jobs in music companies. These findings highlight the common entry barriers musicians may experience in the creative field, reflecting broader challenges of acquiring work in the creative

work market. They exemplify a broader trend among creative workers: the rise of the gig economy, the decline of stable employment, and the necessity of holding multiple jobs from the beginning of one's career. This trend underscores the need to develop enduring skills such as adaptability to navigate the modern job market.

In examining musicians' entry barriers, a genre-based analysis proves vital, revealing that these barriers vary widely among genres - ranging from no entry barriers, for example, an artist uploading music videos on various online platforms, to high barriers where artists must demonstrate successful musicianship to acquire a music job. In the case of classical music, the entry barriers are particularly pronounced. Here, musicians must demonstrate a high level of musicianship to compete in the classical labour market. Additionally, they must face other challenges, such as auditions and competitions, to secure prestigious positions in music organisations, indicating a more competitive entry process in classical music.

However, it is important to note that participation in these competitions within the classical genre is often limited by considerable financial barriers, highlighting how socio-economic factors can further exacerbate the barriers to entry into the classical labour market (creative work market). Consequently, such financial constraints can potentially limit opportunities for talented individuals who lack the financial means to participate in these competitions or acquire high-ranking jobs. Moreover, the emphasis on formal qualifications and the high cost of training creates barriers to entry, especially for individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, reinforcing existing inequalities within the classical labour market. Access to resources for auditions or competitions can play a crucial role in accessing work opportunities.

In contrast, genres like pop may allow for easier market entry. Not possessing a professional music degree does not hinder individuals from becoming pop musicians or accessing opportunities such as performing at various venues, playing cover music at functions and local gigs, and even uploading original music and music videos on social media, where popularity depends on audiences' reception, indicating lower entry barriers in pop music. In pop music, a more accessible entry into the creative work market can be attributed to institutional factors such as audience preferences, markets, and industry norms (see Chapter 4, Exploring Genre

Distinctions). Unlike classical, where skills such as technical proficiency, sight-reading and interpretation are valued, pop music values skills such as songwriting, stage performance, audience interaction and image of an artist (brand image) many of which can be developed outside formal education, enabling individuals to enter the creative field.

Unlike classical music, which demands formal training even at the entry-level, pop music offers more flexible pathways to entry and success. While the lower barrier to entry may facilitate diversity and inclusivity, success in the pop music industry still relies on access to venues and audience engagement, posing challenges for those without the means to self-promote or lacking connections within the industry, perpetuating disparities based on access to appropriate networks and resources.

Meanwhile, in jazz, although musicians may typically possess professional training, their pathway to acquiring performance jobs is not solely dependent on formal qualifications or auditions. Instead, the study reveals the importance of informal networks and connections within the jazz community, where musicians prioritise personal relationships and compatibility with band ideologies over formal audition processes. Such emphasis on networking and cooperation indicates the institutional factors in jazz, where success often hinges on the collective dynamics and musical synergy within a band. It also highlights that jazz musicians may face institutional barriers related to integrating into established band dynamics and ideologies, indicating how connections and adherence to genre conventions may impact access to opportunities within jazz, potentially excluding those who do not align with established norms or lack access to such networks.

Across classical, pop, and jazz genres, musicians face distinct entry barriers shaped by genre conventions, industry norms, markets, and audience expectations. Classical musicians often navigate rigorous audition processes, while pop musicians may benefit from more flexible entry pathways. In contrast, jazz musicians may rely heavily on informal networks and band dynamics, prioritising personal relationships over formal qualifications. These genre-specific barriers underscore how institutional factors within musical genres can influence musicians' entry into the creative field. Examining the unique entry barriers of each genre illuminates the diverse positions classical, pop, and jazz occupy within music. Classical music may stand at the

apex of formality and technical prowess, with high entry barriers characterised by stringent demands. In contrast, pop may be positioned on the opposite end with low entry barriers characterised by accessibility and versatility. Jazz appears to occupy a unique position somewhere between pop and classical genres, blending elements of technical proficiency and spontaneity.

These variations in entry barriers across classical, pop, and jazz genres draw attention to correlations between educational attainment, skill acquisition, and access to work opportunities within the creative field. They indicate that while education can equip individuals with essential skills, entering the creative work market may require a combination of education, skill, entrepreneurial acumen, and interpersonal connections tailored to the specific demands of each genre. Moreover, these disparities reflect the specific technical and creative demands inherent in each genre, where classical may value competition, proficiency, and formal education under mentors; jazz may emphasise cooperation, improvisation, and community ties; pop may prioritise commercial appeal, engagement, and performance skills.

Furthermore, these disparities highlight the unequal access to music jobs among musicians. In genres with high entry barriers, aspiring musicians may require substantial financial resources to access positions in prestigious institutions, which can bolster their careers. Such barriers may limit access primarily to individuals from affluent backgrounds or those who secure scholarships or financial aid. Conversely, genres with lower entry barriers may offer more accessible music jobs, albeit often with lower pay and limited opportunities for original creative work. These findings highlight the structural issues in the creative work market where financial constraints can impact one's chances of entering the creative field.

Understanding musicians' entry barriers offers broader insights into how various musical genres and their distinct entry barriers shape musicians' entry into the creative field. It provides a detailed view of the inequalities when entering the creative field. These findings represent an important advancement in understanding institutional factors within musical genres, empirically demonstrating how these factors can affect musicians' entry into the creative work market and shape their work practices and impact their career trajectories. The next section, 'Musicians' work arrangements,' examines musicians' participation in various

artistic labour markets and their multiple job holdings, thereby shedding light on the complexities of sustaining a music career.

8.3. Musicians' work arrangements

This section analyses musicians' participation in various artistic labour markets (see Chapter 2, Literature Review), encompassing both traditional employment and freelance roles, along with managing multiple job holdings. It discusses the commonalities in musicians' work arrangements across genres, highlighting how they navigate employment opportunities. Additionally, it focuses on the unique variations in musicians' work arrangements across different musical genres, demonstrating how institutional factors in musical genres can affect their working lives. Moreover, it highlights the gender dynamics inherent within these work arrangements.

Musicians' work arrangements reveal how economic considerations may dictate their work arrangements. It is generally accepted that creative workers hold multiple jobs (see Chapter 2, Literature Review). This study found a similar pattern among musicians across various genres who frequently juggle multiple jobs, including performing gigs, teaching music, and engaging in freelance work for financial security while continuing to engage in creative pursuits. Another notable trend among musicians across various genres, whether freelance or full-time, includes their participation in music teaching. Except for one woman musician employed at an opera company who faced constraints due to childcare responsibilities, most musicians offer music lessons privately or on hourly contracts in schools. Music teaching serves as a reliable source of income, highlighting musicians' need for financial security. It also underscores the significance of music teaching as a dependable income source within creative work. Moreover, it reflects the broader industry norms in creative work where creative workers may combine artistic pursuits with educational roles to support themselves financially.

Freelance musicians, in particular, prioritise jobs that guarantee a minimum income to sustain their livelihood, regardless of the musical genre. In contrast, those with full-time positions benefit from a steady income, allowing them more financial security compared to their

freelance counterparts. However, a full-time job at a large music institution such as an opera/orchestra may not deter musicians from holding multiple jobs; many musicians may undertake additional jobs to pursue parallel careers, explore alternative avenues, or satisfy unfulfilled creative aspirations. This highlights that the prevalence of multiple job holdings within creative work is derived from both financial imperatives and aspirations for creative fulfilment. It also underscores the relevance of having a steady income to pursue artistic goals. These commonalities in musicians' work arrangements across genres reflect the broader economic conditions in creative work., where musicians must grapple with the challenges of balancing artistic authenticity with the imperative of financial security.

Despite these commonalities in musicians' work arrangements, the study reveals genre-specific disparities, encompassing variations in employment opportunities, the composition of multiple job holdings, and diverse approaches to holding multiple jobs. Genre serves as a vital analytical category for understanding musicians' work arrangements due to its ability to elucidate the specific economic, social, and cultural contexts within which musicians operate (see Chapter 2, Literature Review). By acknowledging these genre-specific work arrangements, the study offers valuable insights into how institutional factors in musical genres shape musicians' work arrangements, highlighting the importance of using genres as a lens to examine creative work. Also, it provides perspectives on the evolving nature of work arrangements in creative work.

In examining musicians' work arrangements, a genre-based analysis reveals that classical musicians may have access to a wider range of job opportunities within the creative labour market. They may secure traditional positions within established institutions such as orchestras and opera companies, which provide a semblance of stability. In contrast, jazz and pop musicians predominantly work as freelancers, relying on gig-to-gig contracts with various venues, indicating a more transient and dynamic employment landscape. The work arrangements for pop and jazz musicians appear more fluid and precarious, highlighting their vulnerability in the labour market and the necessity for adaptability. This is not to suggest that all musicians in the classical genre have stable work arrangements; those in full-time positions with large orchestras and opera companies may experience more stability compared to their freelance counterparts, who depend on multiple concerts and other music-related work for

their livelihood, necessitating adaptability to varying labour market conditions. It can be inferred that musicians in the classical genre may benefit from more stable and structured employment opportunities, underscoring the significance of traditional employment in mitigating the uncertainties of the creative labour market.

In this study, few classical musicians were employed in large orchestras and opera companies, whereas a jazz musician was employed at a church and a pop musician at a club. This highlights the significant differences in employment types, even within full-time roles. For classical musicians, employment in well-established institutions can offer a structured working condition, including regular work hours and pay. In contrast, for jazz and pop musicians employment in venues such as churches and clubs indicates more precarious and less predictable working conditions.

Moreover, classical musicians may have more stable jobs due to their involvement in large-scale music productions and institutional support dedicated to perfecting technical skills and adherence to established traditions. In contrast, jazz and pop musicians must quickly adapt to shifting audience preferences and industry trends, highlighting how institutional factors in musical genres can shape work arrangements. These differences in work arrangements also suggest the broader disparities in job security between musicians in the classical and non-classical genres. These institutional factors in musical genres produce varied labour market outcomes, resulting in different work arrangements. While genre-specific institutional factors lead to varying outcomes in the labour market, it is important not to conclude that the limited institutional support in genres like jazz and pop inevitably prevents musicians from achieving higher growth or professional success. In contrast, in classical music, musicians may benefit from significant institutional support, but accessing such institutional support requires overcoming the high entry barriers discussed previously.

Furthermore, examining musicians' work arrangements reveals significant variations in the composition of multiple job holdings, indicating the disparities in musicians' income sources while also revealing the diverse approaches adopted in holding multiple jobs. Classical musicians predominantly earn from creative activities such as performances and compositions as well as from music teaching. (arts-related). In contrast, jazz and pop

musicians frequently rely on income from a combination of creative and non-creative work alongside music teaching (arts-related), indicating the disparities in their work arrangements and income sources. These differences in income sources reflect the distinct work arrangements, economic realities and the diverse challenges musicians may experience in sustaining a career in the arts. Moreover, these differences suggest that classical musicians may typically adhere to established paths for income generation. Conversely, in genres such as jazz and pop, musicians may follow an entrepreneurial approach toward income generation, which enables them to continue pursuing creative work amidst fluctuating market conditions and the paucity of creative jobs.

In examining musicians' multiple job holdings, it appears that the rationale for holding multiple jobs can differ across various genres, reflecting distinct priorities within each genre. In classical music, those employed with orchestra and opera companies hold multiple jobs to cultivate a freelance career alongside their existing employment, diversify their portfolio and enhance their professional standing in the freelance job market. Such a trend toward holding additional jobs indicates musicians' desire for creative freedom and flexibility, as well as the need to maintain a parallel career as a backup.

Moreover, the aspiration to enhance one's professional domain may lead to reduced participation in non-work, blurring boundaries between work and non-work (discussed later in the chapter) and increased competition in the classical labour market. For freelance classical musicians, holding multiple jobs is a necessity due to the lack of a steady income. They pursue multiple job holdings to cultivate their artistic prowess and maintain secure financial security. The disparity in the rationale for holding multiple jobs between employed and freelance classical musicians emphasises the economic vulnerability faced by those without institutional backing (full-time job). It demonstrates that classical musicians gravitate toward artistic excellence alongside maintaining financial security. Such drive towards artistic perfection is nurtured and reinforced by music colleges during the formative stages of learning and training and later by music institutions that employ classical musicians. Their rationale for multiple job holdings reflects features of the craftsmanship models of work.

Meanwhile, in non-classical genres such as pop and jazz, multiple job holdings are primarily driven by the need for financial security, widening professional networks, and strengthening of one's reputation and image. In jazz, a musician employed at a church held multiple jobs in the creative and non-creative fields to supplement income from the church job, expand networks within and outside the creative field to seize job opportunities and as a contingency against the risk of losing their full-time position, indicating the precarious nature of full-time employment in music, particularly in settings like churches where demand for music services can vary. It highlights that even in apparently secure full-time positions, musicians may need to supplement their income and prepare for potential job loss by diversifying their income sources through multiple job holdings.

Similarly, freelance jazz musicians share a common rationale with their employed counterparts, prioritising financial security through diversified income streams from creative and non-creative jobs, (even if the compensation is modest) and staying visible in the creative work market. Such visibility is deemed crucial for networking, building a reputation, and securing future opportunities. In jazz, the rationale for multiple job holdings reflects features of entrepreneurialism.

Pop musicians exhibit similarities to jazz musicians in their approach to holding multiple jobs, reflecting entrepreneurial characteristics. They prioritise expanding and strengthening their image through a variety of creative jobs not limited to music and various non-creative jobs. In pop music, the emphasis on brand enhancement is reinforced within the commercially driven pop music industry, where the image of an artist plays a considerable role in achieving success by attracting and retaining a fan base and driving sales of both music and merchandise. Consequently, pop musicians may hold multiple jobs that facilitate the expansion of their brand image beyond music, relying on earnings from both creative and non-creative work to sustain their presence in the competitive creative market, even when compensation may be modest. These variations indicate the relevance of institutional factors within musical genres that can guide musicians' approach to holding multiple jobs. It demonstrates how musicians' work arrangements may fall within a spectrum of entrepreneurialism and the craftsmanship model of work.

Classical musicians' focus on honing artistic mastery is guided by institutional frameworks that prioritise preserving established traditions. Similarly, in jazz and pop genres, institutional factors manifest differently. For instance, jazz musicians may navigate multiple jobs amidst fluctuating demand for music jobs and changing audience preferences. Likewise, pop musicians may navigate within a commercially driven industry where image, audience perception, and market trends may shape their multiple job holdings. These institutional factors not only impact musicians' decisions regarding multiple job holdings but also manifest as distinct work arrangements.

This section provides a detailed understanding of musicians' work arrangements and how these work arrangements evolve within the realm of creative work. By examining how musicians approach multiple jobs and balance diverse income streams, the study illuminates broader trends within the artistic labour market. It represents a significant advancement in understanding how institutional factors within musical genres shape musicians' work arrangements and multiple job holdings.

Furthermore, analysing musicians' work arrangements within artistic labour markets reveals notable gender dynamics. Men predominantly occupy positions in large-scale symphony orchestras, while women tend to focus on producing small-scale creative works in the arts-related market within classical music (the gender dynamics are discussed separately). The next section, 'Nature of creative work,' examines musicians' artistic pursuits, the working environments, and the financial realities they may experience in pursuing a music career.

8.4. Nature of creative work

The nature of creative work encompasses more than just artistic expression. It includes musicians' experiences of varied working conditions and financial realities that shape their working lives. This section critically examines what it means to participate in creative work, where the description of creative work may include activities that may be mundane and repetitive for some musicians while being intellectually stimulating for others, indicating the underutilisation of skills. Musicians produce creative outputs within genre conventions; for

instance, classical compositions are produced amidst a backdrop of orchestral grandeur. In contrast, jazz and other experimental music compositions may be produced in local music scenes, in pubs and even online. Creative workers (musicians) have a common aspiration - a desire for creative expression.

Despite the shared aspiration, musicians may find it challenging to participate in various genres due to genre boundaries, indicating that institutional factors in musical genres not only nurture creativity but it may also stifle creative workers from exploring other areas in music or expanding their creative ideas. This section highlights the overlaps as well as the variations in the nature of creative work for musicians across different genres. A genre-based analysis is relevant when discussing the nature of creative work because genre guides musicians' instrumentation preferences, how they produce creative outputs, and how musicians establish their identities and connect with specific audiences. Analysing the nature of creative work through the genre lens can discern patterns and trends in creative work.

Most creative workers (musicians) enter the creative field with an aspiration for artistic expression, including the pursuit of perfection in interpreting musical scores within classical music, exploring improvisation in jazz, or integrating original compositions with narrative in pop. The intrinsic desire for creative expression, establishing a meaningful connection with the audiences and peers alongside making a living from selling creative outputs, emerges as a prominent theme. Also, it indicates that creative work is not a solitary profession but involves other individuals (here, audiences) who can appreciate the art form.

This suggests that regardless of the musical genre, the nature of creative work revolves around producing original creative outputs, collaborating with various industry partners, establishing an identity /image among audiences and making a living out of it. However, the study's findings reveal considerable variations in the nature of creative work for musicians in various genres. Examining their creative work through the genre lens reveals that the composition of creative work varied for musicians in various genres. Also, there were disparities in their earnings from creative work and their working conditions, underscoring the relevance of deploying genres to understand the nature of creative work.

In classical music, the scope of creative work may range from performing at an orchestra or performing technically demanding compositions to performing session music using click tracks. It may also include writing musical compositions, creating music for films or music library and even writing music scores for academic purposes, indicating the diversity of creative opportunities within classical music. It highlights the varied skills that classical musicians may need to seamlessly transition across the breadth of creative opportunities available to them.

In contrast, in jazz, musicians may struggle to find avenues for original work where improvisation and interaction with other performers - the quintessential elements of jazz can be attained. Instead, jazz musicians may resort to performing function gigs and performing ad hoc music in pubs and restaurants (repetitive music) for entertaining guests and only occasionally perform original music work, indicating the limited opportunities available to musicians in jazz labour markets. Similar to jazz, creative work for pop musicians may include performing at various events such as weddings, corporate functions, or private parties and performing original music work only sporadically. While these gigs may seem mundane and repetitive, they are relevant because they are income sources for many musicians in the jazz and pop labour markets.

These findings demonstrate a distinct contrast in the composition of creative work in classical, jazz and pop, where classical music enables musicians to participate in intellectually stimulating projects, whereas musicians in jazz and pop must accept more routine and less captivating work. It illustrates the variations in scope for artistic expression, where jazz and pop musicians are constrained by commercial pressures to produce music, whereas classical musicians may experience more artistic autonomy. However, it may be inappropriate to assume that classical musicians always enjoy greater artistic autonomy compared to their jazz and pop counterparts.

While the breadth of creative opportunities available in classical may appear wider compared to jazz and pop, such opportunities are accessible to a select few who either have achieved significant professional stature or succeed through competitive channels. Also, it is relevant to note that jazz also provides opportunities for creative work where musicians can

experiment with music and participate in improvisational music-making; however, such opportunities are fewer and financially less rewarding. As a result, even when musicians undertake such work, they may find themselves underpaid or even working for free. Moreover, even if jazz musicians were professionally trained like their counterparts in classical music, high virtuosity in jazz music may not lead to exciting projects that further result in skill underutilisation.

Before moving forward, it is relevant to consider the experiences of musicians employed in orchestras or opera companies, where music-making is the primary occupation. For such musicians, creative work involved participating in various creative projects, sometimes performing artistically fulfilling jobs along with steady pay. Unlike freelance musicians, where creative work includes balancing between routine creative jobs and artistically fulfilling jobs, being employed with large music institutions provides not only financial security but also more participation in creative work. However, such jobs may impose restrictions on creative expression, indicating how music institutions can facilitate and constrain musicians' experiences of creative work.

Additionally, income figures gleaned from the study indicate wide disparities in the incomes of classical, jazz and pop musicians. In classical music, earnings may range between £150-£250 for orchestral performances; they may earn around £1000 for composing musical scores, and session recording work may yield close to £900 for a full day's session, indicating the diverse earnings available to musicians within the classical labour market. In contrast, pop singers may receive as little as £50 per hour for performing original compositions, and jazz musicians may be compensated in kind or expected to accept lower pay, indicating a stark contrast in the earnings of classical jazz and pop musicians. The absence of equitable remuneration not only perpetuates financial insecurity but also undermines the intrinsic value of an art form.

These variations in earnings may be attributed to the institutional factors in musical genres where the classical genre may offer more financial security than jazz and pop because of greater institutional support in classical music compared to greater dependence on markets in jazz and pop. Also, it may appear that compensation structures are more formalised in classical than the non-classical genres. However, it is relevant to note that while formal

compensation structures may exist in jazz and pop, they are not always adhered to, and musicians in the non-classical genres may accept lower pay or no pay to seize opportunities for original creative projects. Here, it is important to acknowledge that high earnings in classical music are typically reserved for a select few; nonetheless, the high earnings in classical music do not diminish the persistent income inequalities in various musical genres. These inequalities in musicians' earnings can illuminate how classical musicians may have an edge over their counterparts in jazz and pop in participating in non-work activities. It can partly elucidate how classical musicians have the means to take occasional breaks from work and enjoy various leisure pursuits, including vacations. In contrast, jazz and pop musicians participate in instrumental hobbies or combine holidays with music work.

While most musicians across various genres grapple with a range of working conditions, encompassing irregular and unsociable hours and inappropriate work settings, these conditions can vary significantly depending on the genre. In classical music, where formal concert settings, knowledgeable audiences and large-scale music production can be the norm, jazz and pop music can be produced in smaller venues such as pubs, restaurants, and private functions among audiences who may or may not be attuned to the music being played.

Unlike classical, jazz and pop musicians may perform at venues where the distinction between foreground and background music blurs. Even if such workspaces offer opportunities for original music work, they may also present challenges in capturing the attention of audiences more attuned to socialising than attentive listening. Similarly, pop musicians may frequently perform in pubs and restaurants, where the working environment can present unique challenges, such as unruly audiences and unpredictable working conditions, which can negatively impact the quality of performances and jeopardise the safety and well-being of both musicians and audiences. These examples suggest how institutional factors in musical genres, such as audiences, markets and industry norms, intersect, leading to variations in musicians working conditions, where classical musicians are guided to conform to traditional practices, whereas jazz and pop musicians are encouraged to foster an interactive relationship with listeners.

This section provides detailed insights into the nature of creative work by demonstrating the commonalities and variations across different music genres. It examines the inequalities in musicians' incomes, the composition of creative work and the unequal working conditions musicians may experience while needing essential skills such as adaptability and endurance to sustain a career in the arts. This section illustrates that musicians are versatile in their respective genres; for instance, classical musicians transition between high-end classical performances and session work, jazz musicians may navigate between improvisational, experimental, and ad hoc music and pop musicians may juggle between performing cover songs and performing original compositions, highlighting the common challenges and unique demands in each genre.

Moreover, a genre-based analysis discerns the distinctive competitive landscape within each genre. While competition may appear more pronounced in the classical genre, it may be erroneous to conclude that jazz and pop are less competitive. Musicians in these genres may accept lower-paying gigs to showcase original work, maintain visibility in the creative work market, identify as busy artists and safeguard future work opportunities. As discussed in the earlier sections, the entry barrier in classical music may be higher than in non-classical genres. However, it would be inaccurate to underestimate the competitive structures in genres such as jazz and pop, given that collaboration is crucial in jazz. These findings mark an important advancement in understanding how institutional factors in musical genres can impact the nature of creative work. The next section, 'Musicians unpaid work and non-work: a dual perspective', discusses the range of activities musicians must perform to support their work and sustain a career in the arts, particularly highlighting the intersection between personal and professional activities.

8.5. Musicians' unpaid work and non-work: a dual perspective

This section focuses on musicians' lives outside artistic labour markets to get a fuller picture of musicians' working lives, examining the additional tasks musicians undertake to support their work and careers. Outside artistic labour markets, musicians may participate in various unpaid work that align with their professional commitments and enable them to secure work

(see Chapter 6, Unpaid Work). Also, they may participate in other activities such as leisure and family duties - non-work activities that are necessary to support life (see Chapter 5, Non-Work). The findings indicate that musicians' unpaid work is aimed at supporting current work arrangements and securing future opportunities. Also, musicians' non-work activities are instrumental; hobbies are pursued with the intention of enhancing professional prospects, family time may be used to gain feedback on creative outputs, and family time may be compromised to include unpaid work, demonstrating how creative workers (musicians) personal and professional interests may intersect leading to a scenario which can be termed as 'working to work'. Therefore, this section discusses various unpaid work and non-work in a unified manner, illuminating the interconnectedness of musicians' work practices and their lives outside of work.

Unfortunately, musicians in various genres are continually engaged in a phenomenon that this study terms 'working to work'. The term 'working to work' conveys the idea that creative workers such as musicians must continually perform tasks that can facilitate their participation in various artistic labour markets, indicating how labour market conditions can compel individuals to perform additional work. These tasks may include self-promotion, networking, skill development, and other activities that are necessary to continue professional work and sustain a career in the arts but may not yield immediate returns both monetarily or even as new work opportunities.

Musicians may experience a comparable 'working to work' scenario regardless of their musical genres and employment; however, their experiences may differ due to the structural differences inherent in their work environments (discussed later in the section). While for freelance musicians, it may seem like a continual effort to sustain their creative pursuits and livelihood, even musicians with stable employment, steady pay and structured work hours may take on additional work outside employment for artistic fulfilment and stay ahead in their field, indicating the commonalities among various musicians.

Musicians across various genres allocate time for activities such as networking and socialising with industry colleagues, building connections with wider audiences, performing various administrative tasks, pursuing hobbies and learning new skills and participating in other

developmental activities aimed at enhancing work opportunities and personal accomplishments. Despite these commonalities, genre-specific differences exist, reflecting distinct genre expectations. Using genre as an analytical framework is relevant for discerning these differences in activities and gaining insights into musicians working lives.

Moving to the aspect of **networking**, musicians across various genres view networking as one of the important areas of their working lives. Almost every musician spoke spontaneously about the importance of building, maintaining, and using networks of friends, industry colleagues, and acquaintances to find jobs, showcase their musicality and acquire references because references can be critical to acquiring and securing jobs. Despite these commonalities, the findings suggest variations in the diversity of musicians' networks across classical, jazz and pop genres. Specifically, the composition of musicians' networks reflects genre-specific disparities. For instance, in classical music, musicians build connections with composers, conductors, and fellow performers within the orchestral and academic spheres, attend various rehearsals and networking events, and even maintain contacts with their mentors and other seasoned musicians renowned for their expertise, relationships forged during their formative training years to secure opportunities for performance jobs, possible collaborations or receive recommendations for prestigious positions within orchestras or academic institutions.

In contrast, in jazz, musicians may build networks with popular bands and band members/leaders, participate in jazz scenes to showcase their skills and build rapport with other musicians, and secure future gigs, recording sessions, or partnerships in band formations. Meanwhile, pop musicians may develop connections with recording artists and other singers for collaboration and reciprocation, and even with event organisers to expand their reach, increase their fan base and secure opportunities for original music work. These variations in the composition and range of musicians' networks across genres suggest that while building networks is important, it is more important to consider the people with whom musicians form relationships, indicating additional work on the part of musicians.

The composition of musicians' networks is relevant because it can affect their access to various opportunities, exchange of ideas and experiences for artistic development, open avenues for

career advancements, and also serve as a medium for professional support and feedback. Focusing on the composition of networks involves targeted networking and maintaining meaningful connections and not surface-level interactions. Institutional factors in musical genres shape these networks. The norms and conventions in different genres guide who musicians connect with, thereby shaping the composition of their networks.

As for **socialising**, musicians across various genres acknowledge socialising as an integral part of their lives not only for its contribution to personal well-being but also for its impact on their music work. Most musicians agree that socialising offers a space for leisure, relaxation, and genuine camaraderie, enriching their personal lives alongside their careers, suggesting the commonalities among musicians in various genres regarding the importance of socialising. However, while socialising is widely accepted as relevant for personal well-being, the findings suggest differing views among musicians across genres. Classical musicians differentiate socialising with industry colleagues as instrumental, whereas socialising with family and friends outside music as leisure. Conversely, jazz and pop musicians may not have such demarcations. Unlike their classical counterparts, musicians in jazz and pop perceive socialising as a cooperative way to engage with colleagues, share work-related information, and enjoy non-work time—a vital aspect of a musician's life, indicating the purpose of socialising was not limited to furthering their careers but also about building a supportive community and fostering camaraderie within the music scene.

It is notable that musicians across various genres mentioned meeting industry colleagues for drinks and dinner. However, such social interactions can serve different purposes for musicians in various genres. These variations can be attributed to the institutional factors in music genres, where classical is viewed as a competitive environment compared to jazz and pop, which is perceived as more collaborative and community-oriented. As a result, musicians in classical may view socialising as a strategic move for career advancement whereas musicians in the non-classical genres do not.

However, such a simplistic view of categorising socialising as a strategic or non-strategic move may hinder a deeper understanding of the complexities of socialising among musicians, such as integrating personal and professional interests. Musicians in jazz and pop may experience

time and resource constraints impacting their ability to cultivate relationships beyond work. As a result, they may incorporate socialising and leisure into their work environment. Moreover, for musicians, socialising is more than casual interaction; it is additional work related to advancing one's career, staying informed about industry developments, promoting oneself, pitching ideas and seeking collaborations alongside integrating personal and professional interests.

Similarly, musicians across genres acknowledge the importance of a strong social media presence to build **connections with wider audiences** and stay relevant in the professional sphere. Consequently, they may use various social media platforms and websites as a means to expand their networks, reach out to wider audiences, and showcase their talents and creative outputs to carve out a unique identity within the professional landscape. Despite consensus on the importance of social media presence and using websites to expand one's network or reach out to audiences, the findings suggest that not all musicians across genres participate in such activities in similar ways. For instance, pop and jazz musicians may dedicate many hours each day to social media to maintain an online presence, yet they struggle to secure original music work. Musicians employed with large music institutions may have limited online participation.

Meanwhile, in classical music, those in the early stages of their career may mirror their pop counterparts by actively engaging with audiences, consistently churning out content, and seeking digital validation, whereas more experienced musicians may participate to a lesser extent, indicating variations in musicians' engagement with online activities. It suggests that while musicians across genres may undertake additional work of maintaining social media presence and reaching wider audiences, even if such efforts enhance their visibility, it may not always translate into monetised work opportunities or projects.

Additionally, it raises doubts about the widely held belief among musicians that extensive online engagement guarantees success, highlighting the need for a more nuanced understanding of how online presence translates into tangible career outcomes in creative work. While these digital tools may enhance musicians' visibility, enabling them to connect with diverse audiences, they may also instil the fear of missing out or falling behind peers,

compelling musicians to remain perpetually tethered to their devices, leading to issues related to work-life balance and mental well-being.

As for **administrative activities**, they are indispensable for musicians' operational efficiency. While such activities may appear secondary to creative work, their absence could lead to disorganisation, financial loss, and missed opportunities. Therefore, regardless of musical genre or employment status, musicians take on additional administrative tasks such as maintenance of instruments and music notes, tracking expenses and bookkeeping, regular correspondence with prospective venues for work opportunities, managing bookings and logistics for travel, keeping records of payments pending and received to ensure systematic functioning and support their creative endeavours.

While some musicians may handle their administrative tasks, others may rely on their teams for such activities, indicating that even if administrative tasks are indispensable, musicians' resourcefulness (financial resources) can affect their participation in such activities. For instance, affluent musicians can hire professional help and delegate time-consuming administrative tasks to them while focusing more on their creative work. Conversely, financially constrained musicians may have to manage all aspects of their careers independently, which not only consumes their time and energy but may affect their overall creative output.

Moreover, because affluent musicians can hire various administrative professional services, they can access specialised services to enhance their visibility in the market, seek exciting projects, and manage various logistical matters related to their work. In contrast, those who handle administrative tasks themselves might lack specialised skills in different areas, putting them at a disadvantage. Such disparities between affluent and financially constrained musicians perpetuate inequalities within the realm of creative work. It may also limit equitable access to various opportunities and resources necessary to sustain a career in the arts.

It is notable that while musicians across genres undertake various administrative tasks, the findings reveal variations, particularly in planning and scheduling activities among classical, jazz, and pop musicians, reflecting distinct attitudes within each genre. In classical, musicians

may take an almost rigid approach to planning and scheduling where plans are centered around hours of music practice, new music learned, and their accomplishments and shortcomings related to their performances and skills. Conversely, in jazz, musicians may take an almost fluid approach to planning and scheduling where plans are centered around activities such as chasing venues for music jobs and payments, music practice (only two jazz musicians mentioned) and meeting job demands that may arise. In jazz, planning and scheduling seems to hinge on market demands. Similarly, pop musicians' approach to planning and scheduling is more like jazz. However, their plans are centred around marketing, branding, and media visibility.

These variations in musicians' planning and scheduling suggest that, unlike jazz and pop, classical musicians may adhere to a meticulous regimen indicating their commitment to performing high standards of music. The disciplined practice schedules and adherence to established norms are prioritised over other activities, reflecting their slant toward a craftsmanship model of work. In non-classical genres, musicians' commitment to expanding market presence and reaching more audiences suggests a slant toward entrepreneurialism. However, it is erroneous to conclude that jazz and pop musicians lack commitment to musical excellence because their planning and scheduling hinges on market demands. Instead, it is imperative to focus on the institutional factors in these genres that shape musicians planning and scheduling activities.

Moreover, these variations may appear as contrasting priorities among musicians in various genres, suggesting that pop and jazz musicians may prioritise commercial success at the expense of musical excellence, which may not be the case. Musicians across various genres enter the creative field not only for commercial success but to fulfil creative aspirations (see earlier sections in the chapter). Therefore, it is relevant not to oversimplify the planning and scheduling activities as musicians' priorities but to consider them in the context of the genres in which they participate and how the institutional factors can impact musicians' administrative activities.

In addition to these activities, musicians across various musical genres may participate in other **developmental activities**, such as attending workshops and masterclasses with senior

musicians; experienced musicians may enrol in music or vocal lessons to uphold their professional standards and make music using innovative techniques. They may learn new skills and musical styles, master new instruments, or experiment with recording and production technologies that not only enrich their artistic expression but may enhance their versatility as artists and expand their appeal to diverse audiences. Musicians across genres valued these developmental activities for their potential to create possibilities for work as well as personal growth.

However, a notable aspect is their resemblance with hobbies, making it challenging to discern whether musicians are pursuing hobbies and participating in non-work or whether it is additional work aimed at securing future opportunities. Moreover, even if certain activities are pursued as hobbies, they serve instrumental purposes, indicating that musicians undertake developmental activities to enhance their skills and benefit their work in some capacity. While these developmental activities are additional work, they may not always translate into work opportunities. However, they may still contribute to long-term artistic growth, provide networking opportunities, diversify skill sets to build a robust portfolio and provide personal fulfilment.

Despite the shared perspective on the importance of developmental activities, the findings suggest that such activities are tailored to genre demands. Deploying a genre lens provides insights into how institutional factors in musical genres may lead to variations in musicians' developmental activities. For instance, musicians in various genres may pursue ambitious projects; classical musicians may explore expanding the purpose of classical music to not just orchestral performances but for health and healing and even organisational development. They may explore combining poetry and other forms of music to create new compositions and simultaneously look for funders to support their ambitious ideas, indicating their commitment to preserving the art form beyond traditional orchestral performances. Also, it demonstrates the importance of financial backing for ambitious projects, highlighting their entrepreneurial approaches.

Similarly, in jazz, musicians may focus on independent recording to take control of their artistic output and explore diverse avenues for sharing their music with audiences, indicating their

commitment to individual expression and improvisation, the aspiration to reach audiences directly, retaining artistic autonomy, and adapting to changing market trends by exploring new avenues for distributing music. In contrast, pop musicians may explore creative projects in fields beyond music to increase their visibility and expand their audience base, reflecting inherent characteristics of pop music - appealing to wider audiences and commercial viability. While musicians across all genres pursue ambitious projects, there are nuanced differences in the nature of their projects, their objectives and the methods they use, reflecting the unique demands of each musical genre. Unlike classical and jazz, where musicians' developmental activities appear centered around their craft, for pop musicians, these activities are almost centered around promoting themselves as creative artists.

Although these nuanced differences in musicians' developmental activities may suggest that pop musicians are more focused on creating an image compared to their counterparts in jazz and classical, such a simplistic interpretation may overlook the complexity of musicians' objectives. Both jazz and classical musicians also aim to produce signature creative outputs that can establish their distinct identities. However, the key difference lies in the genres in which they are produced. Therefore, when seen in the context of musical genres, these differences highlight how institutional factors such as industry norms, markets and genre conventions can shape musicians' developmental activities.

While the above discussion may suggest that musicians across genres rarely participate in non-work activities and lead highly busy lives devoid of leisure pursuits, this is not the case (see Chapter 4, Non-Work). Musicians do participate in various non-work activities; however, their participation in non-work activities depends on their financial conditions, labour market conditions, and employment status. Musicians employed in major institutions, such as opera and orchestra companies, may benefit from structured non-work hours. Likewise, freelance classical musicians with an established professional standing and financial stability may also participate in non-work activities. However, jazz and pop musicians may experience more precarious conditions due to the unpredictable nature of their jobs and earnings, compelling them to prioritise work over non-work activities.

Despite the disparity in musicians' participation in non-work activities, which can be attributed to the factors discussed earlier, the overarching picture reveals blurred boundaries between musicians' work, unpaid work and non-work. Even when financial resources, labour market conditions, and time are not limiting, musicians may undertake additional work, thereby compromising their leisure or non-work time for work and other work-related tasks, indicating a fundamental characteristic of creative occupations such as music. It illustrates that creative occupations are demanding and require creative workers to make deep personal investments that extend beyond typical work hours. The next section, 'Gender dynamics in creative work', discusses how gender factors affect musicians' working lives, particularly highlighting that women occupy margins in creative work.

8.6. Gender dynamics in creative work

Investigating musicians' working lives across various genres reveals significant gender dynamics within the realm of creative work. These findings warrant a dedicated section to report and discuss their implications thoroughly. This study found that while institutional factors within specific music genres may influence musicians' working lives, gender dynamics may override genre effects. For example, even if classical musicians allocate more time to practising music compared to jazz and pop musicians, in that case, women's experiences within classical, jazz, and pop genres may still be similar due to gender-related challenges they face, such as unequal opportunities within artistic labour markets or unequal distribution of family responsibilities.

Therefore, while genre differences are considerable, it is crucial to recognise that gender disparities play a substantial role in shaping musicians' experiences across genres. Gender dynamics may emerge as a relevant factor influencing various aspects of musicians' working lives. The following section delves into the findings from the study and offers a detailed analysis and interpretation, shedding light on the broader implications of these findings.

The findings reveal an overrepresentation of men in various areas of creative work, including leading large-scale symphony orchestras, engaging in commissioned projects, composing music, and undertaking solo performances. Additionally, men across genres, regularly

participated in music practice. In contrast, women were underrepresented in leadership positions and high-ranking orchestral roles, often facing challenges in allocating regular time for music practice and other music-related work. The findings suggest that women actively participated in small-scale creative projects associated with music teaching, including tasks like creating practice scales and other unpaid work to support their roles in music education. They reveal the gender disparities in creative work, which impact women disproportionately, highlighting the systemic biases and challenges that are particularly burdensome for women.

The prevalence of men in large-scale symphony orchestras or the production of creative outputs reflects deeply ingrained gender norms and historical biases within classical music institutions, perpetuating the underrepresentation of women in leadership roles and hindering their visibility within the field, reflecting broader systemic biases prevalent in creative industries. Such disparities not only restricts the diversity of artistic voices but also limits economic opportunities for women musicians. Consequently, women creative workers may face significant challenges in accessing leadership roles and may be forced to undertake jobs that limit their opportunities for artistic expression and may hinder their career progression.

Also, women musicians' inclination toward smaller-scale creative pursuits may indicate both a preference for alternative modes of artistic expression and barriers to accessing resources and opportunities within traditional orchestral settings. These dual dynamic highlights the complexity of gender disparities within creative work, where both individual choices and structural constraints intersect to shape work practices and career trajectories.

Moreover, the findings indicate that compared to men, women musicians' participation in music teaching was higher, reflecting the traditional norms and social expectations in creative work. Women may find music teaching more accessible, a stable source of income and less competitive than securing music jobs. It may offer them an opportunity to apply their musical skills and expertise without facing many barriers to entry and advancement; however, it may also lead to gender-based income disparities in creative work. While factors such as financial security, predictable income, and a sense of fulfilment in educating others can affect women's choices to participate in music teaching more frequently, it also keeps them in the margins of

creative work away from high-ranking positions within the music industry which are perceived as competitive and challenging to attain. The findings highlight how the complex interplay between career aspirations, systemic barriers, and personal values can affect women in creative work.

The findings suggest that gender inequality transcends the confines of artistic labour markets, indicating it is pervasive in different facets of musicians' lives, including unpaid work and non-work activities. The findings demonstrate distinct gendered patterns in women's participation in both unpaid work and non-work activities.

Unlike men, whose administrative activities were primarily related to music work, women performing administrative activities encompassed a broader range of tasks, including music work, domestic chores, parenting duties (where applicable), and managing finances related to work and home, indicating the disparities in unpaid work for women and men. Such disparities exist even in non-work activities, where men adhere to structured schedules and allocate time for leisure, obligatory duties (domestic or childcare), or any other personal pursuits.

In contrast, women juggle multiple responsibilities simultaneously. The study illustrates that such disparities exist across classical, jazz, and pop genres. These variations in experiences of women and men highlight the systemic issue of gender inequality that pervades within and outside work, where women are expected to manage multiple roles compared to their male counterparts, potentially resulting in women having less dedicated time for learning and development activities and leisure. Notably, women in classical music who allocated time for learning and development activities were often single or without childcare responsibilities, highlighting the impact of life stages on women musicians' lives.

These findings shed light on the prevalent challenges women experience in simultaneously managing professional commitments, paid work and non-work. They highlight the longstanding gender norms and societal expectations that assign women a broader range of responsibilities alongside their professional pursuits. For women in creative work, these are impediments to advancing their careers, resulting in women occupying the margins in creative

work. They also perpetuate systemic inequalities that undermine diversity and inclusivity in creative work.

8.7. Commentary on musicians working lives

This section provides reflections on musicians' genre-based experiences discussed in the above sections. It provides a detailed commentary on musicians' working lives, focusing on the role of genre in shaping their experiences, perceptions of work, and inequalities within the realm of creative work. It shows that genre is not merely a categorisation tool but a mediator, influencing various aspects of musicians' working lives, from the creative process to their positioning within the broader labour market. The institutional factors in musical genres shape the meanings creative workers attach to work by providing frameworks within which artists express their creativity, produce creative outputs, and monetise their labour alongside building their reputation with wider audiences.

Classical musicians view work with a perspective rooted in disciplined practice, technical mastery, and a commitment to traditional standards. Such a mindset is cultivated through rigorous training and competitive entry processes, reinforcing the belief that work requires dedication, skill refinement, and validation through formal recognition. The high entry barriers prevalent in classical music emphasise the notion that achievement is earned through merit and hard work. Consequently, musicians' work practices include investing substantial resources (time, money and labour) in training and competing for opportunities in the classical labour market.

Jazz musicians view work with a perspective rooted in the culture of improvisation, collaboration, and interpersonal dynamics. They place a high value on spontaneity, cooperation, and shared experiences. The entry barriers in jazz emphasise the notion that achievement is measured not only by technical prowess but also by the strength of connections with fellow musicians and acceptance within the vibrant jazz community. Consequently, their work practices involve embracing spontaneity, adjusting their plans according to the demands of the situation, and investing in networking to acquire jobs in the jazz labour market.

Pop musicians view their work with a perspective rooted in entrepreneurialism and self-promotion. They prioritise creativity, innovation, and audience engagement above traditional qualifications or adherence to established norms. The low entry barriers prevalent in pop music emphasise the notion that achievement is not only about technical proficiency but also about marketability and developing a dedicated fan base to secure opportunities. Consequently, their work practices involve freelance gigs or non-musical creative endeavours and investing in marketing efforts to interact with fans, promote their music, and build a strong online presence.

The institutional factors in musical genres guide individuals in navigating the landscape of creative work regarding production, categorisations, and consumption of creative outputs, thereby mediating what they do. Through their work practices, creative workers (musicians) not only adhere to the conventions and expectations of a particular genre but also maintain these conventions and modify them over time, indicating the dynamic nature of genres - genres may evolve in response to changing trends and technological advancements.

Moreover, the institutional factors in musical genres produce variations in the labour markets, leading to inequalities in creative work. Each music genre demands specific skills and qualifications from its participants, and those lacking the requisite skills and qualifications may be denied access to work opportunities, thereby leading to inequality in accessing creative work. Additionally, these institutional factors may lead to varying contractual arrangements for musicians, where some creative workers may rely on established institutions for work while others must navigate freelance opportunities independently, leading to income inequality. Furthermore, these factors lead to variations in the nature of creative work, where some musicians find themselves regularly performing other people's music, often marginalised due to the unavailability of well-paid jobs, while others may take centre stage, participating in a wide array of creative projects leading to inequality in income, professional recognition, artistic autonomy, and social status.

8.8. Insights into debates in creative work

This section provides reflections on the ongoing debates within creative work regarding creativity and commerce. It contributes to these discussions by arguing that tensions between creativity and commerce are not uniform but rather varied across different genres. Further, it addresses the debates surrounding the perceived shift from the craftsmanship model of work to entrepreneurialism by arguing that both models coexist within creative work, albeit to varying degrees.

Central to this discussion are what this study terms the three dimensions of creative work: earning from creative products, creative satisfaction, and fulfilling audience tastes (see Figure 8.1). By exploring these dimensions, this commentary aims to explain the complexities inherent in balancing artistic expression with economic viability, highlighting the nuanced challenges faced by creative workers in various musical genres. Specifically, the study's findings regarding musicians' work arrangements, their engagement in multiple jobs, and the nature of creative work highlight that economic stability and the pursuit of creative endeavours are inherently intertwined. By examining the dynamics between creativity and commerce, this study offers valuable insights into the multifaceted nature of creative work and its broader implications for creative workers.

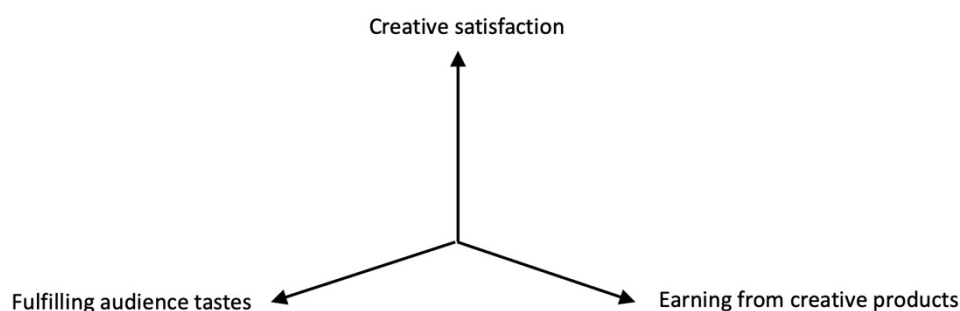


Figure 8.1: Three dimensions of creative work

Illustration – Figure 8.1: Three dimensions of creative work

The three dimensions of creative work - earning from creative products, creative satisfaction, and fulfilling audience tastes, outline an ideal scenario of what performing creative work would encompass. The ideal scenario where all three dimensions of creative work are simultaneously fulfilled is indeed aspirational. When creative workers are able to earn a living from their craft, derive personal satisfaction from the act of creation, and successfully resonate with their audiences, it signifies a harmonious balance between artistic expression and commercial viability.

However, in reality, achieving this harmony can be challenging; in many instances, creative workers may find themselves prioritising one or two dimensions over the others, leading to trade-offs and compromises. For example, some may prioritise creative satisfaction but struggle to monetise their work or connect with a wider audience. Conversely, others may prioritise commercial success by tailoring their work to meet market demands, potentially sacrificing creative integrity, leading to perceived tensions between creativity and commerce. These tensions highlight the complexities inherent in creative work.

Additionally, even in an ideal scenario where creative workers manage to generate earnings from their creative products, experience creative satisfaction, and fulfilling audience tastes, the inherent unpredictability of creative work remains a significant factor. This unpredictability, referred to as the "*nobody knows*" (Caves, 2000:3) property of creative work, underscores the inherent uncertainty surrounding the success of creative outputs/products. Despite adherence to industry trends, the reception of creative work ultimately hinges on factors that defy quantification or prediction. This element of uncertainty remains a constant within the tensions of creativity and commerce. Even in cases where creative workers achieve commercial success or critical acclaim, the "*nobody knows*" property serves as an inherent unpredictability in the creative process.

Moreover, this study found that while few classical musicians occasionally managed to attain the ideal scenario of balancing creative satisfaction, economic success, and audience engagement, they were still plagued by the inherent unpredictability of creative work. Despite enjoying more autonomy over their craft, they often found themselves relying on audiences

and support of various humdrum activities to attain the economic viability of their creative output.

Furthermore, many other classical musicians had access to more opportunities in the creative work market, enabling them to achieve varying degrees of creative satisfaction and fulfil other dimensions, albeit not always simultaneously. However, there appears to be a dearth of opportunities for creatively satisfying work in the jazz and pop labour markets. Even when such opportunities arise, they may not always be well-remunerated; if music work is well-paid, it may not be well-received by the audience and may not necessarily provide the same level of creative satisfaction.

This disparity highlights that tensions between creativity and commerce are not uniform but rather varied across different genres. The varying access to opportunities is context-dependent - the genre-specific labour market. Next, the interplay between creative satisfaction, economic success, and audience reception differs across genres, illustrating the complexity of navigating the creative process in different contexts. This genre-specific perspective also sheds light on the debates surrounding the transition from the craftsmanship model of work to entrepreneurialism.

The debates surrounding the transition from the craftsmanship model of work to entrepreneurialism suggest that the craftsmanship model focused on the mastery of craft over economic gains, enabled individuals to hone their skills and expertise over time, and fostered a deeper connection between the creative worker and their craft. Nevertheless, it should be noted that such emphasis on education, apprenticeship or mentorship may also lead to the exclusion of individuals from lower socio-economic backgrounds, simultaneously perpetuating a cycle of privilege where only those with the means and connections to pursue traditional pathways of skill development can succeed.

In contrast, entrepreneurialism is hailed for prioritising innovation, adaptability, and marketability, enabling individuals to leverage their talents for economic success. It emphasises self-promotion, networking, and business acumen. Nonetheless, it is relevant to note that such practices may disadvantage those who lack access to capital, access to

networks, or entrepreneurial skills, widening existing disparities within creative labour markets. It appears that the craftsmanship model of work is distinct from entrepreneurialism; however, in reality, even within the craftsmanship model, creative workers consider audience tastes to monetise their creative outputs.

While craftsmanship emphasises the mastery of a specific skill or craft, it does not exist in isolation from economic realities or audience demand. Musicians, produce creative outputs to suit audience's preferences and commercial viability. Moreover, the promotion and sale of artistic products have always been integral to sustaining a career in the arts. Within entrepreneurialism, there is often a focus on gaining the attention of intermediaries who can provide funding and support for creative aspirations. Creative workers operating within the entrepreneurialism paradigm recognise the importance of building relationships with various intermediaries to gain access to funding, distribution channels, and promotional platforms that would enable them to promote their creative products, showcase their talents, build their brand, and attract the attention of influential in the field. Therefore, the distinction between the craftsmanship model of work and entrepreneurialism in creative labour markets may not be clear-cut, as both models intersect and may have distinct effects on creative workers.

In this regard, the present study provides valuable insights into understanding the perceived shift from the craftsmanship model of work to entrepreneurialism because it examines the situation through the genre lens. In the realm of classical music, musicians often exhibit a strong commitment to preserving artistic traditions, following an apprenticeship training format and excelling in their creative pursuits. While they do not neglect the importance of earning income from their music, their priorities are often balanced between artistic integrity and financial sustainability. Many classical musicians prioritise creative projects once they have attained a minimum income, demonstrating a dedication to their craft alongside their earnings.

Moreover, classical musicians may adopt entrepreneurial strategies to reach out to audiences and generate funding for their projects, whether through concert series or collaborations with arts organisations, indicating that even if classical musicians lean towards a craftsmanship model of work, elements of entrepreneurialism are present. Conversely, jazz musicians

navigate a different landscape where the need for financial stability often drives their entrepreneurial efforts. Paid and unpaid music jobs reflect a dual focus on both artistic expression and earning a living. Jazz musicians frequently engage in a mix of jazz performances and function gigs to sustain themselves financially, leveraging their versatility to secure multiple sources of income. The entrepreneurial inclination in jazz is evident in the constant pursuit of new opportunities and the ongoing need for financial support to sustain their craft and artistic development.

In the realm of pop music, the emphasis shifts towards building an image and popularising one's brand, frequently prioritising entrepreneurial pursuits. Pop musicians prioritise creating music and personas that resonate with mainstream audiences, leveraging social media and multimedia platforms to expand their reach and commercial success. The inclination towards popularity reflects a strong entrepreneurial spirit, where the craft is tailored to meet audience preferences and generate revenue streams from various creative and non-creative ventures. Overall, the distinctions between classical, jazz, and pop musicians underscore that the craftsmanship model of work and entrepreneurialism intersect in varying proportions across different musical genres.

It's relevant to recognise that both the craftsmanship model and entrepreneurialism coexist within creative work, albeit to varying degrees, depending on the genre. Even if there are instances where musicians are adopting more entrepreneurial approaches to their careers, it would be incomplete to characterise this as a wholesale shift from craftsmanship. Many musicians continue to prioritise artistic excellence and creative expression above commercial considerations, even as they engage in entrepreneurial activities to sustain their careers. While there are discernible trends towards entrepreneurialism in creative work, the idea of a complete shift from the craftsmanship model of work may oversimplify the complex dynamics at play. Instead, it's more accurate to view this evolution as a spectrum, with musicians navigating a continuum between craftsmanship and entrepreneurialism based on their individual priorities and genre conventions.

8.9. Insights on work and employment

This section offers broader insights into work and employment practices beyond creative work. In examining musicians' working lives, it is evident that while they share a fundamental passion for music, their approaches and priorities diverge significantly. Despite significant differences, all musicians demonstrate a shared dedication to their craft, adaptability to industry demands, and a commitment to connecting with audiences. Analysing the diverse approaches to work and employment among musicians from different genres offers valuable insights that can be extended beyond the music industry. These insights can shed light on broader trends in the contemporary labour market:

This study reveals considerable implications for traditional labour markets. First, it indicates a shift away from the conventional model of stable, long-term employment towards a more fluid and dynamic job market. This trend challenges traditional notions of career trajectories, where individuals would typically secure a stable job in a single industry and remain with the same employer for an extended period. Additionally, it highlights the growing importance of adaptability, endurance and versatility skills in today's labour market as individuals seek to diversify their income streams and navigate financial instability.

This study identified a notable phenomenon: individuals with secure full-time jobs also participate in additional work to sustain a parallel career. This dual-career approach reflects a broader shift towards diversifying income sources and pursuing multiple interests simultaneously. Such a trend underscores the evolving landscape of work, reflecting a growing desire among individuals for both flexibility and autonomy, as well as a need for secure income. Overall, the message for traditional labour markets is to evolve alongside the changing needs and expectations of today's workforce. This means offering flexible work arrangements, competitive compensation packages, and opportunities for career development.

The varying work arrangements among musicians highlight the importance of adaptability and flexibility in navigating today's labour market. Like musicians, many other professionals must constantly adjust to changing circumstances, whether it's evolving industry trends,

technological advancements, or external factors like economic downturns or global crises. However, some traditional sectors may struggle to adapt; for example, professions in highly regulated industries or government sectors may have more consistent work structures and less need for rapid adaptation. This shows that while adaptability remains a valuable skill in any profession, the degree of flexibility required may vary depending on the nature of the industry and the regulatory environment. Therefore, while musicians and professionals in dynamic industries may need to continuously adapt to evolving trends and market demands, those in more regulated sectors may prioritise stability and consistency in their work arrangements. This highlights the importance of recognising the unique challenges and considerations within different sectors and tailoring strategies accordingly.

Musicians' reliance on multiple income sources, including freelance gigs, teaching, session work, and supplementary roles in non-arts markets, underscores the importance of diversification in income generation. This trend reflects a broader reality in which individuals increasingly seek to diversify their income streams to mitigate risk and enhance financial stability in unpredictable labour markets. Therefore, while specialism remains crucial, musicians' income diversification reflects broader trends toward adaptability and financial resilience - balancing between artistic aspirations and pragmatic considerations. However, in more traditional sectors where stability and financial security may be prioritised, there may be less emphasis on personal fulfilment or alignment with one's passions. This highlights the tension between pursuing work that brings personal fulfilment and prioritising practical considerations such as salary and stability, indicating that while the trend towards aligning work with passion is prevalent in today's labour market, it may not be universally applicable.

The diverse paths musicians take to enter the creative field and continue working in the arts highlight the value of non-linear and non-traditional trajectories in the modern workforce. However, some occupations may have clear progression routes and expectations for advancement, which can potentially limit opportunities for individuals who deviate from traditional career paths. This contrast highlights that while non-linear career paths offer flexibility, in industries where clear progression routes are established, deviations from norms may be disadvantageous for workers.

In conclusion, while there are valuable lessons to be learned from musicians' working practices, it's essential to recognise that not all aspects of their work can be directly adapted for understanding work and employment more broadly. The unique characteristics of musicians' work, including its specific skill sets, industry dynamics, work environments, income stability considerations, and career progression pathways, necessitate a nuanced understanding of how these practices may or may not apply in different professional contexts.

Chapter 9

9. Conclusion

9.1. Introduction

This final section summarises the study's contribution and limitations. It discusses the implications and makes recommendations for future research.

9.2. Contribution summary

Genres can be a foundational structure for research in creative work. This is a new development in the sense that it provides a novel framework to understand the nature of creative work and the intricacies of musicians' working lives, including their work and non-work experiences, while also providing valuable insights into musicians' labour markets. The study is original because it empirically demonstrated how institutional factors in musical genres shape musicians' working lives. It answers the research questions by explaining how institutional factors in musical genres mediate what people do, leading to variations in labour market activity and inequalities in creative work, unpaid work, and non-work.

Umney's (2016) study indicated the relevance of genre by revealing how institutional factors (formal and informal work norms) affect jazz musicians' work practices. This study is an advancement because it substantiates these dynamics through rigorous empirical analysis. Also, the study highlights how gender effects cut across genres, leading to variations in work and non-work experiences for women and men. The study aimed to understand and explain work and non-work for creative workers (professional musicians) to advance knowledge in this area and extend the findings to understand work and non-work more generally, which was fulfilled. The following sections illuminate the new knowledge gained as a result of investigating the working lives of professional musicians (creative workers). It reflects on the gaps in the existing literature and shows the study's contribution to various areas of creative work.

The findings align with recent research conducted by Schmidt and Gruber (2023), who demonstrated that classical musicians typically undergo formal training in music at various

music institutions before embarking on professional orchestral performances. In contrast, pop musicians often display a more entrepreneurial and self-directed approach, establishing or transitioning between bands to enter the creative work market. While Schmidt and Gruber (2023) propose similarities between jazz and pop musicians in terms of entrepreneurialism when entering the creative work market, this study goes further to suggest that jazz musicians rely on showmanship within diverse music scenes (Umney and Kretsos, 2014) and informal networks of musical peers (Pinheiro and Dowd, 2009; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012) to gain entry into the creative field.

In broader terms, this indicates that entering the jazz labour market hinges on musical talent and the ability to cultivate personal connections, potentially differing from the mechanisms at play within the pop music scene. This knowledge offers insights into diverse skills and strategies required in the creative field. It highlights that while there may be overarching similarities, the distinct practices within each genre demonstrate that what is effective in one genre may not necessarily be relevant in another.

While previous studies have indicated that formal music education may serve as a stepping stone for musicians to initiate their music careers (Coulson, 2012), this research revealed that music education alone does not guarantee job opportunities for musicians. It illustrated the disparities in job opportunities between classical and jazz genres, indicating systemic biases within the creative work market. Despite possessing comparable skills and credentials, access to employment opportunities for jazz and classical musicians was unequal, indicating structural barriers rather than individual deficiencies. The new knowledge creates a ground for exploring systemic inequalities within musical genres, highlighting the need for structural changes to promote fairness and inclusivity. It highlights the significance of moving beyond individual talent and qualifications to confront wider issues of access and opportunity.

Regarding musicians' work arrangements, Haynes and Marshall (2018) observed that classical musicians have more opportunities for traditional full-time jobs than jazz and pop musicians, while pop musicians mostly work as independent contractors. This study's findings do not definitively establish that jazz musicians did not acquire traditional full-time positions. However, the results imply that even if a jazz musician held a salaried job, it did not necessarily

provide the job security or employment benefits typical of full-time positions in opera and orchestra companies, which are more commonly available to classical musicians. Moreover, while this study cannot conclusively deny the existence of full-time employment among pop musicians, it highlights the vulnerability and precarious nature of full-time employment in pop music and their dependence on fluctuating market conditions (Oliveira, 2023).

Also, previous studies have noted that the creative sector offers limited job protection to workers (Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009). The present study highlights that job protection may vary depending on the genre and the specific employment. Full-time classical musicians employed with established music institutions such as orchestras or opera companies may experience a higher level of job protection and employment benefits than their jazz and pop counterparts. The new knowledge suggests that while musicians in the classical genre may benefit from well-established institutions, jazz and pop musicians may often be vulnerable to market forces.

In a recent study, Prokop and Reitsamer (2023) noted a trend in classical music, indicating a decline in traditional full-time positions and a rise in portfolio careers. This study suggests that even if their findings are accurate, there is a more nuanced perspective here: while some musicians may deliberately choose to forgo full-time employment, possibly driven by factors such as autonomy, flexibility, and the pursuit of diverse opportunities, and their choices may be shaped by their social standing, family dynamics, and financial circumstances. Others may aspire to secure full-time positions, underscoring the enduring appeal of stable, salaried jobs despite its decline. This new knowledge challenges conventional assumptions about uniform career paths in classical music and directs attention toward other factors that can shape individuals' choices regarding work arrangements. It prompts an exploration of how factors such as social standing, family dynamics, and financial circumstances may affect musicians' career choices.

Scholarship has acknowledged the versatile nature of musicians' work, highlighting their participation in three artistic labour markets: creative, arts-related, and non-arts markets (Menger, 1999; Throsby and Zednick, 2011; Lindström, 2016). This study introduces new perspectives by illustrating how participation in these labour markets differs across various

musical genres. While musicians engage in all three artistic labour markets, classical musicians often have access to a wider range of creative opportunities within the creative work market compared to their counterparts in jazz and pop. This disparity reveals the inherent inequalities within the creative work market, where classical musicians may benefit from the long-established tradition and institutional infrastructure that attracts significant investment and supports classical music, whereas non-classical genres may struggle to garner similar institutional recognition and support. Consequently, these disparities may impact individual musicians' access to resources, opportunities, and recognition within the creative work market.

Moreover, participating in various artistic labour markets means holding multiple jobs - a characteristic common among creative workers. Steedman and Brydges (2023) noted that workers in films and television participated in music teaching (arts-related market) to support filmmaking (creative work). Similarly, Randle and Culkin (2009) and Lindström (2016) noted that creative workers undertook jobs in restaurants or other non-creative jobs (non-arts market) which they could leave easily as these jobs provided supplementary income to pursue artistic work, indicating the interconnectedness between the three artistic labour markets, where earnings from one labour market are used to acquire work in another labour market.

This study not only corroborates previous findings but also provides a novel perspective on creative workers' participation in the non-arts market. It demonstrates that even if musicians from different musical genres participated in all three artistic labour markets, they exhibited distinct patterns of participation. While classical musicians utilised the non-arts market to expand their creative pursuits, jazz musicians utilised the non-arts market to expand their professional networks, and pop musicians ventured into other creative fields, utilising their skills to explore diverse artistic avenues beyond music and enhance their public image. It illustrates a unique aspect of multiple job holdings, where the artistic labour markets serve distinct purposes. The new insight offers a compelling perspective on the fluid boundaries of artistic labour markets and their interconnected nature, as well as the distinct patterns in musicians' participation, further illustrating the dependence of creative workers on various labour markets to sustain their careers effectively.

It also directs attention to how creative workers (musicians) may hold multiple jobs to support their primary specialism, highlighting the lack of income from their primary specialism to sustain a career in the arts. The new knowledge provides a scope to debate who is a professional musician. Scholars widely acknowledge that professional creative workers primarily derive a substantial portion of their income from monetising their creative products (Coulson, 2012; Khaire, 2017).

This study recognises that many musicians require supplementary income streams to sustain their careers, indicating the need to revisit and debate the conventional description of professional musicians. It calls for a more nuanced understanding of what constitutes a professional musician. Instead of solely focusing on the source of income, a broader perspective would better reflect the diverse experiences and realities within the music work. It may be beneficial to explore Bennett's (2008) term musician "as someone who practices within the profession of music in one or more specialised field" (2008: 97), for it takes into consideration musicians' participation in various areas in music work.

Similar to previous research, this study shows gendered disparities in creative work, particularly pronounced in classical music (Citron, 1990; Bull and Scharff, 2021). Additionally, some studies have shown that competitiveness is a gendered phenomenon (Scharff, 2017; Mavin and Yusupova, 2021; Prokop and Reitsamer, 2023); this study, however, cannot confirm that competitiveness is a gendered phenomenon. Instead, the study found that the relationship between women and competitiveness can change throughout their careers. This new perspective prompts the importance of examining the underlying motivations and experiences that shape women's career aspirations.

The summary of contributions encapsulates the findings and analysis of this study. Insights from this study are not limited to academic discourse but extend to practical applications in the real world. The following section discusses the implications of the study.

9.3. Implications

The insights gained from the study have implications for musicians, educational institutions, and policyholders. Their application to real-world situations can provide invaluable guidance for musicians navigating the realm of creative work, educators enhancing music education programs, and policymakers aiming to shape equitable policies for workers in creative industries.

The diversity of entry barriers has implications for aspiring musicians. It provides perspectives regarding the pathways available to them. It suggests that while formal music education may still be beneficial for some individuals and relevant in particular genres (classical), it is not a determining factor for success. Instead, factors such as talent, creativity, networking, and entrepreneurial skills may play a significant role in shaping musicians' work practices. The variations in entry barriers reflect the diversity of artistic expression within the music. Genres with higher barriers may attract musicians who value mastering an art form, solving complex artistic problems and upholding tradition, while genres with lower barriers may foster experimentation, innovation, and the exploration of new musical styles and techniques.

The differences in entry barriers also have economic implications; classical music, with its rigorous training requirements and competitive auditions, may necessitate significant financial investment in education, training, and participation in competitions. In contrast, genres like pop or independent music, with lower barriers and opportunities for online self-promotion, may offer more accessible pathways for individuals with limited financial resources.

The genre-specific disparities in work arrangements among classical, jazz, and pop musicians hold profound implications for both musicians themselves and the educational institutions responsible for training the next generation of artists. These disparities highlight the varied paths musicians may pursue to sustain their careers. Understanding these varied pathways may assist aspiring musicians as they chart their own paths in the industry. Moreover, these disparities underscore the importance of adaptability and enduring skills necessary to participate in the creative work market. In an industry marked by rapid technological

advancements and shifting consumer preferences, adaptability and endurance seem crucial to staying relevant and sustaining a viable career over the long term.

Furthermore, the disparities in work arrangements shed light on broader trends within the music industry, reflecting the evolving nature of employment practices and the shifting dynamics of artistic expression (varied forms of music making and distribution) and economic sustainability. Educational institutions can play their part in preparing students to navigate these changes by equipping them with the entrepreneurial skills, business acumen, and industry knowledge necessary to thrive in a competitive market. Understanding the genre-specific disparities is relevant for music educational institutions. By tailoring their curriculum and programs to better meet the realities of musicians across different genres, institutions can ensure that their graduates are well-prepared to succeed in a rapidly evolving industry. This includes providing students with the opportunity to explore diverse work arrangements, develop practical skills, and build professional networks that will serve them throughout their careers.

For self-taught musicians, the genre-specific disparities in work arrangements still hold significant implications. While self-taught musicians may approach their careers differently than their formally educated counterparts, they are nonetheless subject to the same forces and challenges within the music industry. Without the structure and guidance provided by formal education, self-taught musicians often rely on a combination of innate talent, self-discipline, and real-world experience to navigate the industry. Understanding the unique challenges and opportunities associated with different genres can help self-taught musicians make informed decisions about their career paths. This may involve developing a diverse skill set, cultivating a strong online presence, and building relationships within their respective music communities.

Sustaining a music career requires musicians to be adept in various skills, including current knowledge of the art form, networking, business, grant writing, and communication. Policymakers can explore the possibilities of providing an accessible workspace for creative workers to develop skills for sustaining a career in the arts. Moreover, government agencies and funding bodies may take cognisance of musicians' diverse needs in designing policies and

support programs, including allocating resources for both formal music education and programs that facilitate professional networking and career development.

The study aimed to understand and explain the working lives of professional musicians to gain insights into broader themes of work and employment. The thesis contributed by providing new insights relevant to academic discourse and deliberation and practical implications for real-world scenarios. However, it is imperative to acknowledge certain limitations in the study, which will be discussed next.

9.4. Limitations

Despite the innovative research design of this study, some limitations should be noted. First of all, musicians and their work practices vary every week. Because informants recorded diaries for a week, one needs caution when generalising findings - one week might over-represent one aspect of work. Second, due to the pandemic, the original plan of conducting an in-person interview was changed to an online interview.

Although there were many advantages (see Chapter 3, Methodology), it was challenging to gather social context cues and other non-verbal behaviours (Lobe et al., 2022). Further, the richness of face-to-face interaction is depleted because people simultaneously participate in other tasks such as cooking meals, tending to family responsibilities, childcare, and other disturbances such as repair work at home, poor connections, and call drops, which affect data collection. Moreover, the underrepresentation of women in pop genres limits the study from capturing the full scope of women's experiences in pop music.

9.5. Directions for further research

The study makes an original contribution by empirically demonstrating how institutional factors in musical genres affect musicians' working lives. However, some topics remain unresolved and are potential areas of future research. These are listed here: *First*, the study found that musicians (creative workers) perform for free for various reasons, such as showcasing their talent to potential employers, offering free performances to secure future

paid opportunities, and fulfilling creative aspirations in the absence of satisfying music jobs. Additionally, some musicians volunteer their services due to limited funds from organisers or to support a cause. The study highlights that this practice occurs not only in the early stages of a career but also persists throughout various career stages. These findings serve as a crucial starting point for further investigation, particularly concerning the economic viability of working in music. The widespread practice of performing for free throughout different career stages raises questions about the sustainability of a music career.

Second, literature concerning work and employment has consistently indicated that women's participation in high-ranking jobs is low compared to men (see Chapter 2, Literature Review). The study found that women in classical music, despite their success in competitions and securing high-ranking jobs early in their careers, showed a disinclination for high-ranking jobs later on, particularly when married with children. This disinclination is attributed to the disproportionate burden of unpaid housework and childcare responsibilities they shoulder, leaving limited time for creative pursuits. While unpaid housework and childcare responsibilities undeniably limit women's participation in high-ranking roles in classical music, it would be prudent to consider the potential influence of other institutional factors, such as gender biases in music institutions, the lack of female representation in leadership positions, in orchestras, the competitive processes may inadvertently favour male performers and composers may create barriers for women at all stages of their careers.

Third, the study found that early-career classical musicians participated equally in creative and entrepreneurial activities, similar to their pop and jazz music counterparts. However, classical musicians with many years of experience prioritised creative work over entrepreneurial activities. This observation prompts critical inquiries about the factors affecting classical musicians' work practices, including changing perceptions of success and conventions and norms within the classical music genre.

Next, the study found musicians across various genres valued networking, employing various strategies to connect with industry peers and expand their audience base. However, it observed a tendency among musicians to collaborate primarily within their own genre, leaving

unanswered questions about inter-genre collaborations and whether musicians transition between genres. These inquiries promise deeper insights into the dynamics of creative work.

9.6. Closing summary

This research project emphasised the significance of genre as a foundational framework for research in creative work. It demonstrated that genres offer valuable insights into the lives of creative workers. Examining musicians' working lives in different genres revealed that while they share a fundamental passion for music, their work practices and priorities may vary considerably. Despite significant differences, all musicians demonstrated a shared dedication to their craft, adaptability to industry demands, and commitment to connecting with audiences.

In conclusion, while valuable lessons can be learned from musicians' working practices, it is essential to recognise that not all aspects of their work can be directly adapted for understanding work more broadly. The unique characteristics of musicians' work, including its specific skill sets, industry dynamics, work environments, income stability considerations, and career progression pathways, necessitate a nuanced understanding of how these practices may or may not apply in varied professional contexts.

Moreover, when considering the broader panorama, it becomes apparent that while avenues for earning in creative work may have expanded through various channels, they may not always align with the genuine skill sets of creative workers. Furthermore, the inherently unpredictable nature of creative work means that basic financial stability is frequently lacking. This mismatch of work and skills and lack of financial stability perpetuates a system where creative workers are viewed more as interchangeable commodities, akin to a pen drive, rather than as individuals with unique talents and human needs. This devaluation of their humanity may undermine the very essence of their craft and diminish their rightful place in society.

Chapter 10

10. Appendices

10.1. Appendix A: Table with list of informants from various genres

#	Participant Id and details
1	Roy, cellist, classical music, freelance – 30 years
2	Oliver, cellist, classical music, freelance – 32 years
3	Becky, violist, classical music, freelance – 12 years
4	Sara, violinist, classical music, freelance – 8 years
5	Cindy, pianist, piano teacher, classical music, freelance – 8 years
6	Dave, conductor and singer, classical music, freelance – 30 years
7	Jane, cellist, classical musician, freelance – 35 years
8	Jack, musician, music producer, classical music, freelance – 27 years
9	Joe, musicians and composer, classical music, freelance – 20 years
10	Macy, French horn player, music teacher, classical music, freelance – 25 years
11	Kathy, pianist, music teacher, classical music, freelance – 28 years
12	Henry, composer/writer/musician/broadcaster, classical music, freelance – 41 years
13	Rob, cellist, music director, classical music, freelance – 39 years
14	Mike, clarinetist, composer, writer, classical music, freelance – 30 years
15	Ria, pianist, accompanist, musical director, classical music, freelance – 20 years
16	Matt, composer and poet, classical music, freelance – 41 years
17	Andy, pianist, classical music, freelance – 7 years
18	Jonny, violinist, composer, music teacher, classical music, freelance – 50 years
19	Rose, pianist, orchestra conductor, composer, classical music, freelance – 20 years
20	Tiffany, concert violinist, music educator, classical music, freelance – 5 years
21	Alan, pianist and music teacher, classical music, freelance
22	Tristan, concert pianist, classical music, freelance – 2 years
23	Rosy, cellist, classical music, freelance – 20 years
24	Sam, violinist, composer, conductor, classical music, freelance – 20 years
25	Wilson, (specialty voice opera) classical music, employed - 39 years/ freelance - 2 years
26	Martin, trombone player, classical music, employed/freelance – 27 years
27	Jacob, singer, classical music, employed/freelance - 6 years
28	Dina, regular chorister, classical music, employed – 1 year/freelance singer and teacher – 6 years
29	Tom, singer (opera, musicals, voice over, backup, choral, radio), classical music, employed/freelance– 35 years
30	Stella, singer, mezzo soprano, classical music, employed – 1 year/freelance – 25 years
31	William, keyboard player, classical and jazz music, freelance–10 years
32	Daniel, professional drummer, jazz music, freelance – 30 years
33	Bob, jazz music, freelance – 20 years
34	Jill, composer (jazz), jazz music, freelance – 20 years
35	Leo, saxophonist, jazz music, freelance – 5 years
36	Josh, guitarist, jazz music, freelance – 15 years
37	Paloma, professional flutist, vocalist (jazz), jazz music, freelance – 10 years
38	Greg, multi-instrumentalist, music teacher, jazz music, freelance – 18 years
39	Tim, music director, jazz music, employed 1.5 years/freelance – 9 years
40	David, musician, composer, covers gigs, pop music, freelance – 5 years
41	Mac, retired teacher and Youtuber, pop music, freelance – 60 years
42	Jim, keyboard player, pop music, freelance – 13 years
43	Simon, musician, composer, covers gigs, pop music, freelance – 10 years
44	Mark, music composer and recording artist, pop music, freelance – 20 years
45	Ann, musician, composer, covers gigs, pop music, freelance – 5 years
46	Steve, pianist, pop music, freelance – 45 years
47	James, keyboard player, composer, producer, pop music, freelance – 16 years
48	Anthony, composer, pop music, employed-1 year/freelance – 5 years

10.2. Appendix B: Informants' family stage

Genres of music	Classical music	Jazz music	Pop music
Single /without children	Women (3)		Woman (1)
	Men (4)	Men (3)	Men (2)
Married/living with partner/without children	Women (4)	Women (2)	
	Man (1)	Men (3)	Men (4)
Married/living with partner/with children	Women (5)		
	Man (11)	Man (1)	Men (2)
	Men (2) did not share details regarding marriage and children		

10.3. Appendix C: Informants in various jobs in the creative work market

	Classical music	Jazz music	Pop music
Composers	Men (music and orchestral pieces)	Women (music)	Women (songs and music) and men (song and music)
Arrangers	Men (one informant)		Men
Writers	Poetry (men) Practicing scales (women and men) The creative output poetry and practicing scales was sold to audiences.	-	-
Instrumental musicians	Women and men	Women and men	Men
Singer	Women and men	Women	Women and men
Conductor	Men	-	-
Voice artist	Men	-	-

10.4. Appendix D: Stages of recruiting participants

Participant information sheet

Working Title:	Work and Non-work in Creative Professions – Evidence from Musicians
PhD Student/ Researcher	Roopa Nandi University of Leeds Business School, UK
Invitation to participate:	May I invite you to voluntarily participate in a research project that aims to understand and explain work and non-work and the boundaries between them for creative workers (in this case, professional musicians). Please take the time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Before you decide on your participation, you need to understand why this research is being done and its involvement.
Study details:	The study will explain how musicians perceive work and non-work and how they draw boundaries between them. The study will also explain how the social structures condition the musician's work practices and their organization. As a part of the data collection process for this study, the researcher will interview creative workers (a variety of musicians) on more than one occasion over nine months to one year, during which electronic diaries will be shared with the participants to record events in real-time. The interview questions will be open-ended, and you, as a participant, will have an opportunity to share in-depth about your work and non-work practices. How you perceive and differentiate between work and non-work; is something that you consider as a boundary between work and non-work. How do you see the creative work, non-creative work, time and money; how do you allocate your time for creative/non-creative work and commercial /non-commercial work are some question types that the researcher is interested in finding answers.
Participant rights:	If you choose to become a participant, you will be involved in the research data collection stage. It means the researcher will initially have a conversation with you regarding the project details and interview you via Skype/Zoom. The researcher will share with you electronic diaries to record events for the study. After the diary writing period, the researcher will interview you either face to face or via Skype/Zoom depending on the social distancing norms prevalent during the repeat interview stage. Your participation in this study is voluntary, which means that you can decide whether or not to participate in the study. If you choose to take part in this study, you will sign this consent form. After you give your consent, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without providing a reason. If you withdraw from the study before the interview is completed, or at any stage of the interview or during the diary recording process or if you wish to withdraw from the study at a later point, you can do so by asking the researcher to delete all the information you shared during the interview. You are free to make such a request within one month after the completion of the interview.

Confidentiality and anonymity:	Interviews with participants will be recorded using an audio recorder, and the data will be transcribed and anonymized as soon as possible after interview completion. The audio file will be destroyed following the completion of this step. The anonymized transcripts will be retained in digital format and will classify as confidential.
Research funding:	This is a PhD research project and not funded by any external agency.
Research data usage:	All information collected during the interview, including the contact information provided by you during the research, will be kept strictly confidential in line with the University of Leeds data protection policies and stored separately from the research data. All necessary steps in line with the University of Leeds guidelines will be followed to anonymize research data so that you (participants) will not be identified in any reports or publications. The audio recordings of your interaction with the researcher made during this research will be used only for analysis and or illustration in conference presentations and lectures. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings.
Additional Information:	Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Taking part in the study is entirely voluntary, and refusal to participate will involve no penalty. Take time to decide whether you want to participate in this research as a voluntary participant. If you choose to become a participant, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. You can still withdraw at any time, and you do not have to give a reason.

Thank you for taking the time to read the information sheet. The contact point for the research is mentioned below:
 PhD Researcher: Roopa Nandi - University of Leeds, UK
 Researcher email: brrn@leeds.ac.uk
 Supervisor: Dr. Charles Umney - University of Leeds, UK
 Supervisor email: c.umney@leeds.ac.uk

Participant consent form

Project Title: Work and Non-work in Creative Professions – Evidence from Musicians

PhD Student/
 Researcher: Roopa Nandi University of Leeds Business School, UK

The undersigned confirms that I have read and understood the information (enclosed information sheet) for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask any questions I may have about this research. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study, and I am willing to:

- be interviewed by the researcher
- share diary notes (electronic format) designed for this research
- share my data for analysis and interpretation for the research study

The research aims to understand and explain work and non-work and the boundaries between them for creative workers (in this case, professional musicians). The study will demonstrate how musicians perceive work and non-work, how they draw boundaries between them, and how the musician's work practices, their organization are conditioned by the social structure. The purpose is to show those unfamiliar with the world of creative workers – musicians in this case, how creative workers live or work, how they differentiate between work and non-work, and what it is to be a creative worker.

Data collected for the study will be held following the University of Leeds data protection policies. Data will be digitally recorded (audio recorded and transcribed) and fully anonymized to block participant identity. Some relevant content, such as anonymized quotations may be used for research presentations and publications. Anonymized data (interview transcript and digital diary notes) will be stored on the University of Leeds secure drive and accessible only to the PhD student. All information shared by the participant during the interview, and through the electronic diary will be secured will remain anonymous and will be strictly confidential.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary, which means that you can decide whether or not to participate in the study. If you choose to take part in this study, you will sign this consent form. After you give your consent, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without providing a reason. If you withdraw from the study before the interview is completed, or at any stage of the interview or during the diary recording process or if you wish to withdraw from the study at a later point, you can do so by asking the researcher to delete all the information you shared during the interview. You are free to make such a request within one month after the completion of the interview.

CONSENT

I have read, and I understand the provided information. I have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without cost. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

10.5. Appendix E: Questionnaire guide

Interview Guide

Invite the interviewee to share about her/himself briefly:

- Education and training as a musician
- Work history as a musician
- Who have you trained with
- Where all they have worked
- How did you decide on your career choice as a musician?
- Why did you want to become a musician?
- What does it mean to be a professional musician?
- How do you differentiate yourself from hobbyists and amateurs?

Invite the interviewee to share about their work:

- As a musician, what does work mean for you?
- Can you help me understand what your typical workday is like?
- What portion of your day is occupied by music practice?
- Given the situation we all face today (COVID-19), Can you compare and use some examples to share how different is a workday today, compared to a typical workday around January - February 2020
- What are the significant changes since the lockdown?
- When you are not performing music, what other activities do you accomplish - those that you would like to call work?
- If you are not commissioned for any project (music work), what are the other types of work you perform? Can you give some examples
- When you are not performing music, what other activities do you accomplish - those that you would like to call work? Can you give some examples
- how do you see performing music? Would you describe it as work or leisure or non-work; a follow-up question could be, can you give some examples to help me understand this?
- Would you like to take some examples and describe for me how you share or discuss music-related compositions, music projects, or available gigs with your music colleagues?
- When you practice music at home, do you consider that as work?
- Can you give some examples of other paid activities that you perform? 17. When you take up any other paid work, which is not making or performing music, do you consider that work?
- Currently, and more so due to the pandemic, several of us are working from home and using the online medium - how does the online medium work for you?
- Have you been able to monetize any online music or earn from your music performances online?
- Can you give some examples of how you showcase your talent and music skills to a broader audience? - And would you count that as work?
- What sort of responses have you received from your online presence; a follow-up question could be: how do you respond to them?
- Can you share a few examples of activities you do to support your music career?
- Can you share about the contractual arrangements you have - like are you salaried, you take up projects or any other? What is the work arrangement like?
- Do you also work with multiple groups at one time?
- Are there any contracts that bind you, or are you free to choose the bands/groups or orchestra you play with or groups you join?

Invite the interviewee to share about workgroups and different networks:

- How about socializing with colleagues and meeting new people? When you interact with people, do you also consider the prospect of working with them in the future?
- Do you have musician friends? How often do you meet or collaborate for music work?
- What is your view about networks? How important are you as a part of any professional network or group?
- How do you maintain your professional relationships with various people?
- Can you share some examples of how you have benefited from your networks or groups that you are associated with?
- Can you describe how you acquired jobs through your friends or professional and other personal networks?
- Do those related to you who may be in your immediate circle of friends or people who meet through social networks also bring work opportunities for you? Do you actively socialize with an object to get work?

Invite the interviewee to discuss non-work:

- How do you describe the time when you are not working?
- Can you give a few examples of how you manage various activities throughout the day?
- How do you allocate time for other activities, including domestic responsibilities, care responsibilities, networking, skill development, administrative work, or any other?
- What would you love doing if you were not occupied with matters related to work?
- Do you take breaks from work or completely switch off? If you may help me understand how a day looks like when you are not doing anything that you describe as work?
- If I may ask this, approximately how many hours in the day do you think you are not working?
- Unlike others who have scheduled work patterns, as creative people, how do you differentiate non-work activities from work?
- As a musician, have you observed your music work interfering with other aspects of life, such as socializing, networking and relationship building, administrative responsibilities, leisure, domestic and care obligations, and using social media?

Invite the interviewee to share about workgroups and different networks:

- How about socializing with colleagues and meeting new people? When you interact with people, do you also consider the prospect of working with them in the future?
- Do you have musician friends? How often do you meet or collaborate for music work?
- What is your view about networks? How important are you as a part of any professional network or group?
- How do you maintain your professional relationships with various people?
- Can you share some examples of how you have benefited from your networks or groups that you are associated with?
- Can you describe how you acquired jobs through your friends or professional and other personal networks?
- Do those related to you who may be in your immediate circle of friends or people who meet through social networks also bring work opportunities for you? Do you actively socialize with an object to get work?

Invite the interviewee to discuss non-work:

- How do you describe the time when you are not working?
- Can you give a few examples of how you manage various activities throughout the day?
- How do you allocate time for other activities, including domestic responsibilities, care responsibilities, networking, skill development, administrative work, or any other?
- What would you love doing if you were not occupied with matters related to work?
- Do you take breaks from work or completely switch off? If you may help me understand how a day looks like when you are not doing anything that you describe as work?
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- Unlike others who have scheduled work patterns, as creative people, how do you differentiate non-work activities from work?
- As a musician, have you observed your music work interfering with other aspects of life, such as socializing, networking and relationship building, administrative responsibilities, leisure, domestic and care obligations, and using social media?

Invite the interviewee to share other considerations as a creative worker:

- As a musician, can you give some examples and share what other skills are necessary to remain relevant in the music scene? How do you develop them?
- Do you allocate a certain percentage of your income to developmental work, such as learning new skills or taking new training courses?
- What is your preferred mode of employment? Would you like to be employed in a salaried music job?
- How do you deal with the absence of regular income, irregular working time, and working from different physical spaces? Can you give some examples?

10.6. Appendix F: Thematic framework

Constructing the initial thematic framework: Musicians' work and non-work

1. Background
 - 1.1. Sampling details
 - 1.2. Employment
 - 1.3. Household composition
 - 1.4. Parents musicians
 - 1.5. Childhood
 - 1.6. Music education
2. First performing experience
 - 2.1. First performing experience
 - 2.2. How did it start
 - 2.3. How much did you earn
 - 2.4. Reasons for playing without money
 - 2.5. Subsequent music jobs
 - 2.6. Other
3. Entering the music field
 - 3.1. Performing with friends at venues
 - 3.2. Performing at local venues
 - 3.3. Performing with music teachers at large venues
 - 3.4. Music festivals
 - 3.5. Starting a music band
 - 3.6. Touring and performing at various venues
 - 3.7. Live music work
 - 3.8. Commissioned projects
 - 3.9. Recorded music
4. Music jobs (paid)
 - 4.1. Performing gigs
 - 4.2. Performing at functions
 - 4.3. Orchestral music
 - 4.4. Chamber music
 - 4.5. Musical theatre
 - 4.6. Session music
 - 4.7. Solo performances
 - 4.8. Recording music
 - 4.9. Library music

- 5. Music related jobs (paid)
 - 5.1. Music teaching (private)
 - 5.2. Music teaching (school)
 - 5.3. Mentoring
 - 5.4. Masterclass
- 6. Other jobs (paid)
 - 6.1. Teaching other subjects (non-music)
 - 6.2. Making (crafts and jewellery)
 - 6.3. Administrative jobs
 - 6.4. Writing and editing jobs
- 7. Music related other jobs (paid/unpaid)
 - 7.1. Practicing music
 - 7.2. Learning new music
 - 7.3. Learning new instrument
 - 7.4. Compositions and songwriting
 - 7.5. Conceptualizing and making music / original music
 - 7.6. Creating practice scores
 - 7.7. Music for therapy
 - 7.8. Participating in competitions
- 8. Other activities
 - 8.1. Managing office equipment
 - 8.2. Maintaining instrument
 - 8.3. Invoicing and maintaining records
 - 8.4. Bookkeeping
 - 8.5. Correspondence
 - 8.6. Working for free
 - 8.7. Socializing
 - 8.8. Social media
 - 8.9. Keeping record of music work

Indexing: Musicians’ work and non-work

Example from a transcript (Becky, classical)

1.5 Childhood	I started playing the instrument I play or, I was always a musician so when I was really little, I was introduced to the piano by my dad, he had a piano in the house and so I started lessons when I was five, with that one...
1.6 Music education	so I picked up a viola, and about six months later I was accepted into East Lothian school’s orchestra. So, at the time that was also state sponsored I mean, a lot of these institutions are, you know, really suffering these days. But East Lothian school’s orchestra, pardon me, boarding schools orchestra was a residential program... I think after a couple of years, I was accepted into the National Youth Orchestra Scotland, and Edinburgh Youth orchestra. As a youth orchestra was also touring, so then there was a tour to Denmark and Sweden. It was my first time on an airplane, you know, it was just so exciting. There was this sort of real excitement and social and you know we were all you know, it’s a Scottish Youth Orchestra, I mean, plenty of access to alcohol. Plenty of, new interesting guys around that were interested in the same thing that I was interested in so it really sort of connected to my all, of my teenage needs...
1.6 Music education	
3.6 Touring and performing at various venues	
8.7 Socializing	
3.3 Performing with music teachers at large venues	NYAS was a huge development opportunity for me because it was top level conductors like [anonymized] and [anonymized], [anonymized], and [anonymized]. These guys, these people who have been in the music profession for decades and were really top of their, top in the field. And young soloists like young [anonymized], I mean when I think she was 18, when she played with us, and now she’s on, if not the top soloist in the world, she’s up there. So, there was this real joy in excellence and achieving something really outstanding. And opportunities like playing at the Proms and touring Italy, you know these sorts of wonderful, exciting opportunities...
3.6 Touring and performing at various venues	

Sorting

Example of sorting

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Background <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sampling details 2. Employment 3. Household composition 4. Parents musicians 5. Childhood 6. Music education 2. First performing experience <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. First performing experience 2. How did it start 3. How much did you earn 4. Reasons for playing without money 5. Subsequent music jobs 6. Other 	<p>1.6 Music Education</p> <p>so I picked up a viola, and about six months later I was accepted into East Lothian school’s orchestra. So, at the time that was also state sponsored I mean, a lot of these institutions are, you know, really suffering these days. (Becky)</p> <p>I think after a couple of years, I was accepted into the National Youth Orchestra Scotland, and Edinburgh Youth orchestra. (Becky)</p> <p>So I did A level music into two different ways, and a performance version and an historical version. I started getting singing lessons I really just, I did my creative theory, exam.(Becky)</p>
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Data summary and display using framework: musicians' work and non-work

Summaries of thematically sorted data is displayed in each cell. Each subtheme becomes a column, and each participant has a separate row

Example of thematic matrix for network

Informants	Descriptive themes				
	Connecting with industry colleagues	Connecting with other musicians	Participating in social events	Interaction with audiences during live performances	Interaction with audience online
Oliver, classical	Met colleagues such as composers, music directors after work for drinks and dinner	Invited musician friends home for dinner	No information on this theme	No one-on-one interaction during solo performances	Started to interact with various audiences online during the pandemic, selling lessons, promoting cello, music practice or discussing music with other performers
Paloma, jazz	Writing emails to venues, schools for music work	Invited musician friends home to play new music	Participated in social events with musicians to support musicians' cause	No information on this theme	Regular online posts: used social media to advertise upcoming performances
Ann, pop	Writing emails to various artists in other cities for organizing music tours	Most friends were musicians; regularly met them – socializing or for work	Participated in various social events related to restoring music venues, social cause, market festivals to promote music, and open mics	Would pause between music performances and share with the audiences what the relevance of the song (only when playing original composition). Limited or no interaction with audiences when performing at functions or other venues such as pubs or restaurants	Posted online content regularly, organized one-on-one interaction with music consumers

Example of thematic matrix for family activities

Informants	Descriptive themes				
	Vacationing	Household chores	Childcare	Playing with children	Entertainment with family
Josh, jazz	Although desired to travel and go vacationing, did not have the money needed for vacationing	Occasional grocery shopping	No children	Theme not discussed (n/d)	Going out for walks with partner, spending time with partner
Macy, classical	Did not have adequate finances or time for vacations	Was regularly performing household chores – cleaning, laundry, dishes, cooking	Took breaks between work (music teaching, practice and meetings) to tend to child	No playtime with child; spending time during school drop to catch up with child	Occasional watching telly on Saturday
David, pop	Theme not discussed (n/d)	Occasional grocery shopping, running errands	No children	Theme not discussed (n/d)	Visiting parents occasionally; sharing music work; receiving feedback from family

Developing categories

The table (10.6.a) includes a few data summaries relating to the subtheme ‘connecting with industry colleagues’ and a preliminary list of elements that appear in the text. For ease of display, a few summaries and a few chunks of verbatim data are produced in column A and column B shows the preliminary list of elements as appearing in the data. Here following Ritchie et al., (2014) data summaries from more than one subtheme is combined and subsequently the theme is re-labelled. The following table (10.6.b) Column A is relabelled ‘connection with industry partners and shows a list of elements across the data and column B shows the underlying dimensions

A	B
Data summaries (without quotations) and raw data (in quotations) for subtheme: connecting with industry colleagues	Detected elements
“a lot of musicians, we do, so I've played to so many concerts for free. I would just be like; I just want to get my hands and perform and play and I don't want any money. Just like the project that we just did, you know, the big project, none of the musicians they were like, that's a brilliant project I'll do it for free”	Common practice Working for free (showcase musicianship) Working with other musicians Working for free (creative work)
Received invitations for various projects from different people in the community – municipality music band, to perform at a wedding “I mean, the fact that I sang as a volunteer at the symphony chorus with the symphony chorus because I wanted to get my wings back and my endurance back and the, conductor of the symphony chorus is sort of like he's a nucleus of the musical, musical group community. And when people need you, they may call him. So all of a sudden he's referring me to all these other things. So you know, you never, you never know how you're going to be connected to somewhere, someone else by where you are at the moment.” “sometimes it's nice being taken out to dinner and for drinks, sometimes it's dessert and coffee. But, in that dessert and coffee even you're talking and you're getting to know each other. The piano tuner came to tune my piano. He gave me the name of the woman of the head of the voice Department of the University here. I didn't know who she was. So now all of a sudden, I have her name and her connection. You just have to be you have to be alert. And just keep yourself plugged in. Yeah, but no, it is networking. It's hard to put a value on it's just it's absolutely necessary. It is necessary to maintain and grow. Absolutely.”	New projects from various sources Working for free (to start music work) conductor - Important people are well connected References from important people To know each other Expand connections Knowing important people Be interested in people Important to stay connected
“I am with colleagues, then it's work because I'm socializing. And I'm trying to link which is a very strange thing. Socializing, for musician, if you're socializing with other musicians, there is always this thing behind your head where you're like, I am socializing so that this person I'm going to, to have link with this person and then I can work with them. Maybe later in the future. There is always something like that at the background of your head as a musician.”	Prospective work Meeting other musicians in instrumental Meeting musicians for future work
Likes to maintain professional relationships with various people including publishers, television producers, or individuals. Believes in establishing a relationship with someone who is going to be paying money for me to either play or to write or whatever. Would be mindful when meeting various people and assess whether he would like to get to know them better, or someone he will not go near “it's not something you can hand over to an agent, because they don't know the business. A lot of it is about individual personal relationships with people who run venues with programmers, all that sort of thing. What's made all the difference to that is the telly cause as they've become more kind of recognizable. So, the assumption is that my sort of price has gone up.”	Building personal relationships Likes strong bonds with people Being selective building relations with people Limited trust on agents Knowing people personally

Table: (10.6.a)

In the table (10.6.b), column A is relabelled, and column B shows the underlying dimensions

A	B
Detected elements for connection with industry partners Working with other musicians Working with conductor Familiarity with venues Need regular correspondence Need to stay connected Connected with musicians during performances Participation in social media Answering phone calls/email To know each other Prospective work Knowing people personally Perform creative work Showcase musicianship Start music work Common practice New projects from various sources Important people are well connected Familiarity with venue Building personal relationships Being interested in people Building personal relationships Knowing people personally Important people are well connected Connect through social media Working with important people Likes strong bonds with people Building personal relationships	Key dimensions With musicians and other industry partners Correspondence Socialize Working for free Acquiring new work Networking (benefits) Expand networks Recommendations
	Higher-order categories Networking (approaches) Networking (benefits)

Table: (10.6.b)

10.7. Appendix G: Table on genre categories

Genre based distinctions	Classical	Jazz	Pop
Entry requirements	Professional music education necessary Showcase successful showmanship Compete in auditions and competitions	Professional music education/ shared knowledge necessary. Cooperation with band members, presence of buyers/markets Informal relationships	Professional education not a prerequisite. Audiences' acceptance and popularity with buyers/markets. Collaboration with
Participation in artistic labour markets	Creative work market – music work Arts-related market – music teaching, mentoring exceptional students, offering masterclass Non-arts market – performing creative projects	Creative work market – music work Arts-related market – music teaching, Non-arts market – performing non-creative work such as administrative jobs, pool cleaning job, job related to mentoring and coaching students	Creative work market – music work; pottery work, Non-arts market – performing non-creative work such as office job, working at Royal Mail
Creative work	Writing music compositions, film music, session music, solo performances, instrumental performances in orchestra or chamber music, chorister, writing orchestral pieces	Gigs at various venues (restaurants, pubs, market festivals, functions). Original music work (occasionally) Recording and producing music independently	Gigs at various venues (restaurants, pubs, market festivals, functions). Original music work (occasionally) Songwriting (occasionally)
Unpaid work	Conceiving new ideas and turning them into creative outputs Practicing music regularly Limited social media activity Networking including correspondence and socializing	Recording music and uploading on digital platforms Practicing if there are upcoming concerts Networking with various bands, and venues Recording and producing music independently	Songwriting Recording music videos and uploading on digital platforms Practicing music before gigs Lots of social media activity including one-on-one online sessions with audiences (music consumers), promoting one's personality/image, music work and other interests.
Non-work	Participated in various non-work activities Occasional breaks from work Vacationing	Limited participation in non-work due to lack of financial resources Prioritizing work (music/non-music) over breaks No vacations	Limited participation in non-work due to lack of financial resources Prioritizing work (music/non-music) over breaks No vacations

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