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**Mapping Professional Lives – A Study of the
Professionalisation of Actors and Dancers**

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Education

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Declaration

I declare that the work in this thesis is my own and contains no material which has been published or used before in any context. The thesis has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.

Abstract

This thesis explores the under-theorised and under-mapped area of labour supply within the field of artistic production. It agrees with cultural economists that the neo-classical economic theoretical models used to analyse the behaviour of artistic labour supply are inadequate - hampered by a lack of differentiated understanding of the employment modes, transactional roles and internal market relationships of artistic production. This thesis argues that generating a more powerful dynamic model for artistic labour behaviour depends on factoring in variables associated with work mode and functional role. There is evidence to suggest that artists and in particular, actors and dancers who are the subject of this study, mix a variety of functional roles in a mixed portfolio of entrepreneurial and employed work and the "mix" may change at different points in the career. Moreover, artists make apparently "irrational" work choices which cannot be explained by neo-classical economic theory. The thesis uses an empirical study of the working lives of eight performing artists to investigate the ways in which they act and inter-act within the artistic labour market. It finds that rational work choices are made which balance opportunities for accumulating reputation, investing in expertise, creative engagement and the minimising of financial risk.

1.0 Introduction

This study is located in the field of artistic production and more specifically within the artist's world of work and the factors which shape artistic careers. The objectives of the study are to [1] identify and elucidate features of artistic labour which are not accounted for within the standard neo-classical economic theorisation of "utility maximisation" and [2] demonstrate the specific labour market-related factors which determine artist professional behaviour, interacting and influencing each other to steer the artist's career development.

The study uses a piece of empirical research to investigate the detailed working lives of four actors and four dancers currently working in Britain. Narrative inquiry methodology has been used to construct information about current working lives, work histories and career aspirations with the participants.

Section two reviews and problematises the body of theory which models and describes the artistic economy on the macro, meso and micro levels of theoretical paradigm, labour market operation and artistic labour supply respectively. It concludes by identifying the need for a more differentiated understanding of the trading within the market and of the nature of "utility maximisation" in that context. Section three reviews characterisations of artistic professionalisation. Section four clarifies the aims, methodology and design of the empirical research study. Sections six and seven map and interpret the current working lives and work histories of eight performing artists. Section eight analyses the career trends and perceives a career development cycle. Section nine presents a conceptual model of an artistic work

preference matrix. The study concludes by accounting for the rationality of artistic work choices in terms of career development based on cultural, human and economic capital accumulation.

2.0 The Artistic Economy

2.1 Neo-Classical Economic Paradigm - Macro Level

The majority of those contributing to the discourse of Cultural Economics apply neo-classical theory to the artistic economy as a means of analysing its operation. This is unsurprising given its role as the dominant paradigm in the field of economic theory. As Weintraub (2002 p.1) states: "We're all neoclassicals now, even the Keynesians, because what is taught to students, what is mainstream economics today, is neoclassical economics." He claims that economists presenting alternatives are disagreeing over "details" within a prevailing neo-classical "orthodoxy". The framework of which can be summarised as follows:

Producers/sellers of goods and services seek to maximise profits;
purchasers/consumers of goods and services seek to "maximise utility" ie consumer satisfaction; and value is determined by the balance between supply and demand with scarcity driving up the price. The same principles are applied to the buying and selling of labour. The employer balances the value of the output of a worker against the cost of his/her employment before deciding to hire or fire - in order to maximise profit. The employees balance the "disutility" of work with the "utility" of leisure to set a "marginal unit" (price) for their labour which maximises utility. Their wages or fees are then determined by the demand for their services. A scarcity (undersupply) of workers with appropriate skills and expertise drives up wages and fees while an oversupply of the same drives down wages.

The underlying assumptions are of the "rationality" of the preferred outcomes of all individuals (ie those which maximise profit and self-interest) and also of the accessibility of "full and relevant" information to all parties. (Weintraub 2002 p.3)

The neo-classical vision is one in which supply and demand achieve economic equilibrium: as described by Creigh-Tyte and Stiven (2001 p.173):

"The neo-classical model of economic behaviour describes an optimal allocation of resources, which assumes that rational agents (consumers, firms) act with self-interest within a 'perfect' environment. The 'self-interest' of actors is formalised as a maximisation of profits by firms and the maximisation of utility by consumers. The 'perfect' environment assumes perfect competition, where the market price cannot be affected by the actions of any of the numerous individual agents, and that everyone involved shares perfect knowledge, information and foresight."

This neo-classical paradigm also underpins the work of cultural economists seeking to analyse the field of artistic production. Some, including Creigh-Tyte and Stiven (2001) use neo-classical theory to analyse market failure in the artistic economy, others seek to broaden the range of variables and so improve the power and explanatory value of the model, for example Throsby's 1999 & 2001 work on modelling the relationship between cultural capital and economic capital, Rushton's 1999 "communitarian critique" of the methodological individualism inherent in the

neo-classical model and Caserta and Cuccia's (2001) work towards a "dynamic" model of arts labour supply.

In a way, their work lends weight to Weintraub's (2002 p.3) contention that neo-classical economics is the "metatheory ... [which] ... generates economic theories .." and that economists disagree over "detail" whilst accepting it as the orthodoxy.

Certainly there are grounds for inferring that cultural economists utilise neo-classical theory as a framework for analysis or rather an heuristic tool: testing it for "fit" with what is known about the artistic economy; adding variables where the existing ones fail to explain and perhaps redefining and contextualising others - in their project to develop a more accurate and powerful theoretical model of the artistic economy.

The literature applying neo-classical economic theory to an analysis of the artistic economy reveals two problems of "fit" . Most writers are concerned with the market structure and the economic arguments for policy-driven subsidy. They foreground the theory's inability to account for non-monetary "value" and in particular for the role of human and cultural capital accumulation in artistic production (inter alia: Heilbrun & Gray 2001, Throsby 1999 & 2001, Rushton 1999, Klamer 1996, Creighton & Steven 2001). But the principle interest of this study is in the rather less frequented territory of modelling the artistic labour market and the inadequate explanation of artist labour supply afforded by neo-classical economic theory - as explored by Towse 1995, 1996a & b, Menger & Gurgand 1996, Menger 1999, Caserta & Cuccia 2001.

2.2 Modelling and Describing Artistic Labour Markets

Towse (1996a p.96-100) presents a convincing case for using neoclassical economic theory to analyse the artistic labour market. She points out how applying the model across a range of empirical studies has allowed cultural economists to identify that artistic labour markets "conform in some respects to other labor markets but ... also have distinguishing features which introduce complications in standard labor economics." (p.99). Heilbron & Gray (2001 p.321) agree:

"The basic principles are no different from those that apply in product markets or in other resource markets: The greater the demand or the less the supply, the lower will be the price".

They go on to point out (p.324), taking the performing arts as an example, that it is audience demand for a product and for a specific type of product which determines for example how many dancers might be employed in a given period. A growth in audience interest, followed by an increase in production of a particular product type can lead to an increase in demand for a certain type of dancer. This "success" can lead other dancers to train for or come back into the labour market, leading to an oversupply and the reduction of wages. Equally, factors such union-negotiated wage increases can cause theatre employers to minimise production costs by reducing cast sizes and/or wages. Beyond this point, however, Heilbron & Gray (p.326) acknowledge that the artistic labour market "violates" the assumptions of a "perfectly competitive" market. Artists (including actors and dancers) are the not "homogeneous" - ie flexibly interchangeable, it is difficult to agree the "value" of

works of art (which may be subject to marketplace trial and error) and therefore there is no "perfect knowledge" of artists' wages and their marginal productivity is difficult to measure because their output cannot be measured quantitatively.

On the labour "demand" side ie the "employers" and purchasers of products and services, both Towse (1996a p.99) and Heilbron & Gray (2001 p.327) refer to the "not for profit" status of arts organisations which prevents them from operating as profit maximisers in the conventional sense. This needs further exploration for the light it throws on the effects of market intervention by policy-makers, arts subsidy providers, patrons and sponsors. Much of the literature of market failure in the artistic economy focuses on using the analysis to make the case for public funding (inter alia: Heilbron & Gray 2001, Throsby 1999, Rushton 1999, Creigh-Tyte & Stiven 2001). There is interesting work to do on the modelling of a market which is subsidised to prioritise artistic/educational/social products over commercial/entertainment oriented products but that is beyond the scope of this study. However it is worth noting at this point (after Lindley 2002), that artistic market labour supply can be affected directly by political intervention. Policies which increase or decrease subsidy in different forms ie for art production and dissemination or for social regeneration, health and education can create a demand for types of artistic skills. Policy interventions, such as the introduction of "Creative Partnerships" for example will increase the demand for artists who can work in schools. It is an example of what Lindley (2002 p.7) terms "market-making" in that it uses subsidy to promote partnerships between artists, arts organisations and schools - it is acting as "a broker between producers and consumers".

Such interventions make short-medium term changes in the supply/demand relationship but it is interesting that despite arts organisations' (employers) apparent lack of profit maximisation motive, the underlying structure of the artistic labour market appears typical of post-Fordist production. More specifically of the "flexible accumulation" that David Harvey (1990 p.150) describes, in which:

"The labour market has undergone a radical restructuring. Faced with strong market volatility, heightened competition, and narrowing profit margins, employers have taken advantage of weakened union power and the pools of surplus (unemployed or underemployed) labourers to push for much more flexible work regimes and labour contracts."

It is interesting to speculate on how the forces that Harvey describes ie market volatility, heightened competition, and narrowing profit margins can be seen to be acting within what are (in most European and Antipodean countries at least) heavily subsidised public service industries. Perhaps in not-for-profit organisations, the goal of "breaking even" replaces that of maximising profit and "subsidy reduction" replaces "narrowing profit margins". But market volatility is a feature of the artistic economy and is subject to heightened competition from other sources of entertainment and leisure activity (Henley Centre Report 1999).

Whatever the causes, the characteristic features of post-Fordist labour supply (as described by Harvey 1990 inter alia) are: increased self-employment and entrepreneurialism, increased outsourcing and more sub-contracting, and for individuals: fewer permanent jobs, more short-term contracts, more project-based

work, more delegated risk and greater insecurity. Within this macro-economic climate, cultural economists (Towse 1995, 1996a, Heilbron & Gray 2001 inter alia) point to further fragmentation of the artistic labour market caused by a disequilibrium of supply and demand. Their view is that the markets do not clear (find a balance) because of an oversupply of artist labour. The evidence for this can be found in the many empirical studies which consistently show typical symptoms of labour oversupply: increases in artist numbers, job-rationing, unemployment and under-employment, reductions in working hours and reductions in wages (see Freakley 2000 after Menger 1999, Towse 1995, 1996a.).

2.3 Artistic Labour Market Operation - Meso Level

So far the focus has been on modelling and describing the structural supply and demand relationships rather than the operation of the artistic labour market. The previous sections, in the interest of simplification, may have given the impression that the dominant employment relationships are between arts organisation employers and semi-organised labour. This is far from being the case.

There are few large employers and a multitude of micro-enterprises operating with varying combinations of commercial and subsidised finances. Employment is "precarious" (Galloway 2001 p.4-6). The enterprises operate in the risky field of continuous production of innovative prototypes for a market subject to "unpredictable shifts"(Menger p.548 inter alia). The cultural sector specialises in fast turnover of innovative aesthetic "prototype-like" products "whose use-value and

exchange- value have always been sign-values" and in which successful artists are able to read trends and respond to the shifts creatively and appropriately. As Lash and Urry (1994 p.123) note "the culture industries [are] design intensive.... [and] have always operated with aesthetic sensibility and been able "hermeneutically to sense, or to intuit, the semantic needs of their public". Interestingly Lash and Urry (1994 p.123) see the culture industries as having provided the "template" for "design intensive" production needed for the market volatility of the post-Fordist era.

Menger & Gurgand 1996 and Menger 1999 characterise the labour market operation as a network of small businesses : independent freelancing workers who "may themselves be seen as small firms building sub-contractual relations with artistic organizations" trading goods and services. 'Reputation', 'clustering' and networks are key features of the artistic labour market's operation. Most writers stress the centrality of 'reputation' in securing work in the cultural sector. Towse (1998) draws attention to the ways in which reputation facilitates the job search and job match relations between artist practitioners and 'employers'. Menger (1999) comments on how 'trustworthy ties' and networks build up over sub-sectors of the cultural industries to facilitate job search/job match. O'Brien and Feast (1995). Menger (1999) and Galloway (2001) draw attention to the clustering of artist practitioners and cultural industries in metropolitan areas and cultural quarters. Menger 1996 p.352 sees this as a strategy for facilitating the kinds of relationships necessary for the making of cultural products. The creative artists (in whatever art form) are closer to the galleries, publishers, realisers, agents, venues, promoters, producers and distributors of their work. They are also closer to what Bourdieu (1994 pp51-62)

calls the "the field of forces" and the "field of struggles" in which "belief in value" is created. In other words in which gatekeepers such as critics, artists, promoters and funders mutually-legitimate or "consecrate" (Bourdieu 1994 p.62) reputations.

2.4 Artistic Labour Supply - Micro Level

One of the "problems" which perplexes cultural economists is the apparently "non-rational" behaviour (in the neoclassical sense of maximising self-interest) by artists who, in supplying their labour, deliberately choose "artistic poverty" (Towse 1996a p.99) over other ways of earning a living. Most writers on cultural economics agree that artists have high levels of education which suggests they have the capacity for higher earnings outside the sector. But as Heilbron & Gray (2001 p.332) note:

"Most people given a choice between two opportunities that are otherwise similar will choose the one that entails the higher salary. It seems fair and safe to say also that most people will prefer to work fewer hours per day, and not have to undergo lengthy and sometimes expensive training Why then, would anyone select a career that entails notoriously low wages, long and uncertain hours, the possibility of injury, arduous preparation and training, and innate talent too boot? the conventional wisdom holds that careers in the arts have just such characteristics."

Despite this, Heilbron & Gray continue to hold that "artists are rational utility maximizers". They recognise that the rewards they seek have a "nonmonetary"

component. Towse (1996a p.99) also comments on "non-pecuniary gains" or "psychic benefits" which need to be factored in and she connects these with the idea of identity : "People value seeing themselves and being seen as artists" (p.99).

Menger (1999 p.554-5) reviews the explanations on offer: it is "a calling" (after Kris & Kurtz 1987), it is the inherited ideology of "art for art's sake" and it is an "inner drive" (after Jeffri & Throsby 1994) before foregrounding "job satisfaction" as the key compensatory factor:

"Artistic work can be considered as highly attractive along a set of measurable dimensions of job satisfaction that include the variety of work, a high level of personal autonomy in using one's own initiative, the opportunities to use a wide range of abilities and to feel self-actualized at work, an idiosyncratic way of life, a strong sense of community, a low level of routine, and a high degree of social recognition for the successful artists."

Throsby (1994 & 2001) goes further still when he identifies intrinsic rewards of artistic work in his description of artist 'work preference' characteristics "...artists generally prefer more work time to less, and derive satisfaction from the work itself." (2001 p.102). However it is important to note that he is referring specifically to the creative artists who originate the artistic production (see section 2.5 on Artistic Production) for example the composer, choreographer or fine artist, rather than others needed to realise the production, for example the instrumental player, the actor or the dancer. Throsby (2001 p.163) asks us to allow for the possibility that "... despite the theoretical appeal of a rational model of artistic creativity, artists may in fact be distinguishable from others in society precisely by their *irrationality*. Many

would argue that it is only by overturning conventional notions, by standing apart from the mainstream, or by following the inspirational spirit wherever it may lead that art progresses, and that to characterise art and imagination as 'rational' is a contradiction in terms."

Heilbron & Gray (2001 p333) explore the explanatory value of the concept of "human capital". An organisation will invest in the education or development of an employee in the expectation of a return in the form of increased productivity. Similarly an individual will self invest in order to enhance employment potential, wages or other career-related objective. The concept of self-investment is useful in going some way towards explaining the apparently *irrational* choices made to invest in unpaid "creative" or lowly-paid reputation/career-building work. Throsby (2001) may be correct in surmising that the creative artist sometimes prioritises intrinsic work-satisfaction (following the inspirational spirit) over rational financial reward but it would be simplistic not to search out the other "rationalities" operating in the context of artist work preferences.

Menger (1999) presents a complex and convincing characterisation of the artist practitioner as a "small firm", dependent, like all businesses, on the quality of its reputation and its trading relations across a variety of different organisations - all of whom are necessary for the work to be fully realised. He speculates that in the reputation-building phases of a career/business, artist practitioners may self-invest in the making of their work or turn down better paid jobs which will not contribute to their reputation-building or artistic development in favour of poorly paid jobs that will. He sees the individual artist practitioner as constantly managing a balance

between reputation risk and financial risk. It is an obvious step to hypothesise from this view, that in turning down some kinds of well-paid work the artist may well be making a rational decision to postpone short-term gain in favour of longer-term career development. Therefore what could be seen (and indeed might be deliberately presented as) an ideologically-driven "art-for-arts sake" choice could equally be interpreted as a self-investment in human or more accurately cultural capital building (after Bourdieu rather than Throsby). Equally, when Towse (1996a) makes reference to "being an artist" as a primary motivator, one might add that reputation, identity and profile are central to the saleability of artistic products and services and therefore once again the artist is making an economically rational claim to an identity which has market value - as long as others will validate it.

In Menger's model of the artistic economy as a trading network of small businesses and sole traders just as in Becker's (1982) earlier account of "Art Worlds", individuals and organisations work together in temporary teams on projects or series of projects. What could be a time-consuming and costly search for appropriate employees, collaborators and technical resources is facilitated by networks of "trustworthy ties" (Menger & Gurgand 1996 p.351). I would go further and argue that transactions are negotiated on the basis of reputation, and individuals, project teams and that organisations build reputations with differentiated artistic identities in order to maximise their trading potential and make themselves easier to "match".

In other words, as Becker (1982) recognised, the artist is supplying goods and services within an internal market or within internal markets. Theories of the rationality of artistic work preferences must therefore be interrogated through a more

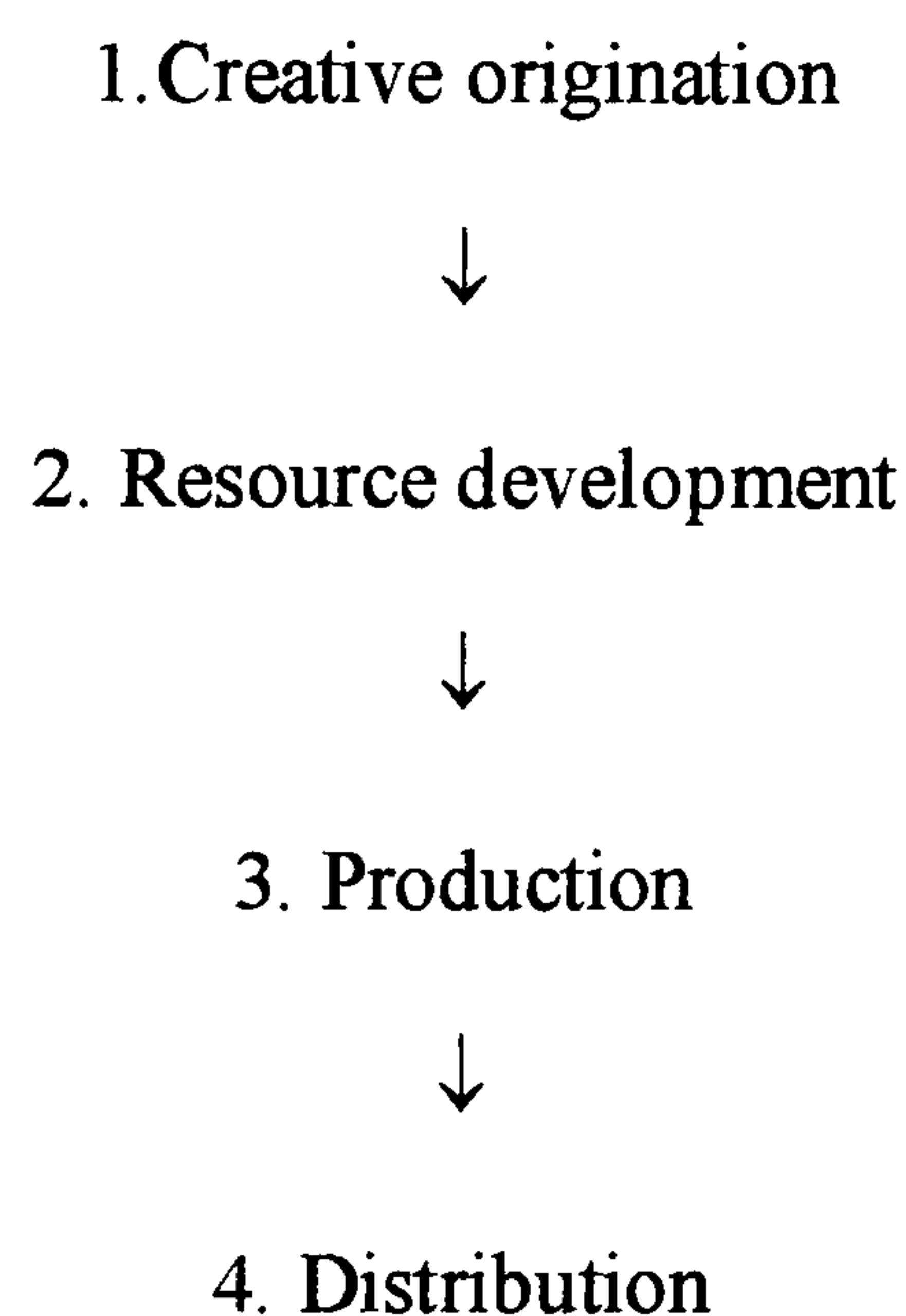
differentiated understanding of the way/s in which artistic production operates in and through these markets.

2.5 Artistic Production and Internal Market/s

There has been little differentiation within the preceding sections between the types of products and services offered by artists working with different functional roles and different art forms. This becomes necessary when seeking to describe the artist's transaction relations within the internal markets of artistic production. Artists supply a wide range of artistic products and services, most of which are sold within an internal marketplace rather than directly to the public. It seems reasonable to assume then that different types of artists have different relationships within this market and engage at different stages of the supply chain. They would be likely to have very different resource needs, production processes and customers. The literature is sparse on this topic but Towse 1996a p.102 makes a useful starting point. She notes that conventionally, the literature on artists' labour markets distinguishes between "creative artists - writers, visual artists, composers, choreographers, film-makers etc." who generally "produce something tangible which is then sold " and "performing artists - musicians, actors, dancers, etc." who are "mostly employed by an organization, and their services are the actual labor of giving the performance". She characterises the "creative artists" as "entrepreneurs" who must "invest time and other resources into the creation of ... work well in advance of its completion". But then goes on to point out the inadequacies of the categorisation - particularly the assumption that performing artists are "mostly employed". There are certainly

grounds for categorising some performing artist behaviour as entrepreneurial not just on the grounds of job search but in terms of job creation as well. In which case the behaviour approaches that of the creative artist. Conversely, the creative artist who creates work on commission might be said to be closer to a position of employment than that of self-investment. It might be helpful therefore to think in terms of functional roles and the behaviour associated with them, rather than in terms of artist per se. One might propose a generic artistic production process of (for simplicity) four stages, as shown in figure 2.1.

Fig. 2.1 Generic artistic production process



Three examples show how the proposed framework might apply to three different artforms where artists work in differing functional roles:

- A poet would probably originate the creative concept and proceed to writing (production) requiring little resource beyond an investment of personal time and creative energy (stages 1 & 2) but the real challenge is then to persuade a

publisher to print, market, distribute and sell the work (stages 3 & 4) or to self-invest in publication and distribution.

- A touring theatre or dance producer/artistic director would spend a great deal of time and effort at stage 1: originating and developing the creative concept, raising funds, identifying the artistic collaborators, getting the preliminary support of venues and promoters; followed by a resource and labour intensive period of devising/rehearsal and tour booking (stages 2 & 3); and finally presenting the work on tour (4).**
- A sculptor would originate the creative concept but (unlike the poet) be unable to proceed to developing it without investing time and effort at stage 2 to secure the required materials and space for stage 3 - either through self-investment or sponsorship. At stage 4, the sculptor could seek the support of galleries and other exhibition spaces to display and/or sell the work or self-invest by hiring a gallery.**

There would be trading relationships at each stage of the production process with those who might be persuaded to do any (or all) of the following: fund, collaborate, publish, display, promote, distribute, write about, purchase, sell. These individuals and organisations would only be persuaded if they can see that the work is relevant to their own constituencies - whether these be trading partners further down the supply chain or end-user audiences/purchasers.

The production might, of course, take place in a less entrepreneurial context i.e. where there is less financial risk incurred by the creative originator:

- The poet might be commissioned by a publisher or other (eg London Transport) to compose a poem for a specific anthology or public site with a partial fee in advance, there is no need for self-investment at any stage.
- The touring theatre or dance producer/artistic director might be employed by a producing theatre to create a work. At each stage there may be less artistic freedom - the theatre would be an active collaborator at all stages as well as providing the resources at all stages and bearing the financial risk.
- The sculptor might be commissioned to create a site specific work, in which case the resource needs of all stages would be met and the financial risk would be carried by the commissioner.

Artistic practitioners might be involved in the supply chain of artistic production at different stages - supplying more or less creative/artistic functions. Examples might be:

A composer, commissioned to create a film soundtrack.

A choreographer commissioned to create a company work.

An actor contracted to perform in a scripted play

An actor/deviser in a profit-share touring production

A dancer collaborating with a musician on a profit-share fringe production

A dance captain/rehearsal director for a dance company.

Moreover, it is very likely that individuals would move across these functions both at a single point in time through multiple job holding and also along the time-line of a career. So, the musician/composer might receive commissions and engage in profit-share work, the actor might perform in a scripted play one week and work entrepreneurially on a profit-share play the next and the dancer be a rehearsal director for a month, a choreographer with a different company the following month and at the same time fit in being a dancer in a touring company during both months.

Whatever the functional role or roles adopted, the artists will at all times, be trading within the internal markets of artistic production. The following are a few examples of the types of transactions they might engage in:

Selling acting services through auditions or "meetings" to producers or directors.

Selling ideas to potential investors (funders/sponsors)

Buying dancer services through auditions or networks

Selling dancer and actor services to theatrical agents

Buying physical resources for the production

Buying artistic services such as design or music composition

Promoting the work with opinion formers

Negotiating ideas with management

Promoting the artistic products with galleries

Marketing the work to audiences

Selling productions to venues

Given the range of possible functions and transactional roles involved across the field of artistic production, it seems reasonable to assume that artists might be found to be engaging in a variety of functions and types of employment in different projects and stages of production. The functions might change over time with career development and/ or artists might take on multiple functions at a single point in time. These possibilities point both to a need for further empirical research and to a need for a more differentiated and dynamic labour market model than is currently available.

3.0 Artistic Professionalisation

3.1 Defining Professionalisation

Definitions of professionalisation can be located in educational, sociological, political and economic discourses - each foregrounding a particular epistemological position but also to some extent overlapping. The common ground lies in the simple dictionary definition of professionalisation as the process whereby an individual learns the skills, knowledge and expertise needed to work in a profession.

Educational narratives foreground theories of professional learning which differentiate it from initial vocational training and academic learning. Most seek to characterise it as 'synthetic' of propositional knowledge and professional practice e.g. (Eraut 1994), as 'Metapractice' i.e. embedding theory/thought in social practice (Kemmis & Wilkinson 1998) and as 'Situated Learning' i.e. participation in communities of practice (Lave & Wenger 1991).

While educational discourse tends to focus on learning processes, sociological narratives of professionalisation are located in a broader socio-political discourse around changing power relations between government, professional associations, employers and individuals. Within long established professions such as healthcare, accountancy and teaching, the debate centres on the power relations between policy-makers, employers and professional associations or regulatory control and accountability versus professional autonomy (Freidson 1994 among others).

A key concept is professionalisation as a normative process through professional associations and their norms of professional conduct, codes of ethics, ownership of the theoretical and practical knowledge base and ownership of training/professional development (Wilensky 1964). But there are no professional associations in the arts which confer the identity and the regulatory and professional development framework in the way that the traditional professional associations do. Unions, employer associations, artist membership organisations & professional development agencies do operate but without collective organisation.

3.2 Professionalisation of the Artist

The professionalisation of the artist then is not regulated, supported or controlled by professional organisations and the professional learning associated with it is "situated" in the artistic "workplace". If that workplace is as Menger & Gurgand (1996) and Menger (1999) claim, a network of small businesses in which "trustworthy ties" and reputation facilitate the trading relations, it follows that the artistic professionalisation must follow a process similar to the setting up of a new business i.e. with the establishment of trust and trading networks. The development of reputation is central to this process as Menger & Gurgand (1996 p.355-6) point out:

"... artists as well as other skilled workers in the performing arts do build their career on the basis of their reputation. In such a context, accumulation of hiring records acts as a reputation signal in a self-reinforcing process...."

Therefore the building of "reputation-based market value" is a priority, bringing with it opportunities for a greater choice of jobs.

Work is secured (i.e. services are sold) on the basis of the reputation and skills capital accumulated through previous work. Consequently "... experienced and network-building artists and workers are constantly hired; by contrast, younger or less skilled individuals, loosely connected with the most active entrepreneurs, form a peripheral population facing discontinuous employment and longer spells without work."

The difficulties facing younger and inexperienced artists are exacerbated by lack of filtering and regulation at the entry point to the profession (Towse 1995). This turns the professionalisation of the artist into a trial and error, self-reflexive process. The artist is learning not only *how* to work in the arts but also whether or not s/he will be good enough to work in the arts and in what capacity. Menger & Gurgand (1996 p.354) describe the professionalisation of the artist as "... a dynamic model in which workers accumulate skills through experience and learning by doing; at the same time they accumulate information on how their endowment in skills and talent is rated". At this stage of a career, the paramount need is to test the market and try to locate the self as a product within it. "... young and inexperienced artistic workers accept low rewards in exchange for information about the job and about themselves, which allows them to estimate more precisely their chances of making a comfortable living in the arts" (Menger 1999 p. 560-1).

It is interesting to speculate on how these key features of early artistic working: the building of a work record, the market testing, the development of skills and the establishment of trading networks inter-act to bring about the professionalisation of the artist. For example, it is likely that estimation of skills and talent would be relative to specific sub-markets within the field of artistic production and it is not just a question of "how much" talent but also a question of finding out who values it. If that is the case, a significant factor in the professionalisation process would then be the speed with which the artist is able to make contact with the *appropriate* trading contacts and networks and so begin the building of a work history which reinforces reputation, leading to more work and more choice of work.

4.0 Research Aims and Methodology

4.1 The Aims of the Empirical Study

The theoretical accounts of the artistic economy discussed and developed in sections two and three provide a valuable context and conceptual framework for considering the ways in which individual artistic practitioners inter-act with the field of artistic production. However, there are areas in the theory which remain under-described and which would benefit from clarification through further empirical investigation. In particular two theoretical "problems" require further exploration:

1. A differentiated and detailed understanding of the employment modes, functional roles and internal market relations of artistic production.
2. A conceptualisation of 'rationality' in relation to artistic labour work preferences.

The empirical research study set out to see if these theoretical problems could be illuminated through an investigation of the lived experiences of working artistic practitioners. The aim was to interrogate the working life narratives of eight performing artists in order to:

- map out their current working lives and individual work chronologies.
- identify the occupational roles and work modes they have engaged in.

- seek out any career phases and trends that may be present.
- clarify their transactional relationships within the internal markets of artistic production during different career phases.
- explore the work preference decisions they have made.

Bearing in mind the need for art form specificity and differentiation of work roles, as well as the time constraints of conducting the research in the context of a final doctoral assignment, the scope of the investigation was limited to two art form categories : dance and theatre and focused on the occupational role of performer or more precisely, the roles of actor and dancer.

4.2 Methodology

The aims of the study pre-determined a qualitative methodological approach and located it within an interpretative/constructionist rather than a scientific/positivist paradigm. It was to be an investigation of how a defined group of individuals understood their experiences at defined moments in their working lives and how they constructed a meaningful narrative of their own career development. Of particular interest were the subjects' own definitions and presentations of professional identity, the personal values that determined their work preference decisions and their personal constructions of 'professionalisation' i.e. the key events and experiences that

they felt had influenced their professional identities and enabled them to work in particular areas of artistic production.

I did not begin the study with a hypothesis to test or even, despite many years of working with actors and dancers in different capacities, with 'expert' knowledge of how the participants would construct and present their understandings with which to frame and categorise pre-set questions and analyse responses. Rather, the challenge was to facilitate and encourage reflection on the working life and arrive at agreed understandings between the researcher and the participant whilst minimising the researcher influence on the choice of significant categories - an inductive rather than a deductive process. Lincoln & Guba's (2000 p.168 & p.170-1) account of a constructionist research paradigm provided a useful heuristic tool for clarifying the methodological approach i.e. a "relativist" ontology, "rooted in local and constructed realities"; a "transactional/subjectivist" epistemology valorising "created findings"; a "hermeneutic/dialectic" methodology; and knowledge "coalescing around consensus".

The starting point of the study was an ontological valuing of the realities of the participants' constructed narratives of their working lives. In foregrounding the "local and constructed realities" of actors and dancers (both individual and collective), the intention was to seek out a distinctive (albeit partial and relative) reality which was perceived as missing from the dominant scientific ontology of neo-classical economics. The study took a hermeneutic epistemological position which recognised that knowledge would be generated inductively throughout all stages of the research process and negotiated consensually as the data emerged (after Schwandt. 2000 p.

195). Consequently, the researcher prepared for a dialectical engagement with the emerging data and an inter-active dialogue with the actor and dancer participants.

4.3 The Quality Construct

One category presented in Lincoln and Guba's (2000 p.168 & 170-7) characterisation of the constructivist paradigm raised a methodological issue which was more difficult to resolve. Their description of "goodness/quality criteria" (traditionally "validity") as "trustworthiness and authenticity" seemed an inadequate representation of the highly contested definition of "quality" in interpretative research paradigms. Adopting a relativist ontology does not absolve researchers from working as "truthfully" as possible - we cannot "leave the field of judgement behind" (Smith & Deemer 2000 p.888). But as Hatch & Wisnieski (1995) note, there is a need to look for criteria beyond the "the standardized notions of reliability, validity, and generalizability" which apply within positivist research paradigms. The literature on postpositivist paradigms such as naturalistic and narrative inquiry and life history research strategies contains a bewildering array of alternative approaches for determining quality criteria. Hatch & Wisnieski (1995 p.128-129) summarise some of these:

"Adequacy (Connelly and Clandinin 1990); *Aesthetic finality* (Connelly and Clandinin 1990); *Accessibility* (Barone, 1992); *Authenticity* (Blumenfeld-Jones, above and Lincoln & Guba, 1986); *Believability* (Blumenfeld-Jones, above and J. Brunner 1986); *Closure* (Connelly & Clandinin 1990);

Credibility (Barone); *Compellingness* (Barone 1992); *Continuity* (Connelly and Clandinin 1990); *Explanatory power* (Connelly and Clandinin 1990 and Polkinghorne above); *Fidelity* (Blumenfeld-Jones above and Grumet, 1988); *Moral persuasiveness* (Barone, 1992) *Persuasiveness* (Barone); *Plausibility* (Connelly and Clandinin 1990 and Polkinghorne above); *Resonance* (Blumenfeld-Jones above); *Sense of conviction* (Connelly and Clandinin 1990), *Trustworthiness* (Lincoln & Guba, 1986, Zeller above); *Verisimilitude* (Barone, J. Brunner, 1986, Polkinghorne 1988)."

Smith & Deemer (2000 p.889) posit the notion of the inquirer's internal quality construct or criterial "list" which is adapted and applied in different research contexts. They characterise it as an "open-ended list of [quality] characteristics", partly tacitly known, arising from our personal (and presumably social constructed) "orientation in moral space", subject to contextual modification, challenge and reformulation and most importantly "grounded in practice or in the actual process of applying the lists and making judgements" (p.890). It is an optimistic and promising start which seems to offer potential for a dynamic matrix of ethical, technical and historical/(situated discourse-related?) criterial dimensions which could be applied with a degree of flexibility in different spaces. Disappointingly, they lose confidence in the vision, equate the construct with "prejudice" and despite *appearing* to give weight to the value of interpretative reasoning i.e. justifying the judgements made, they conclude that the lack of commonly agreed criteria will result in "Balkanization"- or lack of possibility for communication across the discourses of different scholarly communities.

Lincoln & Guba (2000 p.178) are less pessimistic. They view the concept of "validity" as "rigor in the application of method" as "borrowed from positivism" and therefore of limited application in interpretative paradigms. They helpfully separate out a concept of validity as rigour in the "process of interpretation" which can be rendered public through "defensible reasoning" within the situated discourse of a community. This would seem to open the door for inquirers to select the criteria which they feel to be appropriate in a given context, justify the reasons for their choices and make explicit how they have applied their criteria in a research project. The challenge, for this thesis has been to try to reveal the quality construct which underpins the study and how the researcher has sought to embed technical and ethical criteria within the design, data collection and interpretation stages of the project. The study's criteria derive from a four dimensional construct which in turn arises out of particular methodological issues associated with narrative inquiry. The literature indicates that these are:

[1] Relationship and voice: The narratives of the individual participants must be represented fairly in the final text and the researcher's position must be "acknowledged, examined, and explicated". It should be clear whose story is being told and where the researcher has used the narrative selectively. "...there is both an ethical and a methodological failure involved in not recognizing the role of the researcher in the construction of the narrative and text." (Measor & Sikes 1992 p.43). In this piece of work, the view is taken that while the participants co-construct knowledge within the frame of their individual narratives, it is the researcher's function to interpret, analyse and draw conclusions across the participant group and

so take responsibility for the findings and the contribution made to theory. In addition, participants are vulnerable and must be protected from manipulation. Life history approaches in particular, carry a "high ethical load" (Measor & Sikes 1992 p.223). Participants can be "coaxed" into a one-sided self-disclosure which leaves them vulnerable in the relationship and potentially subject to misinterpretation and mis-representation. Ensuring anonymity is essential since participants may refer (or be coaxed to refer) to career reversals and work choice mistakes which could undermine their future relationships with key work providers. Guaranteeing anonymity with participants whose careers are very much in the public domain presents particular challenges. Quality criteria associated with this dimension need to be applied in the research design, the processes of data collection, the data interpretation and the reporting. In particular, all identifiers such as names of companies, theatres and productions will have to be removed.

[2] "*Commonality and uniqueness*" - (Butt et al 1992 p.24) draw attention to the need for "attentive interpretation" in order to "illuminate both the logic of individual courses of action and the effects of system-wide constraints within which these courses evolved". The researcher's job is to make visible the "dialectic between the unique experiences of individuals and the constraints of broad social, political and economic structures". If we do not do this we risk colluding in the normative myth of "self-actualization". Goodson (1992) alerts us to the political dimension of valorizing (secret) individual biographies divorced from their social context. Indeed it is the inter-action between the artist and the constraints of the labour market which is the primary focus of the research and "attentive interpretation" of actor and agency in this context is of key importance.

[3] *Accurate reconstruction* - having acknowledged that the aim of the inquiry is to capture a particular partial perspective, the concept of objective "truth" would seem redundant. Sikes & Measor (1992 p.228) affirm the need for fidelity to the "world of subjective meanings, realities and intentions of the participants within situations". However the dimension of accuracy is crucially important. As Campanelli & Thomas (1994 p.2) note:

"Memory is a reconstructive process information about a given incident is interpreted in the light of the subject's general background knowledge so that memory is open to distortions and reinterpretations through conventionalization, prior expectations, leading questions, the need to come to terms with emotive material, etc. The critical point is that the information may not match the original event and respondents may be entirely unconscious of this shift."

and Butt et al. (1992p. 91-4): "Autobiographical research remains controversial since its data are subject to incompleteness, personal bias and selective recall..... The fallibility of memory, selective recall, repression, the shaping of stories according to dispositions, internal idealization and nostalgia all present the possibility of biased data". This dimension gives rise to criteria related to research design (multiple passes and cueing to significant events) and horizontal cross-checking across participant accounts, as well as to the interpretation of data.

[4] Relationship with theory - Moving "from case to generalization" as in a positivist paradigm is problematic when working with individual narratives. Polkinghorne 1995 draws attention to the ways in which paradigmatic analysis based on categories and classifications derived in advance from prior theory can undermine the complexity of storied meanings. He proposes inductive analysis (p.13):

"Inductive analysis includes the recursive movement from noted similar instances in the data to researcher-proposed categorical and conceptual definitions. Through these recursions, the proposed definitions are altered until they reach a "best fit" ordering of the data as a collection of particular instances of the derived categories."

Recent literature (Mearns & Sikes 1992, Charmaz 2000) on constructivist "grounded theory" approaches to analysis, supports this view. "We can use grounded theory methods as flexible, heuristic strategies rather than as formulaic procedures" (Charmaz 2000 p.510)

"Theoretical categories must be developed from analysis of the collected data and must fit them. Any existing concept must earn its way into the analysis. A grounded theory must work; it must provide a useful conceptual rendering and ordering of the data that explains the studied phenomena". (Glaser 1978p.511)

This dimension gives rise to criteria related (primarily) to appropriate interpretation of signification and the avoidance of invalid claims in the analysis and interpretation of data.

The key criteria emerging from consideration of these dimensions are formed into objectives for the design and implementation of the research study as follows:

Design:

- A strategy for inquiry, which facilitates participant/researcher co-construction of individual narratives i.e. open-ended interviews to avoid pre-determining significance and categories and participant input into researcher drafts of individual stories.
- A multi-stage approach to facilitate as complete, reliable and accurate a recall of work histories as possible.
- An initial contact with participants which establishes a work-based, task-focused relationship - working together on a problem to avoid manipulation of individuals; acknowledging mutually developed knowledge and stressing anonymity.
- An inductive framework for analysis, which synthesises themes emerging from the data with themes emerging out of theoretical "problems".

Data Collection:

- A sample frame to allow comparison of different genres, geographical, social and cultural conditions.
- A pre-interview timeline questionnaire to prompt reflection on work history and establish a work chronology as well as feelings about different career stages.

- An open-ended face-to-face interview, with flexible boundaries established by prior questionnaire and visual prompt sheet.

Interpretation:

- Draft accounts of narratives to be authenticated by participants at the first stage of interpretation to ensure accuracy.
- Themes drawn from commonalities in the summarised accounts to be "matched" against those arising out of theory "problems" to ensure that the findings are not biased by the researcher but also so that findings can contribute to theory development.
- Acknowledgement of inconsistencies, similarities and differences within and across individual narratives.
- Sensitivity to the dialectic between individuals and the art world, social, cultural and economic systems in which they work and live.
- Sensitivity to the dialectical relationship between the self and life /work circumstances
- Justifiable analytical judgements of signification rooted in data

Reporting:

- Accurate and authentic representation of the narrative accounts.
- Sensitive (anonymised) presentation of individual voices.
- Space found within the report for as much participant quoting as possible to represent differences of nuance.
- Acknowledgement of the researcher position.
- Differentiation of the researcher and the participant voices.

5.0 The Research Design and Implementation

5.1 The Design Strategy

The design for the study draws guidance from a small number of published life history inquiries and in particular, from, Sikes, Measor' and Woods 1985 study of teacher careers and the 1994 Campanelli and Thomas mixed method pilot study for a large-scale quantitative "Working Lives" project. These two studies were chosen partly because they offer contrasting approaches but mostly because they offer detailed analysis of and critical reflection on practical methodological issues.

Sikes et al. (1985 p.11) were seeking teachers' perspectives on how they adapted to or sought to change situations: "how they managed roles and constraints; and their perceptions of their careers." They conducted interviews "or rather conversations" (p.14) for "on average one to one and a half hours. These varied from two to seven with each individual "with an average of four-five." Campanelli and Thomas (1994) set themselves a related but different task. It was a small-scale empirical research project addressing methodological problems associated with collecting quantitative work history data. A pilot for a large scale study commissioned by the Employment Department:

"The problem was: how to elicit a detailed and dated record of episodes constituting respondents' working lives with the maximum degree of completeness and accuracy, but within the constraints of a standardised, large-scale quantitative interview survey."

Twenty respondents were recruited for a "quantitative" interview using a questionnaire to elicit a chronological work history record. Five respondents participated in a follow-up "qualitative" or "in-depth" interview. A second labour force career record was extracted from the tape-recorded interviews and compared with the first. Unsurprisingly, the researchers found that the qualitative in-depth interviews elicited more detailed and accurate information than the survey method (p.1)

The information sought in these two studies was very different. Sikes et al were seeking reflexive responses and retrospective interpretation of attitudinal and behavioural change. Campanelli and Thomas sought to construct individual work histories coded for start and end dates, job title, full or part time, temporary or permanent. Types of organisation were coded as: self-employment, private firm, civil service, local government, NHS, nationalised industry, non-profit organisation, armed forces, and other reasons for leaving were coded as: promoted, left for better job, made redundant, dismissed/sacked, temporary job ended, took retirement, health reasons, left to have baby, look after family, look after other person, other reason.

The follow-up qualitative interviews were designed to ascertain the effectiveness of the survey questionnaire and probe the participant's recall strategies, rather than to facilitate participant interpretation of their work history. Both groups of researchers concluded that the more contact through qualitative interviews, the more detailed and accurate the data would be.

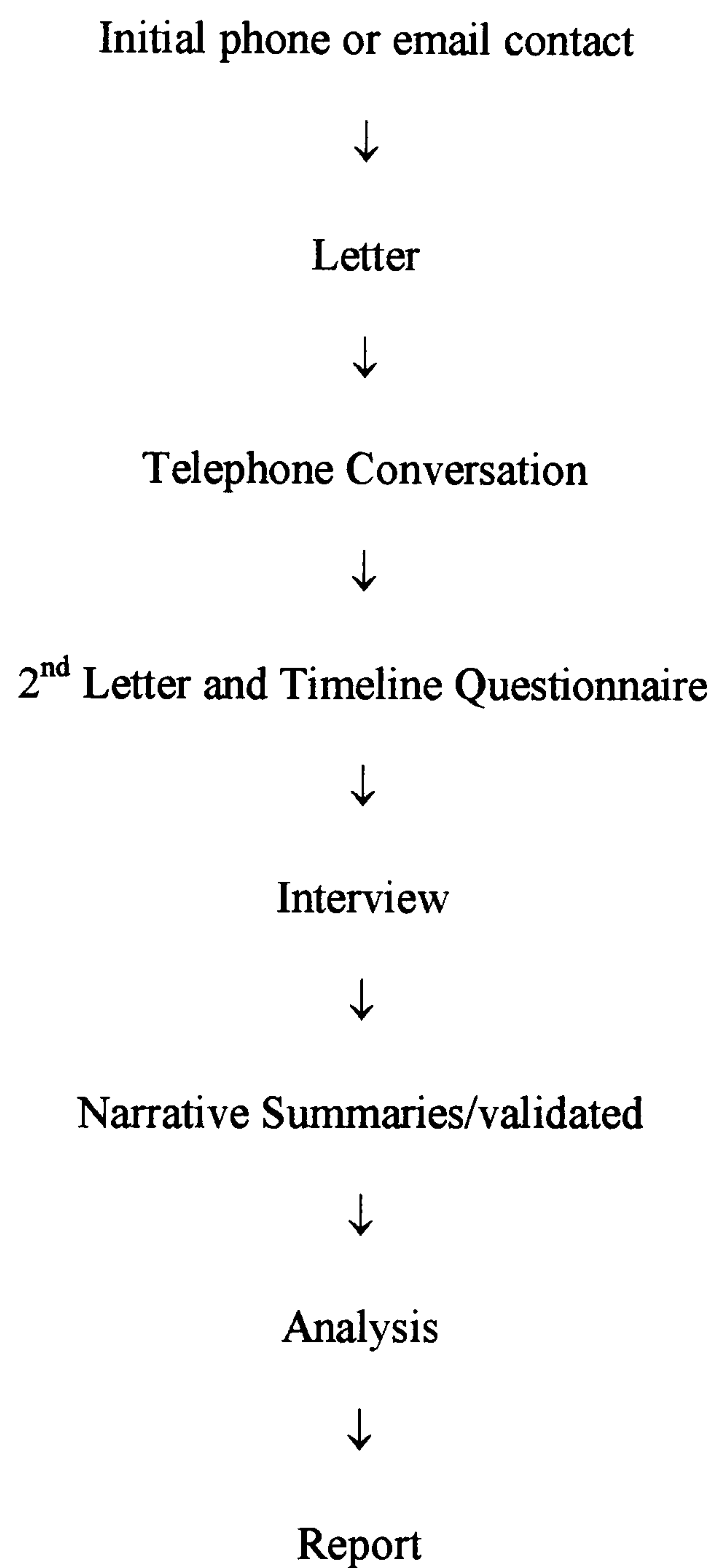
Sikes et al. used the early interviews to compose a "career map", Campanelli and Thomas (p.3) used the initial questionnaires for the same purpose, together with a

calendar of generally significant life events which they used as a visual prompt to reconstruct an individual's "timeline" or sequence of significant events. Both groups of researchers commented on the participants' need for reflection and recall time and for advance preparation. Campanelli and Thomas (1994 p.5 & p.15) note "There is convincing evidence that a multi-stage approach enhances recall and accuracy".... Multiple passes through a life history tend to help recall and it may well be that a pause for reflection between passes enhances this effect".

The challenge for *this* study was to make the most efficient use of the limited time available *with* the actors and dancers, since their schedules and the time constraints of conducting the study meant that only one face-to-face interview would be possible with each. It was decided to incorporate other forms of "multiple passes" into the design. The process would begin with a phone or email contact, followed up by a letter explaining the process and asking if the participant would engage in a telephone conversation with the researcher followed by completion of a timeline questionnaire and then an interview lasting one and a half hours. Once the narrative summaries had been completed they would be read by the participants who would then be invited to comment on, add to or change the summarised information. It was hoped and indeed it proved to be the case, that both the telephone conversation and the timeline questionnaire would assist the process of recall and also focus the participants into a review of their career histories, work choices and past and current working practices. Moreover, the researcher would then have the timeline in advance of the interview in order to familiarise herself with the outline career story. This would leave the interview itself as a space for verifying, filling gaps and probing. The reasons for asking the participant to read the researcher's summary were

twofold: [1] to confirm the accuracy, emphases and claims of signification of the summary and [2] to allow for changes after a further period of reflection. These changes would then be incorporated into the summaries prior to the analysis. Figure 5.1 shows the planned research process.

Fig. 5.1 The research plan



5.2 Participant Recruitment

5.2.1 Sampling Strategy

The sample size and scope was determined by two priorities:

- The need to reflect as broad a range of types of work encompassed within the occupations of dancer and actor as possible, within time and resource constraints.
- The need to focus on generating knowledge about key professionalising events.

Selecting for a single occupational type, e.g. musical theatre dancers or TV actors might yield a deeper understanding of a single sub-sector but would not accord with the researcher's practically-generated prior understanding of cross-sectoral working by performers. It was felt that selecting across types would yield breadth and opportunity for comparison.

Selecting for narratives on key professionalising events suggested the need to recruit established performing artists in the early to mid stages of their careers. Actors and dancers at the start of their careers were felt to have limited information to offer whilst those further into their careers could contribute to the understanding of changes over time. Conversely, those reaching the end of their careers might have only a distant memory of the key events and experiences which led to them "professionalising" into a particular career direction. Also they might generate quantities of information that would be difficult to manage. Significant differences

were anticipated in the timing and nature of professionalising and re-professionalising events in the working lives of actors and dancers. Physical demands render a dancer's performance career relatively short in comparison with an actor's and transition to a dance-related or non-related career is common in mid-career – earlier if there is injury.

It was decided that eight participants would be manageable within the time constraints and would also offer some differentiation across variables of gender, ethnicity, age, career stage, type of work and location of work, although a full comparative study would not be possible with such a small sample. It was assumed that performers from different cultural backgrounds, working in culturally-specific art forms, or from a regional rather than a London base might have different experiences to report and so a mix of participants was sought to include:

- a gender balance
- representation from non-white performers
- representation from at least one non-western art-form tradition
- a mix of London-based and Midlands-based performers
- a mix of career lengths and ages

It did prove possible to recruit eight participants with the required mix of backgrounds. They are coded A - H and shown in table 5.1.

Table 5.1 The participant sample frame

	Age	Gen der	Ethnicity	Yrs of Work	Actor/ Dancer	Base	Artform
A	29	F	White/British	8	Actor	London	Mainstream Theatre
B	46	M	Carib/British	23	Actor	Midlands	Mainstream & Black Theatre
C	30	M	White/British	6	Actor	London	Mainstream Theatre
D	38	M	White/N.I.	13	Actor	London	Mainstream Theatre
E	41	F	White/U.S.	22	Dancer	Midlands	Classical Ballet
F	25	F	S.Asian/ British	7	Dancer	Midlands	Classical S.Asian
G	34	M	White/British	11	Dancer	London	Western Contemporary
H	32	F	White/British	13	Dancer	London	Mainstream commercial

5.2.2 Recruitment Process

Participants were recruited and interviewed over an eight month period from November 2001 to June 2002. Recruiting dancer participants posed no difficulties because of the researcher's network of contacts built up over the years - even though the intention was to approach dancers with whom I had not had a work relationship as consultant or mentor. It was relatively easy to approach individuals by email or telephone and by mentioning prior meetings or mutual colleagues, to establish a credible reputation which gave the dancer confidence to proceed. Only with the

commercial dancer was it necessary to ask a third party to broker the relationship. It was far more difficult to recruit actor participants. There was no response to twenty or so letters and emails to agents or directly to actors. Six attempts to enlist support from potential broker-intermediaries with whom I had had prior contact also failed. Eventually the four were recruited entirely through mutually "trusted" brokers. "A" was found through a fellow postgraduate student who was also a theatre director, "B" was persuaded by a mutual friend, "C" was recruited by the artistic director of a regional repertory theatre (for whom I had worked as a consultant) from his current cast and "D" was persuaded by his wife, with whom I had had a work relationship. Once an appropriate individual was found, the recruitment process proceeded as outlined above i.e. [1] introductory letter, [2] telephone conversation, [3] second letter/email and timeline questionnaire.

[1] The introductory letter outlined the purpose of the research i.e. to document the stories of eight different performers to seek out what they see as the significant events which focused them in a particular career direction; and the process of the research i.e. the one and a half hour "life history conversation", preceded by the filling in of a timeline questionnaire. The letter alerted the potential participants to the fact that the interviews would need to be recorded and assured them that they would remain anonymous in the final report as well as having an opportunity to amend and correct the first draft of their summarised narratives. A researcher biography was enclosed with the letter. Respondents were asked to telephone or email so that a phone conversation could be set up. They were also asked to respond with comments if they did not wish to take part but none did.

[2] The telephone conversations gave more detail about the research purpose and process and gave the respondents an opportunity to ask questions. The idea of a training and work chronology was introduced and respondents were asked to think about events which had influenced them in their career direction. Permission was sought to send out the timeline questionnaire. All eight agreed to receive the questionnaire and to use it as an aide-memoire but two actors and one dancer declined to complete it because of pressure of work. One actor offered a biography which contained the training and work chronologies, the other actor and the dancer offered to consider the questionnaire and give their responses in the interview.

[3] The second letter accompanied the timeline questionnaires and thanked the respondents for their participation and offered suggested dates for the interview. These "letters" were all sent out by email and from this point onwards all correspondence was by email or phone.

5.3 Timeline Questionnaires

The timeline questionnaire (blank pro-forma included at **appendix A**) asked participants to give a chronology of early dance or drama experiences, training and early work history. It also asked for comments about what was gained from the various experiences. Participants were also asked to note any events which resulted in a significant career redirection. The questionnaire was designed to help define the territory for the interview as well as prompting recall and allowing the researcher to prepare for the interview and it proved very useful. The three interviews which were conducted without the questionnaire took longer (double in one case) and were less

satisfactory - participants needed more time for recall and researcher had to be very alert to pick up on probing what seemed to be key events and issues.

5.4 The interviews

The interview approach was guided by Sikes et al. (1985 p.15) in adopting an unstructured approach and pursuing themes jointly with the performer. Only three open-ended questions were used:

1. Please tell me what your working life is like at this moment.
2. What was the journey that brought you to this point?
3. What were the key events that shaped your career to this point?

The interviewer tried to assist recall and avoid leading by suggesting answers and reasons. After Sykes et al (1985) the intention was "to fill gaps, test information given in various ways, act as devil's advocate on occasions, draw on ... own experience and to spark off other lines of thought". Because there was to be only one interview opportunity, a question guide/prompt sheet was used (see Appendix B) to ensure that all dimensions of the current working life, the career journey and the significant events were covered. As the discussion drew to an end, the participants were shown the question guide/prompt sheet and asked if it prompted any further thoughts. The conversations were tape-recorded with the participants' consent. They were not transcribed but summarised in partially interpreted form (see below) and then sent to the participants for comment, correction, addition and amendment. The performers were encouraged to add anything which had occurred to them after the

interview or to change anything which did not accurately represent what they wanted to say. This proved an invaluable stage of the process - only two did not ask for changes and in all other cases the changes yielded clarification and additional information.

5.5 Analysis

The analysis evolved through three stages [1] individual summary (descriptive but partially interpretative), [2] actor comparison and dancer comparison (integrative and interpretative) [3] analysis. At each stage new themes and categories were revealed.

The information gathered from the timeline questionnaires and narrative interviews was detailed, complex, rich and despite attempts to provide organising boundaries, non-linear. It did however conform to expectations of broad stage-related categories and was therefore amenable to a first pass summary directly from the audio-tape for each individual participant under the headings:

- Early experiences, early training experiences (up to 15), principal training, first post-performance work, work history, working life now, the journey, key events and other.

Further readings of the individual summaries and listening to the audio tapes revealed additional "volunteered" categories about motivation. They also revealed information about different types of work undertaken at different stages of careers

and different approaches to locating and/or making work opportunities as well as yielding information about values and identity and key supporters. The next summaries were therefore integrative, interpreting and comparing information under more developed categories:

- **Current Working Lives:** employment modes, functional roles, trading relations and levels of risk.
- **Work Histories:** first post-training performance work, work chronologies, career phases and trends.

By the third stage of the analysis, three heuristic constructs were beginning to emerge, which enabled the organisation and analysis of the information. These were:

1. A typology of work modes.
2. A career development cycle.
3. A work preference matrix.

The information was then mapped against these constructs to permit further analysis.

6.0 Descriptions of Current Working Lives

6.1 Introduction

Collectively, the participating actors and dancers were working across a range of types of theatre and dance but individually, they tended to specialise - the dancers more so than the actors. The group comprised:

- A classical ballet performer, a Kathak (classical S. Asian Dance) performer, a contemporary dancer and a musical theatre/commercial dancer.
- A devised theatre/children's theatre actor, an experimental/Black British theatre actor/director/writer who also worked in TV and mainstream theatre, a film/mainstream theatre actor/singer and a mainstream theatre/TV/film actor specialising in classic, modern classic and "Irish" roles.

The career lengths were varied: one actor had worked for 23 years, one dancer for 20 years, one actor and one dancer for 13 years, one dancer for 11 years, one actor for 8 years and one actor and one dancer for 6 years. Two of the dancers were in periods of transition from performing into other functional roles: one was moving into education work after nineteen years of performing with the support of the company which had employed her as a dancer, the other was moving into choreography after ten years as a performer.

The stories presented in sections 6.2 and 6.3 are (respectively) summaries of the actor and dancer responses to being asked to talk about their current working lives. Each individual is summarised within a sub-section in order to present a snapshot of their current inter-actions within the artistic labour market. The researcher has tried to leave verbatim quotes in to the extent that space allows, in order to give the participant "voice" and make the interpretative reasoning visible. But inevitably, this is a selective and edited presentation. Selections have been made on the basis of the emphasis (by repetition, strength of language and body language) apparently placed on a comment by the participant. Preference has also been given in this section to comments [1] that introduce and locate the participant for the reader within a particular genre and associated internal labour market and [2] which reveal information about the functions they fulfil, the employment modes they operate in, the trading relationships they engage in and the risks they perceive in their way of working. In section 6.4 the information is summarised and a comparative analysis made. Concluding comments relate this analysis back to the early theoretical sections of the thesis.

6.2 Current Working Lives of Actors

6.2.1 Actor A - A Devised Theatre/Children's Theatre Specialist

Actor A has worked for eight years and is now working regularly on a project by project basis with different touring theatre companies. At the time of the interview she was preparing for a one woman show - a play for children - written and directed by a director whom she respects. She had just completed a project with a regionally-

based touring company specialising in devised theatre which interacts with the audience. She enjoyed this work because she was able to use her improvisational skills both in the devising process and the performance. She described it as: "a brilliant piece ... one of the most powerful pieces of theatre I've ever done...."

With a new agent, A is seeking "more visible" work i.e. more London-based but she is still gaining work from her own regionally-based network of contacts rather than through her agent. She had no work lined up for the Summer period. She aspires to work in cutting edge, high profile theatre: "I'd like to be at the Royal Court doing new plays by today's equivalent of Edward Bond ... in a really really good group of creative people and from there we would go to the National ... it would have to be a really good play ... really challenging its not just children that need educating is it I want to do the brave stuff...". But in the interim: "I'd be quite happy doing the sort of work I'm doing now .. I'd like to do it from a more grounded, a more established base ... because I still don't feel secure in my work ... when I'm not working I do feel really panicky that I'm not going to work again ... kind of that security In the jobs where I am working with children I want it to be theatre as education not theatre-in-education.... not just teaching the curriculum ... but something a bit more inter-active... "

6.2.2 Actor B - An Experimental/Black Theatre Specialist

Actor B has worked in both Western mainstream and Black culturally-specific theatre arts for twenty-three years as actor, writer, director, designer, technician,

developer of new performance technology, adviser and mentor. He describes his current working life as a "mosaic" of inter-related roles and functions. He spends approximately 40% of his time in unpaid voluntary advisory work – at the policy (Arts Council) level; the infrastructural (arts organisation board membership) level; and the grass roots (British/Caribbean artistic community and youth) levels. His 60% paid work is divided between acting, technical/design work, writing and creative project origination. He identifies reputational benefits (“Returns by association”) and practical benefits arising out of the time spent on advisory work. “Drawing in favours” from infrastructural and policy organisations to assist his lifetime project of seeing emergent Black British (and other creative, experimental) theatre companies develop and get their work seen. He currently works from three geographical locations: London for acting, Birmingham for "infrastructural engagement" (A major regional repertory theatre) and Leeds for projects.

At the time of the interview he was working simultaneously on a Youth Theatre commission, directed by a leading British Caribbean director and three speculative projects: a new media production, a new media theatre comedy piece and a reworking of (his own) quartet of plays. In terms of his acting work, at the time of the interview, he had just finished recording a radio play and an episode of a TV drama series (simultaneously). He is also creating a website on which he will place his essays – reflections on theatre in a scientific world, on the function of theatre today, race, culture. The website is designed to be both a promotional tool and a manifesto. In a way giving his output a presence and identity which it cannot find in the current mainstream theatre context.

B aspires to having an assistant and office so that "my output could be managed and administrated in collaboration with me ..." He seeks the status of being a celebrity actor having experienced first hand how the "star actor" has artistic control over the selection of works for production and the team chosen for the project. B would like to be an actor and director rather than a writer. He finds writing "generally very painful ... physically and emotionally ..." but he feels it is the only artistic/creative outlet open to him at the moment.

6.2.3 Actor C - A Young Mainstream Theatre/Media Actor

At the time of the interview, C had worked as an actor for six years. He was playing a lead role in a regional theatre pantomime (singing, acting and dancing). He was offered the part because of previous work in one of the theatre's successful musical productions - a production which was brought back for a further season. "And the reason I got that show was because the director used to teach me at drama school." "He used to teach me singing so the reason I'm here is pure luck. ... and that's probably what my career is based on so far ... a lot of luck.... and being in the right place at the right time with the right face..... in this panto, the character I am playing is very similar to the one I played in [the previous production]" . "I did not even have to audition for this part, they just offered it to me.... that's the first time that has happened.... now that would not have happened two years ago... that's a status thing not having to compete for it .. just being offered it ". "I've been out of drama school since 1997, this year is the first year where I haven't stopped working. All the other years have been difficult i.e. there's been long periods in between work ...". C has a new agent who is securing both TV and theatre work. Although no work was lined up for after the pantomime, C had hopes for a film arising out of a prize-

winning film-short produced last year. "This is the big exciting thing" because he has got a very big agent and entrance into major film companies and TV shows. The prize money will allow the film to be scaled up from a 10min short to 90 minute feature film. C's blue sky career aspirations are to secure more well paid film and TV work.

6.2.4 Actor D - An Experienced Mainstream Theatre/Media Actor

Actor D is a successful actor with a strong reputation in England and Ireland and with little unemployment over a career spanning thirteen years and yet he says "it has been an endless frustration for me..." The frustration comes from finding the subsidised theatre work rewarding in terms of experience but unsustainable in terms of making a living. With a young family to support, D now focuses his attention on earning through television work: "I have had to get serious about making money .. I made a positive decision (2001) to start doing TV .. it was difficult because it goes against my grain to do that but I've been lucky and had some good work ..

Eastenders, 2 commercials, a 2 part crime double and then a 6 part Also "xxxxx" [an acclaimed TV film/drama] which was screened in February 2002" A new play by a Belfast writer at the National Theatre was in the pipeline at the time of the interview.

D's career aspirations were to have "a really healthy balance between high quality TV and film ... preferably film .. and high quality theatre... and I would like to be in a situation where I can direct ... but there are limitations to that ... for example at the xxxx [renowned Irish theatre] they are keen for me to act and direct but that would

mean spending a lot of time ... not really possible at the moment. He is also interested in doing studio work - especially Shakespeare in a more intimate setting.

6.3 Current Working Lives of Dancers

6.3.1 Dancer E - A Classical Ballet Company Dancer/Educator

At the time of the interview Dancer E was working in the Education Team, of a British Ballet company on a temporary, part-time post: administrating projects (budgets and scheduling) and running practical workshops based on Ballet repertoire. She was in career transition following a nineteen year career as a classical ballet performer and took the post to gain office, managerial and teaching skills. She spoke of the difficulty of adjusting to a more self-directed way of working after the highly directed and structured life of the dancer in which: "They tell you everything, your class is at ten, you have break here, your rehearsal is there - when you do these ballets - then you have a break when you have to have your dinner and then you have a warm up period and then a make up period and then your performance and your whole week is structured - you live by that - what they tell you to do is what you do and you don't have any choice. You are pretty much hand fed what your life is and then all of a sudden its grown up and you have got to figure out how to use your time. Especially when working my son into the agenda."

At first she shied away from teaching " in England everyone has teaching qualifications" and choreography because she had always avoided choreographing

when her husband was choreographing "in the interest of preserving family harmony". However covering classes for a friend and choreographing a young people's group have shown her she has strengths in these areas and "I get passionate about this stuff (teaching)". "I've discovered mediocre choreography is my forte and I've found a venue for it." (Researcher note: mediocre because while it is appropriate for twelve year olds it could not be put on stage - nevertheless it gave one observer "chills" - "E" is clearly very pleased with what she has found out about herself and with using her creativity.)

She is currently discovering that there is much to learn about teaching and she feels she has a great deal to pass on to others - especially in relation to the "can-do" American way of learning which encourages "have -a-go" and learn by doing, rather than perfection of simple steps (through repetition) before progression.

She has come to appreciate that as a teacher "you are a performer" you need to entertain your class and so feels as though she is performing. She is also appreciating having greater freedom ("having to think on my feet") as a teacher than she had as a dancer. "As a dancer you have a certain amount of artistic flexibility but basically all day long people are telling you what to do, where to go, how to dress, how to do your makeup - they are telling you everything". This had made for a difficult transition for her to the "grown-up world" having to manage own time. Now as her classes are becoming very popular and growing in size "I am really having to think on my feet and adjust to the situation of who is there and I am quite chuffed at being able to manage this"

At the time of the interview dancer E had three aspirations: [1] to continue with education work within the Education Team on a more full time basis [2] to work her way back into a company in a teaching/coaching role with the dancers [3] to teach ballet to adults maybe open up a ballet school with husband.

Researcher note: in fact shortly after the interview, "E" secured a management role in a London-based Ballet Company, leading their education team.

6.3.2 Dancer F - A South Asian Dancer/Choreographer

After six years of performing, teaching and choreographing classical S. Asian dance, dancer F has formed a company with her musician husband. She felt this would open up better opportunities for securing funding for productions : "Most of the work I have been doing has been self-financed or through juggling education work and taking a percentage to support creative work ... which doesn't really work for the long term." She talked of a new artistic direction for the company which would integrate dance, music and visual arts. The company had recently secured a lottery bid to develop "interactive digital design with the music and dance ... not to dilute or compromise the style of vocabulary of the music and dance but to see how we can amplify what we have and whether the interactivity can spark off some new ideas but retaining the principles of the classical form." The decision to move in this direction was driven by the regional arts funders: "It's the way of getting funding ... unfortunately, the heart lies in the traditional work but is not attractive to the funding officer who sees traditional work as old-fashioned... we can present what we want to present which is traditional work but within a contemporary setting....so

we're educating the audience." Dancer F is frustrated at having to compromise her commitment to traditional classical forms. She had hopes that if she could build a reputation through the cross artform work, eventually she could be allowed to produce more traditional work. Her work has begun to be recognised by the major (national) cultural venues and commissioned by them for residencies as well as productions. She has found difficulty with funders and some venues who lack of understanding of what audiences will appreciate. Frequently the larger venues ask for her more modern repertoire only to find audiences respond better to the more traditional. Her main aspirations are to get past the gatekeepers and produce accessible traditional work in mainstream venues. "We have been doing community venues - adults, young children, disability groups .. and so on but if we don't hit the mainstream venues then we don't hit the mainstream dance audiences .. ". "We have also made contacts in Europe - a Scandinavian tour last year in mainstream venues .. " The company is planning "a short networking tour" with lecture demonstrations and workshops for the Spring in France, Holland and Belgium - to build up contacts with venues . "We have contacts but if only we had the mainstream support mechanisms" There have also been difficulties with administrative support. Lack of funds has meant that they have done the tour booking and administration themselves and this has helped them to develop good venue relationships:

"everything from picking up the phone to having the leaflets delivered, sticking on labels until one o'clock at night... so its been hard .. last year was very challenging.... a full run of tours we had to address technical problems, musicians not turning up or falling ill or contracts not being sent

through we are very grateful to have stayed relatively sane ... but looking back it has been very good preparation for us because now we know what to expect from our new administrator and our technical staff because we've been through it. we understand how everything works... we now have very high expectations because we've really had to work at it top get it good and we don't expect anything less."

There are some large projects planned in for the next year including a large-scale partnership co-commission and some international touring.

6.3.3 Dancer G - A Contemporary Dancer/Choreographer

After a ten year career as a respected contemporary dance performer, dancer G is at a point of shifting emphasis to becoming a choreographer/dance artist - in his first year of working as a freelance professional choreographer. In the three weeks prior to the interview he had launched himself in his new career. He had just made [1] a piece on three classical performers working with a major ballet company, [2] a solo on himself, [3] a duet for dancers based in one of the national dance agencies - all commissioned projects. Various youth pieces have been commissioned before but these are the first professional commissions. He described himself as being at a stage of artistic exploration "trying to resolve queries, passions and interests in the medium of dance" but at the same time he felt under pressure to produce something which would establish his reputation for doing something different in dance. "I feel like I am in a catch 22 situation - I can't apply for the research grants I really need because

I have no choreographic track record." One of his commissions offered an opportunity to make and show work in a high profile environment. But although it was work in progress and created quickly he felt it had been judged unfairly by others as a finished work. "I feel very small and tiny and vulnerable now that I'm facing this whole new way of life". He was also facing financial risk "I have put my neck on the line financially as well" because his salary had reduced when he ceased being a company performer. "I'm worried about how I'm going to make my living... without teaching because I have to ... I do enjoy teaching a lot but when it starts to encroach on the time I want to spend on my own thing, then I'm in difficulty.... "" ... that's another story about how easy it is to get youth work and how difficult to get professional work off the ground..."

He described sitting in the audience watching his own work being performed and not having any control over it and worrying about how others were perceiving his work - he found it much more difficult and risky (emotionally) to choreograph than to perform. "I think that making the decision to start doing something creative has elicited these unbelievable life experiences over the past three weeks ... total baptism and yet another rite of passage."

The year ahead was fairly full - teaching overseas, choreographic commissions with students in vocational dance schools in Britain and the US, performing with the company he last worked with (including own solo). But "G" felt that to progress his career as a dance artist he had to find venue partners and secure funding from the arts funding system. He had made funding applications for an R & D project and had formed a relationship with an NDA (National Dance Agency) to make a piece for

four dancers in the Autumn. A second NDA was working with him on a joint application to another regional arts council for performance project. One of his main challenges at that point was to win over the gatekeepers whose job it is to nurture new choreographers. These gatekeepers include the NDA directors and others who programme and promote the work of choreographers - especially in platforms and showcases for new work. Although "G" had found some significant supporters among this group, a couple appeared to him to have "cliques and fashionable agendas" They had not answered his letters.

The interview took place at what "G" felt to be the start of a new phase. He felt "like I'm starting from scratch this stage has some of the same ideas running through it but it is very different.... I'm in awe of this change ... I've gone from being unbelievably depressed at the beginning of last week ... my emotions have been ... now I feel that I am beginning to understand the game I'm in whereas before I just didn't I have to make small steps to keep the creativity going I have to find people to support me."

There was little in dancer G's background to prepare him for being an entrepreneur and yet he had to "be self-promoting ... I was never very confident in that I went to a video evening at [dance venue] ... I thought it was going to be formal but it was just drinks and vol au vents and you had to just sell yourself ... I went past all these people just spouting about themselves ... I left .. and came back later to watch the films ... I couldn't handle it...." It felt to "G" that he was putting all his eggs in one basket - that it was make or break time. He was slowly getting his support structure in place - asking for criticism from those he trusts to be supportively critical.

Within two years dancer G aspired to having " a small group of dancers chosen for their talent and promiscuous curiosity". He would also like to "curate other work" rather than just keep creating own work giving the performers access to other creative voices. "There is a dilemma around whether to carry on performing - performing his own solo had been both terrifying and revelatory ... wants to keep learning and will actively seek opportunities to continue to learn."

"G" knew he had to build a relationship with his regional arts council and find an administrator. He had found funding jargon very difficult to deal with.

"baffling". He was unsure how much personal and artistic process should be written into funding applications ... "How much should you say about what you are interested in artistically..... what they are interested in is how this work will impact on their personal agenda .. this makes me feel very uncentred ... writing this down is a skill in itself and I have no training for this..... I feel I need to understand how to present this in a coherent way ...and then again agendas shift you are playing a game with your blindfold on you just don't know exactly how you may be prejudiced against."

6.3.4 Dancer H - A Musical Theatre Dancer

Dancer H has worked for thirteen years as a dancer/actor/singer in cabaret and West End musical theatre. At the time of the interview she was extremely busy: "it's a bit like buses you know, very quiet and then suddenly everything happens at once". She

was working as “swing” in a new West End musical i.e. she understudies seven parts in the show, including one of the principals and fills in when other performers have a break or are injured or ill. She had been given two weeks to learn all the parts – watching and writing to learn each part. “It's great fun ... a great company..... 8 shows a week Tuesday to Saturday with three matinees ... this makes the middle of the working week very hectic.” You get Monday off .. but I teach on a Monday ..” She had joined the show in April 2002 on a 45 week contract and was performing in most shows. Although she had been offered a Japanese tour of a previous show she at the same time, she took this one because it was in London and she was just about to get married. “Sometimes you’re a little bit quiet, just teaching or else everybody wants you at once, which is a nice feeling but you think why can’t it just space out a bit and be a bit regular but it just doesn’t happen like that.” "H" enjoys being “swing” which she finds demanding – “you don’t get necessarily get to be on stage ... [for first nights or VIP performances] ... which is disappointing ... you get paid more for it ... but they make you work for it ...” Because of various injuries among the company she had found herself performing more or less constantly – sometimes responding to illnesses and injuries happening during the show and filling in more than one - singing, acting and dancing. The principal roles are acting/singing and "H" would like to develop herself as an actor and make a transition away from dance into more principal roles and "straight" acting.

"H" was very interested in teaching/choreographing students and thought this might be a possible direction for the future. “I’ve found since I came back from Germany that I’ve really thrown myself into the teaching (in a vocational school training musical theatre performers) and I really enjoy it..... I’ve got some really good

students... Its nice to work choreographically with students ... I want them to act within the dance.... its not enough to be just a technician you have to be a performer". The teaching had given her some security and continuity of income over the past five years or so but she also found it useful and personally rewarding in her own career as a performer: " It keeps you fresh .. it's good for me ... as a performer you never stop learning and sometimes you learn from the students as well as them learning from you... "

Dancer H had been teaching on and off at the same school for five years but at the time of the interview she had taken it on as a more regular commitment – 4/5 times a week and covering absent teachers. She described teaching in between two shows on the same day. "It's a bit mad ... but you don't know how long something is going to last... plus my kids had assessments as well and I wanted them to do well."

Dancer H had aspirations "... to do more acting and I love comedy ... I'd love to do serious acting ... I want to take more singing lessons because I feel that I haven't reached my potential yet vocally ... there's much more to do I still love dancing and I feel that at the age of 33 34 this year I can still hold my own with 18 year olds If you look after your instrument ... you need to be aware of that as you get older But you learn to look after it and therefore I don't feel that I should stop dancing yet" However she was not inspired by the musical theatre work that was currently available - after having worked with some of the leading American choreographers over the years she found little to challenge her as a dancer in the more recent musicals. She also felt that she needed to get her voice "back into shape ... its like going back to ballet class after years .." She felt that after a few years of

roles which demanded “big belt”, her higher, more melodic voice had been neglected.

6.4 Comparative Analysis of Current Working Practices

The participant narratives revealed a great deal of information about their current working practices and in particular about the functional roles they fulfilled, their employment modes, the trading relationships they engaged in and their perceptions of the risks they faced and managed in their precarious work. These are summarised in table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Summary of roles, employment modes, trading relationships and perceived risks in current working lives.

	Work Yrs	Genres & Functional Role/s	Employment Mode/s	Trading Relationships	Risks
A	8	Devised/children's theatre	Employee mode on discontinuous but sometimes overlapping short-term contracts as actor/teacher. Related secondary employment during acting unemployment	Selling acting, devising and teaching services to casting directors, small-scale companies and theatre directors through self-search and agent.	Unemployment leading to financial risks but also failure to build reputation and so secure work & specifically work to enhance reputation and bring artistic satisfaction.
B	23	Experimental/Black British theatre - actor, director, writer. TV & mainstream theatre	Mixed portfolio of employee, freelance and entrepreneurial modes: Discontinuous short-term employment contracts for TV and radio work. Writing commissions. Speculative self-invested experimental projects	Selling acting services to TV, radio, film and theatre casting directors, through agent and own contacts. Selling writing, directing and acting services directly to arts organisations: performing companies, media production	Balancing reputation and economic risks - TV for financial security but not to compromise artistic identity. Artistic satisfaction and reputation building "outside" the mainstream theatre. TV and commissioned work finances this. Unpaid advisory work builds

				companies and theatres. Full range of project origination, production and presentation trading relations.	reputation and networks to underpin entrepreneurial working.
C	6	Film/mainstream theatre - actor, singer.	Employee mode: Discontinuous short-term employment contracts as actor. Unrelated employment during periods of acting unemployment.	Selling acting services to TV & film casting directors, and theatre directors through agent.	Unemployment leading to financial risks but also failure to build reputation and so secure work & specifically work to enhance reputation and "fame".
D	13	Mainstream theatre, TV, film - actor in classic, modern classic and Irish roles	Employee mode: Continuous serial short-term contracts.	Selling acting services to TV, film and theatre casting directors, and theatre directors through agent.	Balancing reputation and economic risks - TV & film for financial security but not to compromise artistic identity. Theatre work brings artistic satisfaction and reputation building but needs subsidy from TV work to support young family.
E	22	Classical ballet performer moving into education work	Employee mode as company dancer and then education department trainee.	Previously selling performance artistry to company director and visiting choreographers to secure "best" roles. Now selling company's education work to schools and other agencies.	Risks related to change of direction and personal challenges of same.
F	7	Kathak solo performer, choreographer, teacher.	Mixed portfolio of self-invested entrepreneurial projects and short-term employee contracts. Moving into starting up own company business.	Full range of project origination, production and presentation trading relations.	Minimised financial risks of production and performance by generating income through teaching whilst building reputation as dancer/choreographer . Now capitalising on reputation and spreading risk through formation of company.
G	11	Contemporary dance performer/teacher moving into choreography.	Mixed portfolio of short-term employee performer and teacher contracts moving into self-generated entrepreneurial choreographic work.	Previously selling performance services to companies and teaching work directly to schools and community groups.	Previously minimised risk of discontinuous performance contracts by teaching. Built reputation as performer. Now at high risk moment building reputation as

				Now full range of project origination, production and presentation trading relations.	choreographer/artist - self-investing financially at personal risk.
H	13	Musical theatre dancer, singer, actor. Teacher.	Employee mode on continuous medium-term contracts as performer. Similarly for teaching	Selling performing services to casting directors and musical theatre directors through agent and own contacts. Selling teaching services to vocational dance school.	Financial risk of unemployment underwritten by teaching work. Reputation building through continuous work within same genre.

Collectively the group covered a wide range of employment/self-employment modes: the dancer of 20 years was employed by a company; the actor of 13 years was employed continuously on serial temporary contracts for film/TV and theatre performance; two dancers (of 11 and 13 years) had portfolios of temporary contracts with companies (for performance work) and organisations (as a teacher/choreographers); the two younger actors (working 8 and 6 years) had serial but discontinuous temporary contracts and were taking other (non-related) work during periods of unemployment; the actor of 23 years combined employment on discontinuous temporary contracts for TV and radio work with writing commissions and speculative self-invested projects; and the dancer of 6 years was starting up her own performance/production company (but still teaching).

In terms of their functional roles: two of the actors were working solely as actors, another worked as an actor/deviser/teacher and the fourth was working as an actor, writer, producer, adviser and mentor. Of the dancers, one was becoming a teacher/administrator, a second was performing, teaching and managing a business, a third was becoming a freelance choreographer but still maintaining some performing

and teaching work for income generation and the fourth was working as a dancer and teacher.

Patterns emerged in the trading relationships. All of the actors and one of the dancers were engaged in selling performance services to casting directors (variously TV, film, theatre and musical theatre), directors and producers - through their agents and through their own networks. The company dancer had been selling her performance artistry internally within the company to the artistic director and visiting choreographers in order to secure what she felt were the "best" roles. With the change in her career she had moved to selling the education work of her company to schools and other agencies. The other two dancers and one of the actors were working in a very different way and either had or were developing the full range of entrepreneurial project origination, production and presentation trading relationships (see section 2.5). These almost certainly would include as a minimum:

Selling ideas to potential investors (funders/sponsors)

Buying performer services through auditions or networks

Buying, bartering or negotiating physical resources for the production

Buying artistic services such as design or music composition

Promoting the work with opinion formers e.g. promoters and programmers

Marketing the work to audiences

Selling productions to venues

As might be expected given the precarious nature of the employment, levels of perceived risk, anxiety and insecurity were high among both actor and dancer

participants. Their narratives made frequent reference to both financial and artistic or reputation risk and the overlaps between them. All the actors commented on how they lived with the risk of not getting the next acting job. All had strategies for minimising the financial risk of this: one took on "Murder Mystery Weekends" when unemployed, another did promotional work but all four sought TV, radio and film work as a way of subsidising their reputation-building work in live theatre. Although all had stories to tell about how working in this more lucrative field could carry penalties in terms of compromising their identities as theatre actors. The two more experienced actors had achieved a more or less satisfactory balance and had chosen TV roles selectively. They were both concerned to take on reputation-building roles or rather not to take on reputation-damaging roles, especially on TV. The younger actors were prepared to take on almost any work they could get, perhaps because for them the financial imperative was paramount but also because *not* acting challenged their own personal identities as actors. Working as an actor validated the identity of actor as well as building the professional reputation log. One of the younger actors was minimising the risk of unemployment by pro-actively seeking work rather than relying on her agent like the other. One of the more experienced actors was entrepreneurially generating his own projects but not so much for income generation as for artistic and reputation building purposes having become disillusioned with what was on offer to him in mainstream theatre.

The dancers were also balancing artistic/reputation-building risk and financial risk in their current working lives. The three self (or serially) employed dancers minimised the financial risk of performance by taking on teaching work, which they enjoyed, saying that it helped them in their performance and choreographic work. But all three

commented on how easy it was to find teaching work in comparison with performing work and how too much teaching could detract from the time needed for their own artistic work.

The two dancers in transition felt ill-prepared for their new roles. One was receiving financial and learning support from her company employer but the shift from a totally managed to a self-directed way of working was proving a difficult personal challenge. For her there was no particular artistic risk - she was building a new reputation as an educator having already established a reputation as a classical soloist. There was a different order of risk for the other dancer in transition who was trying to establish his artistic identity (exposing his first exploratory artistic works in a critical marketplace) whilst working entrepreneurially to establish himself as a freelancer i.e. developing project ideas, raising funds for production, establishing venue/promoter partners, marketing his projects, raising his profile as a freelance choreographer etc. - on his own. His risks were both financial and artistic/reputational. He had to succeed in establishing himself in the identity of artist/choreographer with the opinion formers of his particular dance world quickly - building on his reputation as a high profile performer. If he failed at this point another opportunity would be unlikely. But in order to succeed he had to amass all the resources necessary (dancers, time, rehearsal space etc.) to make the work, call upon contacts made with venues and promoters to get the work seen and get the opinion formers to see and report on his work. It is a situation familiar to another of the dancers who had been operating in the same way for five years i.e. self-investing in solo performance work and operating entrepreneurially to gather resources, make work and get it seen and acknowledged as "good" by funders, promoters, venue

programmers and other opinion formers. Having built up an artistic reputation and identity as a choreographer/dancer she was in the process of transferring the personal risk of a freelance career into the shared risk of a company structure, albeit, a family business.

What emerges is a picture of dynamic and complex working lives. The actors and dancers shift employment mode and functional roles [1] at a single point in time as they manage risk by holding different types of jobs simultaneously and [2] over time as they seek opportunities for greater artistic freedom or to manage the transition out of performance. The data begin to reveal the nature of the challenges facing those cultural economists engaged in the theoretical modelling of artistic labour supply. There would appear to be a group of variables which interact with and impact upon the labour supply behaviour in ways which have not yet been fully understood. The narratives of current working lives, in providing a snapshot of a point in time suggest that these might be related to reputation building, the interests and needs of "trading partners", the management of risk and artistic priorities. These themes are explored and given greater structure in the following sections.

7.0 Work Histories

7.1 Introduction

This section draws once again on the narratives and timeline questionnaires in order to map the work histories of the participant actors and dancers. The first post-training work is identified, together with the means by which it was secured. Work chronologies are then presented and compared. Section 7.5 introduces the organising concept of a work mode typology which was derived from analysis of the current working life and work history data. The typology is then applied to the work chronologies in order to discover changes in high-risk and low-risk behaviour over the span of the work history.

7.2 First post-training performance work

All the participants went immediately into work on completing their training/education. Actors A, C and D secured acting roles: “A” in a touring theatre company production, “C” in a commercially successful film and “D” in a major theatre production. “A” and “D” benefited directly from relationships made at their vocational training schools, “C” secured his film part through an agent seeing his performance in a vocational school performance. Participant B on the other hand created his own work opportunities by setting up a touring company with other like-minded individuals. Taking this route immediately placed him in a context which demanded many different job roles in addition to that of actor. Amongst the dancers, two made the transition from training to work via apprenticeships with existing

companies (one classical ballet, the other classical S.Asian), whilst the other two secured their first work through open company auditions.

Actor A was invited to audition for a principal role in a new adaptation of a serious modern classic directed by the Head of Acting at her vocational training school. On her timeline questionnaire she describes it as a “fantastic meaty part to play for a first role out of drama school. [It] went to some good venues and was a high quality piece of theatre.” this job lasted (with discontinuities) for over a year.

Actor B became part of a group of students who were interested in theatre whilst studying metallurgy at a North of England University. The group had been very successful in student drama festivals. They generated enough money at the Edinburgh Student Festival in 1978 to set up as a theatre company and in when “B” graduated in 1979 he worked with them professionally. This work continued for four years. The Enterprise Allowance Scheme was in operation and through it, two members claimed the allocated £100 per week and subsidised the other members who were claiming unemployment benefit. By taking it in turns to register with the scheme, they managed to keep the company going until income could be generated through performances and workshops and Regional Arts funding was secured. There were two “arms” to the work: schools touring and adult performances – the latter tied in to the regionally funded “Touring Grid”. A vacant warehouse in which the company had an office provided free access for rehearsal and set building: “No-one knew we had it”. Each member took turns in the office – doing the tour booking and administration. A chance meeting with a respected dance educator brought “B” into contact with community focused work. The company toured in Holland, Portugal,

France which brought them into contact with other experimental touring theatre companies such as *Lumiere & Son*, *The People Show* and *Hesitate and Demonstrate*. “We became well known the archetype [radical theatre company]”. It was a company of creative and talented individuals, all of whom have subsequently created careers in diverse branches of theatre and theatre writing as well as music and the visual arts. The members played to their strengths: two were musicians another came from a fine art background. The two directors created text and a “map” for the show and all the actors improvised around this in performance. Music was composed and recorded or played live and the visual design was an important feature. All were multi-skilled and fulfilled mixed roles. “B” designed and built sets, as well as designing and fitting up lights and sound. He describes a hectic schedule in which he would frequently finish rigging the lights before “struggling into costume”.

Actor C was “spotted” by three agents when he performed in his end of vocational school graduation showcase in 1997; all three asked to represent him. He selected one who immediately sent him for a film casting. He secured a very small role in a Hollywood film with a very famous director which then went on to win Oscars. On his timeline questionnaire he describes it as a “Valuable experience working with possibly the greatest living movie maker and the actor xxxx. Opened a lot of doors”. In the interview, “C” explained that he got the job because the agent had seen him play a young, frightened American soldier (the same role was required for the film) and thought he looked the part. She sent him the same day to “one of the leading casting directors in London.... she sussed me out straight away .. she knew I wasn't American... but she gave me a break and two months later called me back for a screen test ... then two months after that she called me back for a part ten of us

were going to be used in the beach scenes." Three days later he was called again and offered a better part. "My part in the film was miniscule but ... that was not important."

Actor D made his professional debut in 1990 at a principal Northern Ireland theatre. He was offered a major role in a new play with a strong Northern Ireland focus following a recommendation by the lighting designer/tutor who had been working at his vocational training school. In the interview "D" stressed the importance of this casting: "This set the tone then because after that I didn't go to big companies to play small parts. It was a big part in a big play and after that I never was regarded as a small part player." Within the same year he was offered parts in a new (Irish) play at the Royal Exchange in Manchester and a Tennessee Williams play at the Northern Ireland theatre.

Dancer E's professional work began in 1982 (aged 21) when she was offered a place as a company dancer in a large US Ballet company. However, even by this time she had been dancing for at least six years either in a semi-professional company or as an apprentice dancer. She chose her first company because it was "all star/no star" - culturally-diverse in a culturally-diverse city with an exciting repertoire of new choreography. It brought in many different choreographers, constant changes of programme and changes of role. "E" found this ideal - lots of involvement in the creative process rather than learning existing ballets - sharing in the choreographer's creative process - "You don't feel like you're learning you feel like you're creating - even if they're just telling you the steps." This meant that her experience of being a member of the corps de ballet went beyond the normal role (in more historically-

based companies) of simply performing the traditional roles in the traditional classical oeuvre.

Dancer F began her performing career as an apprentice in her teacher's touring company. She danced with this company for three years. At the age of 19 she began to work as an independent dance artist, choreographing her own solo work, teaching and briefly taking a job at BBC Radio Asian Network. She premiered her first solo work at a venue in a northern town drawing on contacts made when she had still been dancing in her teacher's company. It was her "first experience of being totally responsible for the work. Everything from rehearsal to technical requirements to last minute hitches..... to handling things professionally within administration and production."

Released from the artistic constraints of her teacher's company, "F" began to integrate other forms of dance (contemporary dance) and music (jazz) into her work - drawing on her experience of workshops with a range of different artists. She tried out some of her new choreographic ideas on the S Asian youth dance group. It was a difficult time because she was "... so completely unaware of funding, completely unaware of what was out there that I could utilise to support the work I did a lot of practice during that time and also I got married to a musician ... that was very very helpful because he's worked many dancers (being a north Indian classical musician) and with theatre and television it was a good meeting point for us to understand how I could improve, how we could work together and what we'd like to do as a team ... somehow we got that structure there then from 1996 it was about accessing support form organisations like [S.Asian dance agency] ... just getting

rehearsal space and just getting the work seen ... we had no administrator ... off our own backs we had to create work which was good enough to sell to venues we did a lot of educational work that got me to understand how to perform better...."

Dancer G: Began his performing career at the age of 21 in a middle-scale touring company working with a combination of acting and dancing in theatrical work. Teachers at his school had been very unsupportive - one said "'I think you should take this work because I don't think you will get much else'.... I wasn't technically ready." He secured the work while still a student through a company audition. " [the first company] was a tremendous antidote to the training at [vocational school]. I was free of constraint and performed with instinct. I then realised how much I need to know in order to further my career."

Dancer H worked for 1 year in a reputable London cabaret club on leaving vocational training at the age of 19. She performed in late night cabaret – 45 minute singing and dancing shows – one at eleven o'clock the next at 1.00am. During the day she did "bits and pieces of extra work to make up my money because the money was not good – about £125 per week or something ridiculous ". This pattern of work continued for a further 4 years.

All the participants commented on what they had learned and gained from their first jobs. Actors A, C and D and dancers E, G and H talked of their "luck" in securing the jobs and the feelings of optimism at getting paid acting and dancing work straight out of training when their tutors had stressed how unlikely this was. They felt this to be an indicator of future success and for "D", "E", "G" and "H" (one actor and three

dancers), it did indeed prove to be the case. These performers continued to work consistently in the same roles and fields in which they began their careers for a minimum of ten years and in one case up to nineteen years. They honed their performance skills under the guidance of directors and choreographers and built up the reputation log, contacts and networks needed to secure ongoing work. Actors A and C now feel that their initial optimism was "naïve". In her timeline questionnaire "A" describes feelings of not fully understanding the environment she found herself in and of not having much control. Promises of future work and agent representation were made but not fulfilled. "C" 's first high profile job seemed to open doors but actually led to an unreleased film project and a year and a half of unemployment.

Actor B and dancer C had different first work experiences. Both went into entrepreneurial work situations, one with a group of like-minded friends who learned how to set up a performance company by doing it as a collective; the other learning the entrepreneurial skills as an apprentice before branching out on her own. Both "B" and (after her apprenticeship) "F" were also actively participating in creative and artistic processes as well as being brought into contact with audiences and communities and getting to know their regional networks of funders, sponsors and venues. Both were based in the regions (North and Midlands respectively) where there was and still is, a dearth of locally-produced performance product. Both describe these early years as formative - [1] artistically: as times of creative, collaborative experimentation and [2] in business terms: as times of growing understanding about how arts businesses operate in the performing arts marketplace of audiences, funders, venues and opinion-formers.

7.3 Actor Work Chronologies

7.3.1 Actor A - A Devised Theatre/Children's Theatre Specialist

has undertaken thirteen work projects during her eight years of work, averaging 1.6 jobs per annum. Her initial work in an ensemble company continued into the start of the second year of work after which she had a period of extended unemployment (over twelve months). Having acquired an agent, she waited for the casting calls but received none which were appropriate. She describes this (1997) as a “depressing year”.... I'm really bad when I'm not working ... unlivable with.... so I have to be constantly checking the papers". In 1998 she made the decision to abandon the agent and become more pro-active in seeking work through advertisements in *The Stage* and *Production and Casting Review (PCR)* - two newspaper listings of jobs and planned productions. She joined a “profit-share” company to rebuild her self-esteem and then got work in pantomime for 5 weeks as a performer and assistant stage manager (ASM). She then auditioned successfully for a small regionally-based theatre company, following up an advert in *PCR*. Despite the fact that this audition was "cold" i.e. no prior connection or introduction, the company liked A's work and offered her a role. They used a workshop process for the audition e.g. Laban movement and improvisatory/devising tasks and "A" 's ability to do this well got her the job. In this production she was also able to re-discover her musical skills and "be musical again", playing her trombone. She also delivered workshops (based on the production) with a range of young people and adults - from schools to postgraduate students. In the interview A described involvement in the devising of the work as making workshop delivery an easier process.... for example with M.A. students ... "because we had devised it we were just letting them into what we had done ".

This production had 3 tours over a period of two years and necessitated an interweaving of jobs which left A available for the three tours but at the same time provided some work in between tours in order to meet living expenses.

"A" 's next work was a touring children's theatre performance written by a highly-respected and controversial theatre dramatist. It was written for two professional actors and a cast of young people and was recreated with a new cast through a series of residencies in schools and Youth Theatres. A and the other actor worked as "actor-teachers" with each new cast and then the director came in for the last couple of days or so.... "It was an amazing experience. After a three week period in Cambridge "we toured and it was a different cast every week - everything from youth theatres to BTEC students lower sixth to some very young school pupils - we came to [S.E. London School in area of social deprivation] .. that was a tricky one .. that's where you thought that's what theatre can do .. change lives." At the time the school was in special measures and it has since been closed. "It was a bit like a prison really ... I can't believe we did a show there ... they were playing football in the corridors and the teachers just ignored it just keeping them in the classroom .. keeping them in the play ... it was hard ... it was the first play they had ever done." "The fact that they actually turned up.... they came along to the performance and so did their parents ... they came along to see their children they all felt that they had achieved something.. a self worth ... that they got on together was amazing because they were constantly fighting amongst themselves about nothing really... "The play was scripted for the children to take the main parts. They could make up their own lines as well "they were not extras.... they were the play ... it was about them... although

there were two actors in the play they were not the main focus.... every cast was different but each group felt like they owned the play." They have said since that it was a life changing experience for them. The project ran from January to the end of July 2000 - finishing in Edinburgh. It was a constant state of rehearsal.

Following this project, A took on a short tour with an "issue-based" touring theatre company which proved unsatisfying following the highly intensive and creative experience of the Children's Theatre project. A experienced feelings of loss of control "we were castrated as performers.... I just saw it through to the bitter end... some people were really poorly paid.... there was no official Equity contract..." She had secured this work through the stage manager of a previous project. A period of 6 months work followed with a company specialising in using drama in keystage one and two to deliver the science curriculum. It was very tiring work and during this job A's voice began giving her problems necessitating lessons with a singing/voice tutor who is now helping her to use her voice more effectively and safely.

By this time (year seven of work) the periods of unemployment had become shorter. There was only three weeks before the next work - a three hander for a small rural regional theatre. This project then led to an invitation from the director to perform a one woman show as an outreach project for the theatre. "A" 's most satisfying work had been with the regional touring company she first worked with in 1999 (year five of work). She worked with them again in 2002 (year seven) on a site-specific local project which drew on the experiences of a local community.

7.3.2 Actor B - An Experimental/Black Theatre Specialist

Actor B has worked consistently for twenty-three years as actor, writer, deviser, director, designer, technician, developer of new technology and theatre, adviser, mentor and provider of professional support. He has undertaken eighty-four work projects during that time, averaging 3.6 per annum. His acting career includes over fifty theatre productions at most of the major UK Subsidised Repertory theatres and including the Royal National Theatre. He has also worked with many touring companies including companies specialising in devised performance and Black Theatre. His CV lists thirty-five roles in TV/radio and film. He is also a writer of plays, texts for cross artform performance, film and TV treatments, poetry and essays. He has undertaken set design and build, lighting and sound design and operation and production management in various combinations for at least thirty-nine different shows (some of them sculpture installations). He has been Chair of the Board of directors of a large arts company, a Theatre Board member, an Arts Council Drama adviser and a Regional Arts Council member. He frequently acts as mentor, particularly to emergent Black theatre and dance artists and companies. He estimates that 40% of his working time is spent on these “advisory/policy” and African-Caribbean community support-type voluntary activities. He has originated many writing and performance projects and founded three or four companies. He has spent very little time out of work because when acting opportunities (of the right kind) have not been available he has speculated and self-invested to originate his own projects.

7.3.3 Actor C - A Young Mainstream Theatre/Media Actor

Participant C the most recent entry into the acting profession has a career span of six years. During this time he has had twelve work projects giving an average of 2 per annum. His early success in securing a small part in an Oscar-winning film was followed up in his second year of work, by a similar "Young American" role in a film which has not been released. But other than that he experienced a period of extended unemployment (nearly twelve months) during which time he moved from the regions to London. "I've been out of drama school since 1997, this year (2002) is the first year where I haven't stopped working. All the other years have been difficult i.e. there's been long periods in between work ... I've done everything: demonstrating toys, giving away toilet rolls, cigarettes, music promotions - handing out leaflets.... and still going for the odd casting..... It was a desert and it lasted months - not as much as a year.... I kept going up for commercials and finally I got one for [fast food restaurant chain] - a 40 second commercial never shown in the UK - it shows breast feeding.... gave me a grand for a day's work." "My agent was still getting me castings but I just wasn't getting the jobs." Finally in 1999, he did secure a North London Theatre role (through his agent) and the successful working relationship with the director led to a casting with the same director at a prestigious regional repertory theatre: "... it dug me out of a big hole .. I hadn't been on stage since drama school". Then came to [this theatre] for the first production [by ex singing tutor]."

The fourth year of work (2000) brought a recommendation by his ex-singing tutor for a part in a regional repertory theatre musical which was then repeated the following year. The relationship with this theatre continued into the sixth year with a lead role in the theatre's Christmas Show. Year five also brought a part in a film short which

involved "C" in a collaborative working relationship with the writer/director. The film went on to win a United States film festival prize.

7.3.4 Actor D - An Experienced Mainstream Theatre/Media Actor

Participant D has worked predominantly as an actor for thirteen years in regional and national theatres with some television work and some commercials to supplement his income. He has had parts in two films. he has undertaken thirty-two jobs giving an average of 2.5 per year. From the start he was selective about the work he was prepared to take on ... he would not be involved in anything (especially film) which exploited or treated as backdrop the Northern Ireland (NI) troubles. He was occasionally seen as suitable for "thugs, psychopaths and terrorists" (and he has accepted a few of these TV roles to make money) but would only ever accept parts which were "interesting". He had a "Hit list of theatres" in which he wanted to work i.e. the Dublin Theatre, a North-West England theatre, a Scottish Theatre, two North of England theatres and the National Theatre - all of which he has since played in. The first two years brought substantial roles in three of "D's" target theatres in successful productions as well as a TV film. Despite this early success there was a gap of two years with very little work when he earned a living by working on building sites. From year five of working (1995) "D" worked consistently in his target theatres and in the past three years he has worked continuously.

7.3.5 Comparison of Actor Work Chronologies

Table 7.1 shows a comparative mapping of actor work chronologies. Unfortunately, the length of a series, run or tour was not requested and so the **quantity** of work

relating to each project cannot be identified. TV appearances may be for a single production or a series, the length of a tour or a theatre run could be a matter of days, weeks or months. Where a participant stated that they were engaged for a season as an ensemble actor this is recorded as it is indicative of a longer contract - i.e. 3 to 12 months. Therefore the average work projects per year do not indicate the *amount* of employment/unemployment, merely the number of jobs. It is important to note that there would have been gaps in between the jobs listed of varying lengths but where the actor referred to work having been continuous, this has been noted.

Table 7.1 Comparative table of actor work chronologies

Year of Work	A	B	C	D
1	Significant part in successful touring play immediately on finishing training in 1995	Continuous production and presentation of 11 touring plays through theatre co-operative immediately on graduation in 1979 Actor, deviser, designer, technician, workshop leader, administrator, fundraiser, PR, publicity, tour booker, writer	Small part in commercially successful high profile US film by leading director immediately on finishing training in 1997 – through agent.	Major role in principal Northern Ireland theatre, immediately after finishing training – through recommendation of tutor. Regional Rep Actor NI Theatre Actor
2	Touring Play continued	5 TV : Actor	Promotional and temporary work, Actor in unreleased film.	Dublin Theatre Actor Scottish Theatre Actor TV: Actor
3			N. London Theatre Actor Regional Rep: Actor TV Commercials Voice-overs Promotional and temporary work, TV commercials,	Scottish Theatre Actor – extended season Regional Rep Actor Touring Production: Technical crew Building site work
4	Actors Company: Acting, devising Pantomime: Acting, ASM		Regional Rep Actor TV Commercials Voice-overs	Regional Rep: Actor Touring Production Technical crew Building site work
5	Pantomime continued Touring Company	Various small-scale touring companies Actor, deviser, designer,	London Theatre: Actor Regional Rep: Lead	Touring Production Technical crew Building site work

	(Devised work) Actor, deviser, musician, physical theatre, workshop leader.	set construction, sound & light operation, technical manager 2 TV : actor 2 Radio: actor, writer	in Pantomime 1 TV: actor Film Short: actor, deviser in prize- winning film	
6	Touring Company (Devised work) Continued Children's Theatre Project: actor, developing performance with young people Touring Company (issue-based): actor	Various small-scale touring companies: Actor, deviser, designer, set construction, sound & light operation, technical manager Regional Theatre: Actor 3 TV: actor	Regional Rep Lead in Pantomime continued	Regional Rep: Actor Touring Production: Technical crew
7	Touring Company (issue-based) cont'd Touring Company (science-based) Actor, singer, dancer, workshop leader Regional Theatre Production Actor, deviser	Various small-scale touring companies: Actor, deviser, designer, set construction, sound & light operation, technical manager 3 TV: actor Visual Artists installations Construction		Regional Rep Actor Regional Rep Actor in show transferring to West End Touring Production Technical crew
8	Touring Company (devised work) Actor, researcher, deviser, workshop leader Regional Theatre Production (outreach) Actor, deviser, workshop leader	3 Regional Theatres : actor 1 TV: actor Touring Production designer, set construction, sound & light operation, technical manager, Tour booking & management.		West End: actor TV & Film: actor
9		Regional Theatre: Actor for season Glyndebourne: actor, singer One man Play: Writer, actor, director Touring Production: designer, set construction		Dublin Theatre Actor in award winning production London Theatre Pub: unpaid actor
10		Touring Theatre: actor 2 Regional Theatres: Actor 1 Radio: actor Musical Stage Play: commissioned writer Theatre: set construction		TV: actor London Theatre: Actor
11		Touring Theatre: actor 2 Regional Theatres: Actor		<u>Continuous work</u> Regional Rep Major role National Theatre Ensemble actor in 3 plays Regional Rep Associate artist

12		3 Regional Reps: Actor London Theatre: actor		Continuous work National Theatre: Actor Film: actor Dublin Theatre: Actor
13		Touring Theatre: Actor, deviser National Theatre: actor 3 Regional Theatres: Actor Touring Theatre: Lighting design & operation, technical management Theatre: lighting design & operation, technical management		Continuous work National Theatre: Actor TV: various roles Commercials: Various
14		2 TV: actor Sound Event: Technical design & construction		
15		National Theatre: Actor for season Touring Production: Actor, deviser 1 TV: actor Theatre Play: Commissioned writer		
16		Regional Rep: actor 2 TV: actor Radio Play: Commissioned writer Dance Text: Commissioned writer Theatre: Set, lighting & sound		
17		Regional Rep: actor 5 TV: actor		
18		2 Regional Reps: Actor Touring Production: Actor 2 TV: actor		
19		Regional Rep: actor 1 TV: actor 1 Radio: Actor Theatre : Supervision of creation of computer based sound network & R&D.		
20		Touring Production: Actor 1 TV: actor Touring Production: Set build and lighting Musical Theatre: Technical consultant and assistant model maker.		

21		Regional Rep: actor 2 TV: actor Radio: actor Youth Theatre: Set build		
22		Regional Rep: actor Own production: Actor, writer, director 2 TV: actor 3 Radio: actor Dance Text: Commissioned writer		
23		Touring Production: Actor Regional Rep: actor Youth Theatre: director TV: actor Radio: actor		
ave per year	(ave: 1.6 pa)	(ave: 3.6 pa)	(ave: 2 pa)	(ave: 2.5 pa)

7.4 Dancer Work Chronologies

7.4.1 Dancer E - A Classical Ballet Company Dancer/Educator

Dancer E has had a continuous career in classical ballet for 22 years - 20 of those years as a performer and the last two as a teacher/educator working within Ballet. She worked with the same US company for fifteen years, firstly as a member of the corps de ballet and then (after 12 years) she was promoted to the rank of soloist. She moved to a British Ballet Company with her husband in 1995 (aged 34) as a senior soloist. During this time she successfully undertook the MA programme of study developed between the company and its regionally-based university. In 1999 (aged 38) she retired from performing and stayed within the same company to develop her administrative and education skills within their education department, in preparation for her new career. "I have learned how to use my skills in new ways, such as, translating teamwork from the corps de ballet to the office. I have had opportunities

to explore my creativity, by leading students and teachers through the theories I have come upon during my years in the profession" .

7.4.2 Dancer F - A South Asian Dancer/Choreographer

At the time of the interview, participant F had worked for seven years since finishing formal training with her teacher/guru. Two third's of her career has been spent predominantly in self-generated and self-invested performance productions which toured small-scale arts centre and community venues. She worked primarily as choreographer/performer but also undertaking the administration, management, design, tour booking etc. needed to get the productions into the venues. This was entirely profit-share and self-funded and her primary source of income was education work with some choreographic commissions. As she and her musician husband became known they began to tour within continental Europe as well as some London-based arts venues. During the last two years she has begun to attract regional production/touring funding.

7.4.3 Dancer G - A Contemporary Dancer/Choreographer

At the time of the interview, dancer G was in his eleventh year of continuous work as a dance performer/choreographer/teacher. Following his first professional performance work with a middle-scale touring contemporary dance company he auditioned successfully for Britain's leading large-scale contemporary dance company. "[It] was my rock in terms of an artistic vantage point seeing for the first time where this art form came from and entertaining the thought of where it is going.

I became seriously injured for the first time and began the slow conscious journey of self improvement". "I think I learnt to dance and to deal with pain.....back problems". When the company folded and was replaced by an artist-led company, "G" was appointed into it. he moved from there back into the company which had given him his first work, firstly as a company member but then as the company began to make its name with innovative versions of classical repertoire, as a soloist. He took a leading role in a production which transferred to the West End. He "felt isolated as a soloist but enjoyed playing the a character - and got to "know the role in every fibre ... at cellular level.... the huge challenge was never to go onto autopilot ... keep a freshness in it." He then moved to a smaller company which specialises in bringing in different choreographers.

7.4.4 Dancer H - A Musical Theatre Dancer

At the time of the interview, dancer H was in the thirteenth year of a performing career which combined commercial and cabaret dance work in Italy, London and Monte Carlo. "I went to Monte Carlo in 1990 to work at the Casino in a group ... six girls and I had my own singing solo .. which was lovely ... for about 4 months we were fully dressed but I think they are all topless now.... its all changed.." She came back to work for a (well-known) club managed by a television choreographer/producer and stayed there for two and a half years. During the day she continued to work for TV, with small parts in Family Affairs, The Bill, Eastenders. "Boring days but nice little moments." She also did a Barrymore show as a dancer. During this time she was auditioning for shows and five years after leaving training, she got a part in a long running West End musical. She was originally recommended

by a former tutor/choreographer/dancer who was working on the show at the time but did not get a part at that time because she had no Equity card. A repeat recommendation later brought success for a tour of the show (1994). "We had two weeks rehearsal in London ... then three weeks rehearsal in Glasgow and on tour for 14 months..." The rigours of the performance (no knee pads allowed) aggravated a knee injury first sustained in childhood. This led to surgery and eight months of recovery. She describes herself during this time as "a complete nightmare ... it was never going to be right again I would never dance again .. I was completely numb.... But what doesn't kill us makes us stronger..."

She found going back to work difficult emotionally "it took me a few weeks to trust myself again" She went to work for the choreographer/director from the London cabaret club who was producing a Musical Theatre tour of major theatres.

Auditions and six recalls followed for another West End show. She was offered the job as "swing", and understudy for one of the principles and then with a second year contract she took over a role of her own. She finished this production and went straight into another which played the West End for a year. This was followed by two and a half months "off" – holiday and teaching. She then went into the European tour of the show. She only signed on for 3 months because her partner (musician on the show) was only working on it for 3 months. Although she had no job to come back to "the phone started ringing immediately for teaching.." She was quickly called back into one of her earlier shows which was still running to cover an injury for 6-8 weeks. She is rarely out of performance work now but over the last five years has

begun teaching at the vocational school which trained her. This continues even when she is performing in shows.

7.4.5 Comparison of Dancer Work Chronologies

Other than dancer H, the dancers did not refer to specific jobs/productions in the way that the actors did. F had primarily worked within her own touring performance company whereas E and G had worked in one or more companies - repertory and touring respectively. This made analysis by number of jobs impossible to do. For F and G, tours might overlap or be put on hold creating gaps which were filled with other types of work, mainly education or youth choreography.

Table 7.2 Comparative table of dancer work chronologies

Year	E	F	G	H
1	Company dancer with major US Ballet Company	Solo dance piece - self-generated and managed 2 choreographic commissions -1 in Chicago Teaching work and youth dance company choreography	Company performer in middle-scale ensemble touring company. Company performer in large, prestigious national ensemble company. (3yrs)	Dancer in London cabaret club at night. TV extra work during day.
2		Self-generated and managed small company tour. Co-artistic director of student dance company	Teacher/workshop leader for company's education work.	
3		Self-generated and managed small company tour, including European tour.	Company performer in successor contemporary dance company to above.	
4				
5		First (partially) funded touring production Research and development awards.	Company performer (and then soloist) in middle-scale touring ensemble company growing in reputation	

6		Choreographic commission for major regional repertory theatre. Substantial touring, inc larger venue and international touring	over this time with TV as well as theatre productions and eventually a major west end production Teacher/workshop leader for company's education work. Freelance teacher, workshop leader and youth dance choreographer. Soloist in company's (ground-breaking) west end Ballet production	Long running West End musical & tour
7		1 st child born. Large lottery-funded project.	Company performer in innovative small scale touring company.	Continuation of tour. Knee injury
8			Teacher/workshop leader for company's education work	Musical Theatre tour - major theatres
9			Freelance teacher, workshop leader and youth dance choreographer.	West End production
10	Promoted to soloist within company			West End Production & international tour
11			Freelance choreographer, performer, teacher	Teaching
12				West End Production
13				Teaching
14 & 15		Senior soloist with British Ballet Company		
16				
17				
18				
19				
20	Education Officer for British Ballet Company			
21	Ballet teacher			

7.5 Typology of Performer Work Modes

In interpreting the performers' narratives of their current working lives in section six, a distinction was made between the different employment modes they were operating in. The work chronologies show the shifts and changes in employment modes over time. One dancer had been engaged in only two long term contracts over a period of nineteen years. Two actors had secured medium-term or "seasonal" contracts and one dancer had secured medium-term contracts over a long theatre "run". But most were engaged on short-term contracts for performance and or teaching for most of the time. The more established performers were working continuously on serial (or overlapping) contracts and had work planned for a six to twelve months ahead. Some had a mixed portfolio of self-generated entrepreneurial work and short-term contracts. All reported high levels of insecurity and uncertainty and all continually sought ways to mitigate the financial risk of their precarious employment.

The work chronologies and associated narratives draw attention to the qualitative difference between an actor/dancer "employee" engaged to deliver a directed performance and an artistic "collaborator" engaged to participate creatively in the process of making the work. Some of the participants offered drama or dance related work functions which could be clearly categorised as artistically collaborative e.g. writing, choreography, lighting design, direction and some actors and dancers were engaged specifically to deliver the creative functions of deviser/performers. But even where the performer was engaged to deliver a performance only, the level of creative and/or interpretative participation could be significant enough to justify being described as artistic collaboration. All the performers gained satisfaction from

being treated as artistic collaborators - jobs which allowed little artistic input were felt to be less intrinsically rewarding. Actor B and dancer F chose to work entrepreneurially to maximise their artistic input, dancer G has recently made the decision to do the same. Actor D sought work in theatres and with directors who encouraged his creative participation; dancer E was at her happiest working in her US company with choreographers who created new roles *with* her; and actor A talked at length about the work which gave her most satisfaction i.e. devised through collaboration with both fellow actors and communities. Actor C's assertion that he was motivated by money and fame and that only jobs that moved him in these directions brought satisfaction was somewhat belied by his animation when talking about a recent collaborative project with a film director. Clearly it is important to build in this qualitative differentiation into an understanding of performer work modes. The following typology attempts to do this by suggesting six categories which combine employment mode with degree of artistic input and estimation of financial risk:

- **Contracted employee – Low risk/little or no artistic input:** the performer is engaged by an organisation, a company or an individual on temporary basis to fulfil a predetermined role under the artistic direction of another. There is low financial risk as long as the pay is adequate and the contracts are more or less continuous.
- **Contracted collaborator – Low risk/some artistic input:** the performer is engaged by an organisation, a company or an individual on a temporary basis for a predetermined role but works collaboratively with a director within an

artistic team. Fee salary is known in advance so there is low financial risk as long as the pay is adequate and the contracts are more or less continuous..

- **Entrepreneurial collaborator – Medium risk/some artistic input:** the performer works with others to create a company or project; sharing artistic direction and business management. There is a medium level of risk since remuneration is not known in advance but is dependent on profit. However, the risk of financial loss is shared amongst the group.
- **Solo entrepreneur – High risk/high artistic input:** the performer originates a one-person performance project under his/her own artistic direction and business management. The level of risk is high since remuneration is not known in advance and the individual bears all the risk of loss.
- **Organisational producer/director/choreographer – No risk/high artistic input:** the performer originates a production and assembles the team to fulfil his/her artistic vision within an organisation. There is no financial risk to the individual since remuneration is agreed in advance and the risk of financial loss is carried by the organisation.
- **Entrepreneurial performer/producer – High risk/high artistic input:** the actor originates a production and assembles the team to fulfil his/her artistic vision as well as managing the business. This is a very high risk approach since remuneration is not known in advance and the individual bears both the risk of loss and the responsibility for remunerating others.

7.6 Work Modes of Participating Performers

The typology can then be applied to the performers' chronologies in order to map out patterns of work modes across the group. Unfortunately the typology was constructed after the interviews were completed and then applied to the chronologies. This has resulted in some technical problems of category comparability. Where the careers were short, the interview gave plenty of time for detailed discussion of different jobs. Where the career was lengthy, it was not possible to gather sufficient qualitative detail to be absolutely clear about employee and collaborator modes. Some assumptions have been made which are outlined before each summary.

The categorisation of A's work is made with some confidence. In the interview, her short career span, and her clear preference for work which involved her creatively made it possible to discuss each work project and her role in it in some detail. The distinction between her work as an employee (i.e. actor under direction) and her work as a collaborator, (i.e. actor participating in the development of the script, interpretation and/or direction) emerged very clearly.

Table 7.3 Actor A work modes

Years	Actor A Work Projects	Work Mode
1 & 2	Significant part in successful touring play immediately on finishing training in 1995	Contracted employee
3		Unemployed
4	1. Actors Company: Acting, improvising, devising 2. Pantomime: Acting, ASM	1. Entrepreneurial collaborator 2. Contracted employee
5	1. Pantomime continued 2. Touring Company (Devised work)	1. Contracted employee 2. Contracted collaborator

	Actor, deviser, musician, physical theatre, workshop leader.	
6	1. Touring Company (Devised work) continued 2. Children's Theatre Project Actor, developing performance with young people 3. Touring Company (issue-based) Actor	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted collaborator 3. Contracted employee
7	1. Touring Company (issue-based) continued 2. Touring Company (science-based) Actor, singer, dancer, workshop leader 3. Regional Theatre Production Actor, deviser	1. Contracted employee 2. Contracted employee 3. Contracted collaborator
8	1. Touring Company (devised work) Actor, researcher, deviser, workshop leader 2. Regional Theatre Production (outreach) Actor, deviser, workshop leader	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted collaborator

Approximately half of actor A's work projects have been as a contracted employee and half as a contracted collaborator. She had one prolonged spell of unemployment and then resumed work as an entrepreneurial collaborator as a way of rebuilding her confidence and "getting back into" acting.

The length of actor B's career span made it impossible to discuss many of his work projects in detail but distinctions were made in the interview between work as a contracted actor for theatre, TV and radio or a contracted technician for theatre and work as a contracted collaborator i.e. when writing/text or design/build was commissioned. Assumptions have been made about work with directors and/or theatres in which there might reasonably be assumed to be an element of participation in the devising/directorial process. In which case these are deemed "collaborations" and acting for TV and film which is usually directed and therefore in employee mode. Employee mode is also used where the interview gave

information about theatres where "B" specifically referred to being treated as an employee or in his words "a non-contributing, non-creative jobbing actor".

Table 7.4 Actor B work modes

Years	Actor B Work Projects	Work Mode
1 - 4	<p>1. Continuous production and presentation of 11 touring plays through theatre co-operative immediately on graduation in 1979 Actor, deviser, designer, technician, workshop leader, administrator, fundraiser, PR, publicity, tour booker, writer</p> <p>2. Five TV acting roles</p>	<p>1. Entrepreneurial collaborator</p> <p>2. Contracted employee</p>
5	<p>1. Various small-scale touring companies Actor, deviser, designer, set construction, sound & light operation, technical manager</p> <p>2. Two TV acting roles</p> <p>3. Two Radio Actor, writer</p>	<p>1. Contracted collaborator</p> <p>2. Contracted employee</p> <p>3. Contracted employee</p>
6	<p>1. Various small-scale touring companies Actor, deviser, designer, set construction, sound & light operation, technical manager</p> <p>2. One Regional Theatre - Actor</p> <p>3. Three TV Actor</p>	<p>1. Contracted collaborator</p> <p>2. Contracted employee</p> <p>3. Contracted employee</p>
7	<p>1. Various small-scale touring companies Actor, deviser, designer, set construction, sound & light operation, technical manager</p> <p>2. Three TV - Actor</p> <p>3. Visual Artists installations Construction</p>	<p>1. Contracted collaborator</p> <p>2. Contracted employee</p> <p>3. Contracted collaborator</p>
8	<p>1. Three Regional Theatres - Actor</p> <p>2. One TV - Actor</p> <p>3. Touring Production designer, set construction, sound & light operation, technical manager, Tour booking & management.</p>	<p>1. Contracted employee</p> <p>2. Contracted employee</p> <p>3. Entrepreneurial producer</p>
9	<p>1. Regional Theatre - Actor for season</p> <p>2. Glyndebourne - Actor, singer</p> <p>3. One man Play - Writer, actor, director</p> <p>4. Touring Production designer, set construction</p>	<p>1. Contracted employee</p> <p>2. Contracted employee</p> <p>3. Solo entrepreneur</p> <p>4. Contracted collaborator</p>
10	<p>1. Touring Theatre - Actor</p> <p>2. Two Regional Theatres - Actor</p> <p>3. One Radio - Actor</p> <p>4. Musical Stage Play Commissioned writer</p> <p>5. Theatre - Set construction</p>	<p>1. Contracted employee</p> <p>2. Contracted collaborator</p> <p>3. Contracted employee</p> <p>4. Contracted collaborator</p> <p>5. Contracted employee</p>
11	<p>1. Touring Theatre - Actor</p> <p>2. Two Regional Theatres - Actor</p>	<p>1. Contracted collaborator</p> <p>2. Contracted employee</p>

12	1. Three Regional Reps - Actor 2. One London Theatre - Actor	1. Contracted employee 2. Contracted employee
13	1. Touring Theatre - Actor, deviser 2. National Theatre - Actor 3. Three Regional Theatres - Actor 4. Touring Theatre Lighting design & operation, technical management 5. Theatre Lighting design & operation, technical management	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted employee 3. Contracted employee 4. Contracted collaborator 5. Contracted collaborator
14	1. Two TV - Actor 2. Sound Event Technical design & construction	1. Contracted employee 2. Contracted collaborator
15	1. National Theatre - Actor for season 2. Touring Production - Actor, deviser 3. One TV - Actor 4. Theatre Play - Commissioned writer	1. Contracted employee 2. Contracted collaborator 3. Contracted employee 4. Contracted collaborator
16	1. Regional Rep - Actor 2. Two TV - Actor 3. Radio Play - Commissioned writer 4. Dance Text - Commissioned writer 5. Theatre - Set, lighting & sound	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted employee 3. Contracted collaborator 4. Contracted collaborator 5. Contracted collaborator
17	1. One Regional Rep - Actor 2. Five TV - Actor	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted employee
18	1. Two Regional Reps - Actor 2. Touring Production - Actor 3. Two TV - Actor	1. Contracted employee 2. Contracted collaborator 3. Contracted employee
19	1. Regional Rep - Actor 2. One TV - Actor 3. One Radio - Actor 4. Theatre Supervision of creation of computer based sound network & R&D.	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted employee 3. Contracted employee 4. Contracted collaborator
20	1. Touring Production - Actor 2. One TV - Actor 3. Touring Production Set build and lighting 4. Musical Theatre Technical consultant and assistant model maker.	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted employee 3. Contracted collaborator 4. Contracted collaborator
21	1. One Regional Rep - Actor 2. Two TV - Actor 3. One Radio - Actor 4. Youth Theatre - Set build	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted employee 3. Contracted employee 4. Contracted collaborator
22	1. Regional Rep - Actor 2. Own production Actor, writer, director 3. Two TV - Actor 4. Three Radio - Actor 5. Dance Text - Commissioned writer	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Organisational producer 3. Contracted employee 4. Contracted employee 5. Contracted collaborator
23	1. Touring Production - Actor 2. Regional Rep - Actor 3. Youth Theatre - Director 4. One TV - Actor 5. One Radio - Actor	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted employee 3. Contracted collaborator 4. Contracted employee 5. Contracted employee

Just under a half of actor B's work projects have been as a contracted employee and slightly over a third have been as a contracted collaborator. An eighth of his work projects have been as an entrepreneurial collaborator and he has made single forays into solo entrepreneur (a one man show), organisational producer (a site specific commissioned work) and organisational producer, directing and managing a project company.

Actor C has the shortest career of the actor group and therefore the analysis of his work modes is made with confidence. Each work project was discussed in detail.

Table 7.5 Actor C work modes

Years	Actor C Work Projects	Work Mode
1	Small part in commercially successful high profile US film by leading director immediately on finishing training in 1997 – through agent.	1. Contracted employee
2	Promotional and temporary work,. Film - Actor in unreleased film.	1. Contracted employee
3	1. N. London Theatre -Actor 2. Regional Rep - Actor 3. TV Commercials - Voice-overs Promotional and temporary work, TV commercials,	1. Contracted employee 2. Contracted employee 3. Contracted employee
4	1. Regional Rep - Actor 2. TV Commercials - Voice-overs	1. Contracted employee 2. Contracted employee
5	1. London Theatre - Actor 2. Regional Rep - Lead in Pantomime 3. One TV - Actor 4. Film Short - Actor, deviser in (international) prize-winning film short	1. Contracted employee 2. Contracted employee 3. Contracted employee 4. Contracted collaborator
6	1. Regional Rep - Lead in Pantomime continued	1. Contracted employee

Actor C has worked almost entirely as a contracted employee, although he had one project as a contracted collaborator working on a film short.

Actor D is an established actor with a long work chronology. Due to pressures on interview time and the lack of a timeline questionnaire it is not possible to say with certainty that all his work projects have been identified. As with actor B, assumptions have been made about categorising TV/film work as employee mode and some theatre work as collaborator mode. Given the types of theatres in which "D" has worked and the directors he worked with, it is reasonable to assume a degree of interpretative collaboration, except where he indicated the contrary.

Table 7.6 Actor D work modes

Years	Actor D Work Projects	Work Mode
1	1. Major role in principal Northern Ireland theatre, immediately after finishing training – through recommendation of tutor. 2. Regional Rep - Actor 3. NI Theatre - Actor	1. Contracted employee 2. Contracted collaborator 3. Contracted collaborator
2	1. Dublin Theatre - Actor 2. Scottish Theatre - Actor 3. TV - Actor	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted collaborator 3. Contracted employee
3	1. Scottish Theatre - Actor – extended season 2. Regional Rep - Actor 3. Touring Production - Technical crew Building site work	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted collaborator 3. Contracted employee
4	1. Regional Rep - Actor 2. Touring Production - Technical crew Building site work	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted employee
5	1. Touring Production - Technical crew Building site work	1. Contracted employee
6	1. Regional Rep - Actor 2. Touring Production - Technical crew	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted employee
7	1. Regional Rep - Actor 2. Regional Rep - Actor in show transferring to West End 3. Touring Production - Technical crew	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted employee 3. Contracted employee
8	1. West End - Actor 2. Various TV & Film - Actor	1. Contracted employee 2. Contracted employee
9	1. Dublin Theatre - Actor in award winning production 2. London Theatre Pub Unpaid actor	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Unpaid entrepreneurial collaborator
10	1. TV - Actor 2. London Theatre - Actor	1. Contracted employee 2. Contracted collaborator
11	<u>Continuous work</u> 1. Regional Rep - Major role 2. National Theatre - Ensemble actor in 3 plays	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted collaborator

	3. Regional Rep - Associate artist	3. Contracted collaborator
12	<u>Continuous work</u> 1. National Theatre - Actor 2. Film - Actor 3. Dublin Theatre - Actor	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted employee 3. Contracted collaborator
13	<u>Continuous work</u> 1. National Theatre - Actor 2. TV - Various roles 3. Commercials - Various	1. Contracted collaborator 2. Contracted employee 3. Contracted employee

Just over half of actor D's work projects have been as contracted collaborator and just under half as contracted employee. For one project he worked as an unpaid actor in a London Pub Theatre production. This has been categorised as unpaid entrepreneurial collaborator. It was a deliberate choice to work with a "rising star" director on an experimental production and therefore could be seen as entrepreneurial reputation building.

Table 7.7 below, draws on the numerical breakdown of actor work projects from the actor work chronologies at figure 7.2 in order to give a percentage comparison of actor work modes.

Table 7.7 Percentage comparison of actor work modes

	A	B	C	D
Contracted employee	46	46	92	44
Contracted collaborator	46	37	8	55
Entrepreneurial collaborator	8	13	0	0.03
Solo entrepreneur	0	1	0	0
Organisational producer	0	1	0	0
Entrepreneurial producer	0	1	0	0

Unlike the actors, the dancers could not offer chronological breakdowns of individual work projects and castings. For many, the projects overlapped as they filled in the gaps between tours with the same or different companies or the situation was confused by multiple job holding. It therefore proved impossible to generate a numerical analysis of work projects and work modes. Nevertheless it was possible to observe some general features.

Table 7.8 Dancer E work modes

Years	Participant E Work Projects	Work Mode
1 - 12	Company dancer with major US Ballet Company	Contracted employee
13 - 14	Promoted to soloist within company	Contracted employee
15-19	Senior soloist with British Ballet Company	Contracted employee
20-21	Education Officer working with British Ballet Company Ballet teacher	1. Entrepreneurial collaborator 2. Contracted employee
22	Education Manager with a different British Ballet Company	Contracted producer/manager

Dancer E worked primarily as a contracted employee/collaborator. It is difficult to disaggregate the two modes because for some new roles with choreographers she was invited to participate as a collaborator, for others she was not and this was not recorded in the chronology. On retiring from performing, she worked briefly as a freelance member of the company's education department (entrepreneurially) but this was transmuted into a contract after a few months. her new job (post interview) is as an education producer/manager in a London-based ballet company.

Table 7.9 Dancer F work modes

Years	Dancer F Work Projects	Work Mode
1	Solo dance piece - self-generated and managed	Solo entrepreneur
	2 choreographic commissions -1 in Chicago	Contracted collaborator
	Teaching work and youth dance company choreography	Contracted collaborator
2	Self-generated and managed small company tour.	Entrepreneurial collaborator
	Co-artistic director of student dance company	Entrepreneurial collaborator
3	Self-generated and managed small company tour, inc European tour.	Entrepreneurial Dancer/Producer
4		
5	First (partially) funded touring production Research and development awards.	Entrepreneurial Dancer/Producer
6	Choreographic commission for major regional repertory theatre.	Contracted collaborator
	Substantial touring, inc larger venue and international touring	Entrepreneurial Dancer/Producer
7	1 st child born. Large lottery-funded project.	Entrepreneurial Dancer/Producer

Dancer F has only occasionally worked as a contracted employee. This is when she has been employed as a teacher or choreographer with youth and community groups. She has undertaken a number of choreographic commissions as a contracted collaborator but for the most part she has operated as an entrepreneurial collaborator or (more latterly) entrepreneurial producer.

Table 7.10 Dancer G work modes

Years	Dancer G Work Projects	Work Mode
1 - 3	1. Company performer in middle-scale ensemble touring company.	Contracted collaborator
	2. Company performer in large, prestigious national ensemble company. (3yrs)	Contracted collaborator
	Teacher/workshop leader for company's education work.	Contracted employee

4	Company performer in successor contemporary dance company to above	Contracted collaborator
5-6	Company performer (and then soloist) in middle-scale touring ensemble company growing in reputation over this time with TV as well as theatre productions and eventually a major west end production Teacher/workshop leader for company's education work. Freelance teacher, workshop leader and youth dance choreographer. Soloist in company's (ground-breaking) west end Ballet production	Contracted collaborator Contracted employee Entrepreneurial collaborator Contracted collaborator
7-10	Company performer in innovative small scale touring company. Teacher/workshop leader for company's education work Freelance teacher, workshop leader and youth dance choreographer.	Contracted collaborator Contracted employee Entrepreneurial collaborator
11	Freelance choreographer. performer teacher	Entrepreneurial Producer

Dancer G has worked primarily as a contracted collaborator in his role as company performer, since most contemporary choreography is creative rather than re-creative and requires the performer's creative participation. He has also worked as a contracted employee delivering teaching for various companies. However, with the gaps in touring schedules he has supplemented his income with work as a freelance teacher and choreographer of youth and community dance. During the past year he has begun to work as an entrepreneurial producer - drawing together dancers for his own choreography and seeking project funding to enable it to continue.

Table 7.11 Dancer H work modes

Years	Dancer H Work Projects	Work Mode
1 - 5	1. Dancer in London cabaret club at night. 2. TV extra work during day.	1. Contracted employee 2. Contracted employee
6	Long running West End musical & tour	1. Contracted employee
7	Continuation of tour. Knee injury	1. Contracted employee
8	Musical Theatre tour - major theatres	1. Contracted employee
9- 13	1. West End Productions & international tours 2. Teaching	1. Contracted employee 2. Contracted employee

Dancer H has only worked as a contracted performer or teacher. Because of the nature of her work - mostly successful West End shows, she has relatively long contracts - 3 months to a year.

7.7 Performer Work Modes and Levels of Risk

A comparative summary of the participant work modes and levels of risk is given in table 7.12.

Table 7.12 Participant work mode summary

Partici pant	Work Modes	Risk/Artistic input
A	Almost equal split between contracted employee and contracted collaborator, one project as entrepreneurial collaborator	Low risk & equal split between low and some artistic input.

B	Almost half projects as contracted employee, just over one third as contracted collaborator, one eighth of projects as entrepreneurial collaborator, one as solo entrepreneur, one as entrepreneurial producer & one as organisational producer	Almost half low risk/low artistic input; one third low risk/some artistic input; one eighth medium risk/some artistic input, two projects as high risk/high artistic input; & one as no risk/high artistic input.
C	Almost all of projects as contracted employee only one as contracted collaborator	All but one project low risk/low artistic input
D	Just over half of projects as contracted collaborator, just under half of projects as contracted employee, one project as unpaid entrepreneurial collaborator	All but one project low risk with just over half some artistic input and just under half low artistic input
E	Majority of work as contracted employee/collaborator with one short spell as entrepreneur within education department of same company.	All but one project low risk with unknown mixture of low/some artistic input
F	Majority of work as entrepreneurial collaborator and latterly entrepreneurial producer. Some work as contracted collaborator and a small amount as contracted employee for teaching.	Most work high risk/high artistic input. Some low risk mixed low and some artistic input
G	Majority of work as contracted collaborator/performer and contracted employee/teacher. Gaps in tours filled with entrepreneurial collaborator work within youth dance. Latterly solo entrepreneur & entrepreneurial producer.	Most of work low risk/some artistic input. Latterly high risk/high artistic input
H	Entirely as contracted employee - as performer and as teacher.	All low risk/low artistic input

Of all the performers only one (the classical ballet performer) has made the choice to spend a long period of time as a company performer i.e. on long term contracts in a low risk, low/medium artistic input work mode. It may be that others would have made this choice had it been available to them. Classical ballet is one of the few art forms with permanent company structures. It is possible that classical ballet companies seek to maximise their investment in individuals by retaining them once

they had mastered the basic classical repertoire. For the other performers there are no permanent companies and therefore the low risk choice of company member is not available. Regional repertory theatres have now moved to project production, there is only now one year-round contemporary dance company offering contracts longer than one tour or one season and there is no permanent Kathak dance company. The low risk options that are available to these performers would seem to be as contracted employees or collaborators on a theatre run, a season or a tour. Longer runs and seasons mean the risk of finding new work is lowered but also mean that the performer may not be available should more interesting work come up. Three of the actors have selected mostly low risk employed work rather than entrepreneurial, although two of them have engaged in one entrepreneurial collaboration for very specific reasons - one to regain confidence, the other to build networks and profile (as well as for the artistic experience). However, there are three performers, one actor and two dancers who have made deliberate choices to take on high risk entrepreneurial work. One dancer has always spent a substantial part of her working life in this way, the other dancer has moved into this way of working very recently and the actor has moved into and out of this way of working over a long career. The reasons for choosing high risk work are explored in section 9.0.

8.0 Career Phases and Trends

8.1 Actor Career Phases and Trends

Participant A's eight year career shows a steady trend towards more continuous work as a contracted collaborator actor/deviser, specialising in work created with and for a specific community (e.g. young people, refugees). It can be seen as a single phase moving from a very generalised notion of acting work absorbed during initial vocational training to a more specialised notion of where her particular strengths might be best placed within the marketplace. After her first year of work secured through her tutor she tried to find general acting work through an agent across the range of theatre and TV casting directors and when this was unsuccessful, she started to look pro-actively for work herself. She felt she had been naïve in trusting these agents who did not generate any work for them. "A" described being sent for auditions that did not exist or for which she was ineligible without an Equity card. Her second agent proved equally disappointing with a constantly changing phone number and demands for fees for unnecessary publicity photographs. After being disappointed by her agents, Actor "A" adopted pro-active job search strategies using trade papers. She felt that her drama school had encouraged her to "buy into" the notion of "being snapped up" by an agent who would then find her work and that it was only after being out of drama school for a few months that discovered she needed to make things happen herself. "Nobody's going to help you ... you have to do it yourself." "I suppose I did go into it straight away ... when I wasn't snapped up after the graduation show .. I wrote hundreds of letters to agents ... going off to auditions ... the realisation came later that this was how it was... you need to know

that if things don't happen in a certain way you're not a failure." She added that many of her fellow graduates, had given up on their careers since they had not the strategies for seeking work themselves.

She secured her entry to more specialist type of work by applying for an audition after seeing an advert in one of the trade papers. Testing herself within this work which demanding her creative engagement as well as her interpretative skills she discovered she had strengths in this way of working. Having worked well within the team, went on to build a reputation within this small sub-sector of small-scale regionally-based theatre which in turn is resulting in repeat contracts with this and other similar companies. These companies have recommended her to similar others and thus her reputation as a specialist is being reinforced within the sub-sector. She talked about the satisfaction she had gained from her last piece of work, describing a working process which involved researching the stories of women asylum seekers living in a Midlands town and weaving them into a site specific, inter-active piece of theatre in an old swimming baths. The role allowed her to use her improvisational skills both in the devising process and the performance. She described it as her most rewarding work experience to date: "a brilliant piece ... this has to be one of the most powerful pieces of theatre I've ever done.... the first Tuesday night all the women who had been interviewed saw the shows ... there were so many tears... they have such amazing a stories .. knowing that we'd done their stories justice was fantastic more people should see this work and how it can change peoples' lives..... remove prejudice ... but its gone now because it was site specific.... it was so powerful giving these people a voice.... they are stories that would never get told

otherwise." She actively seeks opportunities to work with this company as often as she can.

She has continued to find her own work in small-scale inter-active theatre and children's theatre, using her own network of contacts but she is beginning to feel that it is "plateau-ing" in terms of reputation building. She is now wanting to start to build a reputation for work (preferably of a similar challenging nature) in larger theatres and the broadcast/film industries and she wants her new agent to help her achieve this. "A" sees the principle value of her agent as helping her to be more selective and strategic with her choice of work. They are working together to find more "visible" (i.e. London, National or TV) work. "I think she'd like me to know more casting directors ... she says 'you don't know anybody' ... 'they've got to know your name'.... But this has led to some disagreements when "A" has chosen to do work which brings her satisfaction in the regions which her agent does not feel will move her career on.

"I'm trying to make the decision and not give her total control like with the last ones but it is nice to feel somebody is in your corner with you, otherwise looking for work can feel a very solitary experience. I know I can trust her ... but I want to keep doing stuff I want to do as well... We will just have to see how things go. ... it feels quite strange that the next three jobs I've had lined up myself... I have to give a trial to see how it goes...."

Actor B describes his career direction as having been determined by “trying to get the work I want to see on stage” and his main career motivation as "the desire to transcend the function of non-contributing, non-creative jobbing actor....the actor role is the most subservient....".

His early working experiences generated an abiding long term interest in devised creation and cross art-form collaboration i.e. visual/experimental/dance theatre/music theatre. He has found little opportunity for jobs of this kind in current mainstream theatre which he sees as prioritising "lyrical" and entertainment forms over the more demanding “total theatre” which expresses more diverse cultural voices and experiences across the artforms. At several times in his career he reached a "plateau" or "block" i.e. a time when his career was not developing in the direction he wanted and he made significant changes. The most obvious was a "side-stepping" out of relatively secure and high profile acting in national theatre into more risky writing and producing because of the restricted *artistic* reputation-building opportunities offered by the former. "I was trying to bring an analysis to bear on what opportunities really existed for me as an actor ... I could see that my career was not going in the same way as my white contemporaries ... mine was diverting, not going on.". "B"'s twenty-three year career shows five distinct phases:

Phase One - (years 1 - 4) is described by participant B as an artistically rewarding time of experimentation and learning. Predominantly entrepreneurial collaboration as a founder member of a touring theatre company - undertaking mixed job functions including acting and working across artforms. The company, encouraged by the funding policies of the time, was very much based within a region and found its market in local venues. A growing national reputation as innovators led to

international touring. B acquired an agent and began a parallel TV acting career, as a contracted employee.

Phase Two - (years 5 - 7) is described by participant B as a time of sharing with other companies what had been learned through phase one. He worked predominantly as a contracted collaborator (in diverse functional roles) with a number of different touring companies as well as writing for radio and set design/build for artist installations. His parallel TV, radio and regional theatre acting (contracted employee) began to expand.

Phase Three - (years 8 - 15) was a time of rapid reputation growth both as an actor and as a writer. "B" describes this as "a really energetic period". It included an entrepreneurial production of a touring show and a one man play/production.

Contracted collaboration included writing a commissioned musical stage play and working as production designer/technician. The parallel (contracted) acting career included TV, radio, more high profile regional repertory theatres, a London theatre, a National Theatre role, two National Theatre seasons and a number of high profile touring productions. Two ten month contracts at the National Theatre gave "B" time to write.

Phase Four - (year 16) was a time of change and reflection. "B" described a sense of disillusion about a "glass ceiling" on his acting career because of the nature of the plays being produced and the lack of opportunity they offered him as a Black British actor. With three writing commissions he focused on creating the plays he wanted to see produced. He turned down a further casting in a National Theatre play because he

felt he was being restricted in terms of his profile and his artistic input. There was a mismatch between the reputation he was building as a Black British artist/writer/thinker - an artistic leader within the Black British theatre community, who was increasingly asked to contribute as an adviser to policymakers - and the uninspiring, unchallenging and limited roles he was being offered at the National Theatre.

Phase Five - (years 17 - 23) was a time of regional and artistic re-focusing. Despite the success of the three writing projects, "B" began this phase "exhausted", "broke" and dissatisfied with the lack of diversity of current theatre programming with its prioritisation of "lyrical" over more challenging theatre forms. He channelled this dissatisfaction into a series of essays which he is now placing on his website. During this phase the majority of work projects have been as contracted actor for TV, radio and regional repertory theatre, with some collaborative contracts for touring theatre productions, youth theatre and dance productions. One production was commissioned for an organisation.

Participant C's six year career shows no obvious shifts of emphasis or changes of direction and the only trend is towards more continuous and regular work contracts. Having thought of himself as in broad and generalist terms as an actor during his initial training, he was thrust very quickly in a film direction by his first agent. However subsequent work has been across a wide range of theatre and TV work form "serious" drama, through pantomime to TV commercials. With hindsight, he now understands that his first agent was interested in him because he was playing a young American soldier in his drama school showcase, she thought he was American

and there were immediate casting opportunities for young American soldiers for a new Hollywood film to be shot in Ireland. This film needed large numbers of such character types - in other words there was high demand and relative shortage of supply because the film was being shot in Ireland not the US. "C" referred to his feelings at the time ". .. as soon as I got the part I was like, golden boy.... [my agent] had me meeting everybody.... there was always the promise of the next big thing ... and she was always so full of shit that she made me believe it ... now I realise my complete naivety - I wasn't going to be Leonardo di Caprio - even though you've done one big thing - everyone else has done more.... talent is not the be all and end all unfortunately - it's what you look like and what they sell you as and what the casting directors see you as". This early success was not followed up although he was sent to a number of castings for young American parts for theatre, film and TV. His first theatre role was found by his agent and led to a second role in a bigger, more high profile production with the same director. This director has also recommended him for further high profile work. His other theatre work arose from prior contact with a musical director/ex-tutor and led to repeat contracts for a follow-up production. His theatre work has come through his own contacts with whom he has built a reputation as an energetic and attractive singer/actor with good physical movement. A new agent is bringing in more regular TV work.

Participant D's thirteen year acting career can be seen as fairly linear but with two phases. He left initial training with a strong sense of what he was good at as an actor, the type of plays that suited him best and the theatres where these plays were presented. He was then lucky enough to secure a role in such a context, largely because (as he says) there was another production in progress at the time which had

taken most of the more experienced actors of his type, leaving this theatre production short of actors. He has worked with two agents over his career, the second of whom helped him to gain TV and film work. But his theatre work has come through relationships he built up himself working with regional theatres and individual directors. Phase one is characterised by work in Ireland, Scotland and the English regions and phase two by work of a national or London-based nature. There is a clear trend from sporadic to the current continuous work and towards the building of reputation as an actor with strong stage presence - a dramatic rather than a comedic actor.

Phase One (years one to seven): The first role in a NI theatre was seen by a number of directors who found his style appropriate to their own work. Over the next two years he had offers of parts in other Irish, Scottish and NW England theatres. He built up relationships with these theatres and was invited back many times - sometimes for whole seasons at a time. His reputation grew and he was able to take parts which interested him in productions which achieved some respect and critical acclaim. At the same time he was finding it difficult to get much interesting TV work (necessary to supplement the poor income from regional theatre) or London-based work. This phase concluded with a part in a regionally-produced comedy which transferred to the West End and achieved great success. But it was not followed by any other offers of London-based work, perhaps because it was too great a contrast with his prior reputation as a strong dramatic actor. At the same time "D" was working on building sites and as technical support for small-scale touring shows to supplement his income.

Phase Two (years eight to thirteen): Despite the efforts of a new agent, it was a year before "D" managed to break through into a part at the National Theatre and he achieved this after agreeing to work free of charge for a London Theatre production by a director who had strong connections at the National and at other London Theatres. "D" began to build his National/London reputation through roles in new plays, lead classical roles in London and the regions, more substantial TV roles and a season in the ensemble at the national theatre. During this phase, "D" has supplemented his income through longer TV series and mini-series and commercials.

8.2 Dancer Career Phases

Dancer E attended her first company's Summer School and was offered an apprenticeship and subsequently a position in their corps de ballet. The ballet world is hierarchical and dancers progress up a ladder which starts in the corps de ballet and progresses through soloist to principal dancer. "In most companies you work your way up the ladder. In the middle section you have to do both corps and principal work and it is the principal work that gives you that artistic satisfaction and the corps work is the drudgery .. if you are a senior soloist it undermines you as an artist if you have to dance with the corps. It also undermines the younger dancers in the corps because they don't get the opportunity to dance." "As a soloist you are always fighting for the principal roles but you know you're in your place and they put you in your place sometimes as well - the ballet hierarchy plays a lot of games... It is a tough world". The speed with which a dancer gains promotion is an indication of the esteem in which she is held by her director and by extension by the ballet world at large. Dancer E secured her promotion within the same company but after a longer

period than she had hoped. In her interview she expressed some regrets at what she feels may have been a passive approach to her career development, saying that for most of her performance career she simply went "with the flow". "All the events of my life are just opportunities that presented themselves.... If it does not arise I'll just keep going along with the flow." She has had to work hard to see beyond the stratified identities of the ballet company to what she has achieved as a dancer:

"It is the way it is you don't have control over your career..... especially in retrospect I have had a really good career actually ... my resume is really impressive now (nervous laughter) And when you quit dancing especially if you are a soloist and you don't make to the status of principle dancer well you may be dancing soloist, principle roles and other stuff and it all gets mixed up - but when you see it on paper (in a resume) you can say oh well fifty per cent of that stuff I was involved in the creation of and that's pretty cool ... and yes I did 20 % principle roles . I think every dancer when they quit should be made to write it all out and see what they have done. " She was "head-hunted" for her second company post after its Artistic Director had seen her and her husband perform. At the time of the interview she working. Dancer E's 22 year career shows three phases: exploration and growth, plateau and reflection and transition from performing.

Phase 1: (years 1 - 12) "E" describes the early years of this period as a time of exploration and growth. Working with many different choreographers and contributing artistically to the choreography was very satisfying and allowed her to grow as a performing artist. But a change of director left her feeling under-appreciated. She was made a soloist in her twelfth year with the company but told

not to expect any major roles. Visiting choreographers chose to work with her but the Director was ambivalent and even took her out of a role saying she was mediocre : "you were just so-so". The world of the ballet company is a critical environment as she describes it: "When you are young you have this ideal that you are trying to achieve and you are hard on yourself when you don't make it when you get a little older your ideals and expectations of yourself become harder ... your scope gets bigger in both directions of criticism and enjoymentdancers should enjoy it more when they get it right.... [but] while you are in the process of being a dancer there is always something better a role you are shooting for when you've got the role there is always better technique ..you are constantly putting yourself down - on a subconscious level there is always something better that you are trying to achieve .. but you never get everything... there are very few people that really just enjoy what they are doing". The self-criticism extends to the lack of "perfection" in the body itself. Dancer E's narrative is littered with references to her own body which she feels is not "appropriate to the classical line" - "not great feet, big rib cage, short neck....weight problems". "... it is an art form where you are shooting for not just your own idea of perfection but for someone else's and 300 years worth of perfection - even if you think it is OK you can never be sure... " Very small imperfections or accidents are seen as destroying a beautiful performance and undermining the dancer's confidence/self belief. This is not necessary to make dancers achieve. "You don't need to have your nose rubbed in it" - dancers are their own worst critics.

Phase 2: (years 13 - 19) This was a time of plateau and reflection. She and her husband were invited, as two established and esteemed classical dancers, to join a British Ballet company and this seemed a good opportunity to work in Europe "as a

team". It was also the promise of more exciting principal roles that was attractive but although these did materialise for her husband, she was disappointed with the roles on offer to her. Nor did she find her new Director's choreography very interesting: "it was OK but not what we had dreamed about". At the same time began to feel the need to have a child while there was still time. After her maternity leave she came back into the company into 2 interesting roles and an international tour. Although now satisfied artistically, dancer E started to feel she was not taking care of her child - "I did feel like a bad mother at that point". "He was in the theatre with us a lot people were really nice about helping out but I did find that unless I was doing a role in which I was really, really engaged I was constantly thinking about him - I wonder if he's sleeping through the night.... I wonder if he's got a new word... I did find myself quite split and not wanting to focus on dancing unless it was something really engaging and I could be really in the moment...but not when it was the drudgery of filling in for someone ". She began to question why she was doing this at 35 and asked to be taken out of certain roles - "I was senior soloist and these roles could be performed by corps de ballet members." "In this last year the whole year was set up with ballets I had done before". In one ballet she was dancing in a quartet and suddenly realised that the last time she had danced that role, the girls she was dancing with had not yet been born. "This is enough - I don't need to be doing this." She had regrets about never having taken the principal role in a full length ballet - and the Director then cast her as lead in one of his ballets, dancing opposite her husband - this fulfilled the one remaining ambition. Also there were injuries that were "not going to go away" and a realisation that "the leg was not going as high as it used to". "I danced to 38 and I started very early".

Phase 3: (years 20 - 22) Transition and Re-Direction. Having made the decision to give up dancing, E was not immediately ready to decide on a career re-direction. She is now in a new phase of exploration: - IT, business organisation, teaching, choreography for young people. She began to test out different ideas outside the ballet: "I've always understood the importance of using what I have as an artist to use in a creative way which I can offer to others - if I can get in on their language." It takes a bit of age to realise that dancers have transferable skills. Confidence is an issue - some people are so immersed in the ballet world that their whole world crumbles when they finish dancing. "The minute your name is off the company roster you are no longer a dancer in the eyes of the other dancers you do pause before entering the dressing room". "You are not part of the plan any more That is a really important thing to deal with". This is the case even if you are working in another part of the building (i.e. education department. "I am definitely still a dancer I do believe I am still an artist and my art form happens to be dance ... I am not on the stage but I perform in the classroom...."

Dancer F has been working for six years, since she left her apprenticeship with her teacher's company. During that time she has worked on her own choreographic/performance projects as well as some contracted teaching and choreographic commissions. In the interview she agreed that she typified a very entrepreneurial approach. "I ask myself what needs doing? Do I know how to do it? No - then I'll find out and get on and do it.... that's my father's streak". Until 2001 (her sixth year of work) she found work both actively and responsively "It was a mixture because we had good friends in the arts world who put in a good word .. like

for instance [respected Indian storyteller and academic] who has been very helpful .. we did quite a lot of productions with her and toured with her work. Then when the work is seen you make contact with the venues and then you get work guaranteed for the following year. We also sent out publicity materials". But word of mouth was more effective. "At that time we did not really understand about image and how you design stuff... word of mouth was much better for us." She draws heavily on her S Asian networks as well as her venue and promoter networks. She will barter to secure investment or resources e.g. workshops in exchange for rehearsal space; a performance of modern work for the inclusion of a classical piece. "We've got 10 venues who have supported the work quite a lot". These are one regional arts centre, one regional dance centre, a regional repertory theatre, two universities, a southern S Asian arts centre and a NW S Asian arts centre as well as a Scandinavian network of venues. Working outside company structures, Dancer F has developed a her own support. She cites family and friends as key sources of support e.g. a couple of close friends who can be relied upon for honest and objective criticism of the work; her family motivating early development, "adoption" into her teacher/guru's "family"; her husband who is also her artistic guide and critic: "Xxx and I are very supportive of each other's work and if we didn't have that then I think we would have .. what some couples sometimes have which is that one feels threatened by the other but it hasn't and I hope that it doesn't ever happen we try and network for each other and always trying to put the other person forward in our own work as well so we don't have many people doing this for us.... we have had to be self sufficient."

Dancer F's career is essentially linear in that it develops progressively towards her establishment as a Kathak dancer/artist. But within this development, three phases

can be discerned as steps along the way [1] a time of artistic exploration [2] a time of "winning" the identity of artist and [3] a time of consolidation - building of reputation and extension of networks:

Phase 1 (years 1 - 4) A breaking away from her apprenticeship with her teacher/guru into a time of creative exploration with musicians and dancers from different styles. She was earning money through a mix of education work, performance projects, classes, residencies, commissioned choreography - especially for youth dance projects. "We set up our own Youth Dance Company as a way for me ... to get my own work going ... I didn't know how to choreograph.... I still don't know how to choreograph.... I'm still trying to understand my own methodology ... "

Phase 2 (year 5) A time when she began to be recognised as a dance artist in her own right and supported with small grants from the regional arts board - for research and development - the building of a professional identity not as performer of the work of others but as choreographer/artist.

Phase 3 (years 6 - 7) A strategic time - more substantial funding for production meant it was no longer necessary to take all available teaching work but can select fewer, larger projects. "Then you start prioritising ... you start thinking am I going to be wasting my time here or the first few years was just getting the income going now we are still wanting to do education work but only where we can also work on our own artistic development and also where we can get a good result with working with a type of group .. we look at it from both sides ... because taster

workshops you know you can just keep doing taster workshops for the rest of your life ... great ... but there's only so much you can do then" . Dancer F agreed that by this time she was becoming better known for her work and could afford to be a little choosier - a little more strategic. Also, a very successful tour of a double bill (traditional first half, modern second half) to major national and regional venues, brought more artistic confidence and a decision to find ways of presenting Kathak "without diluting its purity combined with traditional material and live music". Some film work came in this period as well. 2001 brought a step change - more substantial tours , more international work, more residencies. Choreography for [a regional repertory theatre]. "Yes it is different you do want to be associated with xxxx Repertory Theatre and ... with more well established organisations and if the work is seen by them then of course you can guarantee more interest from other promoters and you will generate more audience if they know the work trying to find the right channels has been a priority the last couple of years."

Dancer G: has been working for 11 years and having had a successful career contemporary dance performer (with parallel youth dance teaching and choreography), he is now seeking to establish himself as a choreographer. He does not want to stop performing completely. He secured his first company jobs as performer by attending company class/workshops and through open audition. He used the contacts and networks built up through touring with these companies to build a reputation as a good teacher and choreographer of young people and so sustain a portfolio of teaching work and residencies with youth groups and students. These contacts and networks (venues, NDAs, dance promoters) have been useful in

"sponsoring" or "investing in" his first choreographic projects as an independent dance artist. His career would seem to have three phases:

Phase 1: The High Profile Performer: The first 7 years were spent in reputation-building, high profile national companies. Initially a time of artistic excitement and learning, working with well-known choreographers on new work but marred by having to dance through the pain of a back injury, which has "generally reduced because I embarked on a self initiated retraining programme" using his summer break to retrain his "body use" in New York. As an ensemble contemporary dancer, there is always new material to work on and different styles to learn. There are also opportunities for creative and interpretative involvement. Towards the end of this phase, G was dancing a leading role in a very successful production which toured for a long period and then transferred to the West End for a long run. It was repetitive work and "G" started to move into the next phase.

Phase 2 : Dancers' Dance Company: (years 7 - 10) Whilst still performing in the West End, dancer G joined a smaller innovative touring contemporary dance company which brought in a wide range of choreographers to create new works with the dancers. The work was artistically-interesting and often allowed the dancers to participate creatively in the making of work through work-shopping processes. Importantly for G, he was able to continue his project to use his body more intelligently and with an understanding of minimising injury and maximising performance. Working with this company "enabled these principles to mature and the choreographic work was generally made in a much more grounded and sensitive way, where 'body use' was a vital component part of the process and form". This

phase brought him confidence as a performer and also gave him an opportunity to engage with many different artistic visions and choreographic approaches. He describes the company as "a salon" a place of artistic exchange and ongoing discussion of ideas among the company members. "the train journeys.... the constant evaluation of our work, what we feel about art I have been in this situation where people are generous and nurturing."

Phase 3 : "Growing up and finding my own voice": (year 11) Although he knew he was dancing well - intelligently, with more awareness and "with some jump left in me", dancer G began to feel it was time to build a new career as a choreographer/dance artist. He has begun to find his way into self-generated choreographic projects.

Dancer H has been working continuously for thirteen years - apart from 8 months recovery from injury. Hers is a linear career trajectory with a development towards bigger and better shows and parts following five years spent in cabaret. She does feel however that she may have stayed in Cabaret too long "I just got into a rut of doing that ... I stayed with (cabaret director/TV choreographer) because he was such a good choreographer ... it wasn't a particularly prestigious job not great money but some of the best dancing I've ever done ... you train really hard and you get your technique but a lot of the work just doesn't stretch you...." She has secured three or four jobs as "swing" - a position given to flexible and capable singer/dancer/actors who can cover a number of roles to give principals a break or when there is a need to cover illness or injury. Dancer H tends to hear about work opportunities before her agent: "you know a lot of people ... and friends hear about things ... you speak to

each other on the phone ... which shows coming on ... who is casting. Then you pass that on to your agents .. sometimes they've got you in mind anyway ...” There are a number of casting agents “who know me and my work” and who consistently put "H" forward for work. Many of these have worked in different capacities on shows that she has performed in. She is grateful that her growing reputation means she no longer needs to attend open auditions: “The one thing I don't think you ever get used to and I hate it .. sometimes I think I get worse at it ... I hate walking into a studio with just 5 or 6 people ... it's a really clinical atmosphere .. and it's just horrible You are right on the spot .. you have to do it ... its all or nothing ...”. “We do audition .. constantly ... but you find that the casting directors do know youso therefore they'll know if you're right for a part ... you will be on their list and you'll be the first they ring up .. for a private audition ... they'll also go to an agent and give the agent a breakdown and ask what clients they have on their books that fit this resume”. There is a series of "private auditions" starting with dancers the casting director does not know but has had recommended. This would be followed by a private audition of known dancers and then there would be many recall auditions “forever and a day” before the cast is selected.

Dancer H describes a gruelling and hectic working life and although she is now an established performer and has had no difficulty in finding performance work over the past 8 years she is still building up her teaching work as a safety net. She does not feel confident that the work will continue to come in. “I think about it sometimes because you can get very paranoid ... you constantly question yourself ... am I any good anymore? ... Luckily I've got a very supportive husband and parents .. you do have to keep saying to yourself ... no I can do this I have it there ... it can be

scary but it can also be very exciting... " Auditions cause her the greatest anxiety because she feels her physical appearance is unfashionable: "feeling that you are not slim enough ... I'm built like a women not a ballet dancer ... my ballet teacher told me I'm built more like an American dancer.... because I'm very strong, I have a strong frame ... that's because I did a lot of sport as a child... sometimes I haven't got jobs because I'm told I'm too strong ... too versatile ... it doesn't always help your career progression .. you need the stamina .. the staying power... I was born in the wrong era ... should have been the forties"

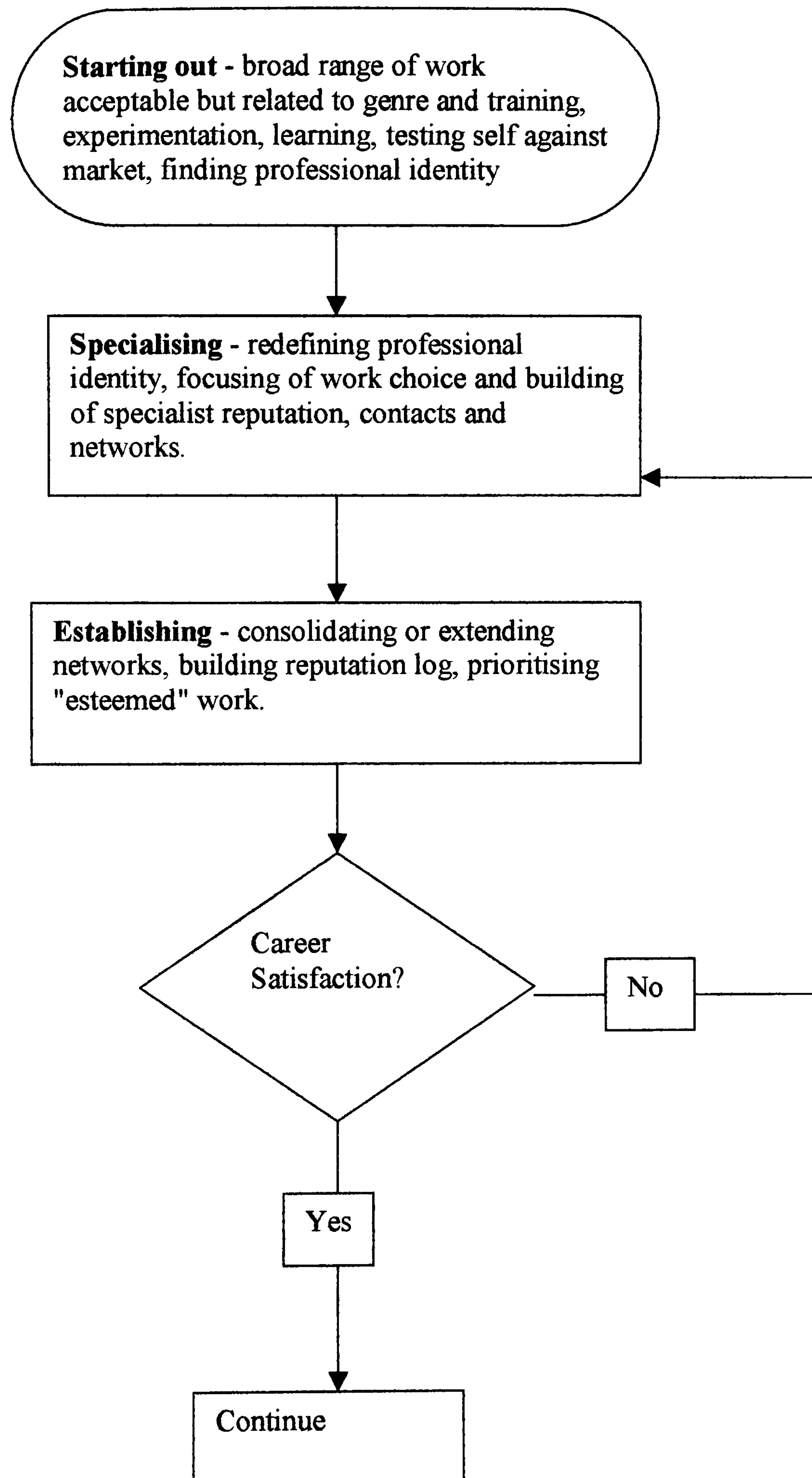
She has sustained a career for 8 years by being a perfectionist - looking after herself and keeping her skills honed and being a hardworking team player. She wants to have a long career rather than be a star: "... it's what you are doing now that matters ... keep on working ... not just being (a flash in the pan) good at 16." But there are indications in her narrative that suggest she is reaching a plateau. She is disillusioned with the shows being produced at the moment: "... there is not much around in dance at the moment that inspires me .. "

8.3 Career Development Cycle

A recurring cycle can be discerned in all the performer narratives which is shown in the flow chart at figure 8.1. It appears that the performers start out by accepting more or less any work which fits their genre and training. As Menger (1999) has noted, it is a time of professionalisation i.e. of testing oneself against the market, discovering the most suitable work and finding the identity which will enable the building of

networks for further working. This period seems to be followed by a time of specialisation - a refining of the professional identity and a focusing of work choices into a specialised area of work. This is accompanied by a building of contacts and networks within the specialised area which in turn secures more work of the same or similar kind, thus reinforcing the specialised identity and building the reputation. The third process in the cycle is that of "establishment", during which networks are consolidated and extended. This emerges as a time when by prioritising "esteemed" work i.e. work in high profile venues or with high profile directors/choreographers, the performer builds their reputation log and establishes themselves. The narratives show that the participating actors and dancers chose to stay in this phase for differing lengths of time but at some point all but one have made the decision to change direction and return to the specialising phase to begin the processes of specialisation and establishment again. Their reasons for doing this vary but can be broadly termed lack of career satisfaction. This concept is explored further in section 9.3.

Figure 8.1 Career development cycle



The actors and dancers in this study have started at different points in the cycle.

Actors A and C and dancers F and H can be said to have started at the first phase of "starting out" i.e. with exploration and a broad work base which started to narrow down after different lengths of time. Actor D on the other hand went straight into the specialisation process with his first job as (for different reasons) did dancers E and G, who went straight into dance companies where there was creative excitement but where their professional identities were pre-determined by the genres and styles of the companies' work. Actor B did his "starting out" with his fellow students whilst still at university and by the time they graduated and started up their company they had already begun to specialise as an innovative experimental small-scale theatre company.

For some of the participants it is a single cycle - perhaps because (like "A" and "C") the career is only beginning and they have not yet reached the establishment phase or perhaps because having once reached this phase they were content to build reputation and esteem (like "D" and "H"). For others there have been decisions to change and therefore return to the specialisation process. For "F" this happened very early in her career as she sought to establish herself in the role of artist not performer; for "G" the same point arrived after ten years; for "E" it took nineteen years before she decided to move into education. "B" has the longest career and he has made three decisions to change and return to the specialising phase, reinventing himself as actor, writer and artist. The changes have involved the participants in major revisions of their network building and job search strategies. Since the actor participants rely on agents to secure TV and film work, a change requires a new "specialist" agent who has the contacts and is known for that specific type of work. On the other hand, theatre work

is found by the actors themselves, through their own contacts and networks. Changes in theatre specialisms or raising the profile of the work nationally (or internationally) means extending the complex trust networks by which work is secured. The narratives reveal that very little theatre work is found through agents. Actors find it through their networks and pass it on to their agents to arrange terms and contracts. Usually they are invited by directors who have either seen their work or worked with them before with the first contact often being brokered by a mutual colleague in the form of a recommendation. There is a sense of "mini artworlds" within the specialist field - or "invisible colleges" as "B" puts it - of the actor's world being subdivided and the theatre world being a segmented market in which groups of venues and producers draw on trusted networks and teams. Moving from a phase of establishment into a re-specialisation is therefore a risky business. Failure to be accepted within the new "invisible college" means no work.

9.0 Satisfaction, Reputation, and Risk - The Work

Preference Matrix

9.1 Satisfaction: creativity and learning

The empirical study has thrown some light on how "intrinsic" satisfaction might be characterised in relation to artistic work preference. The actor and dancer narratives revealed two aspects of job satisfaction which played a part in both the selection of work and the levels of enjoyment which certain types of work brought : [1] was related to the extent to which the individual was allowed (encouraged) to make a creative or artistic input and [2] concerned the levels of challenge and learning accumulation involved in the job.

Actors and dancers are sometimes described as interpretative rather than creative artists but the narratives indicate that these should be treated as blurred categories. Actors and dancers may work as "employees" engaged to deliver a directed performance or "collaborators" engaged to participate creatively in the process of making the work. The distinction is sometimes genre-related and sometimes related to directorial or choreographic style. Some of the participants offered related work functions which could be clearly categorised as artistically collaborative e.g. writing, choreography, lighting design, direction and some actors and dancers were engaged specifically as deviser/performers. But even where the performer was engaged to deliver a performance only, the level of creative and/or interpretative participation could be significant enough to justify being described as artistic collaboration. All the performers gained satisfaction from being treated as artistic collaborators - jobs

which allowed little artistic input were felt to be less intrinsically rewarding. Actor B and dancer F chose high risk entrepreneurial work over less risky alternatives in order to maximise their artistic input and dancer G has recently made the decision to do the same. Actor D actively sought work in theatres and *with* directors who encouraged his creative participation; dancer E was at her happiest working in her US company with choreographers who created new roles *with* her; and actor A talked at length about the work which gave her most satisfaction i.e. devised through collaboration with both fellow actors and communities. Actor C's assertion that he was motivated by money and fame and that he gained satisfaction only from jobs that moved him in these directions was somewhat belied by the animation with which he talked about his recent collaborative project with a film director.

"Challenge", "learning" and "self-development", the human capital accumulation dimensions, also emerged as important aspects of job satisfaction. All participants actively sought work with directors, choreographers, performers, gurus or other artists who would add to their understanding of and/or expertise in theatre, dance or art. They were sometimes disappointed that what they perceived as centres of excellence offered less than they had hoped in the way of professional learning but all had examples of individuals and organisations who had contributed to the development of their expertise. Sometimes these were chance work encounters, sometimes deliberate work choices and sometimes they were in the form of self-financed summer schools, master classes or coaching. Dancer H who made no reference to creative or artistic input commented on the satisfaction she found from working with choreographers who challenged and extended her performance skills - who "stretched" her technically. Amongst the dancers generally, there were many

references to the need for continual improvement and refinement of performing skills. Dancer E talked about the classical ballet performer's drive towards the "ideal", the "perfect" performance. Dancer F, talked about perfecting her Kathak performance. Dancer G's drive had been towards getting a better physical understanding of how his body worked in order to extend his physical and expressive range safely. The differences in priority are probably genre or style-related but all reflect a strong desire to become a "better" performer. Being in a position to accumulate expertise "on-the-job" brings satisfaction but it is also an investment in the human resource and therefore a way of increasing market value and securing further/more desirable work.

"Satisfaction", then is a complex notion combining elements of intrinsic creative enjoyment, opportunity to develop expertise and career development.

9.2 Reputation and Identity

The empirical study has revealed some interesting ways in which the social construct of reputation and the personal construct of identity inter-act within the working lives of actors and dancers. Some narratives (all actor and some dancer) reveal examples of how the personal identity of artist becomes disputed territory in transactions with agents, casting directors and venues who seek to package and sell them on with a "more marketable" *professional* identity. The actors in particular, felt that they were denied their identities as flexible interpreters, able to engage creatively (and therefore satisfyingly) with a wide variety of acting roles.

Actor A describes her first meeting with her agent: "Straightaway she wanted to put me in a category ... she said I should go for more working class ... could put me up for the RSC I could do it ... but there were thousands of actresses of my age trying to do that ... so I should go for what I am ... a working class London girl.... I think she was finding it hard to class me ... its strange ... she said I have to look strong and sleek and tidy at every audition like somebody who could give orders and be in control ... I think she thinks that casting directors don't like to have to work too hard ... you don't present as an actor who can play any role ... you have to *be* it ... from the moment you walk through the door ... this is hard because at the moment I don't know what it is I'm supposed to be being."

Actor C had a similar encounter with his first agent who then controlled how he would be seen for the first few years of his working life i.e. mostly on film and in American roles. "I have played so many God-damned Americans". His agent first saw him in a student showcase, in which he performed a piece about two American soldiers "bullshitting away" about Vietnam" and she thought he was an American - afterwards he told her he wasn't and she was very surprised: "I was very convincing as an American.... ". She told him that "in order to sell you, I'm going to say you are half American". "'I'm from Leeds'..... 'I see you as a young man - a young American man. and you've got an interesting look'". "She was telling me who I am ... but that's her job she has to sell me ... that's her rap to the casting directors." "That's what she saw me as ... I'm not going to argue ... hey I knew nothing... I just wanted an agent, I wanted a break".

Actor B already had a successful career in small-scale theatre behind him and a reputation as a creative innovator. His new agent told him that this would not help him to find work in more mainstream theatre, TV and film and that he would have to do a lot of "smaller jobs": "When I told him how I saw my career, he reflected back 'this is how the business works' ... I thought he had no creative ambition and part of me thought 'well I'll show you'...." The dominant issue was "B"'s combination of ethnicity and class - which did not match up with the roles then on offer in TV. He was told that as a black actor "we can get you into professional roles ... you know bank manager, businessman-type roles for TV because of the way you present yourself, the way you speak you obviously fit into that bracket ... you won't ever fit into the bad boy kind of thing". It appeared that those were the only kinds of roles available. A series of experiences reinforced this perception. "B" took part in two castings in quick succession: [1] for a lead role in a film about South Africa and [2] for a piece of devised theatre in a regional repertory theatre. At the film casting the director told him that he was looking for an African actor and outlined the "problems" of fitting a Caribbean actor into the role. "What I picked up from it was that we weren't quite exotic enough for him ...". This director then went on to cast a Black American actor in the role. At the theatre casting the director told him he was not "street enough" but in the selected cast "all the white actors were middle class playing "streetwise characters". "B" has assumed that the limited definition of Black British identity which agents, casting directors and directors apply to him is indicative of racial stereo-typing.

Actor D, who is from Northern Ireland has found it equally difficult to persuade agents, casting directors and directors to see beyond his "Irishness" and acknowledge

his acting expertise. He finds it ironic that at drama school he had "tried not to be an Irish actor but an actor who is Irish". At one point he even made a conscious decision to only speak "standard English" at all times. He believes that this decision led to being turned down for some TV work because the director was expecting an Irish actor and he appeared not to be one "They said 'Oh we thought you were Irish' ... 'Yes I am Irish' ... but they didn't ask me to demonstrate ... I would have felt foolish going into my Belfast accent.... so I didn't and I didn't get the part ... I lost out on a couple of other things as well you are always in between a rock and a hard place because you don't know what to do its like ... if you go in with your own accent they ask you 'can you do standard English?'.... and there's this feeling well 'I don't actually believe you' I suspect that my current agent thinks that ... he suggested that I have some sessions with a voice coach ... he's right though.. because I am Northern Irish I have to be better than the English ... people have an in built prejudice either for or against the Northern Irish ... some people think you can't do anything else... others think that because you are Irish you have a natural ability to American accents..... this is the bane of my life... a pattern in my life ...". Actor D has in fact found ways to turn this "identity" to his advantage because public and theatre-world interest in the Northern Ireland conflict has led to many new plays for national and regional theatres and for TV/film in which he has secured major roles. He stated in the interview that he rejected Irish parts in plays which did not treat the Conflict seriously but then unlike actor B he has had other opportunities in well-written serious dramas.

As "A" and "C" point out, there is a basic conflict between the agent construct of actor as marketable "off-the-shelf" character and the actor construct of actor as

adaptable creator of many different characters. Nevertheless, the actors accept the "realism" of the agent's view albeit with varying degrees of resignation and frustration.

The professional identity would seem to be central to the building of the specialised networks which secure work. The work in turn reinforces the professional identity and as it becomes more generally-known it is transmuted into reputation. The reputation attracts more work (usually of a similar kind) through the same or an extension of the same network and so the reputation log starts to build. It can be difficult for an actor to step out beyond the boundaries of the reputation/network construct as Actor C found. With an early reputation log of American film parts he found he could not secure theatre work for two years. Actor D found one of his roles crossed over into West End comedy causing a dislocation in the continuity of his professional identity. His only extended period of unemployment came after a major west end success. He believes that after being successful in strong dramatic roles, his evolution into a comedy actor made it difficult for casting agents to market him to directors.

The same casting to type has also occurred in the career of dancer H who has built her reputation and networks around an identity as a strong, intelligent, reliable and above all versatile musical theatre performer. This has led to consistent work as "swing" which is secure, well-paid and challenging in its diversity. However she feels that this is now how casting directors and agents see her and not as a principal performer in her own right.

For the other dancer/performers the situation is different in that the professional identity is more closely related to the dance genre and less subject to mediation and change by intermediaries such as agents and casting directors. For dancer/artistic entrepreneurs, the professional identity may be subject to change within the marketplace of funders, promoters and venues. Comparing "E" and "F" illustrates this point. As two classical dancers (one ballet and the other Kathak), they both adopted an identity of dedicated classical dancer at an early stage in their training. For "E" this took the form of adopting a set of values which place the pursuit of the ideal body and perfect performance as the main purposes of life. For "F", the guru/shisha relationship, which meant that she was "adopted" by her teacher, required her to place the identity of artist at the centre of her life - a process that was reinforced when she later married a musician. These professional identities appear to confer market value in their own right - in a sense they are necessary preconditions for securing performance work within these art forms - they are the accepted norms. "E" sustained this identity throughout a nineteen year performance career before consciously transforming it into a new identity as education worker. It is interesting that this happened at a point when her professional identity came into conflict with her new personal identity as a parent. "F" on the other hand could only work entrepreneurially to develop her identity as a choreographer/artist because this was the only way open to her. Her identity as artist is central even to the extent of marrying professional musician: "For me it could have been the only way forward, coming from a cultural background when you get married either to an accountant or lawyer or dentist who would have no understanding of the arts but they would be well-off so maybe you could tap into the finance to get your work done that way but for me it just had to be marrying an artist or someone who is just very enthusiastic

about the arts and for my parents ... if they hadn't pushed me forward then it would not have happened... and you are expected to have a family regardless of how busy you are ... which is fine but then you really have to consider how you are going to work it all out."

Dancer F's decision to work as an artist/entrepreneur brought her into "trading" relationships with regional funders and national venues who more commonly support and promote innovative, rather than traditional dance forms. Her professional identity has therefore been modified (by negotiation and mutual consent) to encompass innovation within the classical form. Her production record (reputation log) exemplifies active reputation building within her chosen market.

Dancer G is at the start of this process, constructing a new identity as choreographer/artist. At the time of the interview he had barely begun to define this for himself, let alone negotiate his identity within the marketplace: "I feel that in order to be successful you have to be a 'great artist' you have to be revolutionising dance theatre I've read so many reviews which put people in this position but I think it's a myth... I think artistry is about taking small steps... I feel I need to fine tune and fine tune..... like visual artists ." He is aware (through having watched it happen) of the need for choreographers to have an easily identifiable (and promotable) artistic identity "Everything I do is very different and I don't know if there is a place for that in the market." "... so I'm very nervous... and I need guidance.... a guide - somebody I don't have to pretend with ... pretend I'm the best thing since sliced bread .. I'm not ... I just want to make things." He has to some extent capitalised on his previous identity as high profile performer, getting some

potential "sponsors" and opinion formers to make an investment in his choreographic work. But he knows that they have to support many dance artists and fears that they might prefer "big glammy... shmammy productions" rather than those who are interested "in process" He is reluctant to ask about this even though he has a strong affinity with some ... But ... "It's the shame thing ... am I allowed to ask for things because there are so many other people who are upfront and clearer about what they want?... and I am not and that's the problem". "I like to explore I am interested in so many things.... am I fickle?"

Despite their different genres and professional identity/network constructs, the performers by and large share a consensual view of what constitutes reputation-building or cultural capital building work. Their narratives reveal internalised bipolar constructs of esteem:

Low Esteem

performer as interpreter

performer in local theatres/venues

performer in mediocre play/choreography

performer with unknown director

performer in bit part

*performer as stock character

*performer in TV soaps/series

High Esteem

performer as artist

performer in National/London
theatres/venues

performer in good play/choreography

performer with high profile director

performer in principal role

performer as versatile

performer in TV plays/mini-series

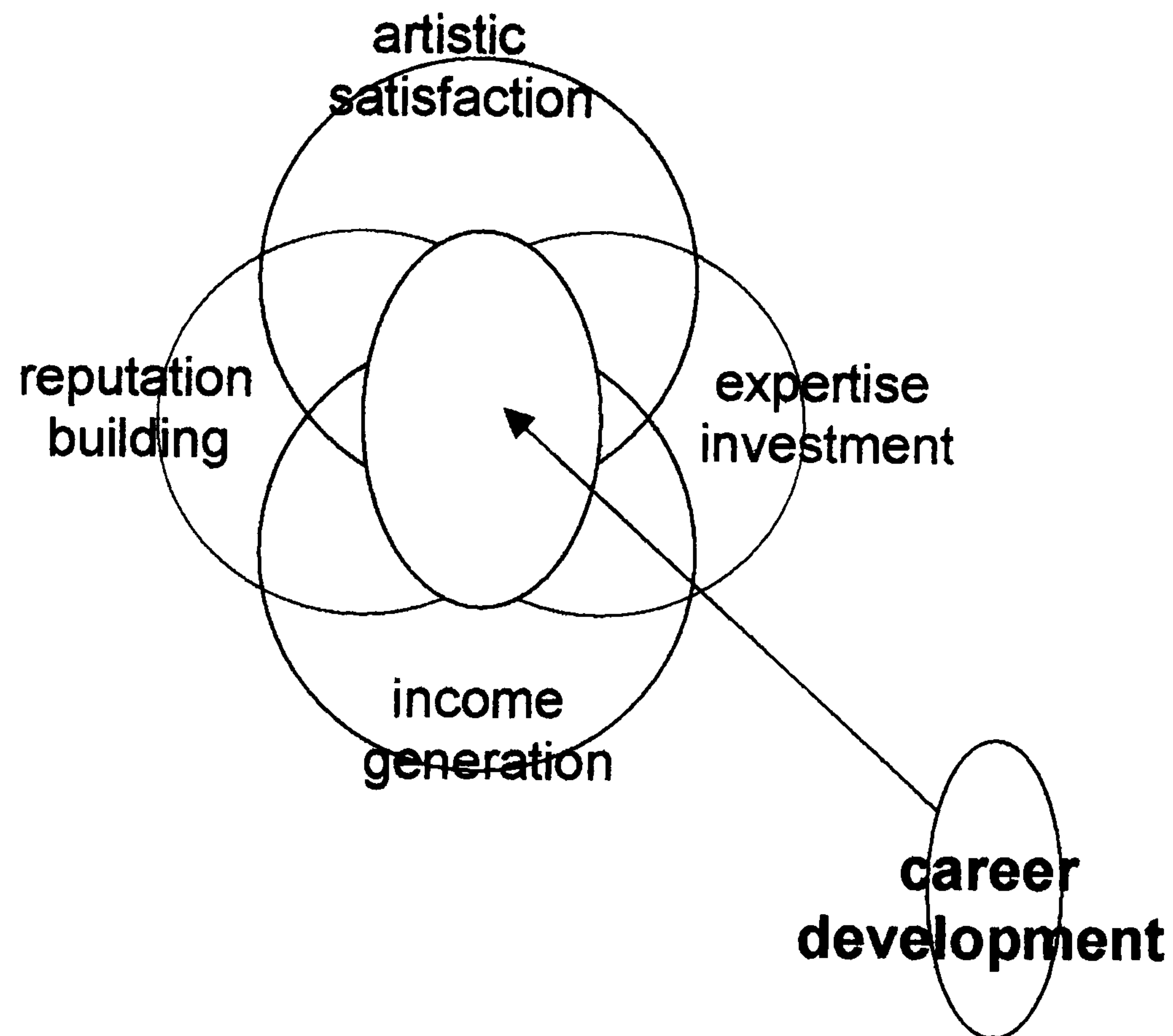
*Actors only

These constructs seem to exist separately from ideas of commercial and popular success as in Hollywood films, for example.. Opportunities to secure work which fits into the high esteem category were generally sought after, even though they sometimes proved disappointing (e.g. dancer E in prestigious US Ballet company, actor B at the National Theatre). Actor C acknowledged the construct but stressed vehemently that the primary motivation for all actors, including him, was the fame and stardom typified by successful Hollywood film actors. This may be the case but it was not what the other actors in this sample chose to talk about when asked to discuss their aspirations and it was not reflected in some of the choices they had made which privileged artistic/reputational over financial or popular success.

9.3 The Work Preference Matrix

The narratives make clear that in making choices about work, the performers are balancing four factors: artistic satisfaction, investment in expertise development and reputation-building and income generation. For the majority, the ideal job is one in which, all four factors are present, offering the greatest opportunities for career development. Only one participant, actor C, gave income generation and reputation-building as dominant motivations for work selection.

Fig 9.1 The work preference matrix



But more commonly, they are not all present. The most financially-rewarding work is not always the most satisfying; reputation-building work is not always financially rewarding; and the most satisfying work is not always the best reputation-builder. There are risks involved in getting the balance wrong: both financial risk and reputation risk. For example, reference has already been made to the two established actor's selective approach to TV work - they found that whilst it is undoubtedly financially rewarding, it can also be reputation damaging and it is (more often than not) unsatisfying. Conversely, the same two actors reported that reputation-building work in principal roles in major national and regional theatres or cutting-edge experimental theatre do not pay the rent and contrary to expectations, it may not

bring artistic satisfaction. Work which combines all four factors is obviously the most desirable and is always sought after. Such work is rare but those with a high profile reputation log have a market advantage and can maximise their chances of securing it when it arises. They have more choice and can select work which further enhances their reputation, minimising reputation risk and financial risk and bringing higher levels of artistic satisfaction as well as maximising their chances of further work. Most of the performers interviewed knew this and made many references to "getting known" and "becoming visible" in the high esteem categories in order to gain more control over their career development.

The relative importance assigned to the factors varied according to the individual's artistic and career aspirations and it changed over time. Different hierarchies of priority emerged at different stages of the career. As discussed in section eight, there is a career development cycle revealed in the narratives which impacts strongly on the choices made. During the "starting out" phase, a broad range of work is acceptable as long as it is related to genre and training. Relatively new actors A and C described being in this position and in a sense just being in acting work confirmed their actor identities for them and for others. So in addition to providing income, almost any work conferred reputation-building. Once the process of specialisation has begun however, the focus shifts to prioritising work which reinforces the developing identity. This is as much the case for the performer/employee ("D" and his target theatres for example), as it is for the artist/entrepreneur ("F" and her careful building of venue and promoter partnerships). Too much variety in the work at this stage can create market confusion. Actor A's conflict with her agent is an example of

this, as is actor D's excursion into comedy, which was a financial (and public) success but apparently a career development mistake.

Once in the establishment phase, the actors and dancers sought out reputation-boosting work in "esteemed" theatres or productions. "A" is currently attempting to do this, whereas "B" and "D" and "H" have succeeded to some extent. Amongst the dancers, "E" and "G" built their reputations as "esteemed" performers within their companies ("mini artworlds" in themselves).

As indicated in section 8.3, four out of the eight participating performers have reached points in their career cycles where their career dissatisfaction has prompted them to make a change of direction. For "B" establishing an identity as National Theatre actor brought only partial success. He felt insulted by the roles he was offered and believed he was never accepted by the "invisible college" of this "mini artworld". Since by this time he was also a national policy advisor on and director of Black British Theatre, mentor to a number of emerging and established theatre companies and an inter-active creator/devisor he found the casting to type, small parts and lack of creative input impossible to accept. It was unsatisfying artistically and not good for his reputation to be seen in this way so he was prompted to make a change. Dancers F and G can be seen to have made changes for similar but possibly less acutely-felt reasons - a mixture of artistic satisfaction, need for learning challenge and desire to build a reputation as an artist. Dancer E was finding the physical demands of performance but her narrative indicates that lack of career progression satisfaction played a large part in her decision to change.

As suggested in section 8.3, there can be high levels of risk involved in making a change of professional identity. But there can also be risks in not making a change. Actor B believed his reputation would be damaged had he carried on as a National Theatre actor. Dancers E and H also believe that they took the easier option and allowed certain work to continue too long when a change could have developed their careers. At the opposite (high risk) end of the spectrum, there were times when individuals made large investments of time, money and reputation in entrepreneurial projects designed to change radically how they are seen by their respective arts worlds. Actor B and dancers F and G have done this and in so doing they were engaging in a high risk strategy which if successful would bring a new professional identity as "artist". This identity has higher cultural capital (and therefore reputation value) than that of performer as interpreter of the artistic visions of others.

The actor and dancer narratives reveal greater or lesser degrees of conscious manipulation of the functions/priorities to further their careers. Actor D is probably the most conscious career developer. He states that he left vocational training knowing what kind of actor he could be and the types of plays he wanted to play in i.e. powerful mainstream dramas - new writing and modern classics. He knew which theatres produced these types of drama and put them on his target list. He knew he had to secure medium to big parts as quickly as possible in order to establish the professional identity he aspired to and he was lucky to start his career in one of those theatres with a sizeable part. Looked at another way, it could be argued that [1] he used his knowledge of the field of emergent drama which was about to become more widely produced and so offer work opportunities and [2] he had a good understanding of his strengths and the type of actor he was/could become. His choice

of director for his donated or unremunerated work was equally rooted in understanding of the marketplace. The director was about to become famous and direct at the National Theatre. When he did so he took "D" with him and this was "D"'s breakthrough into this highly-esteemed theatre network.

10.0 Conclusions

The objectives of this thesis were [1] to identify and elucidate the features of artistic labour which are not accounted for within the standard neo-classical economic theory and [2] to demonstrate how specific labour market-related factors determine artist professional behaviour, interacting and influencing each other to steer the artist's career development.

A review of the work of cultural economists confirmed that the neo-classical economic paradigm offers a valid and heuristically-useful account of the artistic economy on the macro-level - like all economies, it operates on the basis of supply and demand. On the meso level of labour market operation however, generalised theoretical modelling becomes more difficult. The arts economy is not a single market with interchangeable labour supply, but a complex network of internal and external markets. It conforms to a post-Fordist model, being fragmented into a network of small businesses, over-supplied with labour and organised on the demand-side for flexible production and rapid turnover. The traditional neo-classical description of utility maximisation by labour supply appears inadequate in this entrepreneurial context and certainly it cannot adequately explain why artists should choose to work in this precarious way. It is therefore on the micro-level that the theory lacks explanatory power and this is evident in the attempts to model artistic labour supply. Even dynamic models have not as yet accounted for the variety of employment modes, functional roles and internal market relationships of artistic production. Nor do they incorporate work preference decisions arising from intrinsic work satisfaction and human and cultural capital accumulation, both of which appear

to feature in the artistic work choice. The empirical study set out to construct a more detailed understanding of how eight performing artists operate within their own internal markets and to discover whether their work choices are really as *irrational* as they might appear to neo-classical economists.

The study contributed a great deal of information about how actors and dancers work. It confirmed the notion of the performing artist as a trader (sole or small business) within an internal artistic market of surprising specificity. As artists, they were not interchangeable - even when working within the same genre. Each emerged as having a particular, carefully-constructed matrix of qualities which formed a differentiated professional identity. The actor and dancer "services" were traded within networks which were carefully constructed around negotiated professional identities - this appears to be a key feature of successful working. The number of trading relations among the sample varied according to genre, employment mode and functional role. The actors and dancer who worked in mainstream theatre/media traded mostly with their agents who in turn sold their clients' performing services to casting agents and directors. The professional identity, sometimes disputed, was negotiated with the agent and then marketed among a targeted selection of potential employers. However, even these performers found that they needed to build their own trading networks, especially for work in live theatre, where jobs are secured through trust ties. The classical ballet and contemporary dancers operated in the same way. The actor and dancer who specialised in non-mainstream (i.e. culturally diverse) genres tended to generate their own work entrepreneurially and behaved very much like small businesses, building their own, wider range of trading relationships.

The study also demonstrated the need for the modelling of artistic labour supply to take account of change and variety in employment mode and functional role. A wide range of employment modes and functional roles were represented even within the small sample used in this study. Only one dancer had a history of full-time employment on long-term contracts, the others were serially-employed on short-term contracts or worked entrepreneurially to generate their own work. Only two of the actors had worked solely in the functional role of performer (supporting their periods of unemployment with non-arts work). The other performers covered variously: performing, directing, choreographing, writing, teaching, company and project management, technical theatre design/operation, web design and management, fundraising, marketing, promotion, mentoring and advisory work.

Three heuristic tools were derived from the narratives in order to categorise and classify the information and aid its analysis:

[1] A typology of work modes.

[2] A career development cycle.

[3] A work preference matrix.

The typology of six work modes classifies combinations of employment mode and functional role against artistic input (benefit) and level of risk. Applying the typology to the performer work histories revealed the moments at which they had made (apparently *irrational*) decisions to prioritise high-risk over low-risk work.

The career development cycle identifies three stages in the establishment of a professional artistic identity and its associated work/trading networks a) starting out, b) specialising and c) establishing. The third stage can bring a "plateau" in terms of career satisfaction and can signal change. Change involves returning to an earlier stage of the process.

The work preference matrix identifies four factors which the artist balances in making work choices: a) artistic satisfaction, b) expertise development (human capital accumulation), c) reputation building (cultural capital accumulation) and d) income generation. Engagement in the creative process is artistically rewarding but in addition to intrinsic satisfaction it also develops expertise, indicates status and enhances reputation. In other words it has career building attributes. Similarly, investment in (low income or high risk) reputation-building work accumulates cultural capital which can in turn be converted into labour market advantage, status and financial reward. Both the high profile performer and the creative artist can have high cultural capital in this way and it brings them a greater choice of work opportunities which in turn reinforce the reputation-log and expand the work choices still further.

Where then does that leave us in relation to understanding "utility maximisation" in artistic labour supply? There is no evidence that the performing artists in this study are motivated to offer the least amount of work for the greatest financial reward. But that does not mean their behaviour can be described as irrational. There is evidence that they find intrinsic satisfaction in the creative aspects of their work and indeed because they work in artistic production in which the creative/artist direction is high

status, there are rational career building reasons to take risks and prioritise creative work from time to time. But in developing their careers they rarely privilege this above other factors such as reputation-building, developing expertise and income generation.

There is much work still to do to understand fully, the ways in which artists make work choices and develop their careers. This study worked inductively and collaboratively, with a very small sample of actors and dancers to construct both the analytical tools and the analysis. The tools need to be developed and applied in a larger study and the theoretical models need to be developed to represent the complexity of real-life artistic working context. Nevertheless the study has brought to light the theoretical areas which need developing and it has also demonstrated some key factors which determine artist professional behaviour, and interact to steer and influence artistic career development.

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Appendix A Dance and Theatre Professional Mapping Project - Timeline Questions

Introduction

The purpose of the questionnaire is to enable us to have a shared "map" of your training and early work history. Hopefully, filling it in will give you time to think about what happened, when it happened and what you feel you gained from it. We can then use your answers as a starting point for further discussion.

Personal Details (Anonymity will be protected in all published material)

Name:	Address:		
Current work:			
Tel:	email:	Date of birth:	

Questionnaire (expand the boxes as required)

1. Please note any early experiences you may have had (up to age 15) which influenced you towards a career in dance eg visits to performances, school classes, contacts, youth groups, amateur groups, school productions and what you feel you gained from them.

(a) Early experiences (in time order if possible)		(b) What gained?
Date	Experience	

2. Please note any early training experiences you had (up to age 15) and what you feel they contributed to your subsequent career in dance.

(a) Early training (in time order if possible)		(b) What gained?
Date	Experience	

3. Please note down what you consider to be your principal formal training experience - e.g. vocational school, apprenticeship, rep company, university. Then note the main focus of the training and the contribution you feel it made to your career.

(a) Main training (in time order if possible)		What gained?	
Dates from & to	Training experience	(b) Main focus	(c) Contribution

4. Please note your first post-training performance work, whether it was for a company or self-generated and indicate what you feel you gained from it?

(a) First post-training work		Work/career context	
Dates	Description of work	(b) Company or self-generated?	(c) What gained?

5. Please list any work you undertook up to five years after finishing training and indicate which you feel contributed to your career development.

(a) Work history		Work/career context	
Dates	Description of work	(b) Company or self-generated?	(c) Contribution to career development

(a) Work history Continued		Work/career context	
Dates	Description of work	(b) Company or self-generated?	(c) Contribution to career development

6. Please note any events which resulted in a significant re-direction of your career.

Dates	Significant re-directing events

7. Please cross out any dates which would be for the follow up interview (one and a half hours needed)

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Many, many thanks for your time - please return questionnaire to Vivien Freakley at: V.Freakley@warwick.ac.uk or vivf@waverider.co.uk

Appendix B Life History Interview Question Guide and Prompt Sheet

