'If I had my way, I'd have been a killer': songwriting and its motivations for leisure and work

Dr. Stephen Henderson
Independent Scholar
Email: tutor@mrkite.org

and

Professor Karl Spracklen
Leeds Beckett University
Email: K.Spracklen@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

Abstract

This paper builds on our earlier work (Henderson and Spracklen, 2014) which looked at folk musicians exercising agency in careers that can develop from casual leisure through serious leisure to work. In looking specifically at songwriting, it synthesises theories on the underlying motivations refelecting the view of Born (2010, p.171) who suggests that the 'theory of cultural production requires reinvention' citing key themes of 'aesthetics and the cultural object; agency and subjectivity; the place of institutions; history, temporality and change; and problems of value and judgement.' It examines in a phenomenological way, through songwriter interviews, the cultural production of songs and the motivational factors within the songwriting process. Highlighting that this form of cultural production challenges the hierarchical view of Maslow's needs and suggests the career arc proposed by Stebbins (1992, p. 68) is not a case of work simply following sequentially from serious and casual leisure.

Key Words   Songwriting, Motivation, Serious Leisure, Work

'If I had my way, I'd have been a killer':
songwriting and its motivations for leisure and work

Introduction

If we consider that many people enjoy music and their appreciation goes well beyond the oft-quoted 'food of love' from Shakespeare (Twelfth Night, Act 1, Scene 1, 1–3), it is surprising that more academic attention has not been focussed on songwriting and songwriters. That's not to say that academics are unaware of the benefits offered by music or, indeed, are inactive in this area. For example, The Independent (Hooton, 2014) reported that a social venture called Hip Hop Psych (2014) was formed by academics from Cambridge University's Department of Psychiatry who propose that the Hip Hop music genre is useful in the treatment of mental illness. Such therapeutic effects are well known within the work of the professionalised music therapist. A role that is defined by the American Music Therapy Association (2014) as 'the clinical and evidence-based use of music interventions to accomplish individualized goals within a therapeutic relationship by a credentialed professional who has completed an approved music therapy program'. Of course, many individuals enjoy music for its emotional content whether that is within the proactive therapeutic relationship of the music therapist or as the casual listener looking for either stimulation or relaxation. However, one might imagine that whilst the listener to music feels these effects, it is the songwriter that is impacted most directly within the process of songwriting itself as indicated by Long and Barber (2015) in their exploration of songwriting as an authentic emotional experience. American singer songwriter Mary Gauthier (2014) reflects on her work songwriting with war veterans saying 'songs build bridges over broken human connections'. As the quotation in our article's title highlights, Nina Simone (2006) also talks of the need to offer music that emotionally impacts in a political sense by suggesting that she'd have turned to violent disruption if she hadn't been convinced of the power of songwriting to achieve the same end. Whilst a songwriter may not be the only, or even the best known, performer of a particular song, their presentation of the song to the public may not be an easy experience. Houghton (2015, p. 257) best explains this when talking of Sandy Denny saying 'the contradictions in Sandy's persona are inherent to the singer-songwriter; the songwriter may be intensely private but the singer – both on and off stage – is a public figure'.

These views reflect elements of differing value that motivate songwriters within both the cultural production process and the object produced. The satisfaction of the latter can be very much focussed on the recorded musical artefact itself and how the listener might interact with the song when listening to the recording. This is particularly true of the times that followed popular music's emergence as an industry in Tin Pan Alley in the early 20th century (Jasen, 2003). In those early days, songwriting might be seen as much like any other job where the songwriter was there to produce songs that others might perform. Here, thoughts about controlling the musical artefact led legendary songwriters Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller to contract with Atlantic Records to write and produce their own records after their massive success with the song 'Hound Dog'. As Mike Stoller (2015) says, this was 'to protect the way

we imagined the songs should sound which were frequently more than just a melody line and a lyric line…….we had given songs to other people and they were then produced and it wasn't what we had in mind at all'.

From these fleeting observations, it can be seen that there are a number of aspects of songwriting that might warrant further exploration whether related to the process itself and its outputs or how songwriters engage in this. Our aim here is to focus on the latter in terms of what motivates songwriters to become involved in this form of cultural production. There is no intention to critically consider motivational theory itself. Instead, we seek to discover how the concepts of the latter manifest themselves in what songwriters have said about their engagement with the songwriting process. In indicating this as our aim, we recognise that our work looks at the area of cultural production which Born (2010, p.171) has said 'requires reinvention in relation to five key themes: aesthetics and the cultural object; agency and subjectivity; the place of institutions; history, temporality and change; and problems of value and judgement.' In this paper, we recognise that these key themes may arise when looking at the individual songwriters but there is no intention to frame our work around these themes. Similarly, our earlier consideration of casual and serious leisure within a musician's career (AUTHORS, 2014) is a potential theme within this work but not one that will be used to frame our analysis. The particular aim of this paper is to consider the motivations of songwriters underlying their agency and the value gained from engaging in the process of developing their cultural artefact. Our underlying objectives are to understand the complexity behind the songwriting process itself, to consider the basic constructs of motivation and to put these in the context of what songwriters say about themselves.

Literature Review

The elements of songwriting
Before considering the literature that supports this exploration of songwriting, it is useful to look at the potential steps within the process in order to both set out the tasks that may involve the songwriter and to introduce the terminology of this cultural production (see Figure 1). For the casual observer, the song is complete when the music is put together with lyrics as the composition might be written down for others to read at this point. However, the earlier quote from Mike Stoller (2015) indicates how the songwriter often has a sense of what the listener should hear beyond the basic notation and lyrics. In such a case, the songwriter has a sense of not only the instrumentation (including, possibly, vocals) but how it will be played in what is typically called the arrangement. Additionally, with modern recording equipment, the production task offers the potential to alter the overall sound or individual elements of the sound which might also be part of the imagining of the songwriter. In essence, for some, the final cultural product in the modern age is the composed, arranged and produced recording that the audience hears in its recorded format.

As Figure 1 indicates, there are two routes by which a song can be made available to the audience. Firstly (on the left of the figure) the songwriter who also performs takes direct control of the arrangement and subsequent tasks required to present the song to the audience. These tasks may or may not be performed by the songwriter but would often be in their

control. Secondly (on the right of Figure 1), the songwriter is also be able to register their intellectual capital via copyright and, therefore, control other recordings of the song by other performers. Presuming the songwriter has registered its copyright, this has commercial benefit by way of a publishing contract where the publishers seek out those willing to pay for the privilege of recording a particular song.

Ownership of a song takes two forms. Firstly, as noted above, the marriage of lyrics and melody can be registered in publishing rights as Figure 1 implies. However, once a song has been arranged and produced into a recording that will be distributed, there is the opportunity to establish master recording rights. The latter often registered by the record company whilst the songwriter who typically puts together the music and lyrics registers the former. So, the earlier noted imagining of the final song by Mike Stoller (2015) suggests that Leiber and Stoller sought to have both publishing and master recording rights. As part of this research, this complexity should be recognised but the narrower research aim means there is no need to explore further this complicated area of intellectual property ownership. Suffice to say that there have been many legal challenges in and out of court rooms on both the ownership of songs and the master recordings with the latter often resulting from modern sampling techniques (Anderton et al, 2013, pp 60-62).

<Insert Figure 1 near here>

Motivations to engage in songwriting
Looking at the complexity of the tasks that can be involved in the cultural production of the song (Figure 1), it is clear that 'songwriters' in their broadest sense might be involved at a number of points in the process. The overall aim of this research is that of asking what motivates the songwriter to become involved in the songwriting process. It, therefore, follows that the literature around motivation should be considered to help reveal this for the songwriter. In doing so, the perceived value can be interpreted as part of the discussion of motivation. Using the Latin roots of the word, motivation can be described as 'the study of action' (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002 p.110) and its complexity has drawn the attention of researchers from different disciplines. In this paper, we use some of the basic constructs to better understand how songwriters are motivated.

In terms of context, studies of motivation have concentrated on the areas of work (Guion & Landy, 1972), education (Murphy & Alexander, 2000; Eccles & Wigfield, 2002) and sports with the limited work specifically on leisure summarised by Chen and Pang (2012). Those ideas of learning and paid work resonate with songwriters whose career is of a professional nature requiring them to develop a set of skills through learning. Here, we have synthesised the literature into areas relevant to our study as presented in Figure 2 though should make clear that we are not implying distinct links between specific motivations and specific goals. Instead, we deliberately mix work and leisure related motivational theory to develop elements that will be useful in our work.

Initially, starting with one of the earliest suggestions on the drivers of action, Maslow (1943) proposed that a hierarchy of needs based around groupings at different levels

encourages action. Whilst some writers (Wahba & Bridwell, 1976) have questioned some of the detail of the level classifications including whether there is evidence for the hierarchy itself and others (Skelsey Guest, 2014) have pointed to Maslow's own suggestion for an added level, it is accepted that needs reflect the motives behind motivations to act. Songwriters, like any other human, can be reasonably expected to have a range of different needs from the low level physiological need to high level self-actualisation. Eccles and Wigfield (2002) have drawn together some of the different areas of motivation theory in order to focus on 'reasons for engagement' (p112). Firstly, in agreement with Murphy and Alexander (2000), indicating two forms of motivation such that 'when individuals are intrinsically motivated, they engage in an activity because they are interested in and enjoy the activity. When extrinsically motivated, individuals engage in activities for instrumental or other reasons, such as receiving a reward.' Here, we note that these 'reasons for engagement' are reflective of the amateur communicative rationality of casual leisure and the professional instrumental rationality of serious leisure/work that we saw when looking at folk musicians (AUTHORS, 2014) in the context of Habermas (1984, 1987) and Stebbins (1977, 1982) work. In terms of intrinsic motivation, Deci and Ryan (1985) propose the idea of self-determination by combining two other theories relating to an individual's requirement for stimulation (Hebb, 1955) and challenge (White, 1959). Eccles and Wigfield (2002, p.112) summarise this as 'people seek out optimal stimulation and challenging activities and find these activities intrinsically motivating because they have a basic need for competence'. Their view is that such motivation behaviour is oriented towards a competence that allows the individual to meet the deep rooted needs suggested by Maslow. In contrast, flow theory (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975) suggests that individuals also wish to enjoy simple pleasures in the short term as well as satisfying the long term significant needs as per Maslow. The term 'flow' was defined by Csikszentmihalyi (1975, p.36) as the 'holistic sensation that people feel when they act with total involvement'. Later, Csikszentmihalyi (1990) proposed a number of attributes that are typical of the subjective experience of this engrossing behaviour: challenge–skill balance; merging of action and awareness; a clarity of goals; unambiguous feedback on progress; concentration on the task at hand; a paradox of control; loss of self-consciousness; transformation of time where the sense of time is lost; autotelic experience (a term used to say the experience is an end in itself). Such a theory reflects ideas about song in that the writer and/or performer is seen as 'channelling' the music and words as if from somewhere else.

<Insert Figure 2 near here>

Deci and Ryan (2000) break extrinsic motivation into four distinct areas where a distinct instrumental outcome of value is gained by the individual. Firstly, external regulation where the outcome is determined by an external party such as when a songwriter is motivated to write a song in the hope that it becomes extremely popular. In this way, especially if also the performer of the song, it might commodify their work (Driessens, 2012) and lead to their own celebrity via the mass media's formation of parasocial relationships (Stever, 2016). Then, there is introjected regulation where the individual is motivated by an internal outcome that relates to external parties by enhancing self-esteem or avoiding embarrassment (such as

performing songs amongst friends). Identification is where the individual has recognised the activity they are motivated to pursue has value within a long term need context such as the learning about new software or a musical instrument that helps achieve the recording of the imagined song. The latter is a conscious motivation based on choice whereas the final form of motivation, integrated regulation, is where the individual is motivated to repeat behaviour because their experience shows they gain an instrumental outcome such as the singer who uses vocal exercises before the live performance of a song. Each of these extrinsic motivations displays an instrumental outcome but they differ in the degree to which they are autonomous due to their internalisation and independence from external influence. Whether motivation is considered as something based on interest (intrinsic) or instrumental outcome (extrinsic), the individual often relates their action to the achievement of a goal. As before, songwriting can be related to research into the goals of work (Locke & Latham, 2001) and learning (Murphy & Alexander, 2000) with the latter pointing out that even work-avoidance (Elliot, 1999) may be a goal that motivates certain individuals. For example, songwriters who pursue this activity as a means of leisure may see their efforts as a way to put off some 'essential' work until later time.

Research into leisure's motivation goals (Beard & Ragheb, 1983) has pointed to four areas that make up a goal typology: intellectual (learning), social, competence mastery, and stimulus avoidance. This typology, made up from 48 individual factors, points to the satisfaction that a songwriter may typically achieve in learning the skills of cultural production, the sharing of songs with others, the status gained enhancing their self-image and the potential for the activity to be a form of relaxation. Each of these may be viewed as an intangible reward for the participant in the leisure activity

The level to which each element might motivate an individual is viewed to be controlled by two factors. Firstly, self-efficacy (Bandura, 1993), the extent to which an individual believes in their ability and, secondly, expectancy (Vroom, 1964, p.17), in terms of the individual view of how likely it is the goal will be achieved. The mixing of these factors and goals offers many combinations within individual ranging from the amateur who may struggle with belief in their ability to learn skills and enhance status but still know that songwriting is a relaxing leisure task to, in contrast, the more serious songwriter who has learnt much, garnered status and welcomes stimulus as an expectancy of further development. In considering the latter, it is apparent that there is a tangible reward of payment as a professional. This supports our blurring of leisure (casual or serious) and work motivations in Figure 2 and offers elements for considering the approach of different songwriters.

Methodology

Earlier, we pointed to the lack of literature looking at songwriting and discovered there was only limited literature on the motivation of individuals within a leisure context. Despite the fact that there is literature that discusses motivation in the work context, our work is still explorative and intended to be inductive in its approach. The initial intention of our work was to interview some of our folk musician contacts with much the same approach as taken in our earlier work (AUTHORS, 2014). However, our examination of literature

revealed two important points for our work. Firstly, the process of songwriting as described earlier is more complex than the typical process of the folk musicians who often apply their own arrangement to a traditional song. Hence, this would limit our research in this paper albeit also offering an interesting perspective that we might later pursue. Secondly, it became obvious that there is already a significant amount of secondary data available from the many songwriter interviews conducted over recent years.

Whilst some of these concentrate on elements of no interest in our study of motivation (such as the meaning behind specific songs and so on), there was clearly substantial material that could be interpreted to achieve our aim. Secondary data interview sources that were considered comprised of those found online (Art of The Song, 2015; Sodajerker, 2015; Songwriters on Process, 2015), podcasts from the radio (Mastertapes, 2015) and books compiling interviews (Rachel, 2013; Zollo, 2003). Though these have the potential to reveal motivations, it needs to be recognised that the songwriters are presenting their story as it suits them. As interviews typically take place in circumstances where the songwriter is promoting their career, it might be anticipated that the story as presented has an element of gloss added to the truth of the situation.

Keeping these limitations in mind and the mass of data open to us, we examined the 96 interviews online at the Sodajerker (2015) website, as these cover the whole gamut of pop, rock and folk music. To include a geographical balance, the books chosen were the 53 interviews in Zollo (2003), mainly with established songwriters in the US, and 27 in Rachel (2013), covering established UK songwriters from Ray Davies to Laura Marling. By being selected by the compilers of the website and the authors of the books, these songwriters have been authenticated as credible and successful songwriters. Both books were read in full, but the on-line interviews were sampled purposively, identifying 12 songwriters that represented interviewees of differing age and experience whilst all may be said to be American or English popular music songwriters. We adopted a phenomenological approach when analysing the data in these interviews using the potential motivational elements consolidated into Figure 2 keeping in mind the aspects of cultural production put forward by Born (2010, p.171) as per our earlier work (AUTHORS, 2014). In this way, we were able to code our interviews using the two dimensions looking for common themes in the stories told by songwriters but also avoid some of the common interview questions based around the songs (inspiration, instrumentation and musical structure). As you would expect, this meant we found certain interview sources more interesting than others and this can be seen in the findings where we highlight the themes that come through from our analysis.

Discussion of findings

The difficulties in defining a 'songwriter'
A simple consideration of Figure 1 reveals that the modern cultural production of a song has many tasks with the final artefact viewed as the recorded version of a song and its related master recording rights. Our research might have restricted its view of the songwriter to those who established ownership of the song and associated publishing rights but the advance of modern technology has allowed the songwriter to use software tools to produce the final

recorded version. In essence, this means the 'songwriter' is adopting songwriter, arranger and producer roles without the need to involve the assistance of others. On the other hand, the songwriter may wish to involve others or even, at an extreme, register the song for performance without recording it. Consequently, to capture all these elements, the definition of a songwriter used in this research is any individual who provides lyrics or melody for musical performance or recording.

The interviews that comprised our secondary data source revealed individuals who take on a variety of the above mentioned tasks in a potentially fluid process moving between the tasks seen in Figure 1 over an extended period of time. Barry Mann and Cynthia Weil's career began in the aforementioned days of Tin Pan Alley and they aim to capture some distinct approaches to this (Sodajerker, 2012a). They suggest their role to be that of 'pure songwriters' being those who do not perform and don't write for themselves but seek out someone to perform the songs. Following this Tin Pan Alley view, they offer other, modern roles with 'songwriter recording artists', 'songwriter producers' and 'songwriters who write with recording artists'. Whilst our data sources revealed songwriters that fit such approaches, there are those that clearly differ in the tasks they take on board. For example, Guy Chamber's work with the likes of Robbie Williams (Sodajerker, 2012b) reveals a songwriter who writes with other recording artists but on songs like 'Angels' also has producing credits. It's apparent from such songwriters that the approaches adopted might be seen as a basic task in putting together words and melody, a complex task with multiple roles in the production of the recorded artefact as fits with their engagement in some or all of the tasks seen in Figure 1 or the full vision where an individual conceptualises how the song will sound and controls the process from beginning to end. In this way, we see that their motivational goals differ in terms of both any cultural product achieved as a tangible reward or any specific intangible goals of learning and competence that were achieved in the process of cultural production.

Motivating factors for songwriters
Alongside songwriters having different goals in the cultural production of songs, our research revealed their agency in making these choices is similarly underpinned by differing motivations. The stereotypical 'fame and fortune' view suggests they are extrinsically motivated by the idea of becoming wealthy and gaining easy access to some combination of alcohol, drugs and sexual relationships. Whilst this can be viewed as a self-depreciating joke amongst some songwriters such as when Harry Nilsson said in interview that he wanted to become 'rich and handsome and successful and wise and healthy' (Zollo, 2003, p. 239), it is clear that they seek other instrumental goals. Tom Robinson (Sodajerker, 2015a) points to the seeking of fame but also looking for political change as a secondary element with the latter best illustrated by his song 'Glad To Be Gay'. For those whose careers began in the likes of Tin Pan Alley or the UK equivalent of Denmark Street (Sodajerker, 2012a, 2013a, 2103b, 2014a, 2014b), employment as a staff (song)writer offered a degree of secure income as instrumental reward even if neither 'fame' or 'fortune' came with this.

For some, their motivation was intrinsic and value is seen in the process itself with elements that reflect the flow theory of Csikszentmihalyi (1975). Paddy McAloon (Sodajerker, 2014c) explains his ability to laboriously build up a song in its individual parts

from programmed pieces of music. An exercise that he suggests is part of the 'frivolous fun' of it being his own creation. He adds that 'I live and breathe the ideal song and fragments are forever going around even as I'm walking about' but also points to grouping songs together in projects that offer a 'purpose for writing'. Whilst 'frivolous fun' has elements of intrinsic motivation where the process of songwriting itself is its own reward, the sense of self-achievement within 'purpose for writing' suggests goal oriented motivation that is more extrinsic in its nature.

Paddy McAloon (Sodajerker, 2014c) talks of writing for other people and putting the songs in a box, perhaps, fearing a rejection that means his tangible goal is not achieved. The temporality of Born (2010, p.17) is reflected in his further statement that he is more eager 'to follow my own silly vision' as he gets older and just see if it's acceptable to others. Suggesting that there is a 'glory of lack of knowledge and foolishness' mixed together, he reverts to the intrinsic motivations and rewards of 'frivolous fun' when talking about writing for himself. As we see with McAloon, not only is there self-efficacy (Bandura, 1993) influencing their motivation but Vroom's ideas of expectancy (1964) are seen to come into play within some of the interviews where the songwriter is worried over the outcome. According to Don Black (Sodajerker, 2013a), 'the greats (of songwriting)' are unsure about the success of their songwriting – nobody is '100% sure'.

Family, institutions and other networks
Many of those interviewed reveal an early start to their songwriting efforts: Jeff Barry at age 8 (Sodajerker, 2014a); Guy Chambers started 'doodling and writing melodies' at 8 but 'string quartets' at 11 (Sodajerker, 2012b); Van Dyke Parks started writing songs at 4 years old but becoming inspired by Dylan's early releases (Sodajerker, 2014b). However, not all are such early starters with, say, Loudon Wainwright III (Sodajerker, 2014d) getting his first guitar from his father at 13 years old but, having planned to be an actor, not writing his first song until 21 or 22. As seen in our earlier work (AUTHORS, 2014), family plays a central role for several of the interviewees. Following Born (2010, p.171), we see the role of family as an institution that can set the direction of cultural production. Heaven 17's Martyn Ware and Glenn Gregory (Sodajerker (2013c) explain that the political messages to the fore of their music - for example in (We Don't Need This) Fascist Groove Thang - came from their parent's trade union background and the left wing views that were part of the Sheffield environment of their youth.

More obviously and similar to our earlier work (AUTHORS, 2014), some songwriters came from musical families where their habitus led them towards songwriting. Most obvious is Rufus Wainwright (Sodajerker, 2014e) who suggests his father (Loudon) considered him 'in some danger' in his late teens. Familiar with his son's piano playing style and using his network of music business friends, Loudon introduced his son to Van Dyke Parks who Rufus says 'decided to champion my cause'. Moving to the US West Coast from New York, the social capital of music networks allowed Rufus to enter a scene accepting of 'this opera loving, gay, piano kid'.

Outside of music family circles, church has been recognised as an institution that helps develop the cultural capital of music in young people. For example, the blues musician Willie Dixon (Zollo, 2003, p. 20) refers to the importance of 'spiritual quartets' in his early development. Similarly, school was identified as central to the careers of a number of songwriters. Indeed, Barry Mann and Cynthia Weil (Sodajerker, 2012a) consider songwriting as a learning experience when they describe the Brill Building as 'not a songwriting factory, a songwriting school.' Heaven 17's Martyn Ware and Glenn Gregory (Sodajerker (2013c) highlight that it was at school in Sheffield that they met all the artistically inclined. More recently, others (Hensher, 2013) have argued that public school and its associated wealth have become central in the development of pop stars. These two points are emphasising how both the social capital of networks and the financial capital that allows purchase of musical equipment play their roles in allowing musical development. However, having such a richness of capital around the potential songwriter does not mean that they are motivated to write songs.

Vroom's expectancy theory (1964, pp. 17-18) tells us that individuals may fear that the outcome is not worthy of their effort in a way that is reflective of Born's concerns over value judgement (2010, p.171). Linda Thompson (Sodajerker, 2013d) talks about being 'an absolute fool' in the 60's when she avoided songwriting because of her expectations when surrounded by talented songwriters such as then husband Richard Thompson, John Martyn, Nick Drake and Tim Buckley. In interview, she contrasts this with her later experience in the suffocating atmosphere of a Sufi commune where the creativity within songwriting was unacceptable.

As well as the institutional networks of family, education and religion that surround songwriters, there are the networks of cultural production seen in Figure 1 above and the wider music industry explored in our earlier paper (AUTHORS, 2014). There's no doubt that songwriters feel pressure from the actors in the industry whether managers, record companies or others who have some instrumental arrangement with the artists. For example, Lily Allen (Rachel, p.459) points to the manager who encouraged her to write her own songs 'probably because he was financially driven'.

Changing roles over career; switch away from music for money or to refresh
It was noted earlier that songwriter roles might be seen as a basic task in putting together words and melody, complex task or the full vision as fits with their engagement in some or all of the individual task elements seen in Figure 1. However, it is clear from the data that some artists change roles over the period of their career whilst some artists remain in the one role. Such temporality and change being another of the key areas for research suggested by Born (2010, p.171).

In this respect, the career of Chip Taylor (Sodajerker, 2013b) is interesting in that he starts as a songwriter who addresses the basic task and generates songs that become big selling records for others (The Hollies, Dusty Springfield, etc). He moves on to a complex task or full vision by releasing his own records before leaving the music business altogether to become a successful professional gambler. It was only after his mother fell ill and he started

singing to her that he realised he missed his career in music and returned to songwriting, recording and performance.

Whilst Taylor (Sodajerker, 2013b) doesn't make his motivations clear, there is a sense of mixing both intrinsic communicative and extrinsic instrumental elements in his approach to songwriting over his career. However, Guy Chambers (Sodajerker, 2012b) talks about musically digressing to 'express himself' rather than to just try writing hit songs. In this way, there is a clear effort to use communicative leisure as a way to refresh the cultural production part of his career that produces hit records.

In our earlier work, we noted that Stebbins (1992, p. 68) defines career as 'the typical course, or passage, of certain-types of amateur-professional practitioners that carries them into, and through, a leisure role and possibly into, and through a work role.' However, the songwriters here do not see this as a linear trajectory but one that not only can change in terms of its engagement with songwriting as a process of work but can also use casual leisure as a means of stimulating creativity within their own working careers.

Conclusions

Our research has revealed the complexity of the songwriter in terms of not only the tasks involved in their songwriting but the wide range of motivations and goals that can inspire them in their cultural production. Such motivations can arise and be nurtured within the institutional contexts of family, education, religion and the music industry itself. The relative importance of these motivations to songwriters is not only subjective but also temporal in nature when viewed across their career span.

In order to frame this complexity in a useful manner, the literature on motivation has drawn from writers looking at motivation in both leisure and work as seen in Figure 2. Having used this for analysis, it's apparent that some of the songwriters are motivated by the tangible rewards of work and others find as much satisfaction in the intrinsic motivations that are more akin to leisure and play. For some such as Paddy McAloon (Sodajerker, 2014c), both these motivations seem present in their approach at the one time with the leisurely approach leading to the creativity that can be turned into work and the tangible reward of a finished song. In this mixing of leisure and work, our research suggests that songwriting as cultural production is untypical of the view (Stebbins, 1992, p. 68) suggesting a career trajectory of 'amateur-professional practitioners that carries them into, and through, a leisure role and possibly into, and through a work role.' Instead of following what seems a linear path, songwriters can move back and forth between motivational goals that reflect leisure and work in a way that can enhance the cultural production process.

By identifying above the potential for songwriters to move between motivational goals reflecting leisure and work, it's apparent that the underlying motivation in terms of extrinsic and intrinsic approaches can alter. Of course, some songwriters view songwriting as a job of work which is largely extrinsically motivated. Whilst other songwriters expect the muse comes and goes delivering song ideas to them in a more intrinsically motivated process. Comparing these two approaches, in agreement with Wahba and Bridwell (1976), our

research suggests that the view of Maslow (1943) with its hierarchy of needs is not reflective of their motivation. This can be summarised in the stereotypical view of the 'the starving artist' who values cultural production over the instrumental need of day to day living.

As we indicated earlier, Born (2010, p.171) has identified five key themes of cultural production that require 'reinvention'. Whilst our work here has concentrated on motivation, we have touched on her identified themes and see these areas as an opportunity via future primary work to exploring songwriting careers in more depth. Her identification of 'aesthetics and the cultural object' reflects our consideration of different views of songwriting summarised in Figure 1. In 'agency and subjectivity', we see the different motivations driving the songwriters and 'the place of institutions' in shaping their individual views. Whilst our approach to this research offers a limited view of 'history, temporality and change', some songwriters identify changes in motivation as their career develops when they meet 'problems of value and judgement'.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest is reported by the authors.

References

American Music Therapy Association (2014) Definition and Quotes about Music Therapy.
    Retrieved from http://www.musictherapy.org/about/quotes/.

Anderton, C., Dubber, A. and James, M. (2013) *Understanding the Music Industries*.
    London: Sage.

Art of The Song (2015) Retrieved from http://artofthesong.org/about

Bandura, A. (1993) Perceived Self-Efficacy in Cognitive Development and Functioning.
    Educational Psychologist, Vol. 28 Issue 2, 117-148.

Beard, J. G. and Ragheb, M. G. (1983). Measuring leisure motivation. *Journal of Leisure
    Research 15,* 3, 219 – 228.

Born, G. (2010). The social and the aesthetic: For a post-Bourdieuian theory of cultural
    production. *Cultural Sociology, 4,* 171-208. doi: 10.1177/1749975510368471

Chen, M and Pang, X. (2012) Leisure Motivation: An Integrative Review. *Social Behavior
    and Personality: an international journal, 40*, 7, 1075-1081. doi:
    10.2224/sbp.2012.40.7.1075

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1975) *Beyond boredom and anxiety: Experiencing flow in work and
    play*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990) *Flow: The psychology of optimal experience*. New York: Harper
    & Row.

Deci, E.L. and Ryan, R.M. (1985). *Intrinsic Motivation and Self-Determination in Human
    Behavior.* New York: Plenum.

Deci, E.L. and Ryan, R.M. (2000). The 'What' and 'Why' of Goal Pursuits: Human Needs and
    the Self-Determination of Behavior. *Psychological Inquiry, 11,* 4, .227-268.

Driessens, O. (2012). The celebritization of society and culture: Understanding the structural
    dynamics of celebrity culture. *International Journal of Cultural Studies, 16,* 6 641–
    657. doi: 10.1177/1367877912459140

Eccles, J. and Wigfield, A. (2002) Motivational Beliefs, Values, and Goals. *Annual Review of
    Psychology. 53,* 1, 109-132.

Elliot, A. (1999) Approach and avoidance motivation and achievement goals. *Educational
    Psychologist, 34,* 3, 169-189.

Gauthier, Mary (2014) Mary Gauthier On Writing Songs with Soldiers. Retrieved from
    http://www.songwritingwithsoldiers.org/mary-gauthier-on-writing-songs-with-
    soldiers/.

Guion, R.M. and Landy F.J. (1972) The Meaning of Work and the Motivation to Work. *Organization Behaviour and Human Performance 7,* 2, 308-339.

Habermas, J. (1984). *The theory of communicative action, volume one*. Cambridge: Polity.

Habermas, J. (1987). *The theory of communicative action, volume two*. Cambridge: Polity.

Hebb D.O. (1955). Drives and the C.N.S. (conceptual nervous system). *Psychological Review 62,*, 4, 243–54.

Henderson, S. and Spracklen, K. (2014) 'From serious leisure to serious work, or, when folk music struck a chord: careers, Habermasian rationality and agency. *Leisure/Loisir, 38,* 3-4, 207-224.

Hensher, Philip (2013) Do we really want pop stars from public school? Retrieved from http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/do-we-really-want-pop-stars-from-public-school-8554501.html. Houghton, M. (2015) *I've Always Kept a Unicorn – The Biography of Sandy Denny*. London: Faber and Faber.

Hip Hop Psych (2014) Hip Hop Psych. Retrieved from http://www.hiphosych.co.uk/.

Hooton, Christopher (2014) Hip-hop can help treat depression, psychiatrists claim. Retrieved from http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/health-and-families/health-news/hiphop-can-help-treat-depression-psychiatrists-claim-9790582.html.

Houghton, M. (2015) *I've Always Kept a Unicorn – The Biography of Sandy Denny*. London: Faber and Faber.

Jasen, D. (2003) *Tin Pan Alley: An Encyclopedia of the Golden Age of American Song*. New York: Routledge.

Locke, E. A. and Latham, G. P. (2002) Building a Practically Useful Theory of Goal Setting and Task Motivation - A 35-Year Odyssey. *American Psychologist. 57,* 9, 705-717. doi: 10.1037/0003-066X.57.9.705

Long, P. and Barber, S. (2015) Voicing passion: The emotional economy of songwriting. *European Journal of Cultural Studies,18,* 2, 142–157. doi: 10.1177/1367549414563298

Maslow, A. H. (1943). A Theory of Human Motivation. *Psychological Review. 50,* 4, 370-396.

Mastertapes (2015) BBC series. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b021mjc4

Murphy, P.K. and Alexander, P.A. (2000) A Motivated Exploration of Motivation Terminology. *Contemporary Educational Psychology 25,* 1, 3–53. doi:10.1006/ceps.1999.1019

Rachel, D. (2013) *Isle of Noises: Conversations with great British songwriters*. London: Picador.

Simone, Nina (2006) 'If I had my way, I'd have been a killer'. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SEX19zLQezU.

Skelsey Guest, Hazel (2014). Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs - the sixth level. *Psychologist. Vol. 27,* 12, 982-983.

Sodajerker (2012a) Retrieved from http://www.sodajerker.com/episode-6-barry-mann-and-cynthia-weil/

Sodajerker (2012b) Retrieved from http://www.sodajerker.com/episode-16-guy-chambers/

Sodajerker (2013a) Retrieved from http://www.sodajerker.com/episode-34-don-black/

Sodajerker (2013b) Retrieved from http://www.sodajerker.com/episode-45-chip-taylor/

Sodajerker (2013c) Retrieved from http://www.sodajerker.com/episode-37-heaven-17-martyn-ware-and-glenn-gregory/

Sodajerker (2013d) Retrieved from http://www.sodajerker.com/episode-47-linda-thompson/

Sodajerker (2014a) Retrieved from http://www.sodajerker.com/episode-63-jeff-barry/

Sodajerker (2014b) Retrieved from http://www.sodajerker.com/episode-51-van-dyke-parks/

Sodajerker (2014c) Retrieved from http://www.sodajerker.com/episode-53-paddy-mcaloon/

Sodajerker (2014d) Retrieved from http://www.sodajerker.com/episode-59-loudon-wainwright-iii/

Sodajerker (2014e) Retrieved from http://www.sodajerker.com/episode-54-rufus-wainwright/

Sodajerker (2015) Retrieved from http://www.sodajerker.com/podcast/

Sodajerker (2015a) Retrieved from http://www.sodajerker.com/episode-67-tom-robinson/

Songwriters on Process (2015) Retrieved from http://www.writersonprocess.com/

Stebbins, R. A. (1977). The amateur: Two sociological definitions. *Pacific Sociological Review, 20,* 582-606. doi: 10.2307/1388717

Stebbins, R. A. (1982). Serious leisure: A conceptual statement. *Pacific Sociological Review, 25,* 251-272. doi: 10.2307/1388726

Stebbins, R (1992). *Amateurs, professionals and serious leisure*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Stever, G. S. (2016). Evolutionary Theory and Reactions to Mass Media: Understanding Parasocial Attachment. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*. Advance online publication. doi: 10.1037/m0000116

Stoller, Mike (2015) Interviewed on BBC 4 Sound and Song, Episode 2: Reeling and Rocking. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b04z23vl .

Vroom, V. H. (1964) *Work and motivation*. New York: Wiley.

Wahba, M. A. and Bridwell, L. G. (1976). Maslow Reconsidered: A Review of Research on the Need Hierarchy Theory. *Organizational Behavior & Human Performance. 15,* 2, 212-240. doi:10.1016/0030-5073(76)90038-6

White, R.H. (1959). Motivation reconsidered: the concept of competence. *Psychological Review. 66,* 5, 297–333. doi: 10.1037/h0040934

Zollo, P. (2003) *Songwriters On Songwriting, Expanded Fourth Edi*tion. Cambridge, USA: Da Capo.

Figures

Figure 1: The songwriting process as steps in cultural production

Figure 2: Theories surrounding motivation