What Happened to Autonomy?
Visual art practices in the creative industries era

Wat gebeurde er met autonomie?

Visuele beeldende kunstpraktijken in het tijdperk van de creatieve industrieën

Thesis

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We can forgive a man for making a useful thing as long as he does not admire it. The only excuse for making a useless thing is that one admires it intensely.

All art is quite useless.

(Oscar Wilde)

A primary function of art and thought is to liberate the individual from the tyranny of his culture in the environmental sense and to permit him to stand beyond it in an autonomy of perception and judgment.

(Beverly Sills)

These days, almost everyone seems to agree that the times in which art tried to establish its autonomy – successfully or unsuccessfully – are over.

(Boris Groys[1])

[1] (Groys, 2009)

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Acknowledgements

People always say that writing a PhD is a lonely process. While I most certainly agree that it got pretty lonely at times, I never gave up reminding myself that I am not alone. A quote from an unknown source that has recently been going around the Internet puts it in the right light and helped me to push through the last painful miles:

> You are the books you read, the films you watch, the music you listen to, the people you meet, the dreams you have, the conversations you engage in. You are what you take from these. You are the sound of the ocean, the breath of fresh air, the brightest light and the darkest corner.
>
> You are a collective of every experience you have had in your life. You are every single second of every single day. So drown yourself in a sea of knowledge and existence. Let the words run through your veins and let the colors fill your mind until there is nothing left to do but explode. There are no wrong answers. Inspiration is everything. Sit back, relax, and take it all in.
>
> Now, go out and create something.

While this is not the place to tell you about 'the books I've read' and 'the films I've seen' (you can always ask me if you want to know – actually, I enjoy talking about both), I do have a deep desire to tell you about 'the people I've met'. The document below is purely academic, as it is supposed to be, so if you are to gain an inkling of the colour in my life and true 'explosion' I must make this part a personal thing, because – really – it is the 'personal thing' that has actually kept me sane during the past five years.

It is thanks to the support of a remarkable group of people that I have come so far, and I want to thank all of them, no matter how small their impact was, because in fact it is the love, support, kicks in the ass, arms to cry on, strong shoulders to lean on, cheering from the side-lines and uncountable number of 'you-can-do-it's that have written this thesis – not me.

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1. Introduction

Times may have changed, but we still have art. The artistic callings of passionate individuals still provide us with beautiful, funny or provocative art that enriches society, provokes dialogue, bridges boundaries and differences, or simply decorates our living room walls. For centuries, royal courts, churches and patrons were in control of making decisions about supporting certain artists and not supporting others, just like they prescribed general behavioural and dress etiquette, language and religion. Much has been written by sociologists, historians and philosophers alike about the shape and development of artistic practices. And why and how artistic practices have been supported in different societies at different times.[2]

Yet, the support structure for art that we are familiar with nowadays only dates back to the period after World War II, when the responsibility for sustaining cultural products and production was largely given to democratic governments in most European countries (Zolberg, 1990). The reason for governmental intervention in the arts and culture is their failure at the marketplace and the general belief that art enriches everybody's life, even the lives of those not directly producing or consuming it. (Netzer, 1980; Rengers, 2002; R. Towse, 2011; Zimmer & Toepler, 1999) Where there is insufficient interest or support from society, the government, with the help of specialists, has to jump in. The legitimation paradox, however, is that a lack of collective social interest for the arts is as much an argument for governmental support as it is against it (Esche, 2010). Critics say that a huge gap can be witnessed between art, artists, and audiences, therefore not justifying high governmental expenditures in the arts and culture.

In the Netherlands, this criticism led to an advice for severe policy changes in 2013-2016 by cutting the cultural budget by 200 million euros. The cultural ministry explains in *More than Quality: A New Vision on Cultural Policy* (OCW, 2011) that society and social structures have changed, and that therefore the current cultural policy is no longer adequate. The ministry criticises that the government acts too much as a financier by granting subsidies and as a result, cultural institutions and artists pay too little attention

[2] A particularly interesting publication about court artists and how the courts also formed our contemporary artists' image is the book *Hofkünstler* written by Martin Warnke (Warnke, 1996). Other sociological references include: Hitters, 1996; Kempers, 1992; Oosterbaan, 1990; White & White, 1965.

to audience numbers and entrepreneurship. The cabinet demands that cultural institutions and artists act more like entrepreneurs so that they earn a bigger part of their income themselves. They predict that this responsibility will result in greater flexibility and strength.

The basis of this argumentation is the strong focus on creativity as an economic driver that has been on the agenda of many post-industrial western countries since the late 1970s. With increased attention for the economic value of creativity and the steady growth of the so-called creative industries, artists are expected to make their own living much more easily (e.g. von Osten in Raunig, Ray, & Wuggenig, 2011). Over the course of roughly four decades, a whole market sector has evolved around creativity in the broadest sense, with the cultural sector and traditional arts being part of this.

This new appreciation of creativity has generated opportunities for artists, to be sure, but also obstacles. In addition to their autonomous art activities, visual artists can be found working in branches related to commercial art that are more likely to actually pay their bread. However, especially on the policy level, it is not always desirable for artists to be treated as part of the creative industries. Rosy statistics of growth and wealth-creation paint a picture of the whole sector that often results in cuts in governmental expenditure, while the distinctive features of the traditional arts and their vulnerability are left out of consideration (see for example Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). Still, research suggests that artists can sustain themselves much more easily now than before, due to 'crossover' practices between non-profit and for-profit projects (e.g. Markusen, 2006; Throsby, 2007). Mention is also made of the 'plural artist' (Bureau, Perrenoud, & Shapiro, 2009) to describe the "differentiated professional practices [that lie] at the core of artistic existence" (Gielen, 2010, p. 310).

While the holding of multiple jobs is a common practice amongst artists that has received much attention in research about artistic labour markets (see for example N.O. Alper & Wassall, 2006; Benhamou, 2003; Haak, 2006; Menger, 1999; Rengers & Madden, 2000; Throsby, 2001), artistic autonomy and what it means in this particular context remains largely unaddressed. While it has been found that visual artists in particular would prefer spending their time on autonomous artistic activities if it were economically possible (e.g. Markusen, 2006; Throsby, 2007), detailed information is lacking about the impact of multiple jobs on autonomous artistic practices. The hypothesis put forward by Gielen and van Winkel et al. in their recent *The Hybridization of Artistic Practices (2012)* is that (visual) artists obtain work and carry out activities in

different areas of the cultural and creative industries, and that those diverse practices have an influence on each other that results in the blurring of boundaries between them. According to their definition, a hybrid artist has to satisfy two criteria. Firstly the artist needs to combine autonomous and applied arts practices in his/her daily practice. Secondly, autonomous and applied arts practices start to fully or partly overlap in the self-perception of the artist or in the perception of the artist by others. Both art forms then fall together within one context or production process, or coexist as equals next to each other. Thus, in a hybrid artistic work practice, the distinction between art and non-art is relativized and fluent because the artist does not feel the necessity to distinguish hierarchically, conceptually, or organizationally between the two within his work. That means concretely that a dichotomy between autonomous artistic practices as opposed to non-autonomous work does not offer sufficient categorization possibilities to analyse the contemporary artistic labour market. The concept of the hybrid artist, then, tries to acknowledge the possibility of fluent borders and reciprocal influence, both socially and artistically, without necessarily experiencing a direct threat for individual autonomy (loosely translated from Gielen et al., 2012, pp. 10-11).

While Gielen et al.'s research report shows that empirical indications can be found for a 'hybridization trend', it was beyond the scope of their research to go into much depth concerning boundaries between autonomous and other practices. Where exactly is the line between autonomous, art-related or applied art practices to be drawn? What implications does the holding of multiple jobs have for artists' job satisfaction? Is it only a means to spread the risk of unemployment or are the boundaries between a primary artistic 'calling' and secondary art-related occupations really becoming less relevant in general, marking a new artistic era as Gielen and van Winkel suggest?

The objective of the present research is to deepen hybridization research analysis by investigating the role of autonomy in contemporary visual art practices. In essence, a hybridization study makes analytical differentiations between hybrid and pluri-active artists based on different conceptions of autonomy. In his article *Critical Autonomy: "Inside Out" and "Outside In"* (in Butcher, Byrne, & ten Thije, 2010), John Byrne puts the term in its historical as well as contemporary context while discussing the problems and n**e**eds of autonomy within the art world. He starts by saying that, historically speaking, "[T]he term autonomy has been twice cursed. On one hand it has been marginalised within a formalist tradition that saw art as a special and separate category, occupying a self-referential world of its own…. On the other hand, a fundamentally left-wing

tradition of critical theory has insisted upon the fundamental impossibility of any form of autonomy, artistic or otherwise, pointing to the overriding social, political and economic circumstances that condition our individual existence within a community" (Butcher et al., 2010, p. 14). The first 'curse' is largely responsible for the way autonomy is protected and worshiped within the art world today, as shall be explained in more detail later on. In its reaction to commercial, mass produced culture, however, it is not very much in tune with today's globalised world and the supremacy of the neo-liberal market economy. Similarly, a rejection of artistic autonomy, as is the case in critical theory, has been hampered in the light of an all-encompassing commodification of culture (be it political, social, economic or artistic). Byrne's suggestion is therefore not to dismiss the concept of autonomy but to revise it critically, because it helps to redefine the social position and function of contemporary art practices. In contrast to his formalist predecessors, like Adorno, he does not see the emergence of a new space for contemporary art that stands separate from the commoditized and globalised media sphere:

> Any lingering notion that an artist can somehow effect a kind of critical distance from mediatised culture, or that art can still offer some kind of autonomous sanctuary from digital exchange, can now only be sustained within an art world that flatly refuses to come to terms with its own condition. (Byrne in Butcher et al., 2010, p. 14)

Byrne sees the art world's inability to adapt to this new environment as a threat for the critical role and function of art. Holding on to romanticized beliefs and principles, he says, "it [art] continuously runs the risk of collapsing into an economically viable sub-function of the globalized tourism and leisure industry" (ibid.). The challenge should therefore be to address a critical autonomy in contemporary artistic practices that is fully integrated in the neo-liberal market economy, because the latter greatly influences the social position and function of the art world in return.

The 'hybrid' artist, the concept that stimulated this research could be, at least in theory, the answer to his prayers. By accepting commercial activities as part of their artistic practices without feeling threatened in terms of losing autonomy, hybrid artists could be the manifestation of a redefined, twenty-first-century autonomy. Or is the hybrid artist rather a manifestation of the beginning of the end of critical autonomy in artistic practices altogether? The hybrid artist could also be interpreted as cynical and fully absorbed in greedy business-oriented bad-boy practices. To evaluate the position

hybrid artists hold, this research intends to dig deeper into definitions and values that are related to the concept of autonomy in contemporary artistic practices.

The research at hand starts from the assumption that the changing economic culture and a newly-born focus on the creative industries over the last decades has led to a new jargon and identity among artists, while artistic autonomy is still at the core of their production. Only, the conception of autonomy itself has adapted to these socio-economic changes in such a way that visual artists perceive more activities as part of their autonomous work now than they did thirty years ago.

Artists are no longer romantically perceived as starving creatures working in solitude day in and day out and never leaving their unheated attic/studio/living space. Instead, the entrepreneurial artist or, as Menger (1999) puts it, 'the artist as operator of a small business' has become the norm. The 'new' artists are flexible and open, and can switch easily between different work contexts by applying their creative skills wherever they are needed. However, at the core of their activities is still the process of individual artistic creation, which may be influenced by the outside world to some extent, but is valued for its autonomy nonetheless. The main research question to be answered in this thesis is therefore: *How do modern artists perceive the distinction between autonomous art practices, art-related practices, and applied art work, and has it changed their perception of autonomy in general?*

In other words, how do they protect and foster their autonomous work next to activities such as teaching, commissioned work for municipalities or companies, curating exhibitions, etcetera. Do they feel tensions between these activities or do they perceive all activities as part of their autonomous practice? How much time do they spend on one or the other? Also, is it different today than 30 years ago, and if so, how? The aim is to draw a line between autonomous art and other artistic production as perceived by artists and to sketch the change in the field of cultural production that can be observed with regard to art-related work during the last 35 years in the Netherlands and Flanders as well as the influence of such work on primary artistic activities.

A discussion of the relevant sociological theory will therefore be given in the first part of the theoretical chapter (Chapter 2). The field theory of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and the more recent Actor Network Theory of Bruno Latour will form the theoretical basis. For a better understanding of the topic, a short journey into art history and the evolution of the autonomous artist will be given, as well as a description of the artistic labour market and its peculiarities, based on economic literature.

In Chapter 2.5, an introduction to relevant studies on the field of cultural production and the holding of multiple jobs by visual artists will be given in order to set out the context of this research. Here, a study by Markusens et al. (2006) about the 'crossover' artist sketches a world between for-profit, non-profit and community art; a conceptualization by Bureau et al. (2009) of the 'pluri-active' artist helps to categorize the distinctions between art-related work and non-art-related work in the case of multiple jobs and lastly, in their study about the 'hybrid' artist, Gielen et al. (2012) introduce the concept of hybridity while simultaneously providing the dataset that will be used for further analysis. Finally, this chapter will conclude with a brief summary that leads up to my analytical method and hypothesis that will be laid out in Chapter 0.

Next, the empirical Chapter 0 will provide an indicative description of the quantitative data, with a focus on active self-perceived visual artists. This choice has been made in order to get a more detailed understanding of the activities which active visual artists pursue and to establish the empirical differences between artists that identify themselves as 'hybrid' and those that make a clear distinction between their autonomous practices and other artistic practices ('pluri-active'). Furthermore, this chapter includes an in-depth analysis of the qualitative data used to generate a conceptual model of the different perceptions of autonomy that could be identified within the sample group.

In the concluding chapter, the results of the data analysis will be used to make propositions about the social reality of contemporary visual artists.

2. Theory

My research is concerned with the question of the role that the concept of autonomy plays in the art world today. In its most global definition, autonomy means 'self-directing freedom and especially moral independence' (Mirriam-Webster, 2012). In the case of the artist, this means the freedom to decide what kind of artistic product he/she wants to make, independent of social, political or economic restraints. So, on the one hand, autonomy has an artistic or even aesthetic dimension to it (the content and form of the actual art piece); on the other hand, it has a socio-political dimension (that of being independent of socio-political and economic restraints). This leaves me at the edge of multiple scientific disciplines with their own intrinsic logic and truths. First, there is the position of the art historian, concerned with explaining how *artistic autonomy* evolved throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and why it is so important for our perception of the artist today. Second, there is the sociological approach, which regards artists as a distinct social category that acts as a collective in a wider social context and in accordance with certain observable values, rules and norms. Here, autonomy is not attributed to the individual artist but to the whole field of cultural production, which occupies an externally autonomous position in relation to other fields of social action, like the political or scientific field[3]. Finally, there is the economic reasoning that regards autonomy in the context of economic well-being, because only if one can make a living can one make a choice. The two latter approaches can, thus, be said to investigate *social autonomy.*

Since I am a cultural sociologist, I have chosen to use the more traditional field theory of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu as a general framework for my analysis, because Bourdieu's work offers a clearly defined framework in which autonomy plays a central role. Bourdieu, however, being a child of his time, provides an analytical tool that, on its own, is insufficient for my research, as it is too rigid and too universalist. I will therefore combine his field theory with useful concepts from the more flexible Actor Network Theory (ANT). This combination will help me develop a research model from the purely collective to the individual – from the autonomy of a field to the autonomy of

[3] The terminology is consciously chosen from the field analysis of Pierre Bourdieu, as it will form the basis of the theoretical framework in the following paper. Other scholars, like Howard Becker, use different terms and concepts, e.g. 'art-world' instead of 'field of cultural production'.

a social actor. Parallel to this, I will describe art historical processes and developments in order to underline and help explain social perceptions and values, especially the concept of autonomy and how it has developed throughout time. This will enable me to define social and artistic autonomy and set out the analytical tools for my further research.

These first steps will help put the field of cultural production within the wider social reality. Yet, a deeper understanding of the internal structure of the field and its peculiarities is also vital for my further analysis of artistic practices and the artistic labour market. To achieve this, I will turn to the more economic discourse, placing the visual arts in the wider context of the cultural and creative industries and explaining how the market for artistic products functions differently than the general neo-liberal market economy does, and what the consequences of this difference are for the artistic field. By linking back to my sociological model and ANT, I will conclude with my hypothesis.

2. 1. The Field of Cultural Production

In order to investigate the autonomy of the artist, it is first crucial to formulate a clear framework in which the research will be taking place. Bourdieu's theory on the field of cultural production provides such a framework. It helps to contextualize artists and their (inter)actions within society at large, while providing concrete analytical tools on the basis of which empirical research and analysis can take place.

Bourdieu's concept of the field is a purely theoretical concept. It started with a conceptualization of the hierarchies and structures observed within the scientific field of the universities with which he was affiliated. He then generalized the underlying logic to all aspects of social interaction. As is typical for Bourdieu, his field theory is complex, multi-layered, interwoven with his other theories and very abstract. Briefly explaining a number of the key terms and concepts of his field theory helps in breaking it down to its rough outlines for a general understanding. His theories have been discussed at length, by himself and others, elsewhere[4].

[4] e.g. Howard S Becker & Pessin, 2006; Bottero & Crossley, 2011; Bourdieu, 1975, 1983, 1984, 1993; Bourdieu, Harker, Mahar, & Wilkes, 1990; Browitt, 2004; Gielen, 2008; Grenfell & Hardy, 2007; Heinich, 2003; Robbins, 2000

Bourdieu argues that reality is a social construct. To exist is to exist in a complex of social relations to others. What is perceived as real is 'relational'. This means that everybody defines themselves and the world around them by the differences between observable characteristics. This differentiation, according to Bourdieu, has led to a division into semi-autonomous and increasingly specialized spheres of action, which he calls fields.

Bourdieu's 'field' is essentially a social space. The difference between the notions of *space* and *field* is that the field describes a particular space instead of a general one, and that the field is governed by specific rules and beliefs. There is not only one social field; basically, there are unlimited numbers of fields. He explains this nicely:

> This system of fields (within the social space) can almost be imagined, for simplicity, as a planetary system, because the social space is really an integral field. Each field has its own forces, and is set within a larger field, which also has its own forces, structures and so on. As it develops, it is weaving a larger field. (Bourdieu et al., 1990, p. 40)

Hierarchical power relations between and within fields structure human behaviour. So, fields are fields of force and social interaction which are differentiated according to 'topics', and which stand in relation toward each other. For example, there is a field of politics and economics, a field of science, a field of law, and also a field of cultural production. Each field is structured according to an underlying *doxa* or 'the rules of the game' (that which goes without saying).

In order to understand how people behave within a field, it is necessary to understand what kind of power relation they have with each other. The field is structured hierarchically, with some having a lot of power and others not. The ones with the most power are the ones who establish the dominant principles and norms according to which the field functions. Because a field is a defined and limited space, it is a zero-sum game in which the 'players' occupy a certain position in relation to the others. This position is determined by their relative power, which in turn is determined by their *habitus* and *capital*.

Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' refers to a person's general lifestyle, beliefs and expectations. which are formed continuously throughout a lifetime by activities and experiences (see for example Bourdieu, 1972, pp. 72-78). Capital, in Bourdieu's conception of the word, does not only refer to *economic capital* in the form of monetary possessions, but also includes *social capital*, the social network a person can draw upon;

symbolic capital[5], a person's prestige, honour and recognition; and *cultural capital*, one's education, knowledge and skills (see Bourdieu, 2002, pp. 280-291). The amount of capital an agent possesses determines their status within society. In general, it can be said that the higher the sum of capitals, the higher the social status of the agent and thus the more power they have within the field. The weight of the different capital forms, however, differs depending on which field is at stake. Economic capital, for example, grants an agent more social status in the field of power than it does in the field of cultural production, where social and cultural capital is more important. To Bourdieu, all fields are governed by a constant struggle between those who have the power to determine the rules of the game and want to preserve them, and those who want to change them.

In Bourdieu's own words, the field theory can be summarized like this:

> A field is a field of forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed either at conserving or transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field. (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 30)

If the theory is applied more concretely to the field of *cultural* production, it can be said that the field consists of actors that are engaged – one way or the other – with the production of *cultural* goods. The objective, then, is to acknowledge the totality of relations, both objective ones and those based on interaction, between the artist and other artists as well as with all actors that participate in the production of the work and its social value.

> What emerges is a field analysis of the way artists, writers, curators and gallery owners are mutually engaged in a symbiotic practice, the totality of which is 'art'. The state – politicians, ministers, museums and national galleries – is never far away. (Grenfell & Hardy, 2007, p. 2).

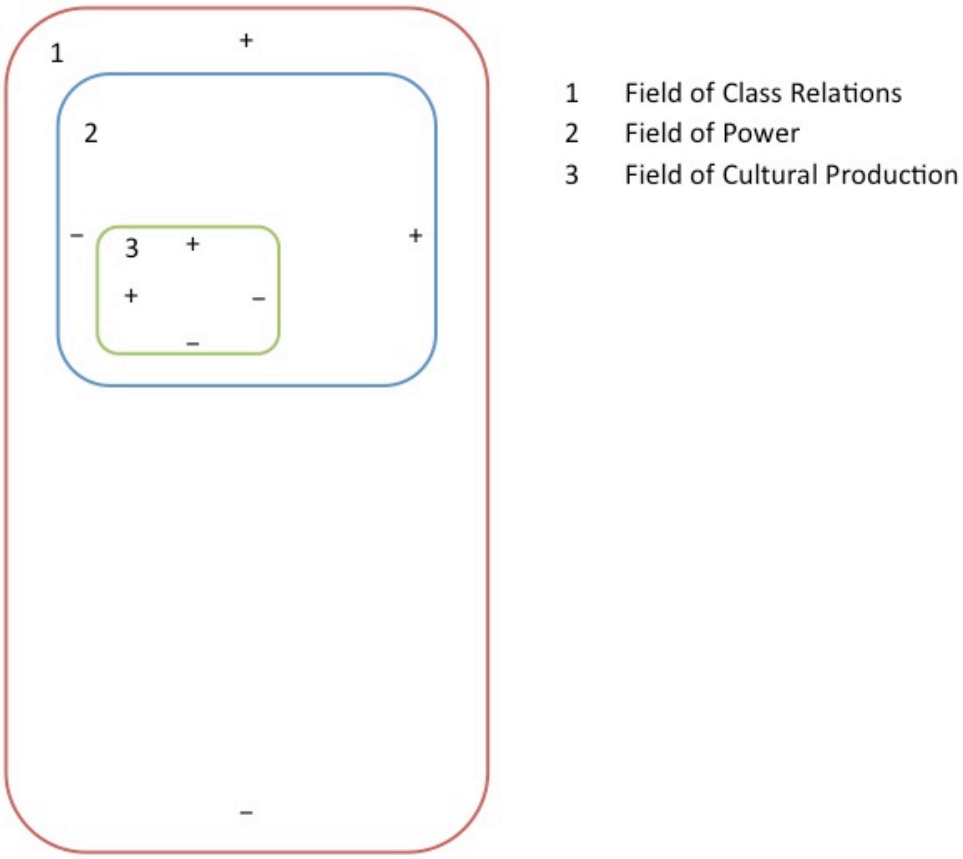
As Bourdieu explains in his book *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (1993), the field of cultural production is itself contained within the field of power (read: economy and politics) but has a relative autonomy with respect to it, especially regarding its economic and political principles of hierarchization (I will get back to that later). Bourdieu places the field of cultural production in a dominated

[5] Social capital and symbolic capital are often merged together in the term 'social capital'.

position within the field of power. Similarly, the field of power is itself situated at the dominant pole of the field of class relations.

Figure 1 (as adapted from Bourdieu, 1993, p. 38) illustrates how the field of cultural production can be understood in a broader social context. It is autonomous in the way that it functions more or less according to its own rules and regulations – but, at the same time, it cannot exist without the surrounding fields.

Figure 1: Bourdieu's field of cultural production



Note here that, in Bourdieu's conception, autonomy is never related to an individual, but only – and only to some extent – to the collective group of individual agents that constitute the field. So, despite the fact that even the field cannot be regarded as an autonomous entity, the interrelatedness of the field of cultural production (3) with that of power (2) is still interesting to ascertain. If the field of cultural production were not autonomous with respect to the ability to function according to its own rules and structures, artists and writers would become subject to the rules prevailing in the economic and political world – or the field of power, as Bourdieu calls it. That would mean that *success* was to be determined on the basis of numbers (e.g. number of sales,

number of performances). Yet, in the art world, sometimes the opposite even seems to be true: economic success is associated with mass commercialization and is therefore less respected within the art world. The principle that determines success in the field of cultural production, according to Bourdieu, is therefore prestige – the recognition of peers and connoisseurs, such as art critics and dealers.

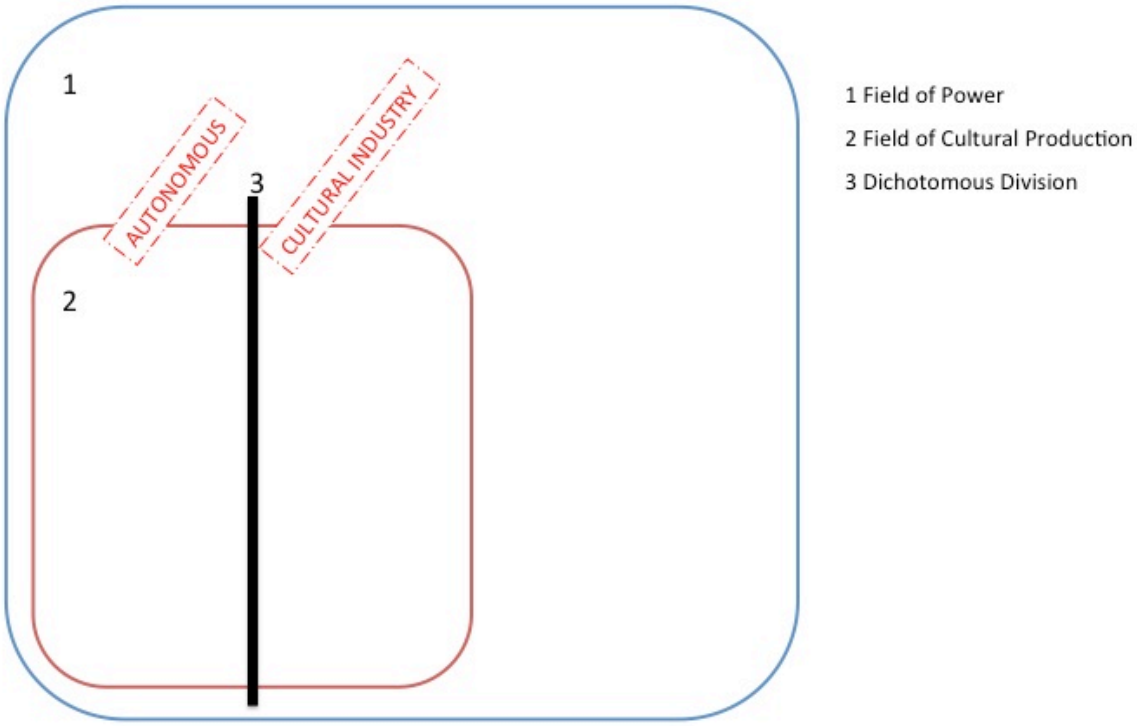
The specificities of the artistic field imply that greater autonomy of the field of cultural production from the field of power comes when it can follow its own rules and logic. This can be achieved only when it is not dependent on participation in the economic market for its survival (e.g. through the existence of an alternative such as patrons or subsidies). Consequently, it revolts against the principle of success and logic upheld by the field of power. Symbolic capital, recognition and prestige then dominate the autonomous field, and the line between what is valued as art within the field of cultural production and what is merely a cultural economic product for the market of cultural goods can be seen in a rather clear-cut manner.

For coherence of terminology, I suggest labelling this most extreme form of the field hierarchy a 'dichotomy between autonomous art and cultural industry production'[6] (Figure 2). Bourdieu himself calls this dichotomy "the division between the field of restricted production, in which the producers produce for other producers, and the field of large-scale production *[Ia grande production]* which is symbolically excluded and discredited" (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 39). It is important to note again that even at its most autonomous extreme, the field of cultural production will always be submerged in the field of power and therefore never entirely free from its rules and dominating principles – those of the neo-liberal market economy and politics, with its strong focus on free-market logic, rationality and individualism (for a short definition see Smith, 2012). Likewise, it should be noted that the side of the field concerned with 'large scale production' (or cultural industry production) can also be subdivided into more or less

[6] Bourdieu offers a dichotomous field, which I have translated to fit the terminology of the research. The argument I have given regarding the definition of cultural and creative industries continues to hold. Cultural industries, then, stand for the more commercial side of the field of cultural production. while still entailing an element of autonomous artistic value (as opposed to the creative industries that I place (partially) outside the field of cultural production). I therefore do not intend to define cultural industries, but wish to translate 'large-scale prodction' into a recognizable term (also within the theory) that will come back and can be easily related to later on. The fact that both autonomous production and cultural industry production can be further differentiated does not seem to me to challenge the validity of my translation.

autonomous commercial production (David Hesmondhalgh, 2006). Yet, the dichotomy is helpful in establishing an analytical framework, which is why I have used the field theory in the first place.

Figure 2: Dichotomy within the autonomous field of cultural production



Thus the degree of acceptance for commercial success and economic motivation in the production of cultural goods within the field of cultural production is an indicator for the autonomy of the field itself. The concept of the hybrid artist (with their fluid lines between autonomous art and other art forms) therefore constitutes a great conceptual and empirical basis to make predictions about the degree of autonomy that is currently present in the field of cultural production.

2.2. The Problem with the Field

After having sketched Bourdieu's field of cultural production, let me now point to the problems his concept poses for an analysis of contemporary (visual) artists. In his book *Kunst in Netwerken* (2008), Pascal Gielen states that four major problems arise from an analysis of Bourdieu's field of cultural production. In the following section, I will

delineate those problems and examine them within their respective contexts. Specifically, I will begin with a critical discussion of Bourdieu's definition of positions within the field of cultural production and briefly introduce Actor Network Theory as a valuable extension to his theory. The problem of reducing the art piece to the communication about it will also be addressed here. Next, I will point to the difficulty of defining autonomous artistic practice within Bourdieu's field theory and seek the help of aesthetics and art history in order to ascertain the modern societal perception of autonomous visual artists and their work. Finally, I will take pause at the Bourdieusian idea of the field as a reversed economy and describe, with the help of economic literature, the peculiarities of the artistic labour market in the context of the creative and cultural industries in order to elaborate where Bourdieu's notion of the field falls short.

Position, the Artist and the Collective: From Field to Network

The way in which Bourdieu conceives of positions within the field is too rigid. He regards the position of an actor (which can also be translated to social status) only as a position within the field, thereby suggesting that a specific position is characterized – and thus explained – only in relation to other positions within the field and their reciprocal struggle for dominance. Bottero and Crossley (2011) criticize his high level of abstraction, which often makes it hard to grasp exactly how such mechanisms of force and positionality are thought to operate. What they miss in Bourdieu's field theory, which is almost exclusively based on the analysis of objective relations, is a better incorporation of social interaction (concrete relationships), Gielen (2008) also objects to Bourdieu's structural focus on objective relations and positions, arguing that a position can be affected by an institution and its human structure, terms and conditions. While Bourdieu suggests that positions can only be seen in relation to other positions within the field, Gielen stresses that external factors related to politics and the economy may also influence it through hierarchical dominance, for example in the form of subsidies. He sees such external influence not only in economic terms; it also has symbolic manifestations, thus directly influencing the structure of the field. In other words, external factors not only can influence the position the artist takes in the field but also directly influence their art work. The internal field structure therefore is an insufficient explanation for specific positions and their actions. Both external influences and social

micro-mechanisms play a role, and consequently have an impact on field relations. (loosely translated from Gielen, 2008, pp. 101-102)

Equally problematic is Bourdieu´s conception of the field – and the positions within it – as a quasi-physical space, which means that it is oriented toward a particular centre in the form of the predominant political or economic structure in which field actors position themselves in relation to others in order to shape their own identity. As Gielen points out, this is especially difficult in the contemporary globalised world, where international actors and systems increasingly cross paths. Within the field of cultural production, a position found in a hierarchy within a national context, for example, may be different compared to a position in the hierarchy of another country. Because those different fields now cross regularly, we can assume another external influence. Social positions in their physical definition within the field exclude each other, however, so that it is impossible to hold two positions at the same time (2008, p. 104).

If we relate that to the research at hand, we can soon see the difficulty in applying such a rigid definition. Both the hybrid artist and the pluri-active artist, which are two categories of the established artist typology, occupy different positions at the same time. They engage in autonomous artistic practices as well as applied art practices. While the latter takes up different positions at different times (by clearly distinguishing between the two practices), the former even claims to be positioned at both simultaneously (by accepting blurring boundaries between the two). Bourdieu's understanding of field positions would then present a conflict for the artist occupying multiple positions, as different positions are in constant struggle for dominance within the field, also implying a struggle of the artist against himself. Gielen, in his research, comes to the conclusion that different social realities can exist simultaneously.

> The possibility of synchronous social realities also means that the dynamics within a field are not only determined by struggle (for a physical position). On the contrary, there are many immanent artistic and social practices that 'do' or act without claiming someone else's position. The contents of this practice also – and perhaps primarily – generates dynamics within an artistic field. (Gielen, 2008, p. 105)

In the end, the field of cultural production cannot be reduced to two opposing positions anymore but instead consists of a multitude of directions and mini-struggles that at most could only be understood to have a tendency toward one of the two poles (autonomous production or cultural industry).

Moreover, neither the individual artist nor the art work is considered in much detail within the field theory. Their role is subordinate to the doctrine of the collective within the field. While the humanities often concentrate on the art piece as a more or less unique product of an individual creative effort, sociologists like Bourdieu have treated art works as the product of collective work efforts and therefore the autonomous work of art as a social construction. In his well-known book *Art Worlds* (2008), Becker also stresses the collective nature of artistic production:

> All artistic work, like all human activity, involves the joint activity of a number, often a large number, of people. Through their cooperation, the art work we eventually see or hear comes to be and continues to be. The work always shows signs of that cooperation. The forms of cooperation may be ephemeral, but often become more or less routine, producing patterns of collective activity we can call an art world. (Howard Saul Becker, 2008, p. 1)

Like Bourdieu, Becker recognizes that a work of art can never be created in a situation that is fully isolated from the outside world. The collective, more concretely, includes gallery owners, critics, friends and maybe even the person who sells the colours and the canvas to the artist – in short, all those who have an impact on the work as a social object. It begins with the inspiration of the artist, who is influenced by his surroundings, the way he sees the world and the things he does (this is what Bourdieu calls the 'habitus').

Despite differences in their concepts, both Becker and Bourdieu view the field of cultural production as a social construct in which a multitude of actors are involved in the process of creation. While this sociological perception of the collective nature of the art world is helpful to analyse social behaviour, it does not offer space for the individual artist and his or her uniqueness. Yet, it is precisely the conception of the 'divine individual' that, for a large part, forms the values, perceptions and norms of the field of cultural production from within. The majority of artists actually engage in more or less routine activities and survival strategies (just like in any other field of sociological concern). However, this may be the biggest gap between the aesthetician's and the sociologist's approaches toward the arts. The humanities tend to focus on the successful artist, describing the ideal that the majority of artists strive for in vain, but at the same time, paradoxically, largely constituting the common perception of the world of the arts. Social sciences are more concerned with the generalizable structures and processes of society, therefore concentrating on the less successful majorities (Zolberg, 1990).

Paradoxically, artists are often also subject to general perceptions, thus positioning themselves in the footsteps of the divine individuals rather than regarding themselves as general workers engaged in routine work and comprehensible social processes. Zolberg describes the oxymoronic relationship between the romantic conception of the artist and its sociological counterpart by saying:

> Whereas the artist as sublimated quasi neurotic or as bearer and manipulator of talent is specifically defined as a unique, even extraordinary individual, the artist as worker is part of a social category or type of the (merely) ordinary – the routine. (Zolberg, 1990, p. 116)

Consequently, an analysis of change should be based on both perspectives: the humanist approach, to map the ideal that artists consider a role model, and the sociological approach, to position artists in the broader reality of their artistic practices. Bourdieu's field does not offer a model in which that is possible.

Therefore, it is helpful to consider Actor Network Theory (ANT) as a viable addition to our analytical tools, as it acknowledges all steps and influences in the process – human and non-human, the actor and the object.

Introducing Actor Network Theory

Bourdieu ascribed to reflexive sociology in an epistemological way, investigating all aspects of social life. In his work, as in most purely sociological approaches, the art piece only had the role of a starting point, or 'organizing focus' as Zolberg (1990) calls it, serving the analysis of broader social processes. The field consists of actors, but is limited to human beings and institutions. The art piece only exists in the communication about it. It is simply being placed in an established sociological concept. Bourdieu thus does not consider the notion that art works are also in "communication" with each other and with (other) actors.

> However, novels also relate to other novels, paintings relate to other paintings, dance performances relate to other dance performances…. And they do so according to their own artistic conventions. (Gielen, 2008, p. 103)

In sociological analysis, Gielen argues, the object falls behind due to sociology's clumsy attitude toward the artistic or aesthetic. According to Heinich (2003), a difference in value orientation explains this awkwardness. Gielen summarizes her standpoint:

> Since the 19th century, art has been associated with the individual, the personal, inner life, innate talent and 'natural' gifts (cf. supra), whereas sociology has based itself on foundations such as the collective, the social, the culturally defined and social conventions. (Gielen, 2008, p. 107)

According to the ideas of the Actor Network Theory (ANT) as explained by Gielen (2008, pp. 128–137), the object (in this case, above all the art object) should be included as an actor in the analysis of the social universe. This does not refer to a work of art's artistic meaning or financial value, but what they 'do' in the field of cultural production. Observed in a certain regime of values, art works turn out to be quite capable of generating social effects and exercising influence on subjects, just like human actors do. Therefore they are also actors that intervene in (social) life and are no less important or less 'social' than natural objects, machines and humans. They influence our emotions, evoke values and knowledge, influence taste, etc. (2008, p. 121). Extending Bourdieu's and Becker's dogma of the collective with the help of ANT is interesting, because it permits an interplay of the art object itself and the collective that produces it in the field (Gielen, 2008; Heinich, 2003).

As its name already suggests, ANT translates the Bourdieusian concept of the field into the 'network'. The starting point for understanding actor-network theory is rather simple. It is basically the acknowledgement that most (physical) things seem to be one thing, and if you start to look closer, you discover a whole lot of necessary other things underneath the surface. Say, you can see a pen as just being a pen. Or you can see the pen, and realize that it only works if you have all of its components, like a cartridge, ink, the metal tip, the plastic cover etc. Maybe a better example yet is the one used by Bruno Latour, one of the main proponents of ANT, in his 2010 keynote speech for the International Seminar on Network Theory (Latour, 2010). Here, Latour describes the working of a space shuttle that, one would think, can fly through space by virtue of its physical existence as a spaceship. However, in reality the shuttle can only fly if the NASA base on the ground does its job of controlling, navigating and whatever else properly. Latour explains that the network is precisely a means to describe this strange space in which the shuttle "is just as much *in* the sky as *inside* NASA" (2010, p. 2); in other words, an object that is seen in its position in the world as well as in the network of production and support.

What is interesting about actor-network theory is that it permits the object and its related field of production to exist simultaneously, instead of only focusing on one (as

in much of aesthetic theory) or the other (as in the case of Bourdieu's field theory). Latour, then, defines the network as:

> …the series of little jolts that allow the inquirer to register around any given substance the vast deployment of its *attributes*. Or, rather, what takes any *substance* that had seemed at first self contained (that's what the word means after all) and transforms it into what it needs to *subsist* through a complex ecology of tributaries, allies, accomplices, and helpers. (2010, p. 5)

It is crucial to understand the all-embracing nature of this theory, in contrast to the widespread practice of stripping things down to the barest level of abstract division. As conceptions of underlying reality, the 'social' or the 'field' exemplify this abstraction (see for example Crang & Thrift, 2002, p. 281; Johnson, 2010, p. 226; Latour, 2010, p. 9). So, the network is intended as a concept that enables a return to a less differentiated analysis of social (inter)action. To Latour, the heart of actor network theory is an unmatched ability to go back and forth between 'substance' and 'attributes'. Thus, the actor-network "is a purely conceptual term that means that whenever you wish to define an entity (an agent, an actant, an actor) you have to deploy its attributes, that is, its network…. It is in this complete *reversibility* – an actor is nothing but a network, except that a network is nothing but actors – that resides the main originality of this theory" (Latour, 2010, p. 5) .

In ANT, the network is always linked to – and in constant exchange with – the actor. The actor who acts on the basis of his network, similar to the habitus of Bourdieu, forms a part in the network at the same time. Thus, the actor is both the network and a point in the network. An actor-network, like the field, is a complete entity in itself[7] but at the same time part of a bigger actor-network. Simplified entities of actor-networks are also in constant interaction with other actor-networks, thereby broadening the size of their own network. Hence, ANT does not assume a society that can be differentiated in functionally separable sub-systems that exist in relative autonomy next to each other. Economics, politics, education, etc., can be regarded as closed entities with their own regime of values, norms and rules but which are also interwoven with each other and, if translated accordingly, can be transformed from one to the other. This means that a

[7] In ANT, knowledge and competences are also placed outside of the subject. These aspects therefore constitute a part of the actor-network of the actor, who is an association of many human and non-human nodes.

translated concept can be inserted into the logic of a new actor-network, whereby it also generates new connotations. This also explains why aestheticians and sociologists can have a completely different relation toward the art object and the artist within ANT. It allows for a heterogeneous conception of the same thing within one theoretical framework.

As far as the notion of the 'actor' is concerned, predictable actions leave no room for exceptions, like Bourdieu suggests. Yet, reality is full of them. Therefore the open definition of the actor that can be found in some of the literature about ANT is more suitable. Gielen explains this:

> The actor acts and, contrary to many other classic sociological ideas, can do so without intentions. Both explicit motivations and unconscious strategies (cf. Bourdieu) can play a part with the actor, but they are not the essence. The actor makes a difference in the motion, which can also be the non-motion. (Gielen, 2008, p. 134)

The fact that action is not necessarily intentional within ANT also means that non-human actors can act. A wall in an exhibition space can determine the size of a painting; a computer can render movies, just like an ancient pot in the ground can shut down an entire construction site. In short, non-human actors actively influence social life. The possibility for unintentional action within the network logic does not mean that there are no fields of power or power struggles, of course. The more links a network can create, the more difficult it becomes to ignore it. This means that the identity of the individual or object is largely determined by the amount and type of connections it has accumulated to other actors around it. The more heterogeneous those links are, the bigger its chance of survival.

> Strong networks constantly mobilize, cumulate and recombine the world. This means that they are fundamentally unstable. (Latour, 1988, p. 289 [sic] in Gielen, 2009, p. 132)

Unlike Bourdieu's interpretation of a constant struggle for power, this instability is positive, however, because that is how the network can define its own space and time. Every link that is added or cut off accordingly implies a redefinition of that space. This is a radical difference to Bourdieu's notion of the field. The network is not only composed of human and non-human actors but it is also, in contrast to the field a non-physical space. It is therefore simultaneously real and virtual, local and international – but never universal, as Latour stresses. The metaphor of the network suggests a fragile space that

consists largely of empty spaces, surrounded by connections and linkages. Distances are dependent on the 'presence of conduits, bridges, and hubs' responsible for 'activating' any work. Because of this practical 'traceability' of the network, which in theory can be imagined as universal, all universality becomes 'localizable', thus non-universal (Latour, 2010; 2012, p. 24). Furthermore, the structure of a network is determined by its linkages and not, like with Bourdieu, through underlying competition and struggle.(compare Gielen, 2008, p. 132). It is therefore also not a 'zero-sum game' but a cosmos of growth that constantly changes.

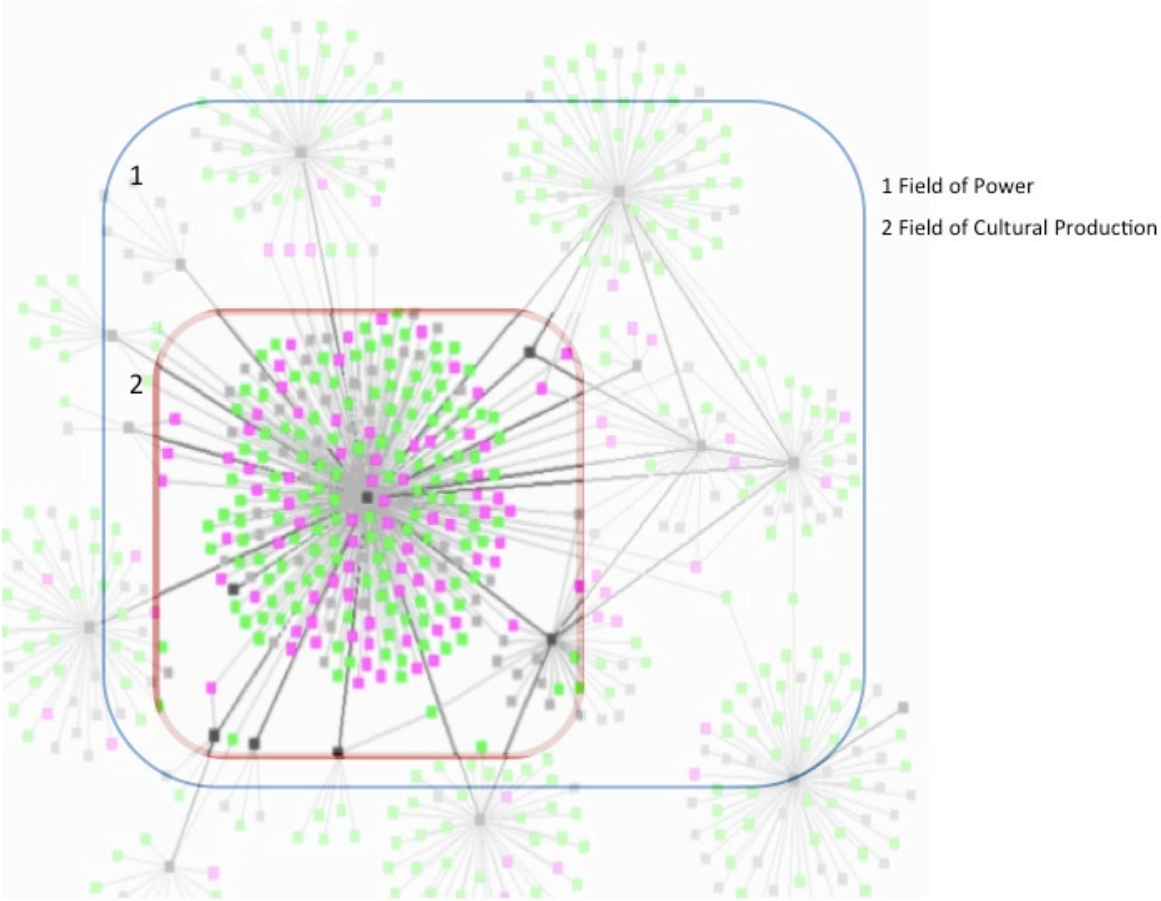
Connections are continuously transcending all levels of social interaction. Gielen describes this as a radical difference between ANT and Bourdieu's notion of the field because the form of the network is assigned through concrete connections and translations and not only through objective relations, as in the case of Bourdieu.

This is where I want to bring the two together. As mentioned earlier, Bourdieu is too rigid in his definition of the field as a social entity with clearly defined borders. Also, the action of individual actors is understood to follow simple rules: the struggle for dominance and the accumulation of capital while so doing. What Bourdieu does offer, however, is the notion of a field of social actors concerned with the production of cultural goods. ANT attaches the network notion to specific actors but allows the network to expand indefinitely. There is nothing wrong with an indefinite network, only it is difficult to make predictions about general tendencies if the network connections are to be followed thoroughly in all their infinity. So, I want to stick with Bourdieu's idea of a field that has to be understood in relation to other fields of social interaction. His analysis of the field of cultural production's relative autonomy from other fields, especially the economic one, offers a valuable tool for my analysis. The network, however, seems to describe the functioning within (and beyond) the field of cultural production more accurately. Furthermore, it takes a more neutral stand toward actions within the field, as compared to the rather judgemental power-struggle logic that Bourdieu observed.

Concluding, I suggest using Bourdieu's field concept as a framework in which to put the more flexible action and interaction concepts of ANT (Figure 3). This offers the possibility on the one hand to acknowledge that individual actors and objects exist and that they act and interact in a highly heterogeneous manner, and on the other hand to focus on a presupposed field as the centre of attention. Aspects from the outside can

then be taken into consideration where necessary, in order to explain developments within.

Figure 3: Network within field



2.3. Autonomy: A Romantic Myth but Social Reality

As has been mentioned earlier, the concept of autonomy within the field theory only relates to the autonomy of the field as such but does not apply to individuals (or objects, for that matter). For the research at hand, the perception and definition of autonomous artistic production by the individual artist him/herself is at the core. We are thus left with the question: What is an autonomous artistic product? When working with Bourdieu's field of cultural production, the concept of autonomy is problematic. The field itself is described as externally autonomous to a varying extent (and never fully), in other words as a field in relation to other fields. The autonomy of the individual artist remains especially difficult to capture within the field. According to Bourdieu, the actors in the field are not only artists, but also art critics, art dealers, art institutions and basically everybody involved in the process of production. The actual art piece is regarded to always be the joint effort of different actors. Artistic autonomy or

independence therefore does not exist in Bourdieu's view; or more precisely, it only exists as a collective belief and thus is a social fiction (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 35).

Sociologists like Bourdieu try to grasp the relations between different institutional linkages and chains of connection to find trends and structures within society. They believe that human behaviour in general must be understood as an interplay of social actors who are formed by and have internalized society, as opposed to an interaction of individual actors who stand in an antagonistic or at least external relation to society. In this interpretation, the artist becomes a social type or performer of a social role, filling the social position of the artist. Hence, Bourdieu holds that the artist might be involved in shaping his social position but like with most social actors, his autonomy is severely limited:

> As for the autonomy that is supposed to justify this renouncement, wouldn't that be the conditional freedom, limited to its own separate universe, that the bourgeoisie assigns to the artist? (Bourdieu, 1975, p. 69)

When talking about autonomy, Bourdieu's definition of the word differs from its usage by artists or aestheticians. While they see autonomy as the distinguishing factor between purely aesthetic works and works of crafts that have a certain function, thereby justifying the exceptional nature of art as opposed to ordinary crafts, Bourdieu does not believe in that autonomy. To him, "The 'pure' gaze is a historical *invention* linked to the emergence of an autonomous field of artistic production, that is, a field capable of imposing its own norms on both the production and the consumption of its products." Within that field, "The pure intention of the artist is that of a producer who *aims* to be autonomous, that is, entirely the master of his product, who tends to reject not only the 'programmes' imposed a priori by scholars and scribes, but also – following the old hierarchy of doing and saying – the interpretations superimposed a posteriori on his work" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 3, emphasis added). If Bourdieu thus dismisses autonomy as a historical invention, it might be time to look at how that invention came into being. After all, the concept of autonomy is the most crucial indicator for my further analysis because it is used to mark the difference between autonomous art and applied art. I will get back to this at a later stage. For now, let me turn to art history and its implications in shaping the importance of autonomy in the modern understanding of the arts.

Art History: Creating the Modern Artist

In order to depict the contemporary perception of who artists are and what they do, it is necessary to look at historical processes in the arts and society. Two major historical shifts arguably formed the basis for the perception of modern artists and introduced the focus on the individual – the autonomous – to the art world:

1. The partial liberation of the artist from the medieval guild system and the related stronger focus on the royal nobility as patrons of painters and sculptors as well as the later establishment of art academies in the 16th century.
2. The decline of the power of the academies and the emergence of the modern avant-garde at the end of the 19th century.

Before the regulating academies were established, artists were not artists in our perception of the word; they were craftsmen who were subordinated to guild structures and had to pursue virtuosity in their craft in order to gain prestige. Outside the guilds, the European courts were rallying artistic talent to demonstrate their glory and good taste. Competition for the rarefied position of court artist was fierce. In the 16th century, in order to escape the limiting guild structure and reduce competitive behaviour among artists, the first academy of the arts was founded, marking an institutionalized step toward basing courtly selection procedures on objective grounds. (see for example Raunig et al., 2011; Warnke, 1996; White & White, 1965)

After the academic structure took over the lead in artistic selection procedures, with its most glorious time being the late 18th and early 19th centuries, one can speak of artistic careers in terms of achievement and general recognition instead of individual luck and patronage.

> No longer an artisan or a low-caste hawker of wares, he [the artist] was instead a learned man, a teacher of the high principles of beauty and taste. (White & White, 1965, p. 6)

Artistic expertise became measurable on the basis of generalizable criteria. The young could copy and learn from older artists, thereby achieving a guaranteed level of quality. The older artists, if they were good enough, could research, theorize and broaden the

world and practices of the arts, thereby pursuing a respectable academic career that had greater prestige than mere craftsmanship. (Zolberg, 1990)

'Truly great' artists, however, were still not dependent on an academic career. Their unique characteristics were believed to transcend regulations and norms – even time itself. The perfection of their art and the whole of their personage could and should be recognized not only in their own time and amongst their peers but also by later generations. It was thus through the recognition of the existence of great Masters like Da Vinci or Michelangelo that the romantic vision of the uniqueness and exceptionality of an artist came to determine artistic success, over the course of roughly three centuries. While true visionaries transcend time, it is only logical that they can also be underestimated in their own time. Wuggenig (in Raunig et al., 2011) holds that "[a] view like this enabled not only unrecognised artists to maintain their motivation despite a lack of acknowledgement. At the same time it also opened up the possibility for speculations in taste in an economic sense and for the development of an ultimately highly speculative art market as we know it today."

This is also the founding argument of the romantic contemporary perception of art, or the 'Van Gogh paradigm', as Heinich (2003) calls it in her book *The Glory of Van Gogh.* Heinich defines this paradigm as having two dimensions. The first is transcendence in time: a successful career is determined by the bestowal of appreciation for one's person and work in the future, making poverty and under-appreciation during a lifetime an acceptable condition of the modern artist. Academic success, then, is no longer a benchmark for artistic success; instead, the renewal that is inherent in the avant-garde thinking of the late 19th century plays that role. The second dimension Heinich names concerns the role of the artist as a unique person. Creating – and personifying – the exceptional, unusual and new becomes a necessity for the contemporary artist, shifting the focus from the artwork to the person. Whereas these characteristics have always been ascribed to a select few, and most attempts to gain prestige through renewal have failed miserably, the big names that actually have succeeded in challenging the canon have created an image of the artist that has now become a paradigm – a role model that defines reality (Heinich, 2003, pp. 107-109). The Whites (1965) had already recognized this shift to the artist. They declared that the 'new system', in which the centre of attention has shifted to the artist, is supported by an intellectual and economic focus on the ideology of individualism.

In his book *De mythe van het kunstenaarschap*, Camiel van Winkel (2007) claims that the myth that surrounds the profession of 'artist' today is not solely based on a shift from a romantic to a modernistic perception of artists, as is commonly stated, but rather on a mix of a still-prevailing romantic signature, other features that can be interpreted as modern or avant-gardist, and still others that have their roots in the classic or Beaux-Arts model. Because these three components are to a great extent contradictory, the myth of the artist is a heterogeneous and instable model. Like Heinich, the author describes the influence of the romantic paradigm as centred on the person of the artist:

> That the artist is free, not bound by rules and conventions; that he cannot take anybody's counsel but his own on his artistic journey; that he has an artistic vocation that is impossible to ignore without seriously failing himself – these are important characteristics of the romantic conception of art which, in essence, still hold true today. According to this model, the artist and his work are indistinguishable. (Van Winkel, 2007, p. 19)

The eccentric positioning of the romantic artist changes with modernism. Avant-garde movements in Europe embody a critical distance that neglects social norms in a confronting manner. As Adorno (2004) also points out, the autonomy that modernism brought to the arts was above all seen in the fact that artists did not – or should not - have to engage in social or political action, thereby generating a critical stance based on their own rules. They are pioneers who gauge cultural changes and transformations before others and announce them in their work. According to Van Winkel, the artistic autonomy that characterizes the modern avant-garde can be seen as a banning from society – but one that is temporary because ahead of society and will be appreciated in the future[8]:

> With the constant redrawing of their personal boundaries, they break social taboos as a matter of course; in fact, there is no essential difference between these two 'projects'. From the romantic point of view, the fact that art is a separate, autonomous domain with its own rules is seen as an emancipation; from the perspective of the modernist avant-garde, however, it is an exile – an exiled that is admittedly necessary, but by definition temporary. (Van Winkel, 2007, p. 20)

The third component that the author distinguishes in the contemporary myth of the artist is a more recent development that can be traced back to the classic or Beaux-

[8] Although the aspect of time-transcending success can also be found in the romantic perception of artists, here, the successful artist was expected to sustain his fame also after death whereas the shift to modernism allowed for the possibility of and artist being misunderstood while still alive and only becoming successful after death.

Arts model and to the early art academies. This is a very controversial observation. It links to everything where personal inspiration is not at the core of artistic production but instead, observation and copying of the masters of the past. The focus lies on study, repetition and devotion, and the transferal of knowledge assumes a historic continuity. The controversy is that while formal artistic education is not regarded as a necessary asset in the contemporary art world, classic assiduity marks professionalism and expertise that enables the artist to handle any kind of assignment – a quality that is needed increasingly in the contemporary art world, as shall be discussed later on.

To summarize, the myth or paradigm surrounding artists' careers today is defined by characteristics of different and sometimes controversial historical shifts in the perception of art and artists. While some of the romantic characteristics still prevail in the contemporary perception, shifts can be observed from the art piece to the person, from the normal to the abnormal/the rare/the new, and last but not least, from the present to the future. And while formal education is not a precondition for an artistic career, the values ascribed to an academic education are still – and increasingly – important in terms of professionalism. All of these observations concentrate on the artist as a singular entity without further investigating his role and position within society. In this context, the term 'autonomy' therefore refers to *artistic autonomy.* With the avant-garde movement, concentration on the individual decreases and autonomy is defined within a wider social context. In order to now link artistic autonomy back to its social counterpart, I will very briefly turn to Theodor Adorno and his early critical theories about autonomy and the arts.

Theodor Adorno: The Commodification of Art

Autonomy in the arts is generally perceived as a state of being uncontrolled by rules and laws where no reference is made to social or political values (R. Towse, 2006). It operates in contrast to the economic form of culture that was so fiercely opposed by Adorno and Horkheimer in their *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1999), where they warned that the arts were in danger of being swallowed by capitalist industries. This becomes more clear in Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory* (see for example Geuss, 1998) where he describes art as necessarily without a function. He states that, "[insofar] as a social function may be predicated of works of art, it is the function of no function"(Horkheimer & Adorno, 2010). In other words, autonomous art describes an artistic practice that does not serve any other practice or purpose. He observed that with the freeing of the artist

from church and patronage toward the end of the 18th century, artists became free; but at the same time, art became commoditized by entering the capitalist market. To him, autonomy is in dialectical opposition to commodification. While it can be argued that they exist in reciprocal dependency because any artist must sell his work in order to earn money and thereby it becomes a commodity, Adorno insists on a strong opposition between the two. The Bohemian 'art for art's sake' movement is a continuation of this thought, which is above all directed toward the question of aesthetics, specifically starting from Kantian aesthetics. It postulates that art has a right to exist on its own and should be free from any didactic or moral justification. Therefore, "[this] late 19th and early 20th century cultural movement was associated with modernism, reacting to the ills of modern industrial society by withdrawing from social [and political] engagement" (Adorno et al., 2004).

The dichotomy in Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory* is between this Kantian aesthetic thinking and the acknowledgement of art as a commodity, based on Marx. He agrees with Marx that capitalism had an emancipatory factor: it emancipated artists from feudalism but at the same time it created new constrains. His key dialectical thesis is therefore that the indirect social function of autonomous art only manifests itself through being directly functionless, just as only commodification allows art to become autonomous. Or, as Hamilton puts it, "[he] regards art aesthetically (as autonomous) and sociologically (as a product) simultaneously" (ibid.). The relationship between the two must be seen as dynamic and reciprocal, and not hierarchical.

A second function that Adorno derives from the functionlessness of autonomous art is that of social critique. As indicated earlier, he holds that through becoming socially autonomous, art becomes socially critical. In his view, however, it is not so much a conscious act but rather an indirect result, if regarded in the context of the modern structured society that has been functionalized in all respects. Something that is useless in general terms intrinsically opposes the principal of universal functionality and thereby forms a social critique by merely existing. This is arguably the point at which the commodification of art becomes acceptable, or as Hamilton says:

> This is the most one can expect from art in the present age – the only glimmer of hope from Adorno, who is a thoroughgoing pessimist about art but not a Marxist cynic. (Hamilton in Ludovisi & Saavedra, 2009)

Adorno can be seen as the godfather of aesthetic theory, and many scholars still refer to him in the context of artistic production and commodification – he embodies the pessimistic stand in the cultural industries discourse today. Adorno, however, is criticized for his elitist position toward the arts. In his view only (socially) autonomous art can be considered real art, and every form of commercialization is, well, pure evil. While his extreme definition is helpful to understand autonomous and applied art in its purest form, its judgemental connotation seems a little out-dated. I therefore want to take a step back from Adorno's elitist throne and leave the judgment to others. For my observations, I only need to know that artists DO work in both 'corners' of cultural production. And as I have already described the autonomous corner with the help of art history, I see the necessity of going into more detail on the industrial one by turning to a non-judgemental introduction of the much discussed Cultural Industries and also back to Bourdieu and his notion of the field of cultural production, in which he addresses both sectors of production: the autonomous and the economic.

2.4. Reversed Economy: The Peculiarities of the Artistic Labour Market

The functioning of a social space such as the cultural or scientific field is described as a reversed economic world and is therefore subject to capitalist market logic; although reversed in nature, the functioning according to market logic remains intact in its inversion. Bourdieu aptly summarizes this in *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993)*:*

> Thus, at least in the most perfectly autonomous sector of the field of cultural production, where the only audience aimed at is other producers... the economy of practices is based, as in a generalized game of 'loser wins', on a systematic inversion of the fundamental principles of all ordinary economies: that of business (it excludes the pursuit of profit and does not guarantee any sort of correspondence between investment and monetary gains), that of power (it condemns honours and temporal greatness), and even that of institutionalized cultural authority (the absences of any academic training or consecration may be considered a virtue)…. The literary and artistic world is so ordered that those who enter it have an interest in disinterestedness. (Bourdieu in Calhoun, 2012, p. 363)

As Bourdieu says, this is only true for the most autonomous sector of the field, whereas the less autonomous side is subject to regular economic forces. Therefore the field of cultural production is in his opinion at all times subject to a struggle between two different principles of hierarchization: the heteronomous principle of economically and politically dominant actors, and the autonomous principle referred to above.

However, that is an insufficient explanation for social action within the field of cultural production because it does not offer room for the exception. Furthermore, it is impossible to place our hybrid artist in that dichotomous field because he positions himself at both sides simultaneously.

In order to gain a better understanding of the workings within the field of cultural production, I will now dive further into the economic and economic-sociological literature and deepen our understanding of the creative and cultural industries, the artistic labour market and the paradoxical workings within the field of cultural production.

Creative Industries and the Artistic Labour Market

Artistic labour markets are puzzling. Sometimes it seems that they work according to their very own rules, which makes research and analysis especially tricky. Economists as well as social scientists have tried to find common definitions and approaches but the issue remains difficult. Menger, in his article about *Artistic Labor Markets and Careers* (1999), has summarized the key problems:

> Artists as an occupational group are on average younger than the general work force, are better educated, tend to be more concentrated in a few metropolitan areas, show higher rates of self-employment, higher rates of unemployment and of several forms of constrained underemployment (non-voluntary part-time work, intermittent work, fewer hours of work), and are more often multiple job holders. They earn less than workers in their reference occupational category, that of professional, technical, and kindred workers, whose members have comparable human capital characteristics (education, training, and age) and have larger income inequalities and variability. (Menger, 1999, p. 545)

In the following, I will give a general introduction to the discourse and bring the most commonly discussed characteristics of the artistic labour market into perspective. After defining the relevant terminology, I will examine the field of cultural production from a broader economic point of view and then slowly focus in on the more arts-centred studies.

Creative Industries and Cultural Industries

In much of the economic and economic-sociological literature surrounding the field of cultural production, we stumble across the terms ‘creative industries’ and/or ‘cultural industries’. The difference is mostly unclear. The definitions of creative industries used

by governments also are often vague and lack a stable basis. The historiography of the terms 'cultural industries' and 'creative industries' have been sketched elsewhere (Anheier & Isar, 2008; Cunningham, 2002; Drucker, 1969; Galloway & Dunlop, 2007; Garnham, 2005; Hartley, 2005; D Hesmondhalgh, 2007, 2008; D Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005; Lloyd, 2010; Mawani; Throsby, 2001). Susan Galloway and Stewart Dunlop, in their article *A critique of definitions of the cultural and creative industries in public policy* (2007), give a particularly concise description of the different definitions of the cultural industries and an explanation of the shift to the notion of creative industries. They criticize existing notions of the cultural and creative industries for their vagueness and disagreement in definition:

> The terminology currently used in creative industries policy lacks rigour and is frequently inconsistent and confusing; there is little clarity about these terms and little appreciation or official explanation of the difference between the two. (2007, p. 17)

This is partially due to the fact that the discourse has been picked up by a variety of academic and non-academic fields. Among other places, the cultural or creative industries are discussed in management literature, policy reports or governmental research, cultural anthropology, sociology and political sciences – all with different angles and different purposes. The theoretical discourse within the field of cultural studies is mainly concerned with the meaning of 'culture', 'creativity' or 'industry', while the economic approach doesn't spend much time with meaning but rather tries to give a pragmatic definition that places the creative industries somewhere next to other industries in the market economy (see Throsby, 2008b, p. 217).

Throsby gives a helpful definition of the terms 'creativity' and 'culture' by indicating the different approaches. Firstly, he defines artistic creativity as determined by imagination and new ways to interpret the world through an artistic medium like sound, text or image. He then distinguishes 'artistic creativity' from 'scientific creativity'. The latter, in his view, is concerned with experiments and problem-solving in other academic and social fields. Secondly, he suggests that the question of 'what is culture' can be answered in a simplified way, "if it is accepted that culture can be interpreted either in an anthropological sense meaning shared values, customs, ways of life, etc. or in a functional sense meaning activities such as the practice of the arts"(Throsby, 2008b, pp. 218 – 219). The simplicity of his definitions narrows the discourse down to its most crucial points and makes it perfectly clear that these very basic descriptions are capable

of determining the direction of all further argumentation. In so doing, it doesn't matter which definition is applied, the anthropological one or the aesthetic one.

Using Throsby's creativity and culture definitions as a basis, the conceptualization of the 'creative industries' and 'cultural industries' becomes possible in the first place; and the other way around, a distinction between the different conceptual models can be made according to their underlying definitions.

Accordingly, two camps can be distinguished in the discussion on the creative and/or cultural industry. First, the 'everything is creative' camp, with a primarily economic line of argumentation, and second, the 'art is different' camp with a culturally protectionist standpoint. The difficulty in following the discourse(s) is that both camps use the same terminology, only they define it differently. This leads to a great deal of confusion and misunderstanding. In general, the concept of the creative industries is mostly introduced in an economic context, and although it is often interchangeably used with the term cultural industries, I want to define it precisely as a part of that discourse – being the recent global economic interest in the knowledge economy (Caves, 2000; Florida, 2004, 2006; Hartley, 2005; D Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Throsby, 2001, 2008b) in order to separate it clearly from the term cultural industries. Galloway and Dunlop point to the importance of the terminological distinction between 'cultural' and 'creative' industry within public policy by saying:

> Whereas originally the cultural industries – broadcasting, film, publishing, recorded music – were incorporated into cultural policy, in this new policy stance, culture has been subsumed within a creative industries agenda of economic policy, and in the process its distinctive aspects have obscured…. We argue… that reinstating the use of the term in this sense allows us to begin to recognise, or more correctly simply to re-assert the distinctive nature of the cultural industries. This is necessary to allow us to begin a meaningful discussion about how they are different from the wider creative industries. (2007, pp. 19;23-24)

The differentiation thus indicates the significance of distinction between the primarily economic side of creativity and its primarily symbolic side, as well as acknowledging the distinctiveness of artists' careers within the labour market of the creative industries.

Defining the Cultural Industries

Most economic sectors have one term, one 'product group'[9] that describes the whole branch. Think of the automotive industry or the food industry: the core theme of all enterprises within those industries is unambiguous. With the creative industries, this is a little more difficult. There is no single determining product or single determining production factor. The rather idealistic term of 'creative' has therefore been chosen as the common denominator for "those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent which have a potential for job and wealth creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (DCMS, 2001), as the most commonly used definition suggests. A problem that arises from this vague common denominator is that all industries could basically be regarded as creative.[10]

A crucial difference between the numerous existing conceptual models is the question of where the 'traditional arts' are placed in the discourse and thus how 'creativity' and 'culture' are seen. Especially the more economically-oriented scholars, such as for example Hesmondhalgh and Florida, often focus on the economic impact of the creative industries (Florida) or cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh) when using the term and thus are referring to industrial modes of cultural production. The more industrial forms of cultural goods and services form the core of their analysis, while the 'traditional arts' are marginalized[11]. They thus embrace both artistic and scientific creativity, to use Throsby's words. In contrast to this conceptualization of the creative or cultural industries are the models that place the 'traditional arts' at the centre of their analysis, like Throsby's 'concentric circle model' (Throsby, 2008a) or the models that are more focused on intellectual property (e.g. Howkins, 2002a). Although these models also work with an industrial organization principle, they acknowledge cultural value as something that cannot (always) be measured in economic terms and therefore manage to assign the arts a more appreciative place in their concept.

I prefer to define the creative and cultural industries by employing the

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[9] "… 'product group', i.e. goods or services with some common characteristics that make them complements or substitutes in consumption" (Throsby, 2008b, p. 218).

[10] Howkins criticizes the wide use of 'creative industries' in its different definitions as "jargon; [that] does not fit common sense" (Howkins, 2002b, p. 119).

[11] Hesmondhalgh defines them as 'peripheral cultural industries' because the reproduction of their 'output' (text/symbols) uses semi-industrial or non-industrial methods. Florida marginalizes the arts differently. He does not actually assign them a clear position in his model altogether, but instead melts them into the 'super creative core' along with scientists, engineers and researchers but also designers and architects. By doing so, his definition becomes too broad to actually be useful within a visual arts context like this one (D. Hesmondhalgh, 2007, p. 13).

conceptualization Throsby offers in his concentric circle model (2008b), because it positions the traditional arts at its core. He suggests that the definitions, based on the product group principle commonly used to categorize industries, lead to a broad group of creative industries, of which the cultural industries are identifiable as a sub-set. Throsby finds a set of common characteristics among cultural goods and services that together form the cultural industries:

1. Their production requires some sort of creative input.
2. They convey symbolic meaning to the consumer, so they are not purely concerned with a use value but also serve a cultural purpose.
3. They entail the possibility of becoming the intellectual property of the producing individual or group.

While the first characteristic is also a precondition for goods or services to fall under the creative industries, the second and third points are only necessary under the umbrella of the cultural industries. Thus the difference between the general cultural industries and the wider concept of the creative industries is that the latter entail a high level of creativity during the production process without necessarily fulfilling any other criteria that would justify labelling them as 'cultural' in the functional sense (e.g. advertisement and software).

Elaborating on his second point, Throsby extends the definition of cultural goods and services by investigating the type of value they represent or create:

> …it can be suggested that they yield cultural value in addition to whatever commercial value they may possess, and that this cultural value may not be fully measurable in monetary terms. In other words cultural goods and services are valued, both by those who make them and by those who consume them, for social and cultural reasons that are likely to complement or transcend a purely economic evaluation. These reasons might include spiritual concerns, aesthetic considerations, or the contribution of the goods and services to community understanding of cultural identity. (Throsby, 2008a, p. 219)

It is exactly this cultural value as opposed to 'use value' (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007, pp. 21–22) or 'economic value', that can help to distinguish cultural goods from any other type of commodity or service. It has to be noted that the primary value of a cultural commodity is not always clear-cut. A commodity can have a predominantly cultural 'ambition' and still be functional or have economic value. The same is possible the other

way around: a product can be produced primarily for its functionality (or use value) and still entail an artistically creative element. Both goods and services can be seen as a part of the wider creative industries and, if a certain acknowledgement of the above-discussed cultural value is at stake, also fall within the cultural industries. Therefore, it is useful to divide the cultural industries into two sub-sets: first, the primarily cultural and artistically oriented 'core creative arts'[12] (also referred to as traditional arts) and second, the slightly broader '(classical) cultural industries'[13]. The cultural value of the goods and services produced give the cultural industries their most prominent characteristic. Throsby describes this as follows:

> Different goods have different degrees of cultural content relative to their commercial value… the more pronounced the cultural content of a particular good or service, the stronger is the claim of the industry producing it to be counted as a cultural industry. (Throsby, 2008a, p. 149)

To conclude, much of the discussion and difference in discourse can be linked to the judgement of cultural value and creativity itself, because "a line between 'art' and 'commerce' is ideological and not analytical" as O'Connor correctly states (1999, p. 5) and as also can be derived from the in-depth interviews conducted during the hybridization research. Furthermore, especially within the realm of artistic practices, it is common that ideas are communicated, transferred, and exchanged, thereby influencing each other and often transcending the boundaries of categorizations.

> More concretely, the diffusion of ideas may arise through the fact that creative people who generate them actually work in different industries, providing direct input to the production of cultural content in industries further from the core [and vice versa]; for example, a visual artist may have a creative practice producing original artworks, but may also work in the design industry… (Throsby, 2008a, p. 150).

This multidimensionality of creative practices forms the scientific relevance for research on the hybridization of artistic practices. The assumption that (visual) artists perform activities in different areas of the cultural and creative industries, and that those diverse practices have an influence on each other, is at the heart of my research. Of course, the

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[12] "… creative arts as traditionally defined: music, dance, theatre, literature, the visual arts, the crafts, and newer forms of practice such as video art, performance art, computer and multimedia art and so on. (Throsby, 2001, p. 112)

[13] "…'classical' cultural industries – broadcast media, film, publishing, recorded music, design, architecture, new media." (O'Connor, 1999, p. 5)

diversity of practices among artists is not restricted to artistically related projects and jobs but can also be in entirely unrelated industry sectors. The creative industries are, however, said to be the largest growing sector of the economy and therefore can also be assumed to have considerable influence on the principles and values that form the basis for economics and politics in general. Flexibility, creativity and social skills have become valued assets in the management layer of pretty much all industries. 'Networking', not only as a theoretical model like in the above-described case of ANT , has become the new 'it-word'. Industries are working on a project basis and white-collar jobs have become more diverse. Furthermore, an increased interest in 'soft-skills' can be witnessed (Seltzer & Bentley, 1999). Especially at the more innovative top companies, like Google, an Olympic gold medal or yoga teacher certificate has become an almost equally important USP (unique selling proposition) as an outstanding academic track record or work experience (from a presentation by a Google HR recruiter in 2011, see also Google.com). This development is often assumed to be favourable for artists (e.g. Ellmeier, 2003; Tepper, 2002).

The New Spirit of Capitalism

Before going into the details of the labour market within the field of cultural production, a closer look should be taken at capitalist market logic in general, which already has been referenced as a counter-pole to the art world in numerous ways. It is surely not necessary to review general market rules. However, in conceptualizing the specific beliefs, forms and functions of contemporary capitalist market logic, it is valuable to examine the sociological theory elaborated in the book *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005). Instead of looking at capitalism as a single (economic) system, the authors develop a theory on the basis of discourse analysis that is intended to explain value shifts within the capitalistic system, more ideologically speaking than purely economically. Boltanski and Chiapello explain the functioning of capitalism based on its underlying value system and come to the conclusion that large parts of today's market work according to the principles of what they call the 'projective city'. Similarly to Actor Network Theory, the projective city is based on the concept of networking. Although their theory stays more general and does not cover the same 'issues' (for example the role of objects in the network) it does show quite an overlap with the 'networked' field of cultural production, highlighting the economic shift toward creativity, social capital and soft-skills in the wider market. Von Osten (drawing on Pühl,

2003) calls the reciprocal influence between the economy and the cultural sector "a transformative shift toward a culturalization of the economy and a corresponding economization of culture" (von Osten in Raunig et al., 2011, p. 133). Although they were later criticized for their lack of empirical evidence (e.g. Lazzarato in Raunig et al., 2011), Boltanski and Chiapello even base their argument in part on the observation that neo-liberal economics draws its inspiration from conditions of professional artistic practices.

> 'The informal network is the preferred organizational mode of writers, scientific researchers and musicians, who develop in domains where knowledge is highly specialized, creative and personalized' (Aubrey, 1990). The *intuitive manager [one of the role-models in the projective city], l*ike the artist, 'is accompanied by disorder' (Le Saget, 1992), is 'in a permanent state of alert and doubt' (Vincent, 1990) and at ease in *fluid* situations' (Archier, *et al.,* 1989). (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005, p. 116)

The projective city can be described in brief by the interrelatedness of three different concepts: the network, the project and activity. To start at the beginning, the term 'network' was originally used to describe the connection between highly disparate elements. Boltanski and Chiapello explain that it mainly referred to distribution networks (technical or otherwise) and was later above all associated with computer networks that opened up possibilities for collaboration across time and space. In the social sciences, it typically stands for "concepts with which to identify structures that are minimally hierarchical (if at all so), flexible, and not restricted by boundaries marked out a priori" (2005, p. 104), as can also be seen in the case of ANT.

Nowadays, a network describes a social life which consists of a multitude of encounters that are temporary in nature but can be reactivated anytime. Groups of people often connect across different professions, locations and cultures. Enabled by new technologies, enhanced transportation systems, globalization and its related processes, the network has irrevocably changed the way we live and work. The economic reason for these network connections is the *project.* Boltanski and Chiapello define the term:

> The project is precisely a mass of active connections apt to create forms – that is to say, bring objects and subjects into existence – by stabilizing certain connections and making them irreversible. It is thus a temporary *pocket of accumulation* which, creating value, provides a base for the requirement of extending the network by furthering connections…. Anything can attain the status of a *project*, including ventures hostile to capitalism. Describing every accomplishment with a nominal grammar that is the grammar of the project erases the difference between a capitalist project and a humdrum creation (a Sunday club). (2005, pp. 105, 111)

To translate this into Bourdieu's words, the project can be seen as the occasion through which actors accumulate social capital on the work floor. In the projective city, the individual is not employed for his labour productivity but for the profitability of his capital; a capital that is intrinsically tied to him. Furthermore, the network does not only consist of business relationships; there is an increased blurring of boundaries between professional and private life. Friends can help in getting a new job, or business opportunities can arise while chatting to strangers in a bar. Activity thus "surmounts the oppositions between work and non-work, the stable and the unstable, wage-earning class and non-wage-earning class, paid work and voluntary work, that which may be assessed in terms of productivity and that which, not being measurable, eludes calculable assessment" (2005, p. 109). Activity is the most valuable characteristic in the 'projective city'. Through activity – that is, through making active encounters – the network is continuously expanded and transformed. Thus, activity aims to generate projects and manifests itself in heterogeneous connections of all kinds and different projects that take place concurrently. Life, then, consists of successive projects, and their value increases the more diverse they are. This is because a heterogeneous network creates more options and thus choice. Choice, or 'engagement', as Boltanski and Chiappello call it, is then the incitement to execute a project, because it is always voluntary. Yet, as Lazzarato points out in his article *The Misfortunes of the 'Artistic Critique' and of Cultural Employment* (in Raunig et al., 2011, pp. 41–56), the heterogeneity of the project-based economy also creates a new set of inequalities. Inequality no longer only exists between social classes but also can be found within the same profession or company, which is often "highly differentiated internally by status, salaries, social cover, workload, and job. You can work in the same profession, enjoy wealth and job security or be poor and in highly precarious employment" (2011, p. 44). Here, the resemblance with the artistic labour market gets imminent. In art jargon, this choice could be called autonomy, and it is similarly enhanced through the heterogeneity of the network, activities and projects that an artist engages in. Also, with the same skill-set and professional practice, some artists are successful and rich, while others struggle. So, while the 'New Spirit of Capitalism' describes an overall trend in work practices and management styles, looking deeper into the peculiarities of the artistic labour market will show that the artist really is the prototype 'citizen' of the projective city.

The Artistic Labour Market: Problems of the Cultural Industries

While the arts have to be regarded separately from the wider economic sector of the cultural industries that they have been subordinated to in much of the cultural policies that surround them, a general understanding of the determining features of the wider cultural industries market is a helpful framework for understanding the position of the arts within it. In his book *The Cultural Industries*[14] (2007), Hesmondhalgh provides an especially concise overview of the features that are distinctive to industries 'that make texts', as he calls it[15]. He identifies four problems that the cultural industries are faced with by their very nature.

The first problem is that the cultural industries constitute a risky business because they rely on the production of text to be bought and sold. Risk in this context refers to the possibility of commercial loss. In line with Bourdieu (1984), he argues that audiences are capricious in their choice of cultural commodities, often motivated by the desire to distinguish themselves from other people. That means that highly successful cultural products can suddenly become outmoded and other products can unexpectedly become 'trendy'.

Another problem of the cultural industries is the mystification of art, which leads to strong tensions between creativity and commerce. The romantic view that art is autonomous is the product of a historical understanding of the nature of artistic creativity that has been discussed in more detail above. Here, it is enough to repeat that the general romantic perception of art in western societies is that it is incompatible with the pursuit of economic goals because it is regarded as most special when it represents the individual self-expression of the artist. It is through the artist's autonomous identity and inspiration that a creative product gains value, and therefore it is regarded as less valuable when it is produced for the sake of commerce.

The third problem Hesmondhalgh identifies is that of high production costs and low reproduction costs. Like Benjamin does in his famous essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Production* from 1936 (2005), Hesmondhalgh refers to the great

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[14] Hesmondhalgh is an example of a theorist who uses the term 'cultural industries' to summarize everything that is creative within one concept.

[15] Hesmondhalgh uses the term text "in a specialist way in cultural analysis to denote objects, artefacts and events that are meaningful. Some analysts think if any object, artefact or event in the world as potentially being open to analysis and, therefore, as texts. [He uses the term] in a narrower but nevertheless broad sense, as a collective name for all 'works' produced by cultural industries, such as television programmes, films, recordings, books and so on" (see Karttunen, 1998).

expense and effort that have to go into making the original product, whereas in many cases it is relatively cheap to produce all subsequent copies. This problem is most recognizable in the music industry or photography and design, whereas it is less applicable to the visual arts.

The last problem Hesmondhalgh mentions is the semi-public nature of cultural goods. By this he refers to "what economists call 'public goods' – goods where the act of consumption by one individual does not reduce the possibility of consumption by others" (D Hesmondhalgh, 2007, p. 21). In other words, a cultural product 'stays good' for a long time. If somebody looks at a painting or listens to a CD, it can still be looked at or listened to in the same way later on.

These four problems briefly describe the very general market for artistic products and why it is especially challenging. As has been said earlier, artists only constitute a small – maybe even marginal – fragment of the creative industries. In order to understand the functioning of the artistic labour market, it is therefore necessary to move away from the creative and cultural industries as a sector of the economy and turn to artists and cultural workers as individuals.

Multiple Job-Holding: Occupational Risk Diversification

Basically, all of the above-mentioned scholars who write about and do research on the artistic labour market recognize the phenomenon of multiple job holding. "Part-time, temporary and fixed-term contracts, second job holding and self-employment are much more frequent than in the general workforce" (Benhamou, 2003, p. 70). These flexible working patterns occur because the activities artists engage in are often projects that are limited in time. To minimize the risk of unemployment, they engage in multiple activities at the same time and switch from one project to another. The benefit derived from holding multiple jobs is the enlarged definition of choice. Instead of being trapped in irreversible career choices, several related jobs may create a circular movement between different activities. Changes in the composition of activities can take place at any time. Menger compares the holding of multiple jobs by artists to operators of small businesses that build sub-contractual relations with companies and organizations through the projects they engage in. Menger explains, referring to Alper (1996):

> The careers of self-employed artists display most of the attributes of the entrepreneurial career form: the capacity to create valued output through the productivity of works for sale, the motivation for deep commitment and high productivity associated with their occupational independence, control over their own work, a strong sense of personal achievement through the production of tangible outputs, the ability to set their own pace, but also a high degree of risk-taking, as shown by the highly skewed distribution and high variability of earnings, as well as the low amount of time allocated on average to their primary creative activity. (Menger, 1999, p. 552)

Others have labelled this type of artist a 'cultural-preneur' (e.g. Lange; Raunig et al., 2011; Reither, 2012) – somebody that "seems to embody that successful combination of an unlimited diversity of ideas, creativity-on-call and smart self-marketing that today is demanded of everyone" (2011, p. 137).

While some scholars argue that the constant struggle in the art world to earn money through project work is done at the expense of autonomous artistic activities (see Gielen et al., 2012), Menger holds that an artist's success is interrelated with strategic choices that can be made within a wide range of contractual arrangements that do not necessarily result in constraining employment situations. Pursuing the career one really wants would thus be a question of making the right choices and drawing the line at the right spot. The artistic labour market is in some ways a competitive field just like any other labour market. Therefore it requires setting up a portfolio, making an inventory of probable and possible jobs, getting information about the age, history and ability of the current holders of the most desirable jobs and preparing for opportunities that might appear only once.

Furthermore, a number of strategies can be used to minimize risk within one's career. First of all, artists can be supported privately by a working spouse, family, friends or patrons. Secondly, public sources like subsidies, grants, commissions from the state, sponsorships from foundations or companies as well as income from unemployment insurance can help artists to sustain themselves while concentrating on their artistic activities. And finally, as has been suggested, multiple job-holding itself can constitute a way to minimize the risk of impoverishment. It is through the diversification of one's own human capital and labour that the risk of unemployment can be diminished. Lazzarato (in Raunig et al., 2011) explains that the differentiation between wage-earner and entrepreneur has become increasingly irrelevant, leading to the emergence of a social type that has been largely neglected by statisticians and sociologists. What he calls an 'employer/employee' is later described with the term 'hybrid', referring to similar characteristics that also define the hybrid artist:

> This hybrid figure has been established and managed by intermittent workers to adapt to the new demands of cultural production and at the same time bring their own personal projects to a successful conclusion. The employers/employee elude the traditional codifications of the labor market. They are neither wage-earners, nor entrepreneurs, nor freelancers. They combine their different functions without necessarily being confined to any single one of these categories. (in Raunig et al., 2011, p. 53)

In his studies on artists' income, Throsby (2001, 2007, 2008a, 2008b) established that income sources can be divided not only into arts and non-arts activities. In order to get a more comprehensive picture of the labour market, he suggests considering a three-way division of the activities in which artists can engage. First, the autonomous artistic activity itself and the time needed to prepare for it, including the time freed for inspiration or searching for materials. Second, art-related work; that is, everything that is not directly related to the production of art works but takes place within the world of the arts. Very often this means teaching at an art school or giving courses, but it also includes projects for the design world or activities in art institutions, like curating exhibitions. These activities still make use of the skills and qualifications inherent to the professional artist. Finally, the third field of activity is with non-art work, which could basically be anything else. The most widely used example might be the artist who works as a barkeeper.

The range of various employments may be diverse and motivated by different reasons. By working in different sectors, artists may earn a larger income, and in a fragmented field, career continuity is easier to achieve. The question remains, why is the artistic labour market actually characterised by casual short-term contracts that lead to multiple job holding, even when those jobs are regarded as being unrelated to the artist's potential free choice in favour of project-based work? The easiest answer to that question can be found in the nature of artistic products. Project-based employment structures and the related flexibility are at the core of artistic work because of the high rate of change that can be observed in artistic production and activity. Art works are conceived as unique, which makes originality incredibly important. Furthermore, artists and art works are bad substitutes for each other, which makes every artist a monopolist of his or her own product, resulting in an 'infinite-variety' of products (and producers), as Caves (2000, p. 130) puts it.

Labour in the artistic market is extremely heterogeneous. Whereas in other segments of the market, the heterogeneity of the labour force and the resulting high cost of searching for workers would be compensated by long-term commitment, this is not the case in the artistic labour market, where firms do not expect to be in business with any one artist indefinitely, as Benhamou explicates (2003, p. 72). This is due to the peculiarities of 'taste' within the market for artistic products, as has been laid out earlier. Taste is subject to unpredictable shifts. The resulting "[uncertainty] must be considered as the true condition of the breakthrough innovation that opens up to its author a new (temporary) monopoly, and, simultaneously, uncertainty is also the threat contained in the destructive aspect of every true innovation" (Menger, 1999, p. 548).

It is impossible to know in advance if an art piece is going to be valued or dismissed. Therefore the artistic labour market is sometimes compared to the working of a lottery. In accordance with the 'winner-take-all' principle (Rengers, 2002, pp. 8–12), the artistic labour market is defined by great income inequalities. 'Winners' or 'stars' earn a lot, and high rewards attract risk-seeking individuals. A small number of artists will benefit. Here, the scarcity of talent justifies the super incomes of a select few. But nobody can know in advance if his or her talent and skill will be enough to actually get there. Benhamou explains the paradox of the nonetheless steadily growing number of entries into the labour market: artists mostly enter artistic professions when they are rather young and can cope with high degrees of uncertainty, but due to their youth they are also more likely to overestimate themselves in hoping for success. Experience, then, is the only way to test the possibility of achieving that goal. Consequently, the creation of a portfolio and a good reputation is most relevant to success, but it also relativizes risk.

Reputation and Stardom

A consequence of flexibility and uncertainty is the need for a strong reputation for future reference and employability (see for example N.O. Alper & Wassall, 2006; Menger, 1999; Rengers, 2002). Unlike in other sectors of the economy, reputation in the artistic labour market is normally neither achieved through vocational training and the possession of diplomas and certificates nor built up through a long history in any one company; but instead, the more numerous the jobs and experiences, the better. Networks help to build up and sustain a useful reputation. If well cultivated, they built the stable relationships that help to lower the risk of unemployment because they can facilitate employment and convey reliable information about skills and talents more effectively than standard

application processes. In order to get better jobs, artists need both skills and access to more challenging and prestigious jobs that bring them more experience and an even better reputation (Menger, 1999, p. 555). Therefore, their community or network is more important than any particular organization they work for[16]. On the downside, cultivating a network is time-consuming, and may take precious time away from the primary autonomous production. On the up side, reputation is a factor of exceptional durability in the fine arts. A painting that has once been praised may lead to fame well beyond the actual working life of its creator and thus convey an 'artistic and economic rent' as Menger (1999, p. 552) puts it. However, this is only applicable to the top level of success, whereas in the mass market and in the case of limited prestige, shifts in market demand and taste again shorten the longevity of reputation.

The main issue related to the rationale of reputation in artistic labour markets is that it explains why general market rules do not apply. Normally, it could be said that price and supply work as an equilibrating force within a market. In the arts world, however, a low income due to low demand cannot be influenced by simply increasing production or lowering the price of a work of art, because a lower price would immediately be interpreted as a sign of lower quality and therefore produce negative results. Conversely, producing more work would not increase demand either, because an oversupply of art pieces can come into effect at any quantity as it is subject to the rationale of reputation and not that of price or skill.

Together with the unpredictability of taste (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Woodward & Emmison, 2001), the rationale of reputation becomes the biggest challenge for artists who try to position themselves in the arts world. It is the reason why so many autonomous artists, despite great commitment and effort, struggle along with low incomes and are often forced to take up other employment to make a living. This leads to the question of why a steadily increasing number of people try to embark upon an artistic career nonetheless.

[16] The importance of peers in the fine arts (in the Bordieusian sense) might even go so far as for the individual to refrain fully from the desire for public fame, following the ideology inherited from the 'art for art's sake' era (which will be referred to in more detail later on) and to rely only on recognition from the artistic community.

Rationale of Occupational Choice

Despite the high risk and uncertainty involved in pursuing an artistic career, the low use of an education in the field and the high degree of income inequality, creative individuals still find a career in the arts highly attractive. This has been explained above by false hopes of success, but the positive sides of flexibility and autonomy are also among the desirable characteristics of an artistic profession. More importantly, the rewards for being an artist are not only based on monetary returns but also, and above all, on what Menger calls 'psychic income' (1999, p. 555). In other words, the 'artistic calling' can mean such a loving commitment that artists want to carry out their autonomous activities enough to be willing to make a living in other occupations, like teaching or doing project work. The satisfaction derived from working as an artist is then an individual choice unrelated to income. In economic terms, this job satisfaction can be measured in multiple dimensions "that include the variety of the 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" (ibid.).

In a study about the work preferences of artists in 1994, Throsby tested the relation between a minimum survival income derived from a job other than the primary autonomous artistic activity and a preference for autonomous work. He concludes that "an increase in the non-arts wage will induce a greater time allocation to the arts, since the minimum goods requirement can now be satisfied with a smaller volume of non-arts work" (Throsby, 2007, p. 72). In other words, a determined artist will rather spend more time on his autonomous artistic work and accept a low income than to work more hours outside his artistic field. Throsby's finding has also been affirmed by other studies (e.g. Markusen, 2006). This supports the strength of the job satisfaction argument. Yet, it must be noted that age can influence this preference. As artists get older, they are more sensitive to job insecurity and the struggle to remain visible on the market. Menger points out that this is in line with a rational behaviour model: when pursuing a high-risk occupation, the rational structure is to choose the job with the highest risk first and then later switch to less risky alternatives, if the first choice did not work out (Menger, 1999, p. 560).

The Case of Education in the Artistic Labour Market

As has been mentioned earlier, education only plays a subordinate role in the pursuit of an artistic career. While vocational training may still be valuable for several reasons, the possession of degrees, diplomas or certificates is not necessary for success in the world of the arts. Yet, a number of direct advantages of an artistic education can be recognized. First and foremost, following an art school programme helps young aspiring artists to fine-tune their own artistic identity from within the protected educational sphere before entering the labour market. As indicated above, artistic skills and talent can only be identified through experience – or, one could say, through a trial-and-error approach. An art school programme helps to get a first indication of one's talent in order to anticipate to some extent one's chances to 'survive' in the future. Furthermore, art education programmes challenge young artists to acquire new skills and a wider set of knowledge that goes beyond pure artistic virtuosity. Also, a network of peers and mentors, which is so crucial to a career in the arts, can be established much easier within the walls of the art school. Finally, an interesting observation has been made by a number of scholars (see for example Menger, 1999; Throsby, 2001) that education might have a subordinate role in the primary artistic practice but that the relation between art income and art training can be strong for art-related activities, such as teaching, where the possession of a diploma often is obligatory.

The question of education can be regarded not only from the point of view of the artist, but also from the market side. Critics often voice concern about the large number of artists that graduate each year from arts school programmes and that cannot find employment in their field. It is said that art schools offer too many programmes in relation to future prospects for employment. That is partially due to the large amount of public funding for the training of artists, as Towse (2006) points out. Since public funding decreases the costs for training artists, the number of artists will increase, which leads to an oversupply of labour and falling wages. The oversupply of artists is a problem that has also found much voice on the policy level, resulting in cutbacks in governmental expenditure (see for example Galloway & Dunlop, 2007; OCW, 2011; Plasterk, 2009). Only focusing on education is too easy an explanation, however. Multiple factors are related to the problem of oversupply of artists.

Oversupply of Artists

Benhamou (2003) argues, drawing on Throsby, that the issue of reputation is the source of a paradoxical relationship between the growing number of art school graduates and the relatively weak importance of a diploma for careers because experience and reputation are much more valuable. He concludes that this is the reason for the oversupply of artists. Focusing on art school graduates does indeed give a reason for oversupply. However, Menger is more concise than Benhamou in his reasoning. He states that increasing federal and local governmental subsidies in Europe during the 70s and 80s as well as general changes in organizational structures, the rapid expansion of creative industries relying on the skills of artists and technological advancement are also explanations for the increase in employment, which in turn has made entering the art world much more attractive. In addition, the dogma of autonomy and originality of the Bohemian 'art for art's sake' movement evolved since the Impressionist revolution in Paris during the late 19th and early 20th centuries and ended up helping to queue the arts into free market logic. Innovations in artistic products, new techniques, aesthetic shifts and market transformations led to a 'deskilling' by lowering the requirements in such a way that entrance became easier and artistic productivity increased. Supply could not be regulated anymore, and as a result, existing artists were often caught in disintegrating markets while new job-seekers kept entering them.

Despite the dramatic sound of the oversupply argument, Menger suggests that it has to be questioned when applied at the general level. The oversupply argument refers to disequilibrium only in the primary artistic market. When multiple job holding and risk minimization strategies are also taken into account, the notion of oversupply may be hard to test. When reputation and talent are added to the equation, an oversupply stems from the sorting mechanism of the competitive labour market. There, Menger refers to Towse (1996) saying that: "The resulting segmentation of the artistic work force means that at each point in time there seems to be shortages of talented workers and an excess supply of less talented ones" (Menger, 1999, p. 569).

In the end, what seems to be the most dominant characteristic of the artistic labour market is uncertainty. Uncertainty has a paradoxical role in the arts: on the one hand it is the reason why art is such a 'risky business'; on the other, uncertainty is also the reason for public support of the arts, because it lies at the beginning of every new artistic creation. Potentially revolutionizing success and impact need time to be

correctly assessed. Therefore, uncertainty disappears over time and turns into an extremely high degree of income inequality and the 'superstar' culture in the long term. From the standpoint of pro-cultural development, it can be concluded that it is in the interest of society at large to keep an oversupply of artists so that the best possible choice of talented artists can be made in the long run, feeding culture with the 'beautiful, funny or provocative art that enriches society, provokes dialogue, bridges boundaries and differences or simply decorates our living room walls'…

Conclusion & Hypothesis

A lot has been said in the last chapters about the field of cultural production, about the art world, about artists and art works and their social role. About what makes the arts different from other fields of social interaction and the rest of the economy and how to put it in different perspectives. To conclude my theoretical work, I therefore want to go back to the initial questions.

Following the hybridization research (Gielen et al., 2012) I want to investigate what constitutes a 'hybrid' artist in the creative industries era. The difference between a hybrid artist and an artist working autonomously as well as applied (pluri-active artist) can essentially be summarized through his/her reflection on autonomy in the artistic production process. Consequently, in order to define the hybrid artist, autonomy in artistic production processes first has to be defined in order to be able to compare the general definition to the current perceptions of the sample group of active artists later on. I am particularly interested in the differences of perception between (self-proclaimed) hybrid artists and those who state that they work both autonomously and in an applied manner but make a clear distinction between the two. How does that work in practice and what is the difference between the two? Can differences also be observed between different generations of artists, or between Dutch and Flemish artists? After I know what the differences are between different types of artists in their perception of autonomy, it will also become possible to zoom out again and relate back to the field of cultural production in general.

So why Bourdieu? I am interested in social processes of change. In this case, I am particularly interested in change that has taken place within the field of cultural production, because this field has witnessed major changes in recent years. For example, governments have cut their expenditures in the arts because other things are now deemed more important, while at the same time, the creative sector appears to be

booming. Art schools have changed their curricula to meet the more market-oriented needs of young artists, while symposiums about cultural entrepreneurship seem to be multiplying by the second. These are all external factors that can be assumed to have an impact on the artistic labour market. With that in the back of mind, I wanted to switch the perspective from the outside to the inside: to the everyday practices and opinions of visual artists themselves. Since I am also interested in the bigger picture, I had to find a framework in which I could place these artists, group them, and make statements about changes and developments. I chose Bourdieu's field theory for that. To me, the field of cultural production above all is a defined space of social interaction that stands in a certain relation toward the rest of social life – most notably, the political and the economic aspects. So it seemed like a most suitable lens to look through when analysing artistic practices, as I will do in the following chapters of this research.

When looking through Bourdieu's lens, some things just cannot be brought into focus. Above all, the definition of the hybrid artist seemed almost impossible to place in his rather rigid conceptual framework. Rather than criticizing Bourdieu, I looked for solutions, explanations, qualifications and extensions of his theory. In other words, the screening of the data indicated the need for an adjusted conception of Bourdieu's theories, if they were still to be useful. In a Grounded Theory fashion (Glaser & Strauss, 2009), the data thus dictated the search for a suitable extension to Bourdieu's field concept. Luckily, I did not have to reinvent the wheel and could lean on the well-put argumentation of Gielen (2008) (among others) to introduce Actor Network Theory – as a filter to my lens, so to speak. The more flexible Actor Network Theory offers the possibility to investigate different positions and different definitions within one framework and even simultaneously. It offers the opportunity to internalize everything within the notion of the network – every influence, every object – and thus allows one to investigate reasons and motivations for action on a much more flexible basis.

Probably the most vital concept for my analysis is the concept of autonomy. To Bourdieu, autonomy is linked to the autonomy of the field in relation to other fields. In the field of cultural production, this specifically refers to the level of dominance by the field of power. If the cultural field is very autonomous, it can function according to its own logic and norms that are reversed in relation to the logic of the capitalist market. The field of power largely dominates our social life, so the ability to act autonomously from it can be regarded as *social autonomy.* Following Marxian tradition, Bourdieu links the degree of autonomy to the amount of capital that has been accumulated (this can be

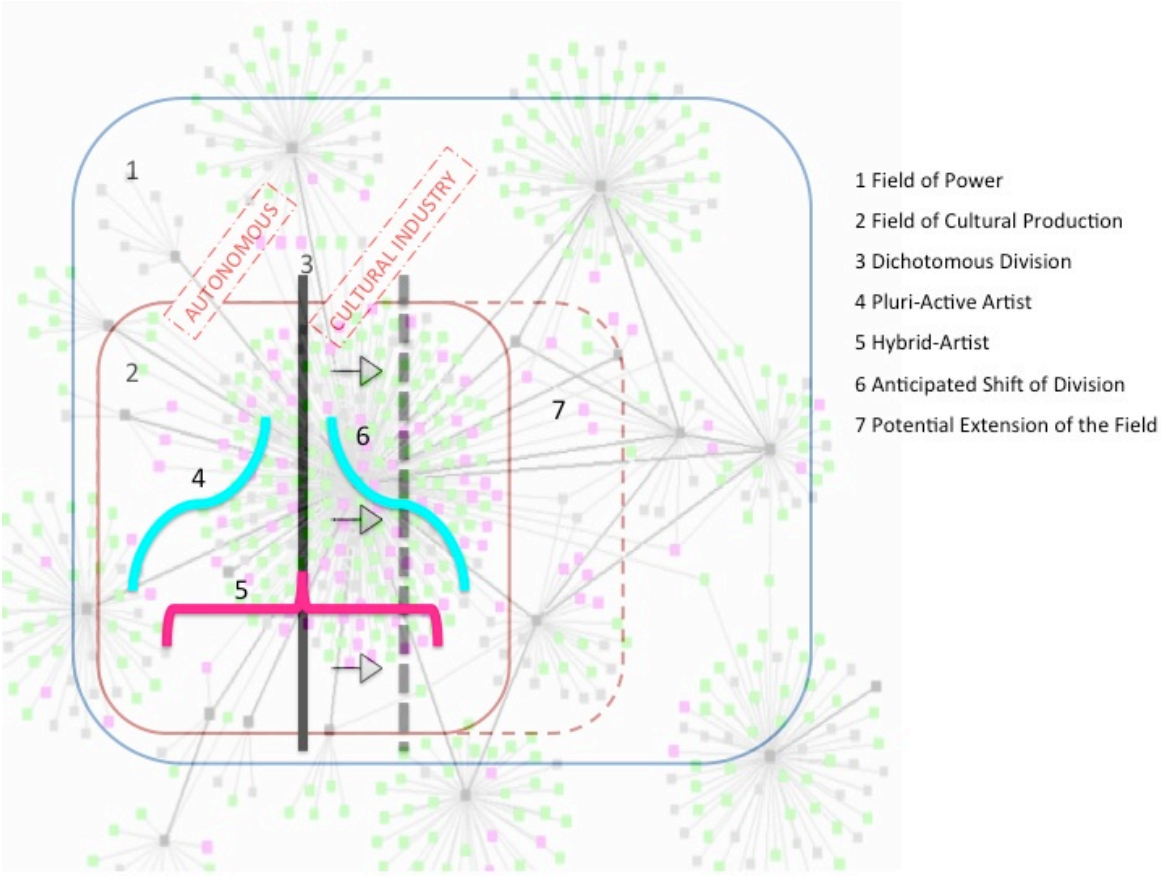
economic, cultural or symbolic) and the resulting status and power of actors. ANT offers a much more accessible explanation for social autonomy. In the network logic, the more heteronomous linkages a network has (so, the bigger it is), the less dependent an actor is on any one link and consequently can act more autonomously. More concretely, the most obvious example is that of the artist holding multiple jobs: the more jobs and projects an artist pursues or gets offered, the more selective s/he can be about staying closer to his/her individual desires; a phenomenon that can also be witnessed in the economy at large. To put it differently: the more *socially autonomous* an artist is, the more *artistically autonomously* s/he can work.

Bourdieu understands artistic autonomy as a social fiction, because cultural production is always a collective production and therefore does not exist. Fiction or not, it plays a crucial role in the perception of the art world and the self-perception of artists. Consequently, I find the dogma of the collective an oversimplification of social reality and turn to art history and the critical thinking of Theodor Adorno to arrive at a useful definition of artistic autonomy (for my analysis, anyway). Also, in the modern history of the arts, the collective was most crucial until the late 19th century. First it was the collective of the guilds that set the standards and rules, then the academies. With the declining power of the academies, the focus slowly came to be on the individual, on renewal and innovation and thus on artistic autonomy. To Adorno, this autonomization of the art world was a paradoxical movement because it liberated the arts from the reign of the academies and at the same time made them subject to the capitalist market logic. He warned that a commodification of art for the sake of money would lead to the transformation of culture into an industry. In his extreme definition, art was therefore only artistically autonomous if it was completely free from any social, political or economic influence and fulfilled no other function than to express what the artist wanted to express. So with Adorno (and, by the way, also with Bourdieu) we subsequently arrive at the most extreme form of black and white definition of the field of cultural production. On the one side we have the hyper-autonomous artist who only produces freely according to his own artistic urge, on the other side we have the cultural industries that stretch from industrial art to popular mass culture, and in between we have a lot of grey that can remain undefined (for now). In my research, I am mainly interested in the line that separates black and white: When is something still primarily an autonomous artistic practice and when is it clearly too commercialized and thus an applied artistic practice? The pluri-active artist still distinguishes clearly between the

two and therefore also defines this line. But how does the hybrid artist perceive this dichotomy and how does s/he go about it?

The hypothesis with which I will start my empirical analysis derives from the theoretical framework I have developed in this chapter and is illustrated in Figure 4. As a starting point, I take the field of cultural production (2), which is located within the field of power (1). It is divided into an autonomous sector, which functions in relative independence from the dominant principle of hierarchization (market logic), and the cultural industry sector, which largely functions according to capitalist market rules (3). If the hybridization trend that has been researched by Gielen et al. (2012) is indeed a tendency within the autonomous field of cultural production, the hybrid artist (5) would almost arbitrarily be located on a vertical axis between the two sectors and moving between the two. The pluri-active artist (4) is also located in both sectors but on a horizontal axis because s/he clearly distinguishes between the different activities.

Figure 4: Graphical Illustration of Hypothesis



That is how I derive my hypothesis: If the hybrid artist perceives of all his/her pursued creative activities as essentially autonomous (artistic autonomy) regardless of whether

or not they are for commercial purposes, the overall amount of perceived (artistic) autonomy among all actors within the field of cultural production increases proportionally, thereby shifting the dividing line on the basis of an extended definition of (artistic) autonomy. The change in definition can be derived from the difference in perception and definition of (artistic) autonomy between the pluri-active artist and the hybrid artist.

A more general research question that arises from my hypothesis concerns the size of the field of cultural production itself. Keeping the creative industries discourse in mind, it can be expected that the variety of activities a visual artist pursues within the field of cultural production has increased during the last 35 years. The inclusion of design and fashion as legitimate art forms and definite forms of cultural production as well as the booming of the creative industries sector and expanded (technological) possibilities lead me to assume that the field of cultural production for visual artists as such has expanded as well.

2.5. Introducing Existing Studies: From Crossover to Plural and Hybrid

In order to position the research at hand within its proper field of research, a concise overview of existing studies will be given in the following. Here, the individual studies are less relevant than their approach and the related problems. A helpful categorization that distinguishes between four different types of artist studies is made by Alper and Wassall (N.O. Alper & Wassall, 2006). Afterwards, three studies that directly relate to the research question and methodology used in this research will be described in more detail. The first two studies were used to conceptualize the typology established in the hybridization research. The latter is, then, also the third study that will be elaborated.

Research into Artists' Careers: Classification and Problems

Many studies have been conducted in many different ways into artistic careers, the life of artists and their preferences. In their classification scheme for studies of artists' careers, Alper and Wassall (2006) distinguish between four types of studies. First, purely theoretical studies, which the authors do not consider in great length.

Second, studies that use existing information about a group of artists to investigate an aspect of their career. The information can be either anecdotal or more

quantitative (e.g. auction transaction data to determine when artists are the most productive).

The third category describes studies based on surveying artists with questionnaires or interviews. Here a distinction can be made between questionnaires especially designed for the purpose of investigating artists' careers, as is the case in this study (Gielen et al., 2012), and questionnaires designed to survey the general public, as is the case with census data, for example (e.g. Coenen, 2008).

The fourth type refers to studies that use panel data. The authors explain, however, that research based on true panel data – thus data that is derived from the same group of artists over a certain period of time – is extremely rare. They name a couple of 'quasi-panels', describing studies that use data which follow a group that is likely to include a great number of same respondents from survey to survey over time.

A more detailed overview of much of the research has been given elsewhere (e.g. N.O. Alper & Wassall, 2006; Butler, 2000). In *Artists' Careers and Their Labor Markets,* the authors offer a table of what marks the most crucial landmarks in their opinion:

Table 1: Overview of Landmarks in Research into Artists' Careers

SOME LANDMARKS IN EMPIRICAL RESEARCH INTO ARTIST LABOR MARKETS

Empirical Finding	Authors	Artist Group/Database
Artists as risk-takers	Santos (1976)	U.S. Census
Determinants of artists' earnings using statistical earnings function	Filer (1986)	U.S. Census
Artists' dependence on non-arts jobs for income	Throsby (1986) Jeffri (1988) Wassall and Alper (1983)	Australian artists Artists in several U.S. cities New England artist survey
Issues in identifying and defining artists	Filer (1986) Wassall and Alper (1985) Karttunen (1998)	U.S. Census New England artist survey Finnish artists
Artist moonlighting patterns	Alper and Wassall (2000)	Current Population Survey
Longitudinal analyses of artists' careers	Rengers (2002)	Dutch artists
Career transitions of artists	Alper and Wassall (1998) Smith (2000) Montgomery and Robinson (2003)	Nat'l. Survey of College Graduates U.S. Census College graduates
Examination of artists' entire careers	Galenson (2000a), (2000b)	Painters

Source: (N.O. Alper & Wassall, 2006, p. 66)

One recurring criticism of research about artists' careers is that it is often based on census data. The underlying statistics thus have a limited scope and do not take the

particularities mentioned above into account. Especially the crucial characteristic of multiple job holding is hard to mirror in analysis based on census data, because the latter have a tendency to be very static and to only take into account the primary employment at a given moment in time. In the case of the artist, where holding multiple jobs and short-term contracts are the rule rather than exception, this statistical method falls short on too many levels. As Menger points out: "Extensive job and sectoral mobility as well as multiple job holding considerably affect the use of conventional work and unemployment indicators leading to mismeasurement in unemployment rates and income estimates" (Menger, 1999, p. 545). Nevertheless, many studies use census data because of their extensiveness and the possibility of comparison over time (e.g. N. O. Alper, 1996; N.O. Alper & Wassall, 2006; Florida, 2004; HBO, 2006; Kunstenloket, 2006; Markusen, 2006; Parliament, 2006; Report, 1976, 1980, 1982, 2008, 2009a, 2009b; Throsby, 2008b).

Fewer studies really go into the details of artistic careers by investigating what form multiple job holding takes and what that means for the artists. They usually make use of survey data or interviews. Despite the more limited scope of the data, the quality of the information derived is often high, especially with regard to multiple job-holding, and cannot be grasped otherwise.

Sometimes the findings on artists' careers are controversial, sometimes they complement each other. Nevertheless, the nature of artistic life has been put in international perspective and some generalizations are possible. Moving toward the 'institutional' and social characteristics of the artistic labour market, in the following section the emergence of the non-profit sector and its implications will be briefly discussed. Afterwards, three study cases (the crossover, plural and hybrid artist) will be introduced in order to build up to the research question of this thesis.

Introduction: Non-Profit and For-Profit

In the contemporary art world, artists make their way by cultivating their talents in different ways, consciously choosing their place to live and practicing their art forms and distributing their time among various activities with different purposes. The necessary skills for an artist are not limited to artistic virtuosity anymore, but also include marketing yourself and your work, applying for grants, administering new media technologies and channels that represent your work publicly, but even maintaining a stable and ever-growing social network. In fact, work can take so many

different forms nowadays that the distinction between work/time spent and income derived in a certain field are not always clear-cut. The multi-skilled artist is a historical consequence of a broader market.

> From the industrial revolution to the early 1990s, most artists worked in the commercial sector as self-employed sellers of their work, employees in cultural industries, or commission from patrons…. The emergence of a non-profit sector [in the USA] changed this landscape progressively over the course of the 20th century, so that by the 1960s, a clearly and legally delimited non-profit sector coexisted alongside a continuing commercial cultural industry. (Markusen, 2006, p. 11)

In Europe, interest in the non-profit sector only started to grow from the end of the 1970s onward, with the developing crisis of the European welfare system and the emerging need for employment (see Borzaga, 2000). At first, the European non-profit sector was even more autonomous and entrepreneurial than its traditional American brother, due to a lack of political support. During the 80s and 90s, however, changes in public policies helped strengthen the number and size of non-profit organizations. Over the course of time, "[the] creation of non-profit networks by local authorities and private, cultural organisations… allowed for an economically viable exploitation of unused or inefficiently used cultural and environmental resources, thus creating stable jobs" (OECD, 2003, p. 51).

The activities which artists can pursue in the for-profit and non-profit sectors are diverse. The commercial sector consists mainly of for-profit companies that give artists short-term employment, buy their works, etc. Very often, the firms are positioned in the media, advertisement and publishing sectors but employment for product design, marketing or employee relations can also be found outside the creative industries (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Teaching activities or giving courses at home and in studios are also considered as for-profit commercial activities. The non-profit sector refers to organizations and institutions that are funded or supported by the state in other ways.

> Since the enormous growth of patron, foundation and state-funded arts programs…, this new format has allowed artists and art lovers to create spaces and support systems that do not aspire to make profits.. (Markusen, 2006, p. 11)

Most museums and community art centres fall under this category, but also a number of other exhibition spaces or projects. The non-profit art sector is especially important in the debate about 'art for art's sake' where no market has to be served and there is more room for autonomous artistic expression, even if it is provocative or out-of-the-box.

Moreover, non-profit organizations provide a good amount of more or less stable employment opportunities for artists.

In addition to different employment opportunities for artists within the art world (which the crossover study of Markusen et al. investigates), including for-profit, non-profit and 'crossover', it is an old phenomenon that artists also work outside of the field of the arts in order to sustain themselves. This means that a tracheotomy of employment options (as mentioned earlier) can be distinguished for aspiring artists, which can be identified as a career separately or in any given combination. First, the primary artistic practices or autonomous artistic practices that can be defined as the activities of the classical/romantic studio artist; second, the art-related work that stretches from applied and commissioned art works to teaching practices; and third, the non-art related work that is mostly pursued for monetary reasons or as a result of 'failure'. The Bureau and Shapiros study is very suitable for conceptualizing this trichotomy.

The Crossover Artist

In their study about the 'crossover' activities of artists, Markusen et al. (2006) focus on career-building across the two sectors mentioned above, for-profit and non-profit, as well as a third, the community art sector, which they filter out separately. Their study focuses on an income-related analysis and not on the content of the activities. Technically, for example, the commercial sector also includes the art market and its galleries, art-fairs and online platforms. This is difficult for the purpose of the research at hand, however, because activities within that field are mostly linked to autonomous art practices and are only 'commercial' in the way that they generate income. In the crossover study there is also little space for the hypothesis that artists mainly 'shop' in other fields of employment to generate income in order to pursue their autonomous activities, and that by doing so, the boundaries between the autonomous practices and the applied practices become blurred. Accordingly, an artist who could derive enough income from art sales and exhibitions could (and probably would) permit himself to concentrate on his/her autonomous art practices exclusively. A sole distinction of artist careers on the basis of for-profit and non-profit activities is therefore not sufficient. What can be said, though, is that crossover practice can clearly be witnessed within these fields. Especially interesting is the finding of Markusen et al. that, "if money were not an issue, fewer artists would specialize in any one sector… artists specialized in the commercial and community-sector would devote more time to not-for-profit artwork

and many artists would choose to spend more time in the community sector" (Markusen, 2006, p. 8). These findings support the theory that many activities pursued by artists are stimulated by economic necessity and not based on artistic choices. The extent to which this is related to a desire for autonomy is not within the scope of this study, however.

The Plural Artist

A conceptual study that seeks to categorize the wide range of artists' careers has been conducted by the French sociologists Marie-Christine Bureau and Roberta Shapiro (2009). Their distinguishing criteria are not based on economic categories but relate to the content of the activities performed. In *L'Artiste Pluriel* they distinguish between three types of artists, depending on the functions they pursue within their artistic field. To conceptualize their theory, Bureau and Shapiro distinguish between the 'polivalent', 'poliactive' and 'pluri-active' artist. In their definition, the 'polivalent' artist pursues different activities within his own artistic realm. This could mean that an artist is a painter and also does his own sales, accounting and PR[17]. In contrast, the 'poliactive' artist realizes different tasks in different sectors of the economy. This could refer to the typical example of the painter who also works as a barkeeper. With 'pluri-active', the sociologists refer to different activities within the broader creative industries. This describes, for example, the visual artist who also works as a curator or product designer. In line with the 'crossover' findings, the execution of plural activities is often economically motivated, given that most artists as a matter of fact cannot live from making art alone.

This conceptualization, however, has one major shortcoming: it is based on the assumption that different activities are clearly separate from each other. It does not account for a creative interaction between different tasks. In reality, though, the visual artist is often, for example, selected to design a meeting space precisely because the company liked his autonomous art and wants his creative expression to be visible in the result. The result, in turn, becomes a part of the artist's portfolio, thereby influencing his identity as an autonomous artist. Throsby also addresses this overlap by referring to the 'diffusion of creative ideas and influences'.

[17] As this is a very common practice for visual artists. no further attention will be given to the polyvalent artist in the course of this research and the following analysis.

> It should be noted that the 'diffusion of creative ideas and influences' may occur through the sorts of generalised communication and exchange processes that govern the circulation of knowledge and information in the economy and society at large; for example, the plot of a novel or play may suggest ideas for a video or computer game. More concretely, the diffusion of ideas may arise through the fact that creative people who generate them actually work in different industries, providing direct input to the production of cultural content in industries further from the core; for example, a visual artist may have a creative practice producing original artworks, but may also work in the design industry, or an actor may appear on stage in the live theatre, as well as making television commercials in the advertising industry. However it happens, it is the creative ideas that generate the cultural content in the output of these industries. (Throsby, 2008a, p. 151)

Throsby mentions this phenomenon in the context of shortcomings in conceptualizations of the artistic labour market. That means that conceptual models fail to measure these crucial dynamics in artists' careers. After all, if the boundaries between industry and art become blurry, the question of artistic identity, of authenticity and value is at stake. Or is it? Adorno and Horkheimer would certainly agree with this; but from an economic or policy perspective, it could also mean a more efficient use of one's creative ability. In the end, whether this increased hybridization is a threat or benefit to artists is a question to be answered by the artists themselves.

The Hybrid Artist

The 'hybridization of artistic practices' research embraces two disciplines that form the combined basis for its general approach: art history and cultural sociology. Instigated by a heated political debate about the role of the arts, artists and art schools in society that arose in the Netherlands in 2009 (Plasterk, 2009) the goal of this research is to answer the need for more empirical evidence surrounding artists' careers and education and to help establish their position in the cultural policy debate. The aim of the research is thus twofold: first, to make a statement about artists' careers and how or if their working practices have changed in light of the more economically-oriented cultural policy that has emerged since the late 1970s; and second, to investigate what the role of an art school is in preparing young artists for the professional reality they are faced with after their education. It is especially interesting to address the matter of formal education in the arts, considering that the arts profession is not a protected profession that requires any form of degree or other proof of competence in order to be practiced.

The perceptions of the artist lies at the core of the hybridization research by Gielen et al. (2012). The aim of the research was to gain insight into the professional career of visual artists, as well as the changes that have evolved in the field over the last thirty-five years. They tried to take the above-mentioned study by Bureau and Shapiro one step further. The hybridization hypothesis therefore goes both deeper and broader than the trichotomy found in *L'Artiste Pluriel*.

The broadening factor of the research concerns the blurring of boundaries between different value-based sociological fields on the basis of the theoretical concepts of Boltanski, Chiapello and Thévenot (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005; Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006). The existing studies into artistic labour markets often limit themselves to the work sphere. In the hybridization study, Gielen et al. claim that nowadays this sphere is inseparable from the public or social spheres, the economic world and even private life because the values of the different spheres mix and blend. For artists, private life often coincides with their work when, for example, their free time is used for artistic practices. This is particularly true for pluri-active and poliactive artists. During the day they work for money, for instance in a bar, on commissioned works or as a teacher, and when they find the time, they still pursue their autonomous art practices in a studio or at home. The aim of the hybridization research was then, to test the effect of this blending of values for artists and their art. Gielen et al. find that collectively institutionalised orientation categories blur, leaving it to the individual artists themselves to draw and protect their boundaries. Furthermore, they say that an awareness of the values of industrial and market-oriented logic, such as the financial success and professionalism that are characteristic to the contemporary post-Fordist worldview, also increased within the autonomous practices of artists. Nonetheless, the values of the inspired world are still most important to artists, which supports the thesis that artists value autonomous practices and foster them separately from other activities.

More relevant for the research at hand is, however, the deeper level of knowledge offered by the hybridization study. Here, Gielen et al. took a first step in investigating how plural activities influence each other and what the effects on the artistic production of the artist are. The core question, therefore, was whether it is possible to empirically define the hybrid artist. For this purpose, the scholars established a typology of artists based on their quantitative findings, resulting in a clearly demonstrable group of hybrid artists. The hybrid artist typifies 21.1% of the

overall respondents (Table 1) and can therefore be described as an empirical reality. Of all active artists, hybrid artists spends significantly more time on art-related work and significantly less time on paid and unpaid artistic work. This finding leads to the assumption that hybridity creates tensions between an artist's plural activities at the cost of autonomous production. To what extent this is an artistic choice – with the hybrid artist thus creating a different artistic identity through his plural activities – or a necessary evil will be examined in the following.

The central questions to be answered are therefore:

- Has the field of cultural production gone through a hybridization trend?
- Has the field of cultural production become more commercially oriented?
- Has the field of cultural production become more inclusive by incorporating more activities within it?
- Have artists extended their perception of the concept of autonomy in such a way that it incorporates more activities?
- Have artistic practices become more commercially oriented?
- Has autonomy become less important to artists?

3. Methodology

To answer the research questions developed throughout the previous chapters, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected. An online survey was developed and conducted for a period of one year, on the basis of which a typology of artists was established. As an extension of the quantitative findings, 74 in-depth interviews were conducted, representing a sample of the different categories of artists established in the typology. In this chapter, I will explicate our approach step by step before turning to the analysis of our data.

3.1. Quantitative Data Collection

The research at hand is part of a bigger research project, 'Hybridization of Artistic Practices' being carried out under the supervision of Dr. Pascal Gielen (Lector, Arts and Society, Fontys School of Arts, Tilburg) and Dr. Camiel van Winkel (Lector, Visual Arts, AKV/St. Joost [Avans Hogeschool], s'Hertogenbosch). While the Hybridization of Artistic Practices project seeks to paint a bigger picture with a clear focus on art schools, my doctoral research concentrates on the question of autonomy in the creative age. Both projects make use of the same data set, which has been collected in collaboration.

The first step consisted of an extensive investigation of the literature on visual arts practices, cultural and art education policies in Flanders and the Netherlands, existing research and polls on artistic education and practices, as well as the specific pedagogic art school methods and visions. On the basis of this knowledge, an online survey was developed and tested. To obtain useful data, it is necessary to make sure that terms and concepts are understood properly and to employ the most commonly used terminology. Therefore we tested the survey with a peer group of both Dutch and Flemish artists and adjusted it according to their comments. The final survey (Appendix 1, p. 149), which was conducted in 2011, comprised three major parts: The first asked about personal information like gender, age, nationality, city of residence, mobility, etc.

The second part asked questions concerning the art school, competencies and ambitions, focusing especially on the respondents' subjective assessment of the school's education, their own and the required level of competencies as well as to what extent the school provided training for these requirements.

The third part concerned a series of questions with regard to the professional situation of the respondents and their career development as well as their central values

in work and life. Aiming at creating a typology of artists, the survey distinguishes between four core activities that artists can engage in: autonomous artistic practices, applied art practices, art-related work and not-art-related work. Any combination of the four is theoretically possible. In the survey we defined the related terms in the following manner:

Autonomous Art: The typical studio practice of the 20th and 21st century artist, who engages in painting, drawing, sculpture work and/or other art forms (photography, video, performance, installation, etc.). Usually the artist does not work in a contract situation.

Applied Art: Non-autonomous art forms such as graphic design, web design, industrial design, but also forms of art commissions, art in public space, illustrations, photography assignments, writing, etc. [18]

Mixed Art Practice: Art practice in which both autonomous and applied art forms occur. In the following, an artist with a mixed practice is also referred to as a pluri-active artist.

Hybrid Artistic Practice: A combination of autonomous and applied art in daily practice. Through the combination, autonomous and applied art practices start to fully or partly overlap in the artist's perception or in that of others . Both art forms then fall together within one context or production process, or coexist as equals next to each other. Thus, in a hybrid artistic work practice, the distinction between art and non-art is relativized and fluent because the artist does not feel the necessity to distinguish hierarchically, conceptually or organizationally between the two within his work.

Hybridization of Artistic Practices: The process by which the practice of visual artists becomes increasingly hybrid.

Artistic Practices: Activities that are part of the autonomous artistic practice, or have a direct relationship with it.

A**rt-Related Work:** Work that is not part of artistic practices but has to do with art, like curating exhibitions and writing about art.

[18] In the context of the qualitative research of this study, applied art practices are also activities such as teaching and curating. In the quantitative research, however, they were treated as art-related practices. This is a mistake that was made in the definition of terminology for the interview manual.

The Sample Group

The data has been collected in the Netherlands and Flanders. The choice of countries is related to differences in both art and educational policy. Belgium (Flanders) was first of all chosen because it is a neighbour of the Netherlands, and whereas the two countries share numerous mutual cultural characteristics, their governmental policy approach differs (see for example van der Hoeven, 2005). Another reason is the criticism often heard in the Netherlands with regard to the quality and international visibility of its own visual artists (see for example Braak & Neef, 2007; van Hest, 2012) and the belief that its Belgium neighbours are doing much better in that respect [19].

The selection criteria for the sample group were threefold: they had to be graduates of an art school; the programme they had followed had at the least to be related to autonomous visual art; and finally, as a whole group, they had to cover a time spectrum of approximately thirty-five years. Using these criteria as a starting point, graduates from two Dutch art schools (Fontys School of Fine and Performing Arts, Tilburg; and AKV St. Joost / Avans, Breda/Den Bosch) and three Belgian art schools (St Lukas, Brussels; KASK, Antwerp; and St Lucas, Ghent) were invited to participate in the online survey.

In order to generate results that incorporate a certain time spectrum, the years 1975, 1990 and 2005 were chosen for our sample. The decision to do research on the last 35 years and the choice of cohort years for the sample were based on changes within both the art world and cultural policy in the Netherlands. The primary reason was the need for a comparative study with a historical dimension. The choice of an interval of 15 years was above all pragmatic and linked to feasibility. A rationale for why these cohort years are relevant can nonetheless be given.

In the 1970s, the Netherlands offered an extremely inviting environment for visual artists. The democratization of the (arts) educational system had only been implemented a few years earlier and its manifestation was just beginning to be visible. The number of professional artists was therefore limited compared to fifteen years later. Furthermore, Dutch artists were enjoying the apex of the globally unique Visual Artists Provision (Beeldende Kunstenaarsregeling), a social provision through which artists

[19] The study of Van Hest (2012) shows that the difference in international visibility between Dutch and Belgian artists is greater when regarding country of birth and not country of residence. However, in both cases Belgian artists score higher than their Dutch neighbours.

could earn a regular income in exchange for art works or services. We thus expected that Dutch artists had no desire to have multiple jobs, let alone a hybrid artistic practice in 1975. They could fully concentrate on their autonomous artistic practices.

In the year 1990, the circumstances were different. In 1989, the Iron Curtain had finally collapsed with the fall of the Berlin Wall. Globalization became omnipresent from then on, also in the art world. The display of artistic talent increased tremendously in countries all over the world. Some even talk about ten times as many people who were calling themselves 'artist' (Gielen, 2008). The graduates of 1990 were among the first to start their careers after that. In addition, they benefited from an explosive growth of institutionalized cultural infrastructures such as galleries, museums and exhibition spaces. In the Netherlands, another fundamental change had been the abolishment of the Visual Artists Provision in 1987. Our expectation therefore was that not only must artists' economic circumstances have changed essentially but also their social position and self-perception. Self-dependency and professionalism were now being demanded in order to be an artist. Outside of the Netherlands, these effects had started earlier but the global socio-political situation must have been similarly challenging.

Finally, the last cohort of graduates, from 2005, represents the newest generation of visual artists. Their having had six years of work experience, it can be assumed that they have built up an articulated career by now. Most importantly, they were educated in the artistic freedom of the late 20th century, with its interdisciplinary approach, encompassing internationalization and a renewed socio-political orientation toward neo-liberalism. They were also confronted with a rejuvenated teaching staff that was familiar with the post-modern multileveled practices and artistic opinions. We therefore anticipated that the youngest cohort had little difficulties in adjusting to the steadily growing demand for creative workers and a flexible as well as intertwined pluri-active career (adapted from Gielen et al., 2012).

As part of the 'status-of-the-artist' studies, a major problem that also has to be addressed in this research is the notion of 'artist' (see for example Karttunen, 1998). The sample selection, however, still does not answer the question of the definition of an 'artist' because the possession of a degree in a certain field does not automatically stand for a career in that field. The selection therefore only caters to the formal criteria (education) characterizing the artists that have been investigated. As suggested in much of the literature, the final definition was left to the self-assessment of the artist. Most

remarkably, the UNESCO emphasised the value of self-definition in the Recommendation Concerning the Status of the Artist:

> 'Artist' is taken to mean any person who creates or gives creative expression to, or re-creates works of art, who considers his artistic creation to be an essential part of his life, who contributes in this way to the development of art and culture and who is or asks to be recognized as an artist, whether or not he is bound by any relations of employment or association. (see for example Braak & Neef, 2007)

Defining artists in these two ways, i.e., formal education and self-assessment, avoids both elitism and 'official designation', while the professionalism of the self-proclaimed artist is tested by the benchmark of 'education' (Gielen, 2008). At the same time, it has to be understood that the data collected therefore excludes autodidacts and career changers without any intention of being judgemental with regard to their quality or status as artists.

General Response

For the total sample group of Dutch and Flemish artists, the response rate was 60%. As a rule of thumb within social sciences holds that a response of at least 50% is to be seen as statistically acceptable, the research can be regarded as scientifically relevant. The explicit non-response rate (those who explicitly did not want to participate) was 3.1% (14 artists) and thus also acceptable (Table 4)[20].

While more artists from Dutch art schools than from Belgian art schools were approached (Table 5)[21], the percentage of respondents is almost similar, with 58.3% response rate in the Netherlands and 58% in Flanders (Table 4).

The response distribution according to gender, nationality and cohort shows that there are slightly more female than male respondents (Table 6); that Dutch respondents are overrepresented in the sample group (Table 7); and that the cohort of 1990 graduates is most represented (Table 8).

[20] It has to be noted that this could only be calculated on the basis of approached artists but not on the basis of actual graduation numbers. Due to administrative problems within some of the participating art schools, actual graduation numbers were impossible to reproduce.
[21] This has to do with the size of the participating schools and the related number of alumni that could be approached.

Typology

On the basis of the quantitative data about the self-perception and performed activities of the artists, a typology could be established, identifying seven different types of artists.

Type 1 is a respondent who is currently active as a visual artist, who combines autonomous and applied arts (Pluri-active), who has a hybrid career and who next to his artistic practices is also working outside the cultural industries (Poliactive).

Type 2 is a respondent who is currently active as a visual artist, who combines autonomous and applied arts (Pluri-active), who has a hybrid career and who next to his artistic practices is NOT working outside the cultural industries.

Type 3 is a respondent who is currently active as a visual artist, who combines autonomous and applied arts (Pluri-active), who DOES NOT have a hybrid career and who next to his artistic practices is also working outside the cultural industries (Poliactive).

Type 4 is a respondent who is currently active as a visual artist, who combines autonomous and applied arts (Pluri-active), who DOES NOT have a hybrid career and who next to his artistic practices is NOT working outside the cultural industries.[22]

Type 5 is a respondent who is currently active as a visual artist but is NOT Pluri-active, Hybrid or Poliactive .

Type 6 is a respondent who is currently NOT active as a visual artist but does have a career within the creative industries.

[22] It should be noted that during the analysis it appeared that there is no corresponding type for somebody who does engage in autonomous practices and art-related practices but NOT in applied art practices (precondition for pluri or hybrid). This has, however, no further implications, as the categorization according to art-related and apllied art practices turned out to be altogether disputable in the qualitative analysis later on.

Type 7 is a respondent who is currently NOT active as a visual artist and exclusively works outside the creative industries.

The typology was established in a number of steps. The first distinction was made between active artists and non-active artists. For the non-active artists, we then looked at whether or not they still engaged in art-related activities, thereby defining Artist Types 6 and 7. For the active artists, we made a second distinction between whether or not they combined autonomous and applied art practices in their work. Because the number of respondents who said they only work autonomously was surprisingly high, we manually checked the activities they said they engaged in. Those who really did not actively engage in activities outside the autonomous field were defined as Artist Type 5. For the respondents who clearly combined autonomous and other artistic practices, we differentiated between those who we believed had a hybrid working practice according to our definition and those who still made a clear distinction between autonomous and other artistic practices. For the resulting two groups, we also made a distinction between those respondents who additionally engage in paid activities outside the art-world to define Artist Types 1 and 2 (the hybrid artist who is or is not poliactive) and Types 3 and 4 (the pluri-active artist who is or is not poliactive). However, the distinction between artists who do or do not engage in poliactive practices was dropped in the analysis because relevant differences could not be found.

The poliactive artists constitute 33.7% (68 respondents) of the entire sample group (Table 9). When looking at the distribution among the different types of artists and their engagement in non-art-related activities, there is no statistically significant difference between them. While it could have been assumed that artists who combine autonomous and applied art practices have less need to find work outside the arts as well, in fact, the division is more or less consistent for all types (Table 10). Furthermore, no significant differences between Belgium and the Netherlands can be found (Table 11). Neither are there remarkable differences between the three cohorts (Table 12).

General Findings – Non-Active Artists

Of the 253 valid respondents, almost half (42.7%) are currently not active as visual artists (Table 13). For some, this means that while they still engage in artistic activities for pleasure or on occasion, it is not their primary profession (anymore). Of the non-

active artist group, more than half (60 out of 105, or 56.7%) still engage in paid work that is related to the arts (Table 3).

The larger percentage of non-active respondents is female (61.7%). The gender allocation is, however, not statistically significant (Table 14).

The international comparison for Belgian and Dutch respondents (Table 15) also does not show statistically significant differences. What can be said is that there are less non-active artists among our Belgian respondents. Of those, a larger percentage than in the Netherlands is still working in art-related fields.

If we look at the distribution among the three cohorts (Table 16) we see a gradual increase of non-active artists who still pursue art-related work (50% from cohort 1975; 52% from 1990 and 68.8% from 2005). This could indicate increased employment possibilities within the creative industries and a larger willingness and/or ability to do such work.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that almost half of the alumni (49.1%) who were not active as visual artists at the time of the survey have in fact been active in the past (Table 17). It can be seen that this is a gradual development that 'slows down' in time with more than half of the alumni stopping their artist careers within the first four years after graduation (59%), 78.4% stopping within the first 10 years and 96.1% within 20 years (Table 18). This statement has to be taken with a grain of salt, though, because the sample groups per cohort/non-active artists are rather small in general and also differ substantially in size (1975=7; 1990=28; 2005=16). Looking at the individual tables, it seems as if the average time artists spend on trying to build their professional artistic career has decreased[23].

Comparing the two countries, we can see that significantly more non-active artists in the Netherlands have been active in the past than in Belgium (62.5% in the Netherlands compared to 25.0% in Belgium) (Table 22). Significant differences between cohorts cannot be found (Table 23).

The main reason why respondents stopped their artistic careers is money; 35 of 51 respondents state that their economic situation did not permit them to make ends meet. Other reasons include turning away from the art world (13), building a family (12), changing priorities (12) and lack of motivation (11) (Tables 24 – 32).

[23] 1975: Median=10.0 (Table 19); 1990: Median=5.5 (Table 20); 2005: Mean=2.0 (Table 21)

General Findings – Active Artists

Looking at the group of artists that is still actively pursuing artistic practices, we can distinguish between the hybrid artist, the pluri-active artist and the monolith. Monoliths form the smallest group of all respondents (8.1%). Hybrid artists and pluri-active artists are represented with 21.1% and 28.3% respectively (Table 3). Looking only at the 142 active artists, this translates to almost half of the group being pluri-active (70, or 49.3%) and slightly more than one third being hybrid artists (52, or 36.%) (Table 33).

Both the international comparison and the comparison between cohorts do not show scientifically significant differences (Nationality: chi-square=4.902; df=2; p>0.05 not significant; Cohort: chi-square=3.885; df=4; p>0.05 not significant). This means, above all, that a comparison between types of artists, nationality and cohort is possible in the first place because the distributions are similar enough to not distort the findings. As a general observation, we see that 78.9% of the monolith artists are Dutch (Table 34). Furthermore, we can see that the relative number of monolithic artists has decreased with time (from 42.1% in cohort 1975 to 21.1% in cohort 2005) (Table 35).

3.2. Qualitative Data Collection

The qualitative data is derived from a series of 76 biographic in-depth interviews. Biographic research was necessary in order to understand and properly interpret the artistic, cultural and work context in the everyday life of the respondents. This interpretative approach is especially relevant in research that is concerned here with the blurring of boundaries between autonomous and other artistic practices. One of the advantages of personal interviews is the possibility of finding a concise 'practical' definition of the concept of autonomy (and of other terms), as opposed to the closed theoretical definition we gave in the survey. In other words, it helps to understand how artists themselves define autonomy and artistic practices in their daily routine.

In the online survey, we asked the respondents if they were willing to participate in the interviewing process. From those who responded positively, we selected a representative sample of each type of artist, cohort and nationality. We hired 18 master students (see Appendix 4, p. 243) with a sociological or cultural science background and thoroughly briefed them on the contents and aim of the research project. We also provided them with an interview manual that included all questions we wanted to have

answered for each type of artist (see Appendix 3; p. 232). Although a semi-standardized interview approach takes away some of the openness of an in-depth interview, we decided in favour of the question guide in order to get comparable results despite the fact that a number of different interviewers were employed. We believe that there was enough flexibility even though the interviews were semi-standardized, because this explicitly encourages the interviewers to "adapt the research instruments to the respondent's level of comprehension and articulacy, and handle the fact that in responding to a question, people often provide answers to questions we were going to ask later" (Gilbert, 2008, p. 246).

The topic list for the interviews was grouped in three parts: the first part concentrated on a detailed description of the artist's professional activities and his/her time allocation. The second part was concerned with a subjective description of the high and low points of the acquired art school education, on a professional as well as personal level. The third part sought to go deeper into the values and competencies that are most important to artists, as well as those with which they experience the most tension or difficulty. This part was designed as a 'card game' in which the artists had to choose from a set of 21 terms. In three subsequent rounds, they were asked to pick the five most important values or competencies, two that they feel have a tension between each other and five that they have experienced difficulties with during their own career. For the purpose of this research, the primary focus was put on the first part of the interviews, concerned with professional practices.

The interviews have been transcribed verbatim and include a short summary of the interviewer's observations and comments (see Appendix 5: digital appendix). Yet, qualitative material is inevitably unstructured and extensive, and therefore a methodological approach is necessary to properly analyse the data. The method used for data classification and analysis in this research is the framework method. The procedure will be outlined in detail in the following section.

Framework Methodology

The analysis of qualitative data has increasingly become accepted as valuable within social research (e.g. Bryman & Burgess, 1994; Gilbert, 2008; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). In general, the aim of qualitative research can be divided in four different objectives: *Contextual*: identifying the form and nature of what exists; *Diagnostic:* examining the reasons for, or causes of, what exists; *Evaluative:* appraising the effectiveness of what

exists; and *Strategic:* identifying new theories, policies, plans or actions (adapted from Ritchie & Spencer, 1994, p. 174). In this case, the analysis above all aims at a broader contextual understanding of hybridization research. Examples given by Ritchie and Spencer (1994) of questions to be answered in a contextual analysis:

- What are the dimensions of the attitudes or perceptions that are held?
- What is the nature of people's experiences?
- What needs does the population of the study have?
- What elements operate within a system?

In order to specify those questions and find answers, a structured and coherent method of data analysis has to be employed. The framework method appeared to be appropriate for this research. Reasons given by other scholars for applying the framework method:

- It is grounded or generative: it is heavily based in, and driven by, the original accounts and observations of the people it is about.
- It is dynamic: it is open to change, addition and amendment throughout the analytical process.
- It is systematic: it allows methodological treatment of all similar units of analysis.
- It is comprehensive: it allows a full rather than partial or selective review of the material collected.
- It enables easy retrieval: it allows access to, and retrieval of, the original textual material.
- It allows within-case and between-case analysis: it enables comparisons between, and associations within, cases to be made.
- It is accessible to others: the analytical process and interpretations derived from it can be viewed and judged by people other than the primary analyst. (Srivastava, 2009, p. 77)

In the analysis stage, the framework method suggests five distinct but interrelated steps. Although those steps follow a certain logical order, the framework method stays flexible in that it allows for jumping back and forth between those steps when needed. It implicates a systematic filtering, coding and sorting of the interview material according to key issues. In the process, the analysis narrows the focus to answer the central

research question. The five steps of framework analysis described by Ritchie and Spencer (1994) are:

1. Familiarization
2. Identifying a thematic framework
3. Indexing
4. Charting
5. Mapping and interpretation

Familiarization

The first stage of analysis is becoming familiarized with the raw material. The primary aim is to get acquainted with the interviews in order to identify key ideas and recurring themes. Here, approximately twenty randomly selected transcripts from the different types of artists, cohorts and nationalities were thoroughly revised and freely coded according to core themes. For the analysis, the interviews will be referred to by entry number, type of artist, nationality and year of graduation (e.g. entry 555, Hyb, BE, 75). The type of artist will be indicated by the following abbreviations:

Mon	–	Monolith
Plu	–	Pluri-active
Hyb	–	Hybrid
NN	–	Not active, not-art-related
NW	–	Not active, with art-related work

Identifying a Thematic Framework

In the second stage of the analysis, the free codes are identified, grouped and structured in order to form a framework for analysing the data. ”This is carried out by drawing on a priori issues and questions derived from the aims and objectives of the study as well as issues raised by the respondents themselves and views or experiences that recur in the data “ (Pope & Mays, 2000, p. 116).

In this step, 37 general keywords were established for the purpose of coding.

1. Age
2. Applied Art
3. Art-related
4. Artist
5. Authenticity
6. Autonomous Art
7. Autonomy
8. Children
9. Commissions
10. Competences

11. Cultural Entrepreneurship
12. Cultural Industries
13. Cultural policy
14. Education
15. Exhibitions
16. External Influences
17. Field
18. Galleries
19. Globalization
20. Hybrid
21. Money
22. Monolith
23. Multiple Job-holding
24. Networking
25. Non-active
26. Not Art-related
27. Partner/Family
28. Pluri-active
29. Practices/Activities
30. Prestige
31. Romantic Perception
32. Social Position
33. Taste
34. Teaching
35. Time Dimension
36. Trend
37. Work/Life Balance

Indexing

In the third stage of the analysis, what has to be done is "applying the thematic framework or index systematically to all the data in textual form by annotating the transcripts" (Pope & Mays, 2000, p. 116). Out of personal preference, this process was done manually and not with a software tool. The decision was based on a trade-off between spending time on becoming familiar with a software tool and, presumably, less time on the coding itself, and spending more time on the coding (see for example Basit, 2003).

During the indexing process, attention was given to differences between artist types, cohorts and nationalities. Already at this stage, it became clear that there were some difficulties concerning the established typology. From artists' elaborations on their artistic practices, it was possible to conclude that in a substantial number of cases the quantitatively established types of artists ascribed to each interviewee were incorrect according to our definitions.

The typology was established on the basis of activities that artists engage in, among other things. We classified these activities as autonomous practices, art-related practices and applied art practices. Correspondingly, the different types are defined by the nature of the activities that artists engage in. To recall, monoliths only engage in autonomous practices, pluri-active artists also engage in applied practices but separate

them clearly from their autonomous work, and hybrid artists also engage in applied practices while the boundaries between their different activities partially or fully blur.

While the respondents filled in the online survey with this definition in mind, the reality often seems to be different. To give one example, respondent 404 (Mon, BE, 05) was categorized as a monolithic artist on the basis of his answers to the survey; yet, during the interview it was ascertained that he engages in mixed artistic practices and personally does not attach importance to the differentiation of activities, which makes him a hybrid artist according to our definition.

To double-check, a list of all activities and practiced art forms per type of artist was made. No explicit difference could be found. Moreover, the list of activities for the monolith type included activities that we categorized as part of the applied art and art-related field, which is in direct opposition to our definition.

Nevertheless, due to the generative and flexible nature of the methods employed in this research, the decision to not re-code the quantitative data was made. Furthermore, it is not entirely clear why this difference in quantitative and qualitative results occurred. Most likely it is due to psychological factors, such as the respondents' subjective perceptions and differing definitions of terminology. However, not altering the quantitative findings can be justified because, first of all, they are subjectively true (the respondents did fill out the survey this way) and second, as far as the typology is concerned, the different types of artists were still identifiable in the qualitative data.

This discovery has two implications for the analysis. On the one hand, an analysis cannot be made on the basis of the quantitatively generated type of artist. On the other hand, it raises questions about artists' intrinsic experiences and perceptions. Apparently, our online survey was only partially useful for artists when it came to theorizing about their artistic practices, which means that we asked ambiguous or insufficient questions. Consequently, the focus of the qualitative analysis must be put on clarifying the underlying differences between artists in order to find out what the quantitative shortcomings were. As mentioned earlier, the distinguishing factor between the different types of active artists is their perception of autonomy. The concept of autonomy has therefore been employed as the core theme to which all other topics will be linked.

Charting

In the fourth stage of the analysis, the central focus is "rearranging the data according to the appropriate part of the thematic framework to which they relate, and forming charts" (Pope & Mays, 2000, p. 116). For charting, the list of topics has been clustered into five categories: types of artist, activities engaged in, perceptions of autonomy, personal circumstances, and topics that were also relevant in the different theories (see Table 2).

Table 2: Categorization of Code for Qualitative Analysis

Category	Types	Activities	Autonomy	Personal	Theory
Code	Hybrid	Applied Art	External Influences	Age	Taste
	Non-active	Art-related	Artist	Children	Teaching
	Monolith	Autonomous Art	Commissions	Partner/Family	Authenticity
	Pluri-active	Not Art-related	Cultural Entrepreneurship		Education
			Social Position		Cultural Industries
			Romantic Perception		Multiple Job-holding
			Competences		Networking
			Cultural policy		Globalization
			Time Dimension		Money
			Exhibitions		Cultural Industries
			Galleries		Prestige
					Field
					Position
					Work/Life Balance
					Trend

The collected material includes descriptive facts (like concrete pursued activities or main source of income etc.) and individual perceptions, opinions and preferences.

As a starting point for the analysis, differences between the three cohorts were checked. The representation of types of artist per cohort is most relevant for the present research objective in order to answer the question concerning increased engagement in the creative industries. As the quantitatively established typology is partially inaccurate, again, concrete activities and practiced art forms have been used. Here, too, no explicit differences could be found, seeing as all fields of activity were represented among each of the cohorts.

At this point, the most pressing question was why respondents can be distinguished according to the previously defined typology, despite the fact that the statistical allocation was unreliable. Neither the analysis of the sort of artistic practices engaged in nor the generational approach offers an unambiguous explanation for the division in types of artists. During the charting of data according to activities and practices, an inconsistency between our definition and respondents' use of the terms 'autonomous practices', 'art-related practices' and 'applied art practices' has emerged. Additionally, it became more and more clear that the respondents' position in the field of artistic practices and the type of artist they can be associated with does not so much depend on what they do but who they are. In other words, individual features as well as personal values, beliefs, perceptions and characteristics seemed to be the most important distinguishing factor between respondents; and not, as expected, generational differences, activities or even socio-economic influences. With this interesting and rich discovery as a basis, it was possible to move to the next and final step of the analytical process.

Mapping and Interpretation

The last stage of analysis is concerned with the actual formulation of theories and concepts. It is about "using the charts to define concepts, map the range and nature of phenomena, create typologies and find associations between themes with a view to providing explanations for the findings. The process of mapping and interpretation is influenced by the original research objectives as well as by the themes that have emerged from the data themselves" (Pope & Mays, 2000, p. 116). Before fully diving into the analysis and interpretation of the qualitative data, I will now turn back to the systematic analysis of the quantitative findings. Due to the mixed methodology employed in this study, qualitative findings are interrelated and will be mentioned where necessary. The data analysis will start with a predominantly quantitative section, transitioning slowly into a purely qualitative section at the end.

4. Data Analysis – The Autonomy of Artists

4.1. Quantitative Analysis

After sketching the theoretical and methodological framework on which this research is based, the empirical testing of the research questions can take place. To recall, the main interest of this research is directed toward shifts and changes within the field of cultural production. Two different research strands can be distinguished: one that is concerned with the field of cultural production at large and one that is concerned with the actions and perceptions of the collective of artists within it.

The first part of the analysis seeks to define the field of cultural production for visual artists and their position within the field. Furthermore, its relation to the field of power is going to be sketched, catering to the question about social autonomy.

The second part of the analysis intends to zoom in on the characteristics and perceptions of the respondents in order to gain deeper knowledge about the concept of artistic autonomy in contemporary art practices. On the basis of these findings, the validity of the hybridization thesis shall be questioned.

The results will lead up to the qualitative analysis and its focus on artistic autonomy. The qualitative data will occasionally be mentioned beforehand, when applicable.

Before going into the analysis, it is necessary to mention that the quantitative set of data was difficult to work with because the sample size was too small to make reliable differentiations into sub-groups. Furthermore, a high level of non-response items could be found, which means that questions – or parts of questions – were not answered by the number of respondents that should have done so. In many cases, the analysis did not provide statistically significant results and should therefore be regarded as primarily indicative. Obviously, the outcomes provide a valuable definition of the sample group. Whether the results are generalizable to the total group of visual artists in Belgium and the Netherlands is questionable, however.

Defining the Field

As a first step in the analysis, it is necessary to (re-)define the field of cultural production laid out by Pierre Bourdieu. To recall, the field of cultural production is characterized by a dichotomous hierarchization between (semi-)autonomous cultural

production and cultural industry production. According to Bourdieu, the underlying values and norms of the two sides are essentially different and define the state of autonomy within the field. The autonomous side can best be described with the 'art for art's sake' logic, in which success is defined by the recognition of fellow artists and connoisseurs. The cultural industry side is governed by market logic, in which success is measured in monetary terms. In this research, we make the distinction between autonomous practices, art-related work and applied art practices. As a starting point, I will presuppose on the basis of our given definitions[24] that an engagement in autonomous practices stands for a tendency toward the autonomous principle within the field, while an engagement in art-related work is somewhat in between the two logics and an engagement in applied art practices tends toward the market oriented side of the field. In order to define the field of cultural production investigated in this research, a mapping of the different activities that artists engage in is therefore necessary.

Activities

Figure 5 shows the different activities that we defined in the survey. Respondents were asked to check all of the artistic and art-related activities that they engage in. The survey results show that none of the suggested activities stayed unchecked (for the frequency tables of the entire group, please see Table 38 –61).

Crosschecking the list of activities with the qualitative data reinforces the accuracy of this list. Only a very few of the activities that our respondents mentioned are not listed, such as work as a creative therapist[25], restorer[26], architect[27], web-related activities[28] and cultural tourism[29].

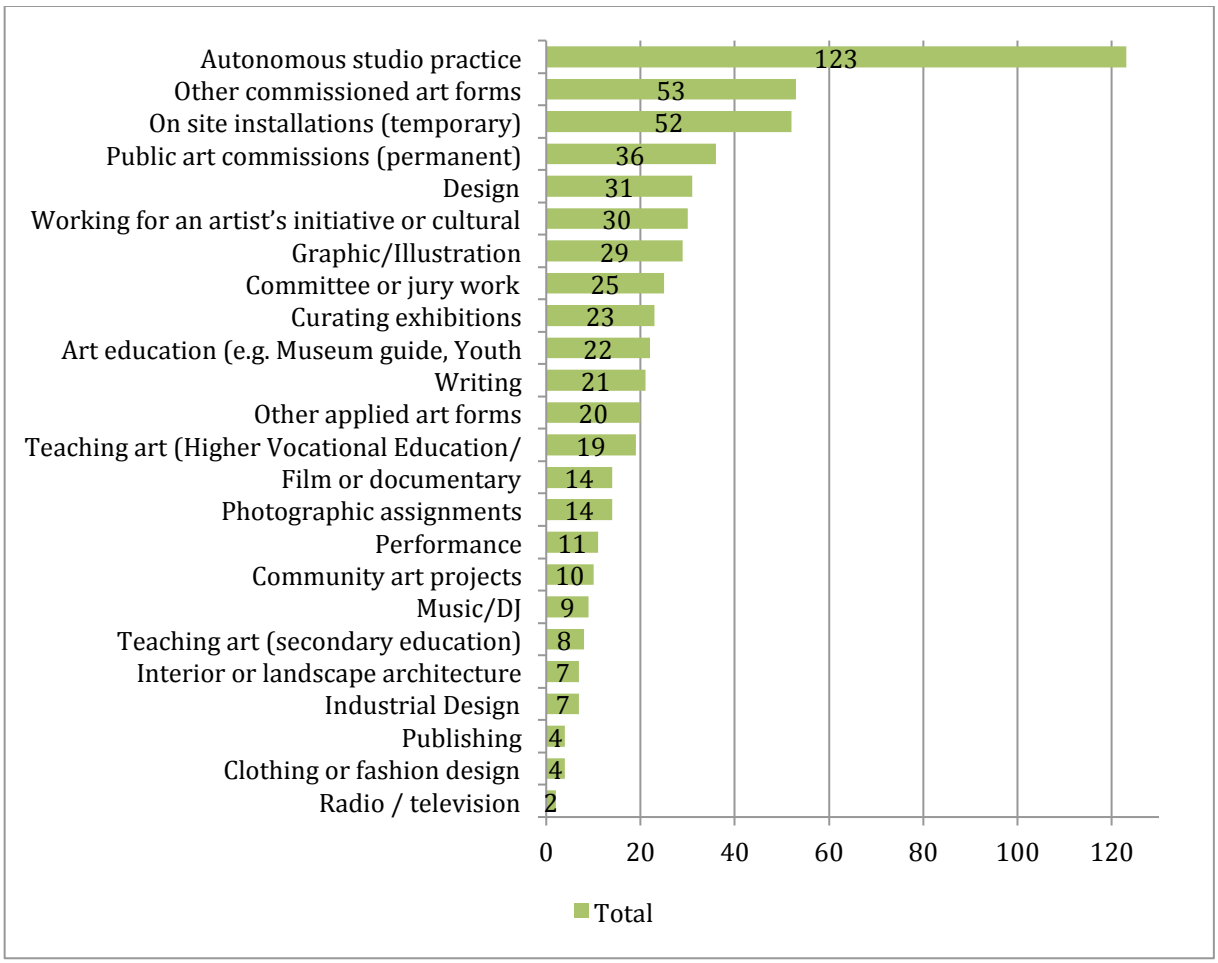
[24] See 3.1. Quantitative Data collection
[25] entry 360, Hyb, BE, 75
[26] entry 343, Plu, BE, 90
[27] entry 257, Plu, NL, 90
[28] entry 283, NW, NL, 05; entry 130, NW, NL, 75
[29] entry 416, NW, BE, 75

Figure 5: Activities within the field of cultural production

Autonomous Practices	Art-related Work	Applied Art Work
Autonomous Studio Practice	Radio / Television	Design
On-site Installations (Temporary)	Community Art Projects	Graphic/Illustration
Public Art Commissions	Writing	Industrial Design
(Permanent)	Publishing	Interior or Landscape Architecture
Other Commissioned Art Forms	Music/DJ	Photographic Assignments
	Performance	Film or Documentary
	Teaching Art (Secondary Education)	Clothing or Fashion Design
	Teaching Art (Higher Vocational Education/University)	Other Applied Art Forms
	Art Education (e.g. Museum Guide, Youth Studios)	
	Curating Exhibitions	
	Working for an Artist's Initiative or Cultural Institution	
	Committee or Jury Work	
	Other Art-related Work	

Figure 6 shows the engagement of active artists in the different activities. It has to be kept in mind, though, that respondents were able to give multiple answers to this question; therefore, the results stand for the sum of activities pursued by the sample group. We can see that most artists engage in the different activities that fall under autonomous practices. At the other end, the least activity can be seen in areas related to applied art. Yet, design is the fifth most engaged in activity. This might be an indication of the acceptance of design as a legitimate part of the field of cultural production, supporting the creative industry argument.

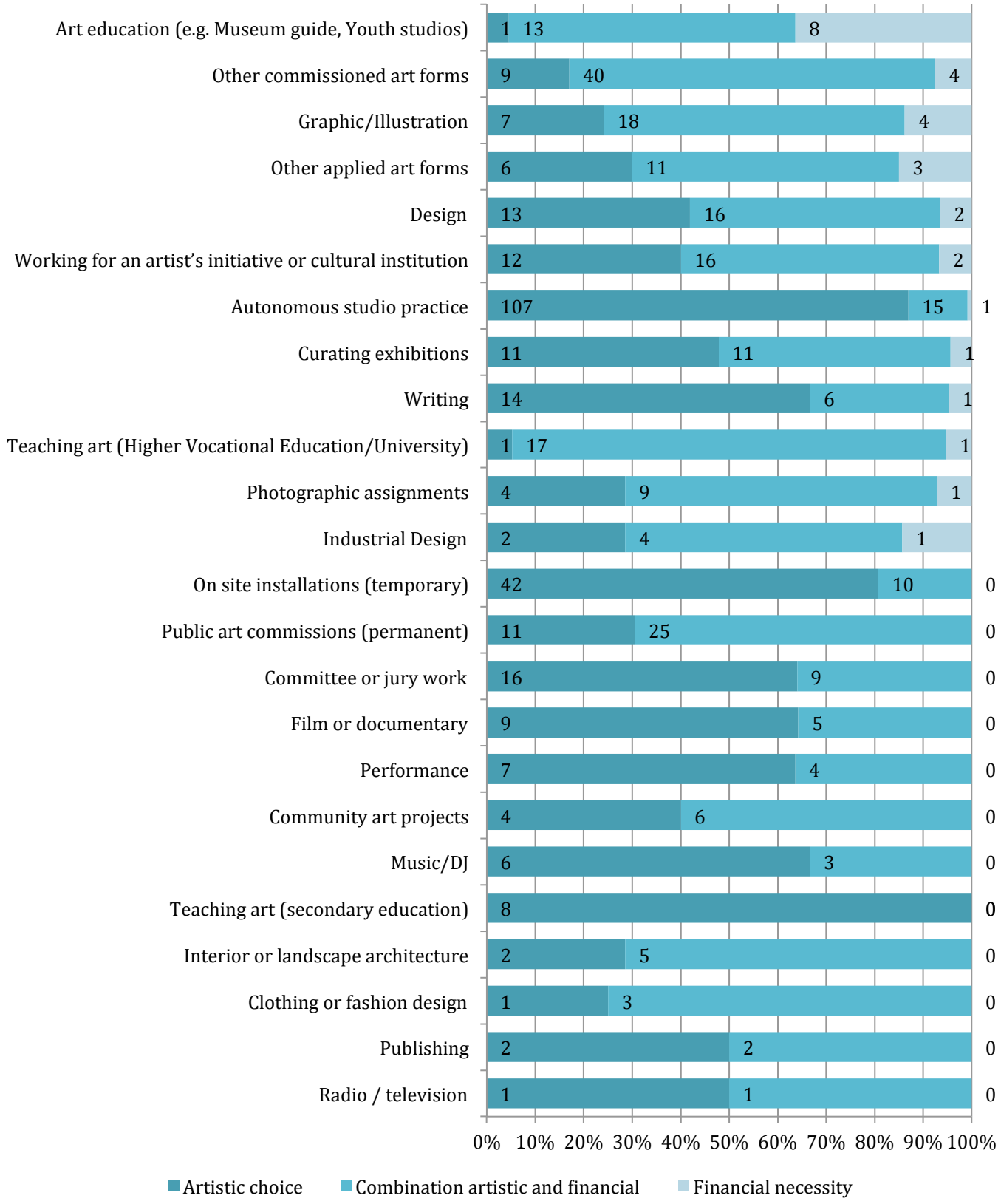
Figure 6: Number of respondents per activity



N=145; Missing=differs per activity; based on Table 36–59

Knowing which activities the respondents engage in still does not describe their opinion toward them in the field of cultural production. Do they want to do everything they are doing, or is the division of labour above all a necessary strategy of risk diversification as described in the theories mentioned above? To add this layer to the analysis, we also asked the respondents about their reason for engaging in their various artistic or art-related activities: artistic reasons, financial reasons or a combination of both. Due to the unequal number of respondents per activity, the results are represented relative to each other in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Number of respondents per activity and respective reason to engage in it



N=145; Missing=differs per activity; based on Table 36–59

Note: Sorted according to 1) financial necessity 2) combination artistic and financial 3) financial necessity

The most notable result from the analysis of reasons for engaging in the activities is the very low percentage of respondents who engage in any one of the artistic or art-related activities out of financial reasons alone. The activity with the highest financial motivation is art education (e.g. museum guide, youth studios) with 8 of the respondents who practice art education doing it for financial reasons and 13 for combined artistic and financial reasons.

Surprisingly, even the practices that are clearly applied art entail an element of artistic choice. While the autonomy of the field argument could have suggested that applied art practices are more likely to be pursued for monetary reasons, our data shows that this is not the case.

Furthermore, there are even activities that we have categorized as autonomous (commissioned art forms) or art-related (writing, teaching, working for an artist initiative or institution) that are pursued by some artists due to financial necessity.

Similarly, it is remarkable that activities from all three fields are also pursued out of artistic choice. Overall, the highest percentage of respondents state that for most activities they are motivated by both artistic and financial reasons.

To summarize, no activity within the field of cultural production of our sample group can be categorized as a purely or even predominantly financially-motivated engagement. However, neither can a clear-cut definition of which activities characterize artistic practice be given on quantitative grounds. Although autonomous studio practices, on-site installations and, interestingly, music/DJ activities stand out by having the highest purely artistic reason for engaging in them, the number of respondents who engage in those activities is relatively low. Besides, too many other activities are also pursued as artistic activities for a concise definition to be given.

These findings are supported by our qualitative analysis. Only in rare cases did respondents report that they engage in activities solely for money. When asked what influence their non-autonomous activities have on their autonomous work, many state that they gain inspiration, technical knowledge or a network of people that they can use for their autonomous work, too. Especially teaching is described as an activity primarily pursued out of a necessity to earn money, yet many respondents also experience it as a valuable addition to their autonomous practices. They often have to explore topics in more detail than they would otherwise; plus, they maintain a dialogue with peers and

students, which is described as enriching[30]. One respondent describes this as a process of 'cross-pollination':

> There is this sort of cross-pollination. That's a given. In my autonomous practice I now increasingly work with materials that perhaps I didn't use before, or work in ways or use channels that I didn't use so much before…. It's an addition to all the things you usually work with. An extension of your working palette. (entry 404, Mon, BE, 05)

Furthermore, it seems that artists are rather reluctant to engage in activities within the field of cultural production if they cannot at least partially identify with them. A more general negative side of working next to autonomous practices that can be identified is the time constraint that keeps artists from practicing their autonomous activities as often as they would like to.

Job Satisfaction & Career Stability

Coming back to the question at hand, so far, it seems that the position of artists within the field of cultural production has a tendency toward the more autonomous side. But in fact, the analysis of positions is too complicated for a purely quantitative analysis to explain. While Bourdieu argues that a field is always governed by the struggle for dominance of values between two extremes, such a struggle can neither be confirmed by an analysis of the pursued activities, nor by an analysis of the reasons for engaging in them. Considering that a struggle would presuppose the dissatisfaction of one group compared to another, we must take into consideration the career satisfaction of the respondents.

Satisfaction

In general, the alumni are rather satisfied with their current professional situation. Only 17% state they are dissatisfied; 37.8% are satisfied and 45.2% are more or less satisfied (Table 60). When looking at active and non-active artists separately, minor differences can be seen (Tables 61 and 62). In both cases, the respondents who are not satisfied are still a minority. Among the active artists, most respondents are more or less satisfied

[30] For example: "Sometimes I think it would be good to have a percentage in education, that's cool because you get a lot out of it… I get a lot back from it. I often have to look up things … eh, because I need to explain something and then I come across artists that are very interesting to me as well and so, through teaching, you gain insights that are useful in your own work." (entry 362, Mon, BE, 05)

(50.4%) while among artists who are not active, most respondents clearly say that they are satisfied (46.1%). Statistically significant differences between types of artists could not be found (Tables 63 and 64). This means that artists who engage in multiple practices are not significantly less satisfied with their careers than artists who can focus solely on their autonomous production. As far as gender and nationality are concerned, differences were also not significant (Tables 65 and 66). Between cohorts, significant differences could be found (Table 67): the 1990 cohort has by far the smallest percentage (7.1%) of respondents who are dissatisfied with their professional situation, while the 1975 cohort has the largest percentage (47.2%) of those who are satisfied.

Stability and Sort of Employment

Apart from the satisfaction of the respondents, we were wondering about the sort of employment and professional situation they have. From research of the literature, we know that short-term contracts and project work are said to characterize the field of cultural production. From our quantitative data. we can see that this is not unconditionally true: 48.2% of the entire sample group state they have long-term working contracts, compared to 31.4% short-term contracts (Table 68). Similarly, 54.1% of the respondents state they currently have a stable career, compared to 34.1% who have an instable career (Table 69). When looking at active and non-active artists separately, the distribution does not change noticeably (Table 70-73). A division according to types of artists also does not show statistically significant differences (Tables 75–77).

Looking at the relation between stability and type of work contract, significant differences can be found (Table 78 and 79). The analysis, however, is a little surprising: respondents with long-term contracts mostly describe their careers as stable, and vice versa. The same is true for short-term contracts and instable careers.

Significant differences between gender, nationality and cohort cannot be found (Tables 80–85.)

Interestingly, neither could significant differences be found when running a cross tabulation between job satisfaction and work contracts (Table 86). While one might have anticipated that long-term contracts result in greater job satisfaction, the data does not confirm this. Thus, it indicates that the flexibility of short-term contracts is indeed something that artists do not mind or that they even appreciate, as the psychic income theory suggests. Or, to put it slightly more carefully, the sort of contract artists have does

not determine their satisfaction with their professional situation. What is interesting to note is that although the type of contract that is related to stability does not determine job satisfaction, a significant majority (68.3%)of the group that IS satisfied with their professional situation say they have a stable career (Table 87). Yet, an almost equal percentage of the respondents who are dissatisfied with their situation describe their careers as stable or instable. This means that despite the fact that stability does not determine satisfaction, if an artist has a stable career, he/she is significantly more likely to be happy with his/her career.

To conclude, it can be said that neither of the two extremes that, according to Bourdieu, divide the field of cultural production is in a fully dominant position. The truth is to be found somewhere in the middle. In order to get a more precise picture of the guiding principles and values, it is necessary to distinguish more specifically between the hybrid artist and the pluri-active artist, and thus to go back to the concept of autonomy. To recall, the most prominent difference between the pluri-active artist and the hybrid artist is the perception of autonomy in relation to their professional practices. An analysis of both social autonomy and artistic autonomy can help to determine the autonomy of the field and of the actors inside it.

Social Autonomy

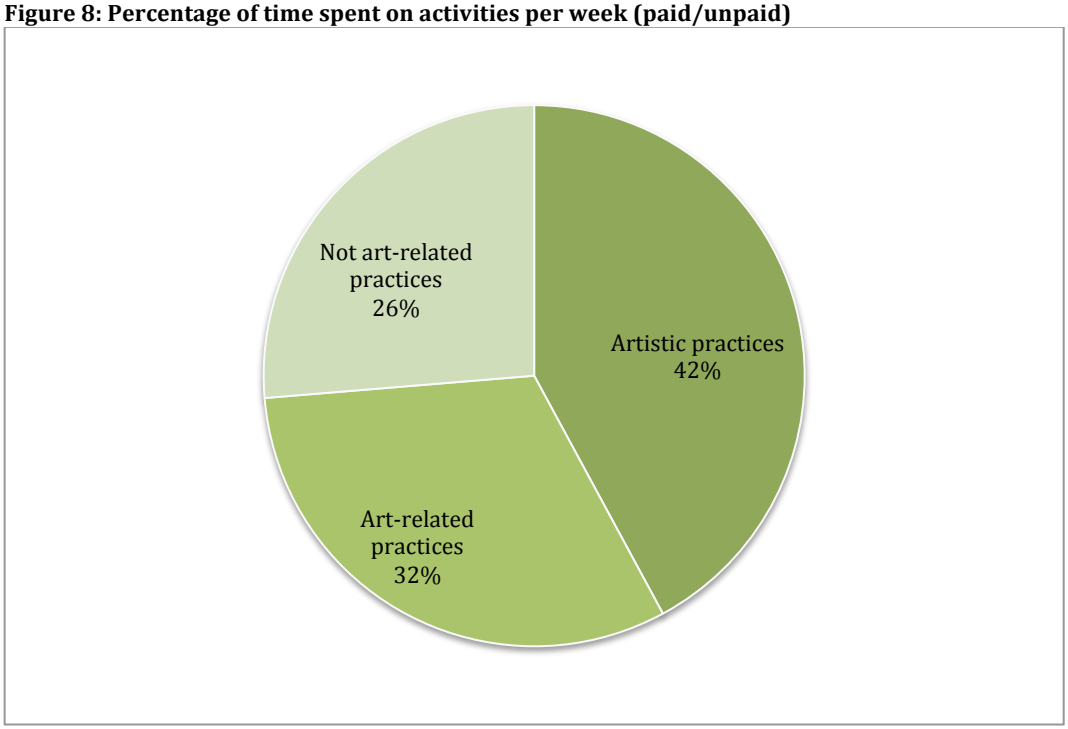
Bourdieu says that the more the field of cultural production functions according to the rules of the field of power in a political and economic way, the less autonomous it is as a field. One way to determine this social autonomy is to look at the time and income distribution of the sample group. The more time that is spent on primary artistic practices – and the more income that is derived from them – the more autonomous the field is.

Time allocation

We asked the respondents to give an estimate of how much time they spend during an average working week on artistic activities (paid and unpaid), on art-related work (paid and unpaid) and not-art-related work (paid and unpaid; e.g. household or voluntary work). As the respondents' perception of what activities fall under their artistic practices and what do not varies greatly, we decided to formulate the question more generally by leaving out the category of 'applied art practices'. The definition of artistic practices which we gave them as part of the question refers to all activities that are

directly connected with their artistry. Art-related work is then defined as activities that do not fall under their artistry but stand in direct relation to art. As this is a percentage question, only answers that add up to exactly 100% could be considered. Table 88 shows that this is the case for 57 of the 73 active artists who were asked this question. On average, active artists spend the most time on artistic practices and the least time on not-art-related work (Figure 8).

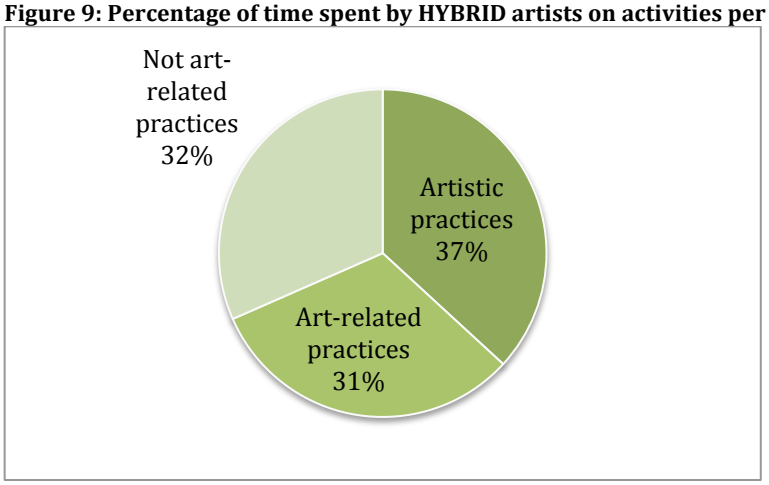
Figure 8: Percentage of time spent on activities per week (paid/unpaid)



N=57; Missing=0; See Table 89

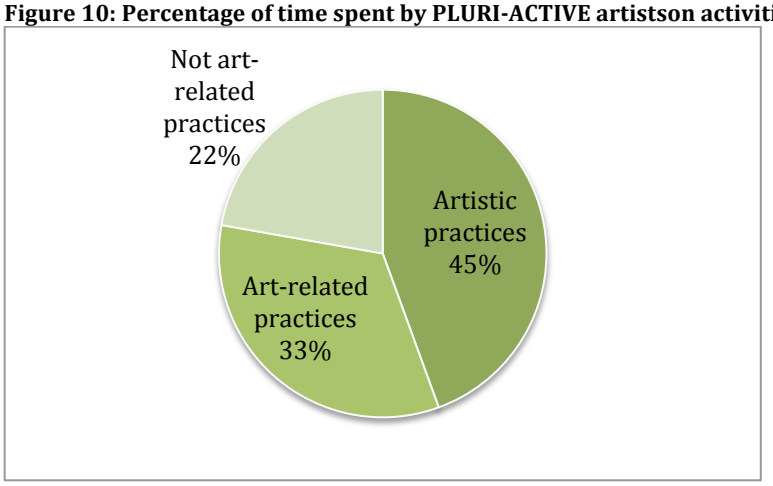
We can see some differences in time allocation between the different types of artists. Hybrid artists distribute their time the most evenly between the three fields of activity (Figure 9). Pluri-active artists spend more time on artistic practices and less time on not-art-related work (Figure 10). Monoliths spend most of their time on artistic practices and no time (per definition) on art-related work (Figure 11). However, the sample group was so small, especially when further divided into types of artists, that there is insufficient evidence to claim that the mean results for artistic practices and not-art-related practices may differ from each other, according to the Brown-Forsythe post-hoc test ($p>0.05$ (n.s); Tables 93 and 95). The variance analysis for art-related practices shows significant differences ($p<0.05$ (SIG); Table 94); however, this is due to the a priori definition of zero-value among monolithic artists.

Figure 9: Percentage of time spent by HYBRID artists on activities per week (paid/unpaid)



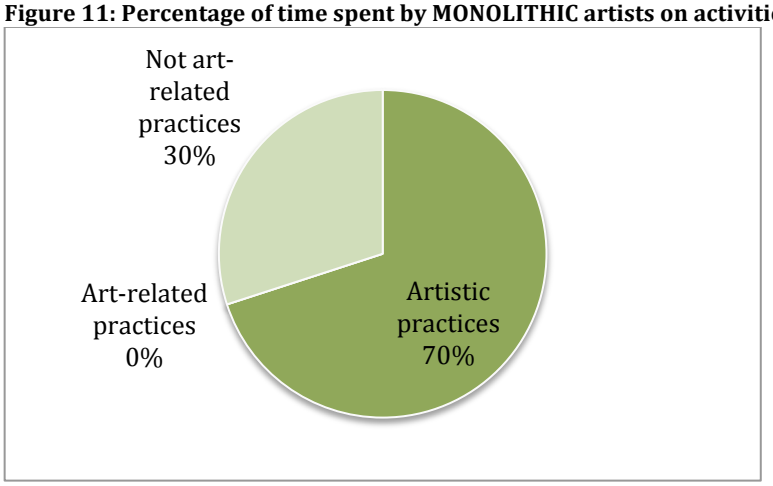
N=31; Missing=0; See Table 90

Figure 10: Percentage of time spent by PLURI-ACTIVE artistson activities per week (paid/unpaid)



N=23; Missing=0; See Table 91

Figure 11: Percentage of time spent by MONOLITHIC artists on activities per week (paid/unpaid)



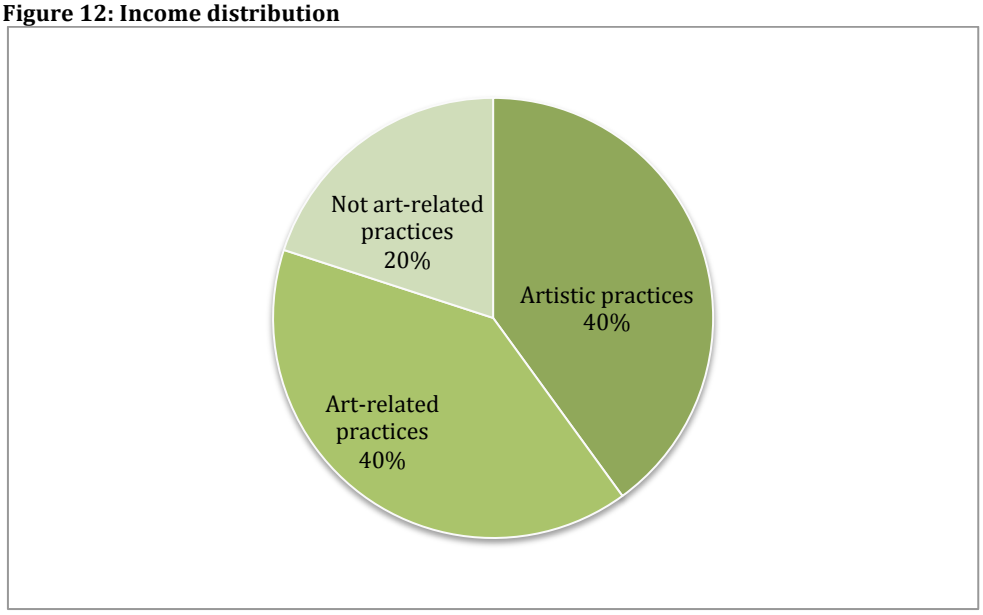
N=3; Missing=0; See Table 92

It turned out to be impossible to make an analysis of paid and unpaid activities separately from each other on the basis of the data. Because of the small sample sizes, the median for paid practices that are not related to art turned out to be a zero-value (Table 96). This is simply not true, as we know that (especially monolithic) respondents rely heavily on income from outside the art world. The same goes for the tables on paid practices of hybrid artists (Table 99) and paid practices of monolithic artists (Table 103). This finding rendered any further attempts at analysis pointless. For the interested reader, Tables 96–104 show the data in question anyway. It goes almost without saying that the variance analyses per type of artist were also found to be statistically insignificant (Tables 105–109). Again, one exception could be found: the variances in percentages of time spent on unpaid practices per type of artist in the art-related field, $p<0.05$, is statistically significant (Table 110). Again, this is related to the fact that monoliths do not engage in art-related work, in contrast to the two other types of artists.

Income allocation

How active artists allocate their income is similar to how they allocate their time. As with time allocation, for income allocation to be considered, the response percentage had to add up to exactly 100% of the income derived from artistic, art-related and not-art-related practices. A decision was made not to incorporate an additional filter on the basis of 100% time spent, because it would have rendered the sample group even smaller (Table 111). From the data, we can see that the least income is derived from not-art related work and, in this case, both artistic and art-related practices generate 40% of the income (Figure 12). Furthermore, here as well, the sample groups were too small for a reliable calculation of median values per type of artist (Tables 113–115). Correspondingly, again only the art-related variance analysis is significant, due to monolithic artists who do not engage in art-related work (Tables 116–118).

Figure 12: Income distribution



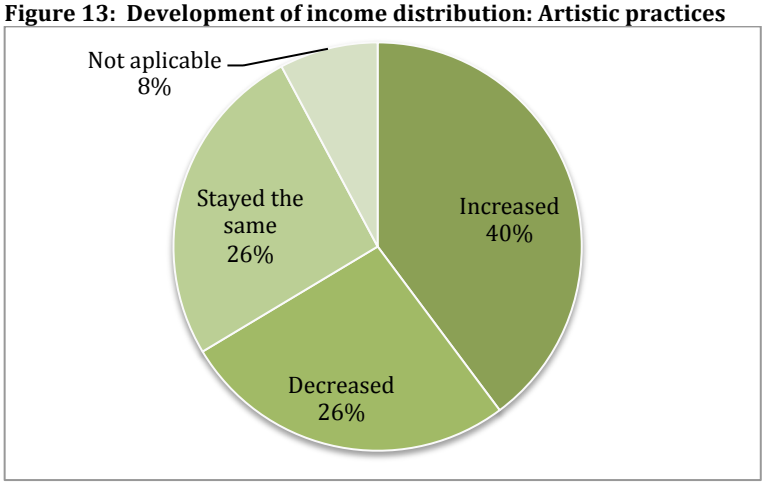
N=128; Missing=0; See Table 112

In order to get at least a subjective indication of how income possibilities within the field of cultural production have changed over time, we asked the respondents if their income in the respective fields of activity has increased, decreased or stayed the same compared to the past. For our sample group, at least, the assumption of a more inclusive field of cultural production in favour of the cultural industries has been confirmed: the majority of respondents (39.8%) state that income from their artistic practices has increased (Figure 13). Moreover, the majority of respondents (41.3%) say that income from their art-related practices has increased as well (Figure 14). Lastly, supporting the theory that nowadays it is easier to generate income from within the field of cultural production, more respondents (21.8%) state that their income from not-art-related practices has decreased than those who say it has increased (15.1%) (Figure 15).

For the analysis per type of artist, the category 'not applicable' has been filtered out because no useful information could be derived from it. The analysis per type of artist for artistic practices is not statistically significant, but with a chi square result of p=0.056 it actually almost is (Table 122). When taking a closer look, the most noticeable difference is that hybrid artists most often say that their income from artistic practices has increased (54.3%) and monolithic artists most often say that it has decreased (57.1%). The cross tabulation for art-related work is statistically not significant (Table 123). If we examine the table anyway, we can see that pluri-active and hybrid artists

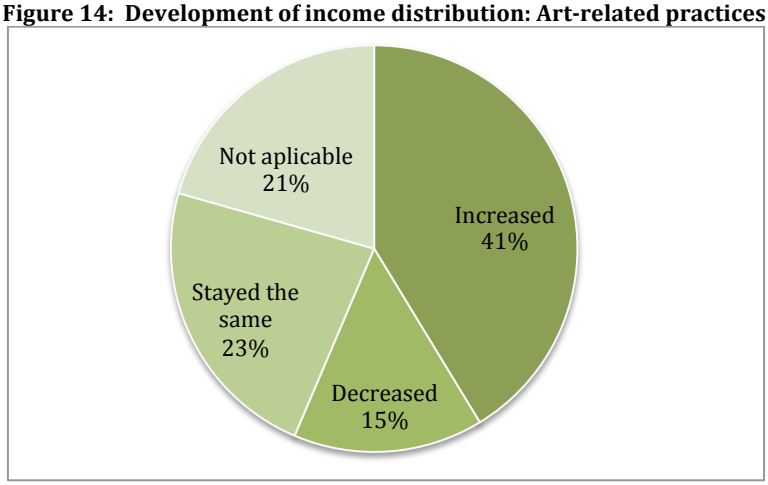
mostly say that their income has increased (pluri-active: 57.1%; hybrid: 52.4%) and, again, monolithic artists most often say that it has decreased (44.4%).

Figure 13: Development of income distribution: Artistic practices



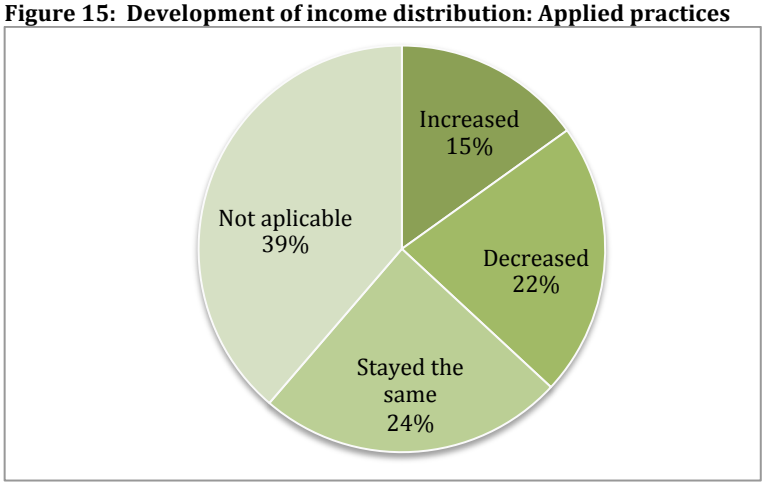
N=128; Missing=17; Table 119

Figure 14: Development of income distribution: Art-related practices



N=126; Missing=19; Table 120

Figure 15: Development of income distribution: Applied practices



N=119; Missing=26; Table 121

The last cross-tabulation in this set concerns not-art related work and is statistically significant (Table 124). Here, the opposite is true: the monolithic artists state by far the

most often that their income from not-art-related practices has increased (57.1%), while more than half of the pluri-active artists say that it has stayed the same (54.5%) and most of the hybrid artists (48.5%) state that it has decreased.

What this analysis indicates is that the boom of the creative industries has indeed improved possibilities for earning income within the field of cultural production, while it has become more difficult to generate income with purely autonomous practices. A further analysis by cohorts confirms this contemporary trend (Table 125). As this theoretical chapter explains, the creative industry discourse started somewhere in the late 70s. This corresponds with the finding that the respondents from the 1975 cohort most often say that their income from artistic practices has decreased (43.3%). The respondents from the 1990 cohort, who began their careers when the impact of the shifting focus to creativity can be assumed to have slowly begun too, are somewhat in the middle, with almost equal percentages stating that it has increased (34.7%), decreased (30.6%), or stayed the same (34.7%). Most respondents from the 2005 cohort state that it has increased (43.4%); however, this is very likely due to the fact that their professional careers are still developing, with six years of working practices at the time of the survey. The differences between cohorts for the art-related income evolution are not statistically significant. Yet, it can be seen that most respondents in all cohorts state that their income derived from art-related work has increased (1975: 60%; 1990: 51.2%; 2005: 48.1%). The data for not-art-related work is also not statistically significant, but it can be seen that members of the oldest cohort state most often that their not-art-related income has increased (41.7%) and the 1990 cohort is again somewhere in the middle (increased: 23.3%; decreased: 26.7%; stayed the same: 50%). For most respondents of the 2005 cohort, their not-art-related income has decreased (33.3%) or stayed the same (42.0%), which indicates that they are in the process of positioning themselves more within the field of cultural production.

To summarize: despite the often-unsatisfying data due to sample size, the time and income allocation analysis quite clearly suggests that the field of cultural production has indeed become more capitalistic, with a greater tendency toward secondary artistic practices, which can be assumed to include activities within the creative industries side of the field. Artists still spend most of their time on artistic practices, but while spending less time on art-related practices, generate the same percentage of income. Furthermore, the analysis of income evolution over time also supports these findings. To

put it in the context of Bourdieu and the autonomy of the field of cultural production, we can thus conclude that social autonomy within the field has decreased.

This is the point where we have to leave Bourdieu and the strict logic of the field of cultural production behind and turn to the hybridization hypothesis. The question, after all, is how artists perceive the changing culture within their field. Do they expand the concept of autonomy to include all activities of their creative production? Or do they still draw a clear line after what their autonomous practices are, and just accept the fact that they also have to do other things to make a living? In other words, how autonomous do artists feel, and how important is it to them? Making enough money to be able to choose the activities they want to engage in more freely could also be experienced as a certain form of artistic autonomy. As a starting point in the analysis of artistic autonomy, we will give a definition of autonomous visual artists based on the survey data. Afterwards, the concept will be specified by means of a qualitative analysis.

Artistic Autonomy

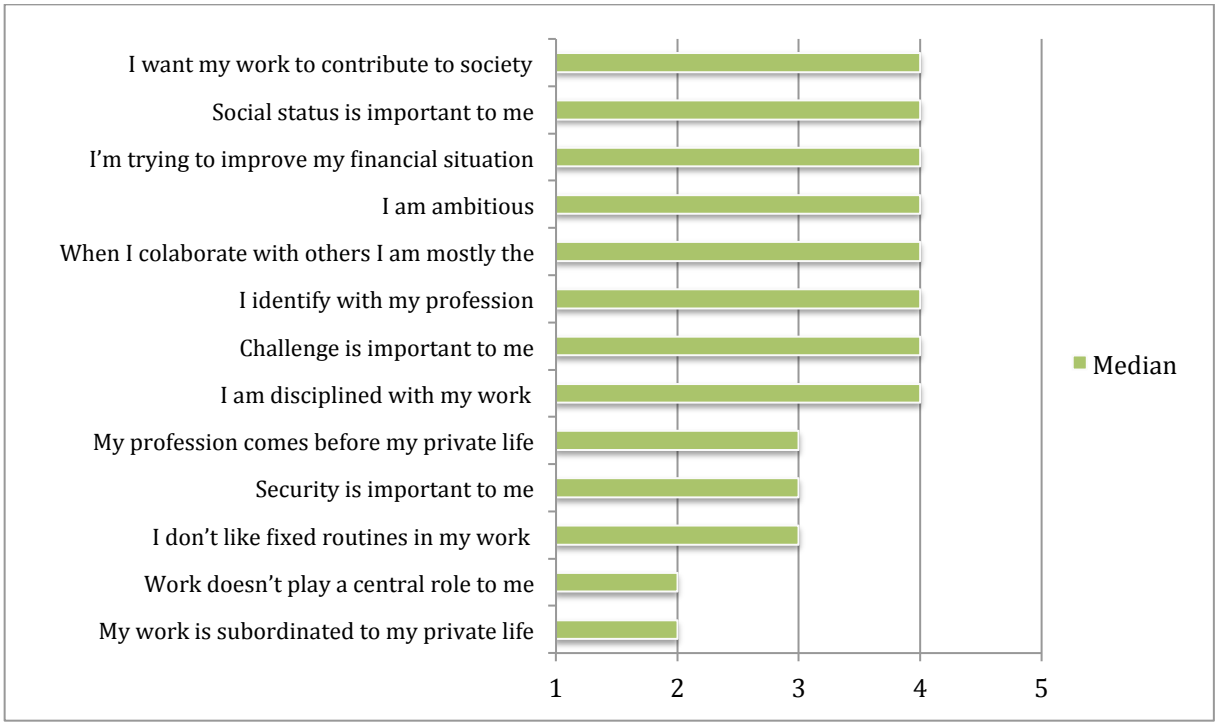
Since we decided to define artists according to their perception of themselves as artists , we are also interested in their definition of the personal and professional attributes that autonomous visual artists (should) have. Starting with the artists themselves, we wanted to know more about their professional ambitions and practices. We offered the respondents a list of statements that they could agree or disagree with on a 5-point scale. The scale ranged from 1 (absolutely disagree) to 5 (absolutely agree).

Professional ambitions

From the analysis of professional ambitions, we want to create an image of what is important to visual artists in their professional practice. The questions range from the hierarchy between work and private life and personal features like discipline to content-related characteristics, such as social impact (Figure 16). The median scale value was used for the analysis of the twelve questions. To start with the 'disagree' side of the scale, we can see that work plays a central role for artists and that they are not willing to subordinate it to their private life. Artists also do not really put work before their private life (Median=3) but it is certainly very important to them. They identify with their work (Median=4); therefore, it is only logical that they are also disciplined, ambitious and often take the lead in collaborations. Other characteristics that score high

among the sample group are the importance of social status, the contribution of their work to society, and a desire to improve financially. Security and a dislike of fixed routines are located in the middle of the scale and should therefore be regarded more as personal preferences than clear denominators for visual artists.

Figure 16: Professional ambitions of Active Artists



N=140; Missing=various; see Table 128

For the analysis per type of artist, the Brown-Forsythe variance analysis post-hoc test showed that in all cases no statistically significant differences could be found (p>0.05 (n.s); Tables 129–141).

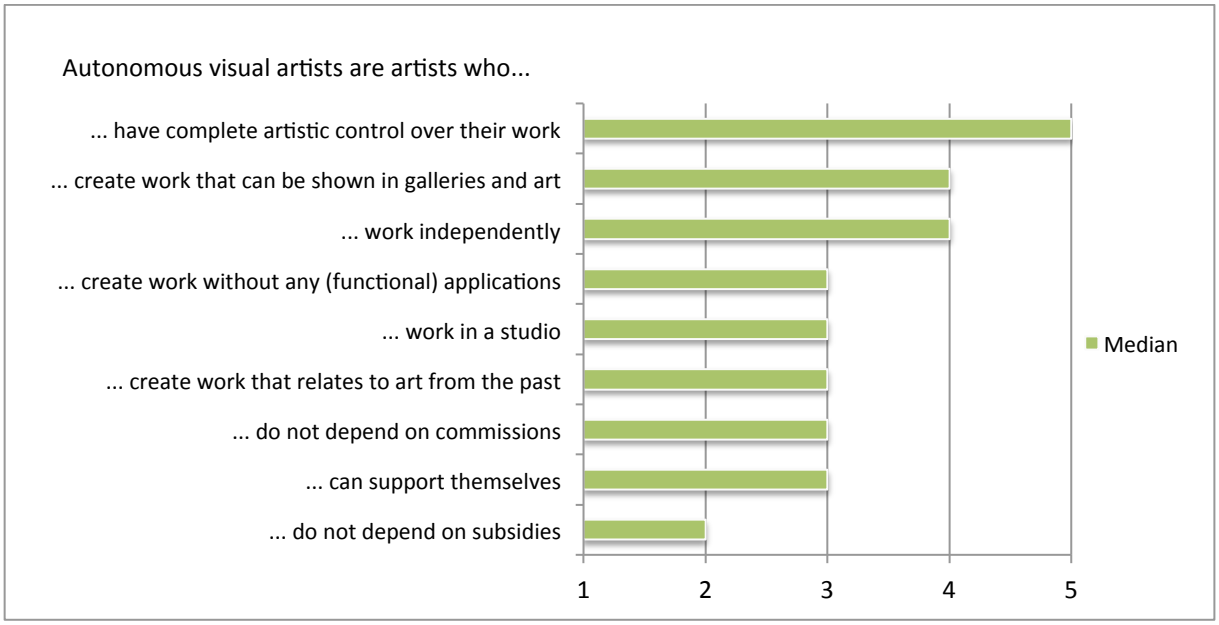
Perceptions of Autonomous Visual Artists

More generally, we were also interested in the artists' personal perceptions of what it means to be an autonomous visual artist. Again, we provided a list of statements that the respondents could agree or disagree with on a 5-point scale. Some statements can be quite clearly associated with the romantic view of visual artists, while others tend toward a more flexible perception.

The respondents agreed most strongly with the statement that autonomous visual artists have complete artistic control over their work (Median=5). Also, most

respondents agreed that autonomous visual artists work independently, and that it should be possible to show their work in galleries and art museums (Median=4). They agreed the least with independence from subsidies (Median=2). This means that subsidies are a perfectly acceptable source of income within the field of autonomous visual practices. The statements about (functional) applicability, studio work, relation to art works from the past, the need to support themselves and dependency on commissions were neither particularly agreed with nor disagreed with (Median=3). Again, this means that personal differences in perception determine whether or not an artist sees those factors as being decisive for autonomous visual artists.

Figure 17: Perceptions of Autonomous Visual Artists



N=145; Missing=0; see Table 142

For the analysis according to types of artists, significant differences could be found for the statements about complete artistic control (Table 143), dependency on commissions (Table 146), and the (functional) applicability of art works (Table 150)[31].

For the question about artistic control, all types of artist agree that it is a decisive component of autonomous visual artistry (Table 144). From the descriptive statistics, we can see that the strongest agreement as well as smallest standard deviation can be found among monolithic artists (Mean=4.85; SD=0.366), while slightly less agreement

[31] All related Anova tables are to be found between Tables 141-152

and a slightly higher standard deviation can be seen for pluri-active artists (Mean=4.50; SD=0.897), and even less agreement with an even higher standard deviation can be seen for hybrid artists (Mean=4.29; SD=0.936). Although these differences are minor, it is interesting to see that the more autonomously focused the artists are, the more important complete artistic control becomes in their perception of autonomous visual artists. For the question about independence from commissions, the same constellation is true; although the general agreement is much lower, with a total average of 3.03 (Table 147). Again, the same results can be seen for the mean values concerned with the question about the (functional) applicability of art works. The total mean value of agreement that autonomous visual artists should not make works that are (functionally) applicable is 3.16 (Table 153). Not surprisingly, the strongest disagreement can be found within the group of hybrid artists (Mean=2.79). However, they also have the highest standard deviation (SD=1.446). Pluri-active artists more often think that functionlessness is a denominator in autonomous visual arts practices (Mean=3.34). They also have the lowest standard deviation of the three types of artists (SD=1.214). Monolithic artists agree most with that statement (Mean=3.50) but also have a slightly higher standard deviation than pluri-active artists (SD=1.277).

Based on the most important points of the analysis of statements, the image that we get of the respondents is that they are very driven and committed to their work, despite the fact that it can be monetarily dissatisfying. Seeing as most respondents agree that they would like to improve their financial situation, it is also not surprising that many do not think it problematic for autonomous visual artists to depend on subsidies or commissions. However, opinions are divided, as we can see from the rather high number of statements that are somewhere in the middle of the scale.

We find this confirmed in the qualitative analysis. The large majority of artists are exceptionally committed and disciplined about their autonomous practices. They generally try to free up as much time as possible to work on their art; some even plan their family lives in such a way that they have fixed days for their studio work[32]. Many

[32] See for example entry 426, Mon, BE, 05: " … we really share this – down to the minute, in fact…. Two and a half days, yes, for our child, for our children. And the rest of the time we spend in the studio. While we are looking after the children, we also do the shopping, so that we can really spend the full other two and a half days in our studio."

work on their art while holding a steady teaching job or in the evening hours. Commissions and other activities are often above all regarded as a tool for creating the financial space to concentrate on autonomous activities. Yet, this generalization is insufficient because many different perceptions of autonomy and artistic practices can be distinguished in the qualitative data.

On the basis of the quantitative data, we made a theoretical distinction between those who only work autonomously (monoliths), those who distinctly separate their autonomous work and applied work (pluri-active) and those who do not see the need for separation at all (hybrid). Yet, this distinction is difficult to maintain in practice, because individual perceptions of what autonomous and applied art is varied widely, despite the precise definition that we gave in the online survey. Concurrently, the established typology also raises certain limitations, because on an individual basis it becomes clear that the divergence in definitions led to an inconsistent categorization. Based on the assessment of the qualitative material, I therefore suggest a revaluation of:

1. The definitions of autonomous practices, art-related practices and applied art practices
2. A typology that is more nuanced in reflecting artists perception of autonomy than the the types *monolithic*, *pluri-active* and *hybrid*.

4.2. Qualitative Analysis

Perception of Practices

To recall, we have defined three fields of artistic activities that visual artists engage in: autonomous practices, art-related practices and applied practices [33]. While this categorization is theoretically accurate and quantitatively measurable, it is almost impossible to find it reflected in the in-depth interviews. Respondents also use the terms, but what they refer to when using them often differs from our categorization of activities. It seems that in practice, the determining factor is not the pursued activities per se, but rather the individual's psychological perception of those activities. In general, the terminology is used in a less complex way than we had suggested. The majority of active respondents only make a twofold distinction between autonomous practices and applied art practices: applied art is everything that is not regarded as autonomous[34] but where the artist 'applies' his/her skills.

> "Applied work is very clear. It clearly has a purpose, in fact …." (entry 97, Plu, NL, 05)

The need for another subdivision (art-related / applied) that entails a certain valuation is not reflected. However, this term (art-related) is used again to make a distinction between art-related work and not art-related. Therefore it regains relevance for the non-active artists. They often either state that they are 'at least' still working in the art-related field or they state that they would like to work in the art-related field again[35] (see for example: entry 239, NN, NL, 05 and entry 182, NW, NL, 05).

To summarize, the position of artists in the field of cultural production as established by means of the three fields of artistic activity is a purely theoretical tool. Nevertheless, for our overall analysis, this theoretical subdivision in three categories is still useful as well as accurate, especially when used to investigate changes in the nature of the field of cultural production toward a more industry-oriented field. Despite the fact that artists themselves do not perceive their activities in such a way, the theoretical categorization according to commercial functionality of activities that has led us (and

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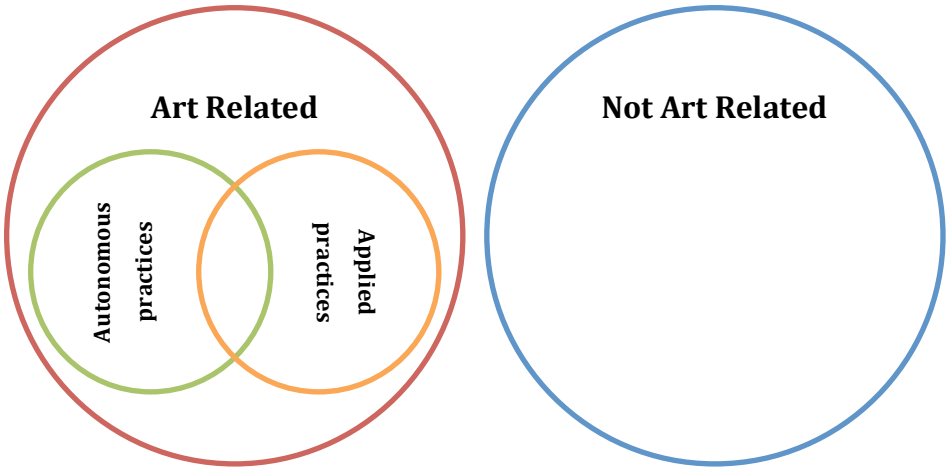
[33] See Figure 5, p. 4

[34] Keep in mind that the definition of autonomous practices may vary.

[35] On very rare occasions, the respondents were so fed up with the art world or so happy with their career change that they did not express a desire to work within the field of cultural production.

others) to employ these three terms is still valid. In practice, the categories are psychologically related to an internality or externality: Those who are external to the autonomous field of cultural production distinguish between cultural production and not cultural production (thus art-related work and not-art-related work). Those who are internal to the autonomous field distinguish between autonomous cultural production and applied cultural production (Figure 18). Interestingly, this discovery confirms a dichotomous distinction within the field of cultural production, as Bourdieu suggested (See **Figure 2**).

Figure 18: Internal and External Use of Terminology



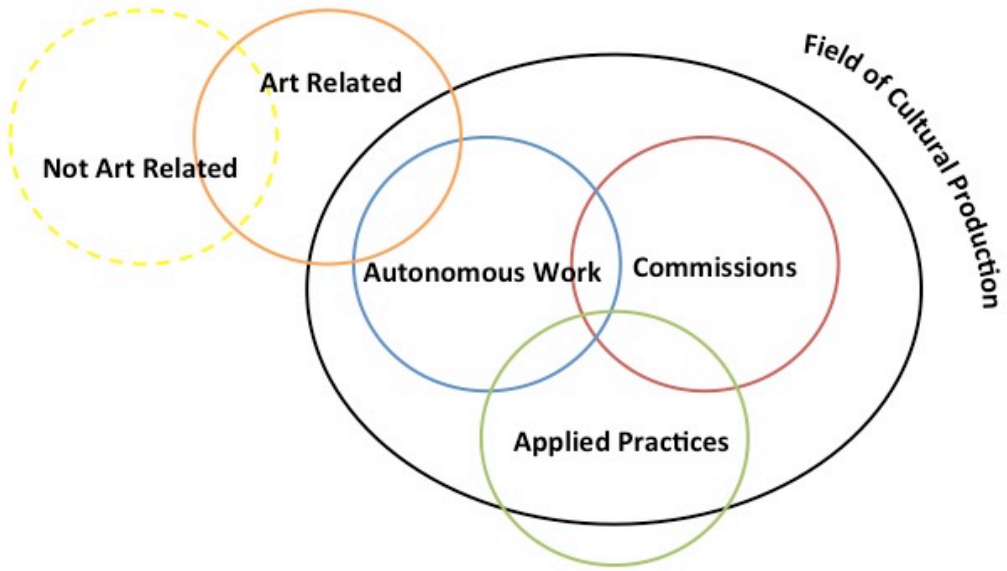
Perception of Autonomy

As has been said, our established categories of professional activities are a useful tool in structuring artists' positions in the field of cultural production. In order to analyse the respondents' perception of autonomy, I will therefore turn back to the theoretical categories of autonomous work, art-related work, applied practices and not-art-related work. Furthermore, I have added the category of 'commissions', because the interviews revealed that these are not automatically perceived as part of autonomous practices, unlike as was suggested.

Figure 19 illustrates the different fields of activity within the field of cultural production and beyond. The respondents' perceptions of autonomy can be illustrated by positions in the visualization scheme. Any position is theoretically possible. The almost infinite number of possible positions allows for a very individualized analysis of autonomy-perception. The overlapping circles indicate that respondents might or might

not perceive the respective fields of activity in the same way. For example, some respondents perceive commissions as part of their autonomous work; others experience them as part of applied practices. Similarly, some respondents feel that applied practices are part of their cultural production; others consider all commercial activities, including applied practices, to be essentially different from their artistic production, and so on.

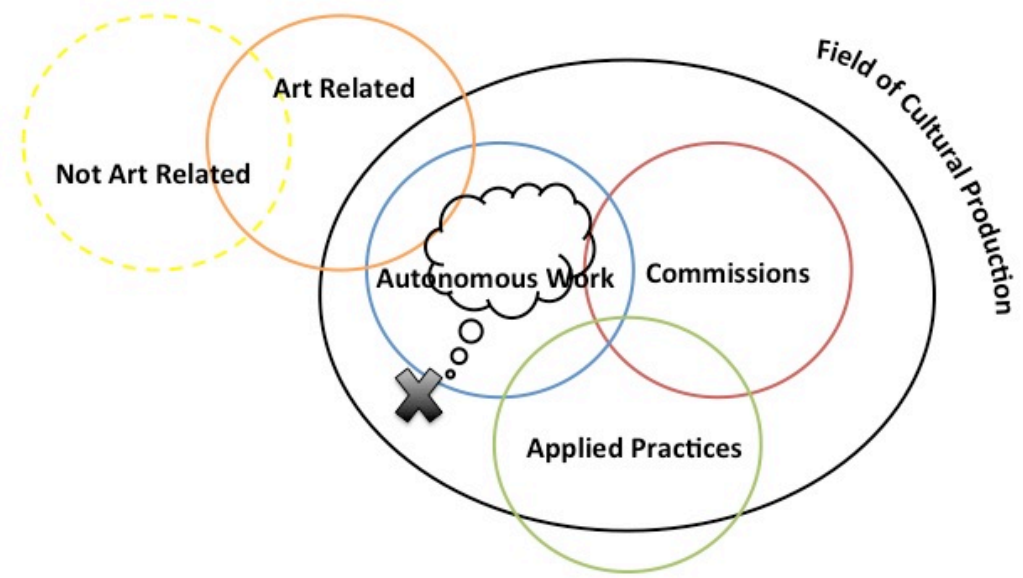
Figure 19: Visualization Scheme for Artists' Perception of Autonomy



On the basis of the qualitative analysis, it was possible to identify six types of autonomy-perception that roughly encompass all opinions reflected in the interviews. In the following, a definition of the six main perceptions is given. At the end of each section, representative quotes from the in-depth interviews will illustrate the theoretical description.

1. Utopian Autonomy

Figure 20: Artists' Perception of Autonomy – Utopian



The first, and most hard-liner definition of autonomy perceives "the fundamental impossibility of any form of autonomy, artistic or otherwise, pointing to the overriding social, political and economic circumstances that condition our individual existence within a community" (Butcher et al., 2010). In the fashion of critical theory, those artists perceive autonomy as a utopia; much like Bourdieu also does with his perception of autonomy as a social construct. Only a very few of our respondents fall into this category. Despite the fact that they are aware of constant influences that the external world executes on a purely autonomous personal inside, autonomy is an ideal that they strive for. Strategies to minimize external influences in order to gain maximum intellectual autonomy include seeking seclusion in nature.

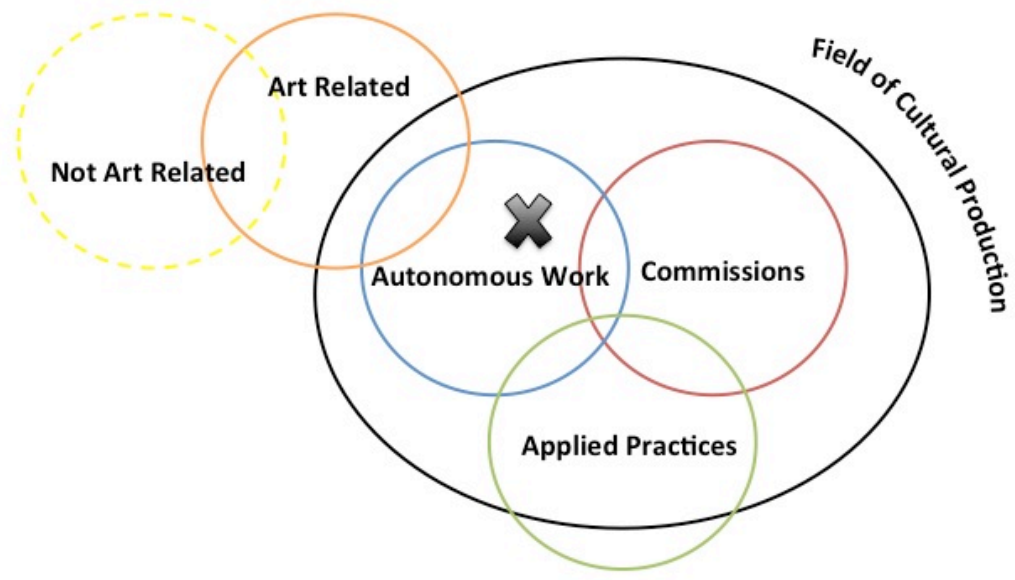
> "I don't have the illusion that I can invent all kinds of new things myself. We humans are like sponges that absorb things and there are all sorts of things coming at us from the outside…. that's a kind of struggle you can never win, of course. You are dealing with outside stimuli, that's the stuff you have to work with…. Ideally, I would like to control everything myself but of course that's quite impossible." (entry 237, Mon, NL, 75)

"…nature is the least likely to steer you in a direction, I would say, when you compare it to the images you see in TV commercials pictures of birds and the like, and the images of fellow artists…. These are often very penetrating images, but nature is too of course, but it belongs to everyone and so I don't want to have something from people which has already been fabricated, produced, designed or steered by people. I want to determine my own course in my own way. That's how I ended up with nature." (entry 237, Mon, NL, 75)

"The illusion that I could be that autonomous, or even more autonomous than I already am, that's a kind of ideal or whatever. I don't like copying other people. To do things that others are already doing and then pretend you invented it yourself, I find that terribly annoying, or, well, almost ridiculous…. Against my better judgement, I sometimes try to be autonomous, even though I know that's almost always a struggle – although I don't really see it as a struggle, but more or less as part of my character – to not be defined by others and simply do my own thing. As much as possible…. Occasionally I do include things in my own work and I can't completely switch off my emotions; after all, you always pick up things, but preferably as little as possible." (entry 237, Mon, NL, 75)

2. Only Independent Art is Autonomous

Figure 21: Artists' Perception of Autonomy – Independent



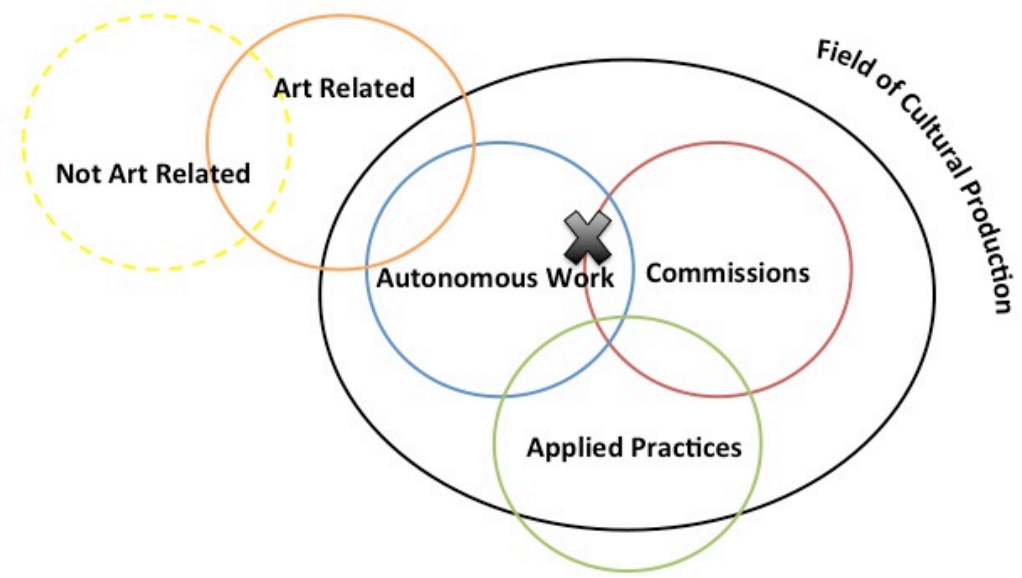
The second definition of autonomy is in line with the romantic perception of the studio artist. The associated type of autonomy-perception can best be described by the concept

of the Bohemian artist. “Stereotypically, Bohemians are uncorrupted by outside incentives; they are anti-bourgeois, anti-market and driven by a desire to create in freedom“ (Rengers, 2002, p. 149). While this attitude is not reflected in all of the professional activities of the respondents in question, it certainly is true for their autonomous work. They do not make compromises in their autonomous artistic production, regardless of their success or lack thereof. They identify their self-directed autonomous studio practices as their only purely autonomous practice. In order to sustain themselves, they often engage in other activities – art-related or not, but they keep them clearly separated from their artistic production.

> “During my time at the art academy I occasionally did odd jobs for people, but I soon found out that if you do commissioned work, people have certain expectations and then you relate quite differently to your work than you’d like to. You don’t become an artist to get rich or whatever, so you are very preoccupied with, like, ideals. And as soon as you start doing commissioned work, you find that you have to compromise, because the client has certain wishes of course. That doesn’t work for me, I don’t want to do that. It also takes a lot of organizing. There is always a budget, and a deadline. If you want to make independent work, then that’s no good.” (entry 38, Mon, NL, 05)

3. Autonomy Can be Commissioned

Figure 22: Artists' Perception of Autonomy – Independent Commissions



The third type of autonomy-perception is very similar to the second, with the only difference being that commissions are also regarded as part of the autonomous practice. Whether or not commissions are perceived as autonomous seems to depend a lot on the artistic medium that the artist employs. While painters tend to dislike commissions because they limit their artistic freedom, performance and installation artists, for example, mostly do not mind. This is due to the fact that their autonomous production is often essentially the same as their commissioned work.

Imagine an installation artist who gets a commission from a public museum. The museum is not going to ask him or her to use, say, a hundred light bulbs that are preferably yellow in colour. Installation artists are commissioned precisely for the kind of autonomous work they make. Thus they do not necessarily mind working within a predetermined limitation, form or function imposed by a public or private commissioner Limitations can, for example, refer to the size or technical extent of the art piece.

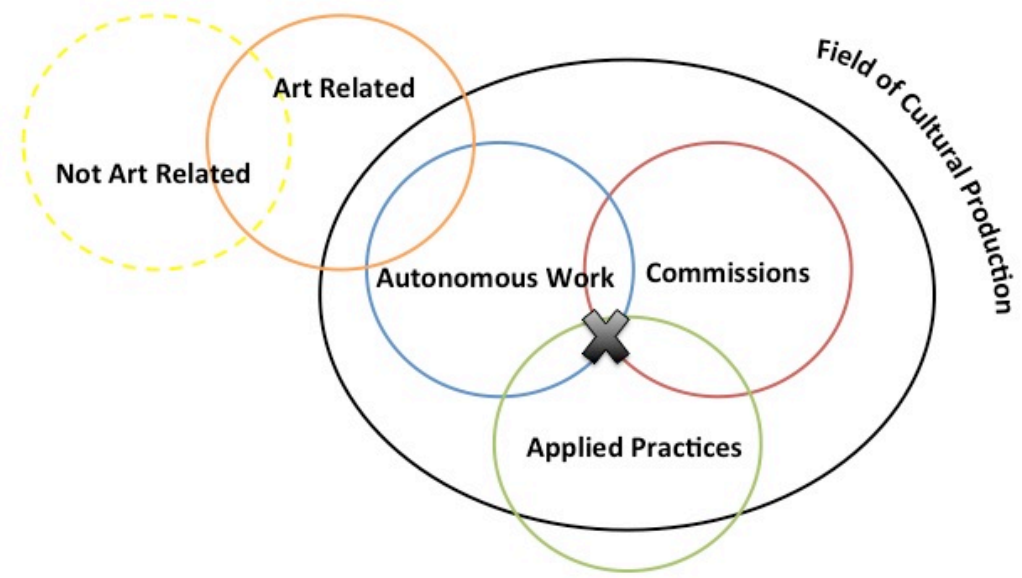
A painter who gets a public or private commission, however, is often faced with the client's wish for a certain object or colour. Interestingly, most respondents with this perception of autonomous art do not choose to execute commissioned works 'nevertheless' (for example out of financial reasons) while keeping them separate from their autonomous production. Some have occasionally done so, but usually they prefer to pursue other activities, like teaching, instead of using their artistic skills in a non-autonomous fashion. The only exemption is found in the medium of photography. Here, artists often employ their artistic skills for commercial purposes (e.g. interior design photography) but keep it clearly separate from their artistic production. This observation leads to the conclusion that the medium which is employed is a large determining factor for the way that autonomy is perceived. Generalizations for all types of visual artists are therefore difficult to make.

> "Look, I develop my visual idiom in my studio; I've always done it that way and there are no rules that I have to follow, or just self-imposed rules. As soon as I get an art assignment, I always try to find a way to make it my own work, by, well, to put it bluntly, spinning a tale that keeps the client happy and prevents me from having to force myself to, uh, concede too much. So in that sense, I always bend the applied aspect to my own will…. And increasingly so, compared to the old days, the 70s and 80s, when this whole idea of making concessions really was like a capital offence. You just didn't do that, it was unthinkable. Whereas now, in this day and age, well, you're just a freelancer and you have to make money, so 'concession' is no longer a dirty word, you're actually pretty smart to just make concessions and be able to do that . And that's actually, that last part, well, it's just not me and I'm not likely to learn that new trick [laughs] so yeah…. Look, it doesn't matter if somebody makes applied art or works autonomously, but for me… there is an essential difference whether I develop my work from within myself or have to think about what somebody else proposes to me. Look, if it's just about the location or the size or, well, some kind of built environment or the interior of a house, that's something I can work with. But if they really start to want… Let's say something really applied, like, 'we want you to start thinking about the fact that we have a street called the Rembrandt Street and we want you to do something in relation to Rembrandt and make an image about that', then I'm out of there, that's not for me, I can't deal with that." (entry 141, Mon, NL, 75)

> "Gee, it's the fact that I make an image myself and decide what to show, and that I can make my own series of it But anything that only functions to support a product or something, that's no longer art to me…. I have applied this to myself as well, the idea that you have your own theme and, well, create a series around it and that that's not supposed to be related to an assignment. That you make your own assignments. The idea behind it is then more important than, uh, that everyone just sees it as a good series, or not good, or whatever, yeah." (entry 191, NW, BE, 05)

4. The Process of Creation is Autonomous

Figure 23: Artists' Perception of Autonomy – Process of Creation



The fourth type of definition is slightly more open, but still draws clear lines between autonomous and applied production. The respondents perceive all artistic activities as autonomous work as long as they are the main decision-makers. Like above, autonomy is thus attained through the absolute unrestricted process of creation. There is still strong resistance to any adaptation to public (or even industrial) demands. However, they do not necessarily mind what form or function their art work assumes afterwards. In this case, the perception of autonomy is related to the process of creation and not to the object itself. Activities that are clearly not related to the autonomous practices a priori are still regarded as separated activities.

> "It's like… It's sort of gradual, I mean, there are different types of invitations and some invitations are more specific to a situation, if you like. So, just a little bit more focused. Other invitations to do work are more open. It all depends very much on the location and the organizations that ask me. I once did the artwork for an album/CD cover, the whole package. And actually, I approached that the same way that I approach the things I very clearly do more autonomously, let's say. The only difference is that the results come

about in consultation with others. Whereas with things that I really completely do from my own inspiration, there is not necessarily any consultation with others. But the approach, the work method, is in fact exactly the same… yes, or I wouldn't do it. And that means that if I'm asked to do something more applied, I assume that that also springs from my autonomous practice. That their initial interest is in that and that people ask me to make something specific based on my practice…. It's just a kind of end result, a little bit more focused or efficient… But that in itself is interesting; how you deal with that? So it is more of a realization that the one thing does not exclude the other, and vice versa. And that basically it all starts from the decision to accept a certain invitation or agree to a certain proposal, or not. That's where you basically decide how much space you will be given, or have, or can take." (entry 404, Mon, BE, 05)

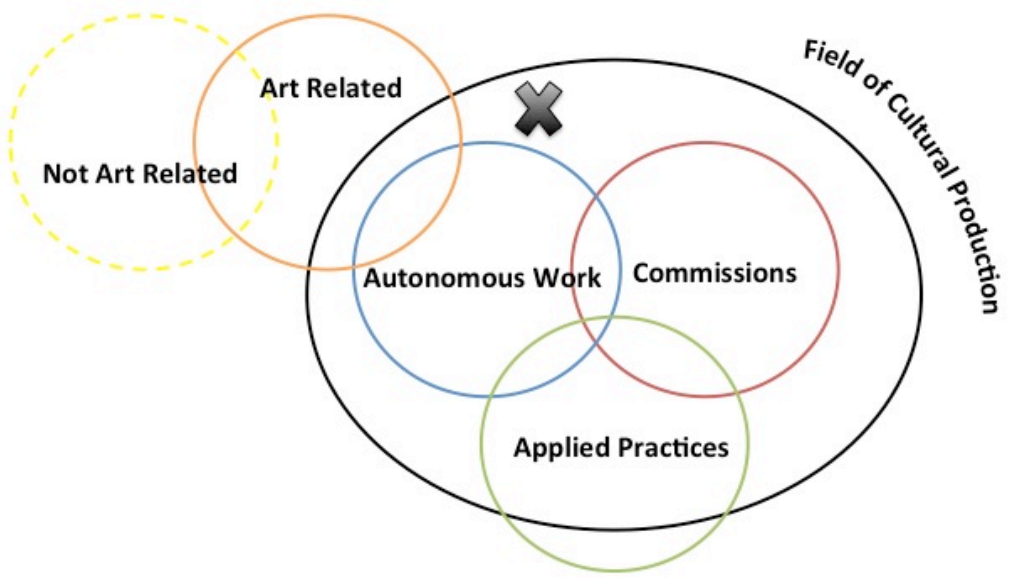
"I have always made series of cartoons of things that fascinated me in a certain way, and I started to present these. So actually, I always took the initiative myself by making something autonomous and then presenting it…. But over the years I did become increasingly bothered by the fact that independent work, or work created in an independent way, had to find an entrance somewhere, or find its place in the media, like in newspapers for instance. I felt there was something problematic about this. The fact that if I went to a newspaper with drawings – or with graphic work – that the people there would say, 'Yes, but this drawing and that drawing is not publishable because your technique is much too light, we can't print this'. They try to curtail creativity from a different angle, bend it to their will. Some cartoonists and graphic artists can live with that, but I felt increasingly that I could not live with that. So I did clearly sense the line that separates applied art from free art. At one point I started to make cartoons that were no longer publishable, on individual sheets of paper or on waste paper or dirty paper, with all kinds of techniques, no matter which one, and I exhibited those just the same." (entry 448, Hyb, BE, 90)

Although it is rarely consciously formulated, the strict line that is drawn between autonomous and applied practices reveals a critical position. All four definitions of autonomous perception given above clearly draw this line and thereby protect their autonomous artistic creation from outside influences.

"As Adorno warned us, the problem of artistic autonomy seemed to be more than a desirable formal condition of art in modernity (Adorno 1997, 8-9). Rather it turned out to be a necessary (albeit illusory) strategy of aesthetic resistance conceived in negative terms, served to guarantee art's non- assimilation into cultural industry – and thus, its critical and political potential." (Nae, 2011, p. 434)

5. Artistic Skills are Autonomous Skills

Figure 24: Artists' Perception of Autonomy – Skills



The fifth perception of autonomy is actually not very focused on autonomy at all. Respondents in this category are above all happy when they can use their creative skills in whatever way possible. Their art is essentially anything they create. Differences between autonomous practices and applied practices might be perceived (or even weighted) but not as something threatening: rather, as an enriching way of being creatively active. These respondents do not experience all their activities as autonomous, as the hybridization theory would suggest; instead, autonomy has become less important in their professional practice.

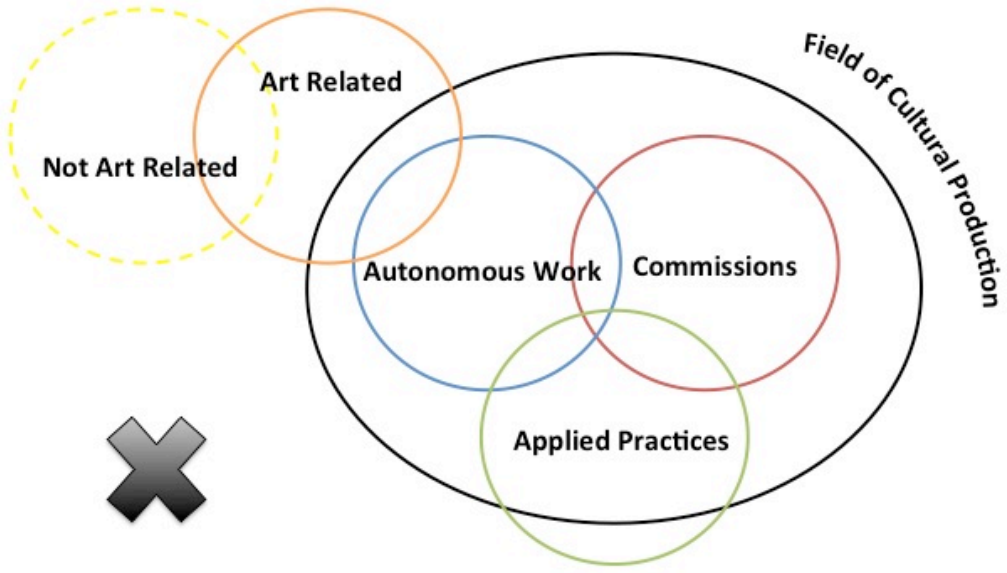
> "Personally, I still make a clear distinction between the two, also because my clients do, but I do feel they are becoming similar in my work…. Look, before, I never stopped painting or drawing or… and in my graphic practice I often do the same. People call that being creative but I don't like that word, it's wrong…. That's why I often call myself a visual designer. Not a graphic designer or visual artist or ceramist or photographer. Simply a visual designer. I very clearly am a designer, because I often start from an idea and then literally start designing, sketching, drawing, writing, and the work follows from

that. This happens in both the production studio and my own studio, whereas you can of course simply start and see what happens, which is also a fine way of working." (entry 108, Plu, NL, 75)

"It's applied art, cause you always have to make concessions as opposed to when we create work in the studio. There, we do what we want, as opposed to a commissioned work of art for public space. You are always looking for materials or durability and you have to start thinking differently about certain things…. but it's a true work of art, to be sure, it's just that you are rewarded for it in a different way. You get a straightforward fee, whereas the art that we produce here will be exhibited, but that doesn't mean it will be sold…. but the ideas keep coming. You know, so it's… we're keeping busy anyway, with everything, that is… Well, I really see it as one big cross-pollination. One thing influences the other and vice versa and… you get inspiration from one thing and then…" (entry 143, Mon, BE, 05)

6. Life as Artwork

Figure 25: Artists' Perception of Autonomy – Life as Artwork



The sixth type is an extreme form, which we found only once among our respondents. The artist in question perceives his entire life as a work of art, because all of his actions are subordinate to the higher artistic self. Work that is not art-related work is also pursued with artistic awareness or at least has the sole function of making artistic production possible. His position toward artistic production is theoretical, almost

philosophical. He strives to make every action in his daily life a conscious experience and therefore part of his artwork. He draws the line when actions are subjectively experienced as purely functional, like sweeping the streets. Yet, even sweeping the streets could be an artistic act from his point of view.

> "I don't really see a distinction. That's the weird thing. I really am… always have been pretty much of a studio artist, but I've also stepped outside of it from time to time, And… yeah, on the one hand I'm big on romanticism, but on the other hand I'm also a… yeah… [thinks]. I have a certain objectivity within me, and uh… in visual art it's often called the subject, but to me personally it is more about the object, also where people are concerned… On the other hand, I find my own life at least as important and art is one hundred percent interwoven with that, so there is no difference between working or not working. The same goes for these distinctions of whether it is applied or not – it's me! … And by that I mean that I'm working almost 24 hours a day, being alert, if you like, because for me, art is really about living. With me, it doesn't only start when I enter my studio." (entry 90, Plu, NL, 75)

> "For me it's like… uh…it has to speak to me. It has to be constructive…. When I rake the garden, I can just about… you know, get it. When I read about it, I can get it, but if I do it myself, I'm not feeling it. … Okay, so then it is work. Not in the house of art, but these are the things you also have to do, next to it, the things that are part of that same life." (entry 90, Plu, NL, 75)

> Page 124 in mid-sentence just below the previous quote:
> "there is such a wide range of artists, and not two of them are the same"

To conclude, artists' perception of autonomy depends on a variety of factors. First of all, there are countless personal differences between them, as one respondent also states: "there is such a wide range of artists, and no two of them are the same" (entry 38, Mon, NL, 05). Secondly, the medium that artists employ largely determines how natural or unnatural it is for them to engage in applied practices next to their autonomous work. Depending on their personal preferences, it also determines whether or not they regard their applied practices as part of their autonomous work. In some cases, the differences between autonomous and applied work are so marginal that the question does not even come up. Such artists get commissioned for the kind of work they do autonomously; therefore, applied practices are part of their autonomous field. Deadlines or restrictions concerning materials then form the only real differences. In other cases, applied practices are clearly different from the autonomous practices due to the medium employed or content demanded. Here, the different types of perception become interesting again. This shows that generalizations cannot be made because it is largely dependent on the personality of the artist and his or her values and norms how he or

she perceives autonomy. Transitions between autonomous and applied practices are, however, somewhat fluent.

In the end, the most important statement that can be made on the basis of the analysis of perception is that differences, if existing, are apparent to the artists. The question is how important they are to them and how many concessions they are willing to make. The analysis did not confirm a generational difference between the various cohorts. It really seems to be a personal choice of the individual artists, sometimes influenced through outside factors like success, having to support a family or simply coincidences occurring along the career path that has been taken. What could be confirmed, though, is a general trend to be more open toward other possibilities of earning income, also through applied art. A lot of the respondents spoke of the social necessity to become more creative in finding ways to earn money. The cutting of subsidies and support for purely autonomous artists is clearly being felt in professional practices. The hybridization hypothesis suggests that this has led to a trend for artists to stretch the boundaries between autonomous and applied practices. What was unclear until now was whether this resulted in a more open definition of autonomous practices or only a greater acceptance of mixed practices. I conclude that the latter is the case. The next section will therefore concentrate on how artists experience the hybridization trend and what their opinion of it is.

Hybridization: Curse or Natural Development

To begin with, it is important to note that the definition of hybrid artistic practices that we gave in our survey did not come natural to all the respondents. To recall, we referred to a blurring of the boundaries between autonomous and applied practices. As stated earlier, the respondents also interpreted our definition of applied practices more broadly than we had intended, which might be part of the explanation for this misconception. Many respondents thus understood hybridity as mixed practices in general, also independent of whether or not the mixing influenced their autonomous practices. Organizing exhibitions or carrying out other art-related activities seemed to 'feel' more hybrid to the respondents than purely commercial applied practices. They then saw the hybridization trend as a natural consequence of social and economic change.

"Simply because of the diversity of society, it seems pretty logical to me that there will be more… And many artists are trying to broaden the traditional image of doing only painting or only sculpture or only photography, and that in itself is very good. To not just focus on one discipline. There is no need for compartmentalized thinking. I think that's a very conscious choice." (entry 237, Mon, NL, 75)

"So I feel that, depending on what you do, you can bring that into your work or… I don't really see my teaching job as art, here at the academy. So when it comes to the hybrid element in art, I'd think more in terms of organizing exhibitions or setting up a gallery or that sort of thing." (entry 141, Mon, NL, 75)

"Yes, this hybridization, it sinks in… or, maybe you can call it applied art or whatever, but what you do see is that many artists are no longer presenting their work only in exhibition spaces. But for instance… they are also being invited into other worlds in a quite specific manner and are working on projects that are unrelated to… in addition to their own practice." (entry 404, Mon, BE, 05)

"I think that you always have to be careful; in other words, is this just a trendy thing or is it really founded on something… And well, maybe I am naive enough to think that it really is a fundamental idea and not just some fashionable thing." (entry 143, Mon, BE, 05)

Respondents even see it as part of artists' social responsibility to find ways to finance themselves and engage actively in the outside world.

"… that it is more or less your social duty as an artist to position yourself within society and not isolate yourself in your studio and on the other hand, simply financially, it is much more interesting than just exhibiting work. That just isn't enough." (entry 143, Mon, BE, 05)

Opinions differ on whether hybrid or mixed practices are pursued out of financial necessity or artistic choice. Some clearly see the diminishing financial support for the arts and increased social pressure as the reason to engage in those practices.

"It's imposed, right? Yeah, yeah. Definitely. Financially, as a young artist fresh from art school, you can't immediately earn money and make a living so you have to find a solution anyway…. But it's okay to give young artists a bit of a hard time. It's good if some of them have to give up and I don't mind being put to the test, and so in that way you have to really think about whether this is what you want, and so it's good that there is a natural selection in that sense and that not everyone just… carries on." (entry 362, Mon, BE, 05)

"People who are doing that – I see it as a permanent thing, I really don't see it as temporary. Because it's a lifestyle, that's how society works – I don't think they have much choice." (entry 426, Mon, BE, 05)

"I think those days are really over, the days when you could focus completely on your own development as an artist, your own visual language. That's no longer an option these days, I think. Because that rationale is no longer accepted. Well, by society, by… I mean the social pressure to provide for yourself, to earn your own living and not rely on subsidies, grants and that sort of thing, that pressure is of course immense these days.

> Hey, politics… I mean, art is… visual art will be screwed in the future, big-time, if there is no protest. Especially visual art, right, there's already talk of cutbacks, various kinds of cutbacks in many areas, but I think they are talking about a fifty percent cutback for visual art. That would mean, well, you know. So that is completely the opposite of, let's say, giving individual artists the opportunity to focus completely on their work and stimulate them in that, like it was to some degree in the old days. The BKR Artist Compensation Scheme and things like that, and subsidies. I wonder what will be left of all that…. I think that in the future, an artistic practice can only be hybrid. It will stay that way, so I think you can't go back any more to what I was talking about. I don't think being a private studio artist is an option anymore,…. But out of necessity, right, because the possibilities of only concentrating on your discipline are getting fewer and fewer and I think they will disappear altogether." (entry 141, Mon, NL, 75)

Others see it as more of a personal choice. They think that whether artists work in the applied sector or not depends on their individual nature

> "I don't think it is always just a way to make money. I think they do it because they really want to. Of course it has a lot to do with how you interact with your public. It should be done in a way that involves people. And that is the opposite of painting on your own, in nature." (entry 309, Mon, NL, 75)

> "Well, forced to… Look, if you don't want to do it, then don't. And some people are very good at it. They can respond very creatively to things outside their own practice. If you can do that, it is a positive quality. Yes, I think it can be a positive thing." (entry 38, Mon, NL, 05)

> "D: So, are there any financial reasons for accepting assignments in applied art?
> R: No. Because I think there are ways of making money in both sectors… Perhaps in autonomous work they are less obvious, in the sense that you have to be more self-organizing, whereas in an applied art situation the financial budgets are linked to the invitation or request to realize a project. But in an autonomous art situation, it frequently happens that you… that there is also financial room to do projects and there are various channels you can use that are not available in situations of applied art." (entry 404, Mon, BE, 05)

> "Look, as an autonomous artist I literally work alone, because it is always my work, my presentation. When I show at an art fair, it's me there in the stand. Whereas in the production studio, when I have to produce a brochure I have to work with photographers, printers, copywriters, and sometimes even more people who are involved in such a production, so that's a whole different way of working. And there's certainly a nice side to that. I would miss that if I would choose to exclusively make autonomous art. So, yeah, I don't know if I would make that choice. But hey, there's a crisis going on and of course I see that I get fewer assignments from the production studio than a few years ago, so it's quite possible that the choice will be made for me at a certain point. That I simply do not get any work at all from the production studio, for instance, so well then it is obvious that I'll only be working in my own studio. So in that sense I don't really care one way or the other, except that I do want to earn my own living. And that is harder to do in autonomous art." (entry 108, Plu, NL, 75)

Similarly, some respondents find it disadvantageous to engage in mixed practices, mainly because it distracts attention from the actual autonomous production. Still, the

majority of respondents see the advantages of broadening one's horizon, getting fresh input and inspiration, and also working together with other people instead of in solitude.

> "The downside of it of course is that in visual art I think you really need to spend one hundred percent of your time on your own development, but that's impossible because you have to… well, there are only a very few artists who can make a living that way. So it is sort of a necessary evil. I see it as a necessary evil, to have to do other things as well. So I prefer to do something that is very related to the profession, like teaching at an art school, and that also stimulates you and challenges you to re-articulate, rethink things that normally, in your own studio… like I do, being absorbed with myself, developing my visual idiom… well, it is not as introverted as it sounds, but still, it can lead to a kind of autism and that's not so good either. So I do think a hybrid professional practice has great advantages." (entry 141, Mon, NL, 75)

> Page 127/128
> "You can see it either as positive or negative, but I prefer to see it as positive…. I mean, look, we humans tend to adapt. To me the profession was, is, a pleasant mode of surviving, so if that means you have to adapt to a certain time when things no longer function as they once did, then you simply have to adapt and do things in a different way…. That's fine with me. That's just fine with me. I think it is a logical development, actually, from the individual to a more, to a broadening of the discipline, like, so I think that's very good…. And the fact that it is now born out of necessity, well, I think that's a positive thing too because it is somehow necessary of course, otherwise you wouldn't have to do it…. I'd say that perhaps the word 'artist' will become obsolete, and that may be a good thing. … After all, it has become sort of a degenerate profession, socially speaking. So this hybridization might just… Let's say you have become a web designer, then you are in fact also an artist, only nobody will call you an artist, you are a web designer." (entry 141, Mon, NL, 75)

> "Mwah, I don't mind at all having a small job beside my work as an artist, so I think that is a positive thing, being part of society and being involved in it. It may help you to keep your feet on the ground and make you think about all sorts of things, so that is … It may actually be good for some people mentally, but it shouldn't be too much or too heavy, but if it is just a small thing then I certainly think it's good to have that." (entry 362, Mon, BE, 05)

> "I think there are only advantages, really…. It brings about communication, you work in a team so you get to know people, and this widens your circle, you gain knowledge because you learn a lot from it and you get paid for it, which means you have money to invest in your personal… in your own studio, in what is being created there…. I see it more as the duty of an artist to participate in such projects, that it is more or less a moral obligation to do these things, because of an awareness." (entry 143, Mon, BE, 05)

To summarize, the hybridization trend (in its more open definition) is certainly confirmed by the qualitative analysis. The respondents have different ideas about why this trend has arisen but most of them experience it as a natural development which one just has to deal with. Despite the fact that the less monetarily inclined artists often regard this inherently more monetary approach to artistic creation as challenging, the prevailing opinion is that mixed practices have advantages.

5. Conclusion

This thesis concerns the autonomy of visual artists in an era of a booming creative economy and simultaneously declining governmental support for the arts and culture. I have discussed the central question regarding the autonomy of visual artists in four chapters: an introductory chapter that explains *why* the research was done, a theoretical chapter that introduces *what* was done while also putting it in a wider academic context, a methodological chapter that explains *how* it was done and an empirical chapter that discusses the *results*. This concluding chapter is going to lead through the previous chapters in three steps: by summarizing the main points of *why* and *what*, I want to arrive at the research objective and hypothesis in a condensed way, in order to review the most important findings of the empirical research. Afterwards, I will wrap things up with general comments, limitations and suggestions for further research.

Theory

The research at hand came forth out of another research project concerning the hybridization of artistic practices in the Netherlands and Flanders over the last 35 years (Gielen et al., 2012). While that research was predominantly based on the analysis of quantitative data, the intention of the research at hand is to fill in some blanks by relating those quantitative findings to the qualitative data available from the same sample group. More precisely, an analytical differentiation between artists based on varying conceptions of autonomy has been established, first by the hybridization study through the quantitative analysis, and then adjusted by this study through in-depth interviews. The core question of the previous research was to ascertain whether a new type of artist has developed in the course of the last decade: the hybrid artist, who engages in autonomous as well as applied art forms, with a partial or full overlap between the two practices that results in a blurring of the boundaries between autonomous and commercial practices. In addition to a professional overlap between two contrary art practices, the researchers anticipated that hybrid visual artists would be indifferent toward the concept of autonomy in such a way that they make no conscious differentiation between commercial activities and autonomous activities, which have been traditionally regarded as opposing art forms. This is also what distinguishes hybrid artists from pluri-active artists, who also engage in both activities

but differentiate clearly between autonomous activities and applied art forms. Consequently, the individual perception of autonomy within the field of cultural production lies at the very basis of all analysis.

The first task was therefore to find a working definition of the concept of 'autonomy' within the art world. For that purpose, I turned to classical sociology and the theories of Pierre Bourdieu (1993) about the 'field of cultural production' (Chapter 2.1). Bourdieu's field theory concerns the concept of autonomy as a collective phenomenon of a field of social action, and not the individual autonomy that is addressed when talking about autonomous artistic practices of visual artists. Accordingly, the first realization about the concept of autonomy is that there are different forms of autonomy, depending on the context and purpose. The 'purpose' of the concept in the Bourdieusian context is to illustrate the relative dependency and/or autonomy of one field of social (inter)action toward another. In other words – Bourdieu uses the term autonomy to describe a field's ability to act according to its own norms, values and rules. His theories therefore help to conceptualize the art world at large, with the individual artist forming part of the distinct collective group of individuals and institutions concerned with cultural production. To Bourdieu, the field of cultural production in its totality embraces artists, writers, curators, institutions and pretty much everybody else who is involved in the creation of cultural goods. The field stands in relative autonomy from other fields of social action, like for example the field of power (referring to politics and economics). The most autonomous side of the field acts according to its own rules, which Bourdieu describes as a 'reversed economy' in the case of the field of cultural production. Market rules, like the accumulation of economic capital or the equilibrating force of supply and demand, do not apply. Instead, prestige, authenticity and a certain adverse attitude toward capitalism mark the norm. Economic success in the arts is often associated with the mass commercialization of artistic products and is therefore regarded as less prestigious. Nevertheless, it is commonly thought that the autonomous artist who can entirely ignore economic market rules is the most extreme form of an ideal: a benchmark against which to test reality but at the same time not real, because full autonomy from the outside world cannot exist. However, the level of autonomy of the entire field of cultural production can be measured by looking at the extent to which capitalist thinking is accepted or rejected within the collective of agents (actors). In the context of this study, the information should be understood as an indicator of the effect

that the focus on creative industries in the last decade has on the field of cultural production. Although traditional arts are included in the contemporary definition of the cultural industries as one area of cultural production, the term mostly stands for the more commercial applied arts, like graphic design or the film industry. Following this logic, the hybrid artist can be understood as a product of an art world that is giving way to a larger acceptance of commercial activities without a perceived loss of autonomy: the hybrid artist actively engages in autonomous and applied art practices, accepting a partial or full blurring of the boundaries between them.

At the same time, this is where Bourdieu's' conceptualization of the field of cultural production begins to be an insufficient basis for the purpose of this thesis. What can be taken from Bourdieu is a solid framework for understanding the art world at large. His conceptualizations help to explain underlying principles within this peculiar field. Furthermore, his manner of determining the autonomy of the field, by looking at the predominance of capitalist thinking within it, is very useful for understanding what implications artists' specific perceptions of autonomy have in a wider social context.

Nevertheless, the rigidity of his theory and the absence of a possibility to account for the individual artist (the singular, as Heinich (2003) puts it), forms a limitation that creates the need for additional tools of analysis (Chapter 2.2). To be more precise, Bourdieu describes the field as a defined and limited space. Furthermore, all action within the field is regarded as a zero-sum game, with agents taking up a distinct position within a bipolarity of values and beliefs. He defines any field of social action as being subject to a constant struggle for dominance between two poles of opposing values. In this case, it can be seen as the struggle between the autonomous side and the cultural industries side (Bourdieu calls it the struggle between restricted production and large-scale production). The problem with the hybrid artist is that, theoretically, he takes up a position in both camps at the same time, without hierarchically differentiating between them. What's more, globalization processes and the omnipresence of new technologies as well as general social mechanisms constantly exert an outside influence on the field and the agents within it. Bourdieu's' observation of an established, clearly defined hierarchy within a field at any given moment in time does not account for that. Within the context of this research, the internal (objective) structure of the field, as Bourdieu describes it, is thus an insufficient explanation for the position agents that take. Rather, as suggested by Gielen (2008), the field seems to consist of a multitude of different

directions, which in their totality can indicate a certain tendency toward one of the two poles. In the end, the critique is not so much to be found in Bourdieu's analysis of the dichotomous field as an analytical framework, but in the details. Bourdieu seems to arrive at rigid generalizations too easily at times, thereby creating the impression of structural oversimplifications of social reality. This reality consists of a collective of individuals, each with their own experiences, perceptions and characters.

Neither the individual nor the varying positions he or she might take up are accounted for in Bourdieu's field theory. However, a conceptual solution to adjust his theories can be found in Actor Network Theory (see for example Gielen, 2008; Latour, 2010: chapter 2.3). Here, the notion of the actor-network is comparable to Bourdieu's notion of the field. Unlike the field, however, the network in ANT is not regarded as a limited space with defined outer boundaries. It is much more fluent and flexible, in that it acknowledges that everything is in constant exchange with each other. The structure of a network is determined by its linkages and not, as in Bourdieu's field, by an underlying struggle for dominance. In a network, new connections are continuously being made, while others might cease to exist. A link in the actor-network can be anything from a personal encounter or an experience that results in certain behaviours to a general circumstance like family background or place of residence. An individual agent is therefore both an entire network that can be regarded on its own and a connection in a wider network of social interaction, and so on. Therefore, the actor-network is a highly heterogeneous quasi-unlimited space that is constantly changing. This heterogeneity makes the network stronger, because the bigger it gets, the more connections it has, and thus is the less reliant on any one linkage. It is not a fixed place but a multitude of interconnected 'places' of varying importance. The network also does not stop at the boundaries of a particular scientific field of interest (in this case the art world) but acknowledges links and connections that go beyond that field. If we regard the network of individual artists, this means that they act within the art world in a way that might well be influenced by totally unrelated factors, which form part of their network. This could be the medium they have chosen for their art (painting, sculpture, photography etc.), their family responsibilities or even the size of their studio etc. Accordingly, ANT not only sees agents and institutions as actors that influence social actions, but even objects (non-human actors). The fact that the medium has a place in the analysis within ANT is important because the empirical findings suggest that the

chosen medium plays a crucial role in determining an agent's position within the art world. Artists who employ photography as their art form, for example, are much more inclined to (also) work in an applied arts context, because the connection is more logical or natural than is the case with, say, classical painters.

As the actor-network is not structured hierarchically, it offers a neutral analytical tool for investigating social structures and (inter)action. While Bourdieu intends to offer an abstraction of objective structuring structures, he already appears to be judgemental in his use of terminology. For example, he says that the most commercial side of the field is dominated by the field of power (read: politics and economics) at the expense of autonomy. While there is nothing wrong with a value-charged theory, it entails a certain a prior perception about the concept of autonomy. Such a presupposed definition is clearly inappropriate for a study about the perception of autonomy of visual artists and possible changes within it. It has to be noted, though, that Bourdieu himself does not altogether believe in real autonomy. He regards it as a social construct that is a historical invention related to the formation of an autonomous field of artistic production. How such a field of artistic production, especially one that is relatively independent from the general economic field, came into being is explained in aesthetic theory and art history (e.g. Hitters, 1996; Horkheimer & Adorno, 2010; van Winkel, 2007; Warnke, 1996; White & White, 1965) (Chapter 2.3). Without going into much detail, two historical developments can be regarded as most influential in forming the art world as we know it today. The first relates back to medieval court systems and the partial exemption of artists from obligatory guild membership. The related founding of the first art academies in the 16th century further supported the idea of art as a field of interest that is distinct from pure craftsmanship. The second historical shift that greatly shaped perceptions within and about the art world is the emergence of the avant-garde movement in the late 19th century. This is arguably the basis for the common contemporary definition of true artistic autonomy as being free from social, political, functional or economic obligations. The famous 'art for art's sake' movement was believed to protect art from capitalist commodification and commercialization. This also shaped, the connotation of art as something socially enriching and of capitalism as 'evil-other' – a common perception that also gleams through Bourdieu's field theory, as has been argued above. Aesthetic theory therefore helps us to understand the evolution of the bipolar art world. Furthermore, it has greatly shaped artists' beliefs and perceptions

about autonomy, their work, and the art world in general. Despite the fact that Bourdieu does acknowledge the role of art history in his field theory by dismissing it as a social construction, I believe that it is most valuable in understanding the inner logic and structure within the field; especially regarding perceptions of autonomy.

Economists and economic sociologists have their own terminology and logic for describing how the art world works (e.g. Florida, 2006; D Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Throsby, 2008b)(Chapter 2.4). As the more capitalist thinking forms the other side of the spectrum within the field of cultural production, their 'voice' has to be heard out of the same need to understand inner logics and structures. To me, this is above all a pragmatic voice, concerned with the 'how' and 'why' in a very rational way within the framework of capitalist market logic. Considering that one of the main problems of artists is to earn enough money to sustain themselves, the economic perspective on the peculiarities of the artistic labour market cannot be ignored.

In literature on the cultural and creative industries,[36] the peculiarities or 'problems' of creative work get much attention. In his book *Cultural Industries* (2007), Hesmondhalgh identifies four main problems concerning artistic production*:*

1. Creative work constitutes a *risky business* because tastes on the demand side are both subjective and unpredictable.
2. The romantic perception of art and artists has led to a *mystification of art*, resulting in tensions between art and commerce.
3. The nature of artistic products often means they suffer from *high production costs* and *low reproduction costs.*
4. Artistic products are mostly *semi-public goods,* which means that 'consumption' is possible by multiple people without affecting the original product.

For the artist, these circumstances of the market for artistic goods imply the need to come up with risk-minimizing strategies. Risk, then, above all refers to the financial risk of not being able to pay one's bills due to unemployment or a lack of success. After all, only the successful artists are really free from risk, due to the incredibly high rewards that success brings them. This is why the art market is said to work according to the

[36] A definition of the terms and the differences between them is discussed in detail in chapter 2.4

winner-takes-all principle (e.g. Rengers, 2002). Just like in a lottery, it is never possible to know in advance whether or not a person is going to be a 'winner'. Experience is the only way to test one's talent and success on the market, which is why risk-minimizing strategies are both important and common amongst artists. The most common strategies include private support from family or patrons, public support in the form of subsidies or grants, and personal strategies in the form of multiple job-holding (the diversification of one's own human capital). Especially the latter has also gained much attention in literature. Artistic projects are mostly limited in time. Engagement in multiple projects at the same time therefore greatly minimizes the risk of unemployment. Heterogeneous engagements are particularly helpful because, for example, changes in governmental policy or even tastes are less likely to fatally affect somebody who engages in a multitude of diverse activities; there is always some project or some area of the professional network to fall back on.

In his research, the economist Throsby (Throsby, 2001, 2007, 2008a, 2008b) has divided the most common fields of work in which artists engage into three categories: artistic practices, art-related practices and not-art-related practices. For the purpose of this study, we have further divided artistic practices into autonomous artistic practices and applied art practices in order to cater to the two opposing poles within the field of cultural production. This is more of a theoretical division than a practical one, as we concluded from the empirical analysis of artists' multiple job-holding practices. In general, such a work practice involves a lot of strategic decision-making, economic thinking, networking and planning. Artists who try to cope in the contemporary art world are therefore sometimes compared to operators of small businesses or 'cultural-preneurs'. On the downside, those entrepreneurial activities, particularly networking, can be very time-consuming, thereby distracting artists from focusing on their art the way they would like to. On the upside, a large network is a long-term investment because once made, most good connections can be revived at any time in the future. Furthermore, it is a way to establish a good reputation and mouth-to-mouth recommendations, both of which are crucial for success and increase future employment possibilities. The importance of a good reputation within the art world also partially explains why general market rules do not apply: in the art world, supply and demand do not have an equilibrating force because prices and success depend on reputation and public demand, independent from supply.

Considering the many problems and risks artists are seemingly confronted with in their daily practice, the obvious question must be: Why do so many people choose an artistic career path nonetheless? Their 'rational of occupational choice' is related to what Menger (1999) calls *psychic income*, which means that the flexibility and autonomy that artists enjoy when pursuing an artistic career constitutes a non-monetary return that is large enough to balance low-income perspectives and high levels of insecurity. The tremendous desire and passion to be a professional artist is also illustrated by an Australian study about artists' work preferences, in which Throsby (2007) concluded that the majority of artists have a 'minimum income satisfaction'. The study found that artists, if offered a higher income for their working hours in a secondary job, tend to cut their working hours to have more time available for their primary artistic practices instead of taking the extra money.

To sum up, I have used four different academic disciplines to establish a theoretical basis for the analysis of artistic practices. Each one has been applied in order to theorize different angles of the stage on which artists act: One gives insight into how things are done. One helps to understand why things are done the way they are. One offers the structure for grasping who does what and how things are related. And one is used to mark where it is done. Concretely, the economic perspective explains how artists act within their market and why the market for artistic goods is peculiar compared to other markets. The discourse into art history explains the romantic perception of the art world that is still dominant today. It is mirrored in both the self-perception of artists and expectations from the outside world as to how the art world functions. ANT is a flexible tool to explain how the individual can take up a concrete but at the same time heterogeneous position within the collective of agents involved in cultural production, and how that collective is structured within the field and beyond. And Bourdieu's field of cultural production helps to set out the boundaries of the art world in relation to other fields of social (inter)action and thereby establishes the dichotomous framework of the research within which analysis can take place.

My research is particularly directed toward the concept of autonomy. On the one hand, there is social autonomy, which can be deduced from the level of autonomy that the field of cultural production has as such, relative to the dominant field of power (politics and economics). On the other hand, there is artistic autonomy, which refers to

the level of autonomy individual artists have in their artistic practices. Both can be determined by investigating overall tendencies in the practices and perceptions of the collective of artists. While there are a significant number of artists who can be pinned to either one of the opposing poles, it is exactly the in-between place that can help to determine potential value shifts within the art world. As political and economic restraints have been put on the field of cultural production from the outside, the question must be about the effect this has on the inside. By looking at the group of artists that engages in both autonomous production and more commercial applied art production as part of their multiple jobholding practices, it is possible to make distinctions.

First, there are pluri-active artists, who do both but perceive their activities as essentially separated from each other. Their perception is still in line with the traditional romantic perception of the art historian as described earlier. The assumption is that they engage in activities within the cultural industries side of the field out of necessity, which is created by a decrease of social autonomy. Their value system, however, is located on the autonomous side of the field. Within this logic, the implication is that there is a tension between the contemporary field at large and the desire of the artists within it. To put it differently, while the field of cultural production in its wider social context has changed, the art world itself has not.

Second, there are hybrid artists, who do both autonomous and applied work, and also perceive the two as being equal or even interchangeable. Their perception is more in line with the contemporary discourse on creative industries. The assumption is that they have reacted to the decrease of social autonomy by adjusting their value system accordingly, thus to the cultural industry side of the field. Here, the implication is that the art world has also internalized capitalist market logic, which has entered the field at large from the outside. In other words, because the field of cultural production in its wider social context has changed, the art world itself has too, indicating a new perception of autonomy that is potentially replacing the traditional romantic perception of the autonomous artist.

Empirical findings

From our sample group of active artists, almost half of the respondents can be categorized as pluri-active. Additionally, slightly more than one third can be classified as hybrid artists according to our definition. Consequently, the majority of artists fall into the grey area between autonomous and applied art practices. What can be derived from these numbers is that the field of cultural production could indeed be tending more toward the cultural industry side. At least, this is what the quantitative analysis of practices suggests. For a concise statement, however, the perceptions of the artists in question also have to be taken into consideration. For that purpose, I turned to the qualitative data that was collected. In doing so, what is possibly the most important discovery of the study manifested itself; namely, that the quantitative and qualitative data do not line up. Too many interview respondents were categorized as one type of artist on the basis of their online survey, but turned out to either perceive their practices differently or misinterpret our definition of the terminology (like what autonomous, art-related and applied art stands for, or how we define a hybrid artistic practice). For example, quite a number of hybrid respondents actually do make a clear distinction between their various artistic practices.

This discovery has two implications for the analysis. First, a relevant typology analysis that incorporates the perceptions of artists on the basis of the quantitative data cannot be made. Second, the experiences and perceptions of artists differ from what we expected. Apparently, our online survey was an insufficient tool for theorizing artistic practices. This means that we have either asked the wrong questions and they may have been insufficient, or our terminology and definitions were not in line with the artists' natural interpretations, despite the fact that we tested the survey prior to its launch. Ultimately it means that different methods create different realities that are true in themselves but not always translatable to each other. Consequently, we used the qualitative analysis to investigate where our assumptions, the subsequent findings and the artists' perceptions differed.

The first inconsistency that could be found concerns the use of the three areas of artistic activity that we have defined in the research: autonomous practices, art-related practices and applied practices. This theoretical categorization was used to divide the field of cultural production into three parts; yet, the same distinction was not reflected in the in-depth interviews. While respondents also use all three terms, they do not refer

to the same activities we suggested. In essence, a difference between active artists and non-active artists became apparent. Active artists mostly refer to autonomous practices and applied practices to describe their multiple activities. The distinction is then between that what they perceive as their autonomous art (which may differ per artist), and basically everything else they engage in that is still related to art. Non-active artists mostly refer to autonomous practices and art-related practices to describe what they are not doing, still doing or wish they were still doing. Obviously. non-active artists do not engage in professional autonomous practices (anymore), but they often state that they 'at least' still work in an art-related profession. Whether that is curating or designing web pages does not seem to make a difference. The threefold categorization was therefore reduced to its theoretical function, as an indicator for change within the field of cultural production that is not actively experienced by the respondents.

The second inconsistency is related to the term 'hybrid' itself. We used the term to describe a combination of autonomous artistic practices and applied art practices that results in a blurring of the boundaries between the two. The interview analysis, however, indicates that artists use the term synonymously for an engagement in any kind of mixed practices and irrespective of the different practices having a reciprocal influence on each other. Considering that the term 'applied art practices' was already interpreted more openly than we had intended, this finding is simply a logical consequence of that.

When asked about their assessment of a potential hybridization trend within the field of cultural production, most respondents see it as a natural result of social and economic change. Many even consider it part of their social responsibility to actively engage in the world outside of their autonomous work, and to find ways to sustain themselves through hybrid (mixed) practices. Opinions differ on the reasons why artists engage in those practices. Some believe hybrid (mixed) practices are purely financially motivated as a result of diminishing financial support for the arts. They often find it a disadvantageous necessity that distracts them from their primary artistic practice. Others regard it as a personal, or even artistic choice in order to benefit from new skills and inspiration. They appreciate the resulting broader horizon as well as the interaction with others. Generally speaking, the less monetarily-minded artists find it challenging to adapt to the income-oriented style of hybrid (mixed) artistic practices, but those who have experienced advantages predominate among our sample group.

The discovery of the inconsistency between quantitative and qualitative data means that a quantitative analysis per type of artist is unreliable. It can, at most, be used for an indicative analysis. This is different for a theoretical analysis that does not distinguish between hybrid and pluri-active artists, because the typology is established largely on the basis of an actual engagement in concrete practices that we have categorized accordingly. Only, the differentiation of a perceived blurring of boundaries between diverse practices proved to be misinterpreted in too many cases. So, a reliable distinction can be made between *monolithic artists,* who only engage in autonomous artistic practices within the field of cultural production; *mixed practice artists*, who engage in autonomous as well as art-related and/or applied art practices; and *non-active artists*, who do not engage in autonomous practices. Still, an analysis is statistically questionable (to put it carefully) because the sample group of monolithic artists is too small to compare against. Therefore, to make statements about practices and perceptions of artists within the field of cultural production, the analysis of the qualitative data is much more meaningful for this particular study.

Here, a distinction between six rather differentiated types of autonomy perception and practices can be made. In other words, in between the two black and white poles already described by Bourdieu, four 'shades of grey' could also be defined. The six most common types of autonomy-perception are:

1. **Utopian autonomy –** referring to the perception of autonomy as a utopia to strive for, which can never be fully achieved due to the outside world that always has and always will exert influence on the artist and his work. In this conception of autonomy, it is basically acknowledged that everybody is embedded in circumstances, experiences and necessities that shape the individual being. True autonomy is thus perceived as an almost godly neutrality from which creation should take place. All claims of autonomous artistic production accordingly become social fiction, as Bourdieu would call it.

2. **Only independent art is autonomous –** refers to a perception that is in line with the romantic understanding of the studio artist. Irrespective of possible other practices that artists engage in, this type only perceives their work as

autonomous if it is created entirely independently of motivations other than their intrinsic desire and inspiration to create art.

3. **Autonomy can be commissioned –** is essentially the same, only that commissions are also regarded as part of the autonomous practices. Here the respective art medium seems to be decisive. If the commissions mean producing the same or similar pieces to what is autonomously produced, they are usually regarded as part of the primary artistic activities. This is not the case if a clear adaptation in style or content is requested.

4. **The process of creation is autonomous –** refers to a perception of autonomy that is slightly more open because it is linked only to the self-directed process of creation and not to the object itself. The form or function the product takes after it has been made is not important. A priori restrictions are objected to, however. Conceptual art is a good reflection of this autonomy-perception because the concept behind the art work takes precedence over aesthetic concerns, form, or function of the product.

5. **Artistic skills are autonomous skills –** indicates a perception of artistic practices that is actually not concerned with autonomy at all. The artists enjoy using their creative and artistic talent in whatever form or function. Differences between autonomous production and applied production are still perceived but not weighted.

6. **Life as artwork –** is the other extreme form of autonomy perception. It stands for the almost egocentric belief that every action an artist takes is part of his autonomous artistic practice. Here, one's whole life is subordinated to artistic creation and by being an artist almost every action has the potential to entail an artistic dimension or awareness.

Finally, this brings me back to my research questions. To recall, the objective was to describe the role of autonomy as perceived by the artists within the field of cultural

production while simultaneously investigating the general status of the field of cultural production .

As far as the role of autonomy is concerned, it can be said that the personal differences and preferences that artists have are by far the most important denominator for their perception of autonomy. Apart from that, the medium that artists use largely determines how naturally they can engage in practices other than their autonomous work. To what extent different practices are still perceived as autonomous depends partly on their personal attitude and partly on the differences between primary and secondary practices. When the differences between autonomous and other artistic work are only marginal, the question does not even come up. What was unclear until now was whether mixed practices resulted in a more open definition of autonomous practices or only in a larger acceptance of an engagement in diverse practices. Generally speaking, a blurring of the boundaries between practices to the extent that they almost become one (as the hybridization research suggests) cannot be confirmed. Differences, when existing, are always apparent to the respondents. A distinction can therefore not be made on the basis of a 'partial or full blurring of boundaries' – they do not blur. Either there really are no (big) differences or differences are visible but not important to the artist. The willingness to make concessions varies – not the extent to which activities melt into one. Even those artists who do not distinguish hierarchically between autonomous and applied practices (thus those closest to the theoretical definition of the hybrid artist) do not experience all their activities as autonomous, like the hybridization theory would have suggested. Instead, autonomy as such has become less important in their professional practice. As this was found to be irrespective of the graduation year and nationality of respondents, it really boils down to a personal choice of the individual artist. Sometimes outside factors play a crucial role, such as family responsibilities or success, but these are also clearly personal and differ from one artist to the other.

When looking at the general status of the field of cultural production, a trend to be more open to other, also applied, income possibilities can be confirmed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Unfortunately, the qualitative data does not offer the opportunity to investigate whether those income possibilities are increasingly being found within the creative sector. However, the quantitative analysis of income allocation and evolution indicates that this actually is the case. Also, respondents recognize an

increased need to fend for themselves due to the cuts in governmental expenditures in the cultural sector.

Can we thus say that the field of cultural production has gone through a hybridization trend?

The answer to this question is ambiguous: No, on the one hand, because the boundaries between practices do not start to blur in the strict definition as laid out by the hybridization research. On the other hand, in the more open definition of hybrid practices (mixed practices) laid out in the qualitative analysis, a hybridization trend can be confirmed.

Can we say that the field of cultural production has become more commercial?

Yes, because the majority of respondents engage in artistic activities other than their autonomous production and state that this has increased during the past years.

Can we say that the field has become more inclusive as to incorporating more activities within it?

Maybe, because artists engage in a multitude of practices, which also include a wide variety of creative practices that were not included in the traditional conception of the field of cultural production. However, whether they are now regarded as part of the field of cultural production can only be analysed theoretically and from an outside perspective because it is just not something that artists themselves are very busy with. Nevertheless, the theoretical determination of the specific practices that fall within the field of cultural production now, compared to in the past, is beyond the scope of this research. Therefore a concrete answer cannot be given.

Can we say that artists' perception of the concept of autonomy has been extended in such a way as to incorporated more activities?

No, because most respondents keep their other practices (whatever those may be) conceptually separated from their autonomous work.

Can we say that their practices have become more commercially oriented?

Yes, because decreasing economic and political support have created the need for artists to think more entrepreneurially. There is a visible willingness to make concessions to some extent, and a feeling of social responsibility to support themselves.

Can we say that autonomy has become less important to artists?

No, because the majority of respondents who also engage in other activities are aware of differences, protective of their autonomous artistic practices and wish they had more time for them.

To relate back to the conception of social and artistic autonomy as carved out by the theoretical discourse, we can therefore say that social autonomy has surely decreased; artists are confronted with a greater need to find creative ways to support themselves and are therefore less autonomous from the social dogma of the neo-liberal market economy. Artistic autonomy has decreased accordingly, because artists are 'forced' to make concessions as to how they spend their working time. Yet, autonomous values clearly still prevail within the field of cultural production, which suggests an internal struggle between the two poles of the field, as Bourdieu describes it. In a polemic fashion, one might say that capitalism has won the battle, but not quite yet the war. Although, personally, I must say, it does not look all too good. I guess only time will tell, if artists come up with creative or rebellious ways to regain space for more autonomy and less necessity-driven economic thinking. Otherwise, we might just be at the verge of another redefinition of the role and purpose of art within society.

Implications and Directions for Future Research

Every research has its limitations. Some limitations have already been acknowledged earlier. Further limitations of this research that have to be mentioned are of a structural nature. First of all, the data was generated for the hybridization research and did therefore not cater specifically to the questions on autonomy. Generally speaking, it was problematic that the sample group for the quantitative research turned out to be too small to deliver reliable data, especially concerning the established typology. Besides, only about half of the sample group was really relevant for my research questions, as the focus was above all on active visual artists.

Furthermore, the majority of questions that were asked turned out to be inadequate or insufficient for the purpose in mind, as they only reflected theoretical anticipations and not the real-life perceptions of artists. This should by no means imply that the questionnaire or the related quantitative data is useless. Different research perspectives require different approaches, and different approaches create different realities in return. The challenge for this research was that the quantitative data was difficult to use for the analysis of internal structures, while the qualitative results were hard to translate into macro-sociological findings. Instead of an enriching fusion of methods, a methodological tension evolved, that generated interesting results nonetheless.

The attempt to incorporate a time dimension into the research should also be considered with care. As the research is not based on panel data or even quasi-panel data, the only time dimension that could be achieved was based on individual memories, experiences and subjective judgments. Yet, there could be numerous hidden reasons for differences between the cohorts, including age or generational differences, differences in life circumstances, professional cycles or experiences, differences in the art circuits of the respective artists, differences in education or administration. Nevertheless, since we have questioned three different generations of artists, a comparison was still fruitful and has incorporated some sort of time dimension that other researches do not have.

Finally, even though artists are always a very heterogeneous group, the fact that five different schools were used to establish the sample group might also have influenced the results. How much the different academic approaches of the schools really distort the data is hard to assess.

With regard to the qualitative data, an acknowledgement that has to be made concerns the fact that multiple interviewers were employed to conduct the interviews. Considering that everybody had his or her own style of communication as well as understanding of the research project, the quality and comparability of the interviews differs. However, the standardized interview manual generated a comparable topic structure, which made this problem manageable.

What remains to be said is why the research findings are relevant and what the implications are in a wider social context. First of all, I intend to provide a concise theoretical framework to describe the art world. The innovative aspect of my approach is that I combined multiple academic disciplines that work hand-in-hand in order to

contextualize the more complex questions within the very heterogeneous field of cultural production. One theory-related outcome of my study is that both Bourdieu's conception of the field of cultural production and the critical theory of Horkheimer and Adorno are by no means outdated: commodification of the arts is still a topic 'worth the while'.

In addition, the research has helped to gain a deeper understanding of how to do or not do research on the arts on various points. One important finding is that theoretical definitions and concepts of the art world sometimes differ from what is perceived by artists themselves. Both are nonetheless valuable; however, it is advisable to be clear about the precise aim of research conducted within the art world: is it about an outside perspective and conceptualization of observable phenomena or is it about an inside perception of practices and circumstances? My research suggests that in both cases a conscious and careful selection of terminology and definitions has to be employed because they can differ in different environments. Another outcome is that the medium that artists employ has further implications for their understanding of - and their practices within the art world. It is widely known that the field of cultural production is an extremely heterogeneous social microcosm. What was not clear to me before my research is that even within the sub-group of visual artists, differences are so fundamental that a comparison is already naturally distorted by the difference in medium-related practices alone. I therefore suggest that research into visual arts practices should already separate the sample group a priori, in such a way as to create slightly more homogenous groups to compare within and against each other. The design of our study was built around quantitatively established typology, which turned out to be a limited categorization tool. The strong focus on pursued activities that was at the bottom of the typology is simply not sufficient, because the theoretical differentiations were not mirrored in practical reflections. Medium-related circumstances and personal aspects would probably have been a better choice. I hope that this realization can contribute to an improved typology for future studies.

Apart from the research-related significance of this study, a number of implications for the visual arts discourse can also be extracted. For one, the stronger focus on the creative sector of the economy clearly has an impact on the field of cultural production. A tension can be seen between the development of the field and the desire of artists to work autonomously. This suggests that a distinction between the creative

industry and the traditional arts is necessary, especially on a policy level. It also confirms the apprehension that artists need to protect their autonomy if they do not want to be lumped into one category with all the rest of the creative industry, mainly because they are in an economically much more challenging position seeing as their primary practices often do not yield very large incomes. Besides, 'cultural-preneurship' does not come naturally to artists and is often felt as a distraction or obstacle. My concluding recommendation is therefore to generate a distinct place for (visual) artists within the cultural policy discourse. There should be a clear conceptual separation from the wider creative industries that acknowledges the particularities that define artists. Only then will it become possible to formulate policies that reflect a concise analysis of micro- and macro-sociological realities. Further research can help to define an adequate position for the traditional arts and artists within the creative economy sector. I hope that the research at hand will help us to move in the right direction.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Online Survey: Questionnaire

Name of variable	Survey question
Start page	
	Survey on the Hybridization of Artistic Practice Dear ex-student, Together with your former art institute we are conducting a survey of the professional career of visual artists. We hereby kindly ask you to complete the survey relating to your professional experience below. The aim of this research project is to gain insight into the professional careers of visual artists, as well as the changes that have evolved within this field during the last 35 years. We are particularly interested in a potentially increased mix of autonomous and applied visual art careers, in combination with non-artistic activities. We will compare the experiences of three generations of artists: the visual art alumni from the graduation years 1975, 1990 and 2005; from two art schools in the Netherlands (AKV|St.Joost in Den Bosch/Breda and Fontys School of Fine and Performing Arts in Tilburg), three in Belgium (Sint-Lukas University College of Art and Design in Brussels, Sint Lucas Visual Art in Ghent, and the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Antwerp), one in Norway (Kunsthøgskolen in Bergen) and one in the UK (Norwich University College of the Arts). The data collated for this survey will be used to advance academic knowledge and to formulate general policy recommendations for governments and art institutes concerning the link between education and the labour market. All information compiled by us will be treated with the strictest confidence. This survey was conceived by Camiel van Winkel (Professor in Visual Arts, AKV|St.Joost, Avans University, Den Bosch/Breda) and Pascal Gielen (Professor, Arts in Society, Fontys School of Fine and Performing Arts, Tilburg). Should you have any questions regarding this survey please contact either of the above for further information (ch.vanwinkel@avans.nl and p.gielen@fontys.nl). Thank you in advance for your cooperation. **Buttons: Start – Previous Page – Next Page**

Name of variable	Survey question
P1	
	General instructions: 1) If, when completing the survey, you should wish to amend your answer to an earlier question, please use the "previous page" button at the bottom of the page, or the "back" button of your browser. 2) If you don't know the exact answer to a question, please give an estimate.
P2	
	Background information The first few questions are about your background. We would hereby like to state that all information provided is treated with the strictest of confidence and will not be shared with anyone.
entry	Fill in chronologically
geslach	Please state your gender 1=Male 2=Female
gebdatum	What is your date of birth? *Please fill in as follows: DDMMYYYY (so, 1 April 1985 is 01041985)*
nationl	What is your nationality?
burgsta	What is your civil status? 1=Single 2=Cohabiting 3=Civil partnership 4=Married
P3	
kinder	Do you have children? 1=Yes 2=No
kindja	How many children do you have?
P4	
	Professional career mobility The following questions are about your current place of residence and the places where you have previously resided. These questions are intended to gain a better picture of your mobility during your professional career.
wopla1	What was your primary place of residence ...at the age of 16?
land1	

Name of variable	Survey question
wopla2	What was your primary place of residence ...during your studies/during art school?
land2	
wopla3	What was your primary place of residence ... when you first started work after graduating?
land3	
verhuis	How often have you moved house since finishing your art training?
wp_nu	What is your current place of residence? Could you also please state the primary reason for moving there?
	What was the primary reason for moving to your current place of residence?
wp_nu1	For professional reasons
wp_nu2	For personal or family reasons
wp_nu2d	Other, namely:
P5	
	Education and competencies The following questions are about the education you have received. Which diplomas did you obtain before going to art school? *(multiple answers possible)*
vordip1	General Secondary Education (MAVO/MULO)
vordip2	Senior General Secondary Education (HAVO/HBS/MMS)
vordip3	Pre-university Education (VWO/Atheneum/Grammar School)
vordip4	Senior Secondary Vocational Education (MBO)
vordip5	Other Higher Vocational Education (HBO/University)
vordip6	University (VVO)
vordip7	Flanders: BSO (Vocational Secondary Education)
vordip8	Flanders: TSO (Technical Secondary Education)
vordip9	Flanders: Art Humanities
vordip10	Flanders: ASO (General Secondary Education)
vordip11	Other, namely:

Name of variable	Survey question
P6	
kunop	Please state below where you followed your art training. 1=Sint-Lukas University College of Art and Design, Brussels 2=Fontys School of Fine and Performing Arts, Tilburg 3=Avans University – AKV|St.Joost, Breda & Den Bosch 4=Other, namely:
	Survey explanation Explanation of page 6 3 Before merging into AKV|St.Joost, these schools were called: - (Koninklijke) Academie voor Kunst en Vormgeving, Den Bosch, and - Academie St. Joost, Breda
kunopnam	What was the name of the course that you followed at this institute?
kunopaf	Some courses had/have various majors, e.g. 'visual artist' or 'teacher'. If this applies to you, please state below which major you followed. If this doesn't apply to you, please state so below. 1=Visual artist 2=Teacher 3=Not applicable 4=Other, namely:
kunopvd	What type of course did you follow (full-time or part-time)? 1=Full-time 2=Part-time 3=Other, namely:
P7	
kunopbeg	In what year did you start your art training?
kunopaj	When did you graduate from art school? 1=1975 2=1990 3=2005 4=Other, namely:
P8	
kunopan	Did you have an admission interview or take an admission test for other art schools as well? 1=Yes 2=No
P9	
kunoptho	For how many art schools did you do an admission interview or an admission test?

Name of variable	Survey question
P10	
kunopke	Was the institute/art school where you studied your first choice? 1=Yes 2=No
P11	
kunop1k	Which institute/art school was your first choice?
P12	
	Why was this institute/art school your first choice? *(multiple answers possible)*
kunopk1	Close to home
kunopk2	Interesting teachers
kunopk3	Well-known teachers
kunopk4	Course profile
kunopk5	Advice from friends/family/acquaintances
kunopk6	Recommended by former teacher
kunopk7	Course reputation
kunopk8	Other, namely:
P13	
kunopag	Would you, in hindsight, follow the same art course again? 1=Yes, the same course at the same institute 2=Yes, the same course, but at a different institute, namely: 3=No, a different course, but at the same institute, namely: the course: 4=No, a different course at a different institute, namely: the course: 5=No, I would not have taken any course
P14	
xtrcuri	Did you undertake extra-curricular, art-related activities during your art course? 1=Yes 2=No *Explanation of page 14* *By extra-curricular we mean activities over and above the mandatory course activities.* *By art-related activities we mean activities directly relating to art.*

Name of variable	Survey question
P15	
	What type of activities were they? (*multiple answers possible*)
xtrcu_1	(Paid) work experience
xtrcu_2	(Own) projects
xtrcu_3	Volunteer work
xtrcu_4	Traineeship
xtrcu_5	Other, namely:
P16	
xtcubui	Did you complete part of your studies ABROAD? 1=Yes 2=No
P17	
veopjan	Did you follow another course after graduating? *By another course we mean for example another Higher Vocational Education course or a university course.* 1=Yes 2=No
P18	
	What type of course was it?
veopwa1	Higher Vocational Education
veopwa2	University
veopwa3	Other, namely:
veopkun	Was this course art-related? 1=Yes 2=No 3=Partially
	What was the primary motivation in following another course after graduating? (*multiple answers possible*)
veopmo1	Improved job opportunities
veopmo2	Change of profession
veopmo3	Expanding/broadening field of specialism
veopmo4	Personal interests

Name of variable	Survey question
veopmo5	Personal development
veopmo6	Other, namely:
oplja	Did following another course have a positive influence on your artistic practice? 1=Yes 2=Somewhat 3=No 4=Not applicable
P19	
postak	After graduating did you participate in an (international) post-academic artist residency? 1=Yes 2=No
P20	
	Which artist residency was that? (*multiple answers possible*)
posta_1	Rijksakademie, Amsterdam
posta_2	Ateliers '63/de Ateliers, Amsterdam
posta_3	EKWC, Den Bosch
posta_4	1 Jan van Eyck Academy, Maastricht
posta_5	Higher Institute for Fine Arts (HISK), Antwerp/Ghent
posta_6	Other, namely:
werkpja	Did your participation in this artist residency have a positive influence on your artistic practice? 1=Yes 2=Somewhat 3=No 4=Not applicable
P21	
cursus	After graduating did you follow additional courses for your work? 1=Yes 2=No

Name of variable	Survey question
P22	
	Could you please state below which type of additional courses you followed for your work? (*multiple answers possible*)
cusgeb1	Administrative/commercial
cusgeb2	Computer skills
cusgeb3	Photo/video course
cusgeb4	Language course
cusgeb5	Writing course
cusgeb6	Other, namely:
cushoe	Could you please state below approximately how many courses you have followed for work? 1 – more than 10
	What was your primary motivation in following additional courses for work? (*multiple answers possible*)
cuswa_1	Improved job opportunities
cuswa_2	Change of profession
cuswa_3	Expanding/broadening field of specialism
cuswa_4	Personal interests
cuswa_5	Personal development
cuswa_6	Other, namely:
cursja	Did these courses have a positive influence on your artistic practice? 1=Yes 2=Somewhat 3=No 4=Not applicable

Name of variable	Survey question
P23	
	Competencies 2 The following questions are about the different competencies, qualities and skills that may be important to your professional career. Below are listed five statements concerning the art course you followed. Please indicate whether you agree with them. 1=I disagree entirely 2=I disagree partially 3=Neutral/no opinion 4=I agree partially 5=I agree entirely
oplcmp1	Going to art school provided me with a good foundation to start as a professional artist.
oplcmp2	Going to art school provided me with a good foundation to further develop my knowledge and skills.
oplcmp3	Going to art school gave me a clear professional head start.
oplcmp4	Going to art school isn't necessary, true talent will be acknowledged in its own right.
oplcmp5	Going to art school mainly helped me form my personal artistic identity.
oplcmp6	I learned a trade at the art school.

Name of variable	Survey question
P24	
a) **(compet11 tot en met compet125)** b) **(compet21 tot en met compet225)** c) **(compet31 tot en met compet325)**	Below are listed a range of skills/qualities that may be important in carrying out your professional career. Please indicate below per skill/quality: a. how important they are to you in carrying out your (artistic) activities b. how well your art course prepared you for your professional career in this respect c. how high you rate yourself α) **How important are the following skills and qualities to you in carrying out your (artistic) activities?** 1=Very unimportant 2=Relatively unimportant 3=Not important but also not unimportant 4=Quite important 5=Very important 6=I don't know β) **How well did your art course prepare you for your professional career in this respect?** 1=Badly 2=Not very well 3=Not well but also not badly 4=Reasonably 5=Well 6=I don't know χ) **How high do you rate yourself?** 1=Low 2=Average 3=High 4=I don't know
compet11/21/31	Communication skills
compet12/22/32	Ability to collaborate
compet13/23/33	Ability to shape and form
compet14/24/34	Independence
compet15/25/35	Not willing to compromise
compet16/26/36	Flexibility
compet17/27/37	Entrepreneurship
compet18/28/38	Ability to grow and develop
compet19/29/39	Responsibility

Name of variable	Survey question
compet110/210/310	Research skills
compet111/211/311	Critical and reflective skills
compet112/212/312	Willingness to learn
compet113/213/313	Networking skills
compet114/214/314	Organizational skills
compet115/215/315	Authenticity
compet116/216/316	Integrity
compet117/217/317	Inventiveness
compet118/218/318	Ability to adapt
compet119/219/319	Obstinacy/Recalcitrance
compet120/220/320	Stress resistance
compet121/221/321	Decisiveness
compet122/222/322	Ability to develop a personal expressive language
compet123/223/323	Sociability
compet124/224/324	Ability to handle criticism
compet125/225/325	Ability to combine one's professional and personal life
P25	
kunsten	**Professional Career & Activities** The following section of the survey relates to your activities and professional career. Do you think of yourself as a visual artist? 1=Yes 2=No
P26	
typkuns	Which of the following descriptions best represents the type of visual artist you are? *By applied art we mean art forms such as graphic design, web design, industrial design, but also forms of commissioned art, public art, illustration, photography assignments, writing, etc.* *If none the descriptions apply to you, please select the option "Other, namely:..."* 1=Autonomous visual artist

Name of variable	Survey question
	2=Applied visual artist 3=Partially autonomous and partially applied visual artist 4=Other, namely:
P27	
	Below are listed a number of statements about the profession of autonomous visual artist. Please indicate whether you agree with them. 1=I disagree entirely 2=I disagree partially 3=Neutral/no opinion 4=I agree partially 5=I agree entirely Autonomous visual artists are artists who ...
knstom11	...have complete artistic control over their own work
knstom12	...can support themselves
knstom13	...do not depend on commissions
knstom14	...do not depend on subsidies
knstom15	...create work that relates to art from the past
knstom16	...work in a studio
knstom17	...work independently
knstom18	..create work without any (functional) application
knstom19	...create work that can be shown in galleries and art museums
autonbk	Are you currently active as an (autonomous) visual artist? 1=Yes 2=No
P28	
	You have stated that you don't see yourself as a visual artist. We would like to know your opinions on the profession of autonomous visual artist. Below are listed a number of statements. Please indicate whether you agree with them. 1=I disagree entirely 2=I disagree partially 3=Neutral/no opinion 4=I agree partially 5=I agree entirely

Name of variable	Survey question
	Autonomous visual artists are artists who ...
knstom21	...have complete artistic control over their own work
knstom22	...can support themselves
knstom23	...do not depend on commissions
knstom24	...do not depend on subsidies
knstom25	... create work that relates to art from the past
knstom26	...work in a studio
knstom27	...work independently
knstom28	...create work without any (functional) application
knstom29	... create work that can be shown in galleries and art museums
P29	
vldknst	You have stated that you aren't currently active as an (autonomous) visual artist. Have you been active as an (autonomous) visual artist in the past? 1=Yes 2=No
P30	
vltk1	You have been active as an (autonomous) visual artist in the past. Please state the approximate number of years you were active. *If this was less than 1 year please select option '0' below.*
	Why did you end your activities as an (autonomous) visual artist? *(multiple answers possible)*
vltk21	For financial reasons/I couldn't survive financially
vltk22	I wasn't talented enough
vltk23	I developed an aversion to the art world
vltk24	I started a family
vltk25	Because of physical/health problems
vltk26	I lacked motivation
vltk27	Because of a change of interests
vltk28	Because of a burnout
vltk29	Other, namely:

Name of variable	Survey question
vltk3	Are you currently occupied with other art-related work? *By art-related work we mean work with a direct link to art.* 1=Yes 2=No
P31	
	You have stated that you aren't currently active as an autonomous visual artist and that you haven't been active as such in the past. Why did you not opt for a career as an autonomous visual artist? *(multiple answers possible)*
knooit1	For financial reasons/I couldn't survive financially
knooit2	I wasn't talented enough
knooit3	I developed an aversion to the art world
knooit4	I started a family
knooit5	Because of physical/health problems
knooit6	I lacked motivation
knooit7	Because of a change of interests
knooit8	Because of a burnout
knooit9	Other, namely:
nooit2	Are you currently occupied with other art-related work? *By art-related work we mean work with a direct link to art.* 1=Yes 2=No
P32	
	Which of the following artistic or art-related professional activities are you currently engaged in? *(multiple answers possible)*
artact1	Autonomous studio practice
artact2	On-site installations (temporary)
artact3	Public art commissions (permanent)
artact4	Other commissioned art forms
artact5	Design
artact6	Graphic/illustration
artact7	Industrial design

Name of variable	Survey question
artact8	Interior or landscape architecture
artact9	Photographic assignments
artact10	Film or documentary
artact11	Clothing or fashion design
artact12	Other applied art forms
artact13	Radio/television
artact14	Community art projects
artact15	Writing
artact16	Publishing
artact17	Music/DJ
artact18	Performance
artact19	Teaching art (secondary education)
artact20	Teaching art (Higher Vocational Education/University)
artact21	Art education (e.g. Museum guide, Youth studios)
artact22	Curating exhibitions
artact23	Working for an artist's initiative or cultural institution
artact24	Committee or jury work
artact25	Other, namely:
P33	
	Please indicate for each of your activities whether you undertake them for artistic reasons, out of financial necessity or a combination of both. 1=Artistic reasons 2=Financial necessity 3=A combination of artistic and financial reasons
artact31	Autonomous studio practice
artact32	On-site installations (temporary)
artact33	Public art commissions (permanent)
artact34	Other commissioned art forms
artact35	Design
artact36	Graphic/illustration

Name of variable	Survey question
artact37	Industrial design
artact38	Interior or landscape architecture
artact39	Photographic assignments
artact310	Film or documentary
artact311	Clothing or fashion design
artact312	Other applied art forms
artact313	Radio/television
artact314	Community art projects
artact315	Writing
artact316	Publishing
artact317	Music/DJ
artact318	Performance
artact319	Teaching art (secondary education)
artact320	Teaching art (Higher Vocational Education/University)
artact321	Art education (e.g. Museum guide, Youth studios)
artact322	Curating exhibitions
artact323	Working for an artist's initiative or a cultural institution
artact324	Committee or jury work
P34	
autotoe	The following questions concern the combination of an autonomous and an applied artistic practice. *Explanation of page 34* • By **artistic activities** we mean activities that are part of your practice as an artist. By **art-related work** we mean activities that don't fall under your artistic practice, but that are nevertheless directly linked to art. Do you combine autonomous and applied artistic activities? 1=Yes 2=No

Name of variable	Survey question
P35	
auttoe1	Please indicate below for how many years you have been combining autonomous and applied art. *If you don't know the exact number of years, please give an estimate.*
auttoe4	Did this combination with applied artistic activities affect the character or form of your autonomous visual work? 1=Yes 2=Somewhat 3=No 4=I don't know
auttoe5	Did this combination of autonomous and applied artistic activities require you to develop new skills or competencies? 1=Yes 2=No 3=I don't know
P36	
hybr1	**Hybridization** This survey investigates the hybridization of artistic practice. Below we have given a brief explanation of what we understand hybridization to mean: You have stated that you combine autonomous and applied art; this is an important characteristic of/prerequisite for a hybrid artistic practice. The second important characteristic or prerequisite is that the differences between autonomous and applied art tend to blur. In other words, both types of art can go together within a single context or production, or exist alongside each other; from the outside they may not even be distinguishable anymore; moreover, the designation of what is and what isn't autonomous becomes irrelevant; this is a positive characteristic/quality that determines one's identity as an artist. Would you say that you have a hybrid artistic practice? 1=Yes 2=No 3=I don't know
P37	
hybjtoel	You have stated that you have a hybrid professional practice. Please give a short explanation below.
hybr2	Has the hybridity of your professional practice increased in recent years/over time? 1=Yes 2=No 3=I don't know

Name of variable	Survey question
hybr3	Do you think your artistic work is more hybrid than that of previous generations of artists? 1=Yes 2=No 3=I don't know
P38	
hybntoel	You have told us you don't enjoy having a hybrid professional career. Please give a short explanation below.
P39	
werk	Do you also undertake (paid) activities outside of art? By that we mean activities not related to art. 1=Yes 2=No
P40	
	Which sector(s) do you work in? *(multiple answers possible)*
werk21	Shop/Warehouse/Supermarket/Retail
werk22	Hotel/Restaurant/Café/Bar
werk23	Logistics/Post/Telecommunication/Travel
werk24	Banking and insurance/Financial services
werk25	Business services/Law & advocacy/Real estate/ICT
werk26	Media
werk27	Cleaning
werk28	National/Provincial/Local government/Judiciary/Police
werk29	Education
werk210	Medical/Health care
werk211	Nursing and rest home
werk212	Public Welfare/Public service provision/Childcare
werk213	Tourism/Culture/Sport/Recreation/Personal care
werk214	Farming/Horticulture/Fishing
werk215	Industry
werk216	Construction/Energy company

Name of variable	Survey question
werk217	Wholesale/Distribution
werk218	In private homes
werk219	Other, namely:
	What is the nature of your job in the sector(s) listed? *(multiple answers possible)* *Explanation on page 40* • **administrative** explanation: For example secretary, management assistant, bank or insurance employee, administrative employee, receptionist, telephonist, (data)typist • **commercial** explanation: For example sales person, shop assistant, cashier, counter clerk or travel agent employee, sales manager, branch manager, call centre operator, marketing employee • **social work or public service** explanation: For example public service worker, welfare officer • **legal or managerial** explanation: For example HRM officer, economist, accountant, policy employee • **care worker or medical worker** explanation: For example nurse, maternity nurse, district nurse, midwife, physiotherapist or occupational therapist, doctor/dentist/veterinary assistant • **educational** explanation: For example play group leader, nursery worker, babysitter, primary teacher, lecturer, instructor, study or professional mentor • **service provision** explanation: For example waiter, buffet waiter, hairdresser, beautician, housekeeping staff at institutions, cleaner, domestic help • **communication or journalism** explanation: For example journalist, editor, library employee, PR or communication employee • **industrial, agricultural or transport** explanation: For example production personnel, factory worker, farmhand or horticulturalist, bus/tram/car driver
werk31	Administrative
werk32	Commercial
werk33	Social work or public service
werk34	Legal or managerial

Name of variable	Survey question
werk35	Care worker or medic
werk36	Educational
werk37	Service provision
werk38	Communication or journalism
werk39	Industrial, agricultural or transport
werk310	Other, namely:
P41	
	The following questions concern your professional ambitions. Below are a number of statements regarding your current professional practice. Please indicate whether you agree with them. 1=I disagree entirely 2=I disagree partially 3=Neutral/no opinion 4=I agree partially 5=I agree entirely
amb11	My private life comes before my work
amb12	I am disciplined in my work
amb13	I don't like fixed routines in my work
amb14	Security is important to me
amb15	Being challenged is important to me
amb16	My profession comes before my private life
amb17	I identify with my profession
amb18	In collaborative situations I often take the lead
amb19	I am ambitious
amb110	I am trying to improve my financial situation
amb111	I find social status irrelevant
amb112	I want my work to contribute to society
amb113	Work doesn't play a central role for me

Name of variable	Survey question
ambi3	Have you achieved the objectives you had in mind when you graduated? 1=Yes 2=No 3=More or less
P42	
amb4	Are you happy about your current professional situation? 1=Yes 2=No 3=More or less
	If you could change anything about your professional situation, what would that be? *(multiple answers possible)*
amb51	More time for my own work
amb52	Higher income
amb53	More assignments and/or commissions
amb54	More time with my family
amb55	Less pressure to perform
amb56	More opportunities to exhibit my work
amb57	More collaborations
amb58	More media attention for my work
amb59	Nothing, I am happy with my current work situation
amb510	Other, namely:
P43/44/45	
P43 P44 P45	Which values do you think are central to the contemporary art world? **(bolt11 - bolt116)** Which values are important to you in your artistic practice? **(bolt21 – bolt216)** Which values were central to your art course? **(bolt31 – bolt316)** 1=Not at all 2=Barely 3=Neutral 4=Somewhat 5=Very much
bolt11/21/31	Inspiration
bolt12/22/32	Self-development
bolt13/23/33	Authenticity

Name of variable	Survey question
bolt14/24/34	Artisan skills
bolt15/25/35	Tradition
bolt16/26/36	The canon
bolt17/27/37	Fame
bolt18/28/38	Recognition
bolt19/29/39	Visibility
bolt110/210/310	Social engagement
bolt111/211/311	The public cause
bolt112/212/312	Financial success
bolt113/213/313	Entrepreneurship
bolt114/214/314	Purposiveness
bolt115/215/315	Professionalism
bolt116/216/316	Efficiency
P46	Please indicate whether you agree with the following statements: 1=I disagree entirely 2=I disagree partially 3=Neutral/no opinion 4=I agree partially 5=I agree entirely A good work of visual art ...
kunstw1	…is multi-layered in terms of form
kunstw2	…is multi-layered in terms of content
kunstw3	...has a clear concept
kunstw4	…has a topical and relevant subject matter
kunstw5	...is visually powerful
kunstw6	...is recognizable
kunstw7	...is unequivocal
kunstw8	...is universal
kunstw9	...is original
kunstw10	…has a strong effect

Name of variable	Survey question
kunstw11	...makes a statement
kunstw12	...photographs and reproduces well
kunstw13	...stems from a world of its own
kunstw14	...is entertaining
kunstw15	...appeals directly to many people
kunstw16	...increases people's involvement with art
kunstw17	...isn't quickly forgotten
kunstw18	...transcends the here and now
kunstw19	...refers to its context
P47	
	The following questions are about how you spend your time in an average working week. In an average working week, what percentage of your time do you spend on the following categories? If you don't know the exact answer, please give an estimate *Please note: Your answers must add up to 100%.* *If a particular category doesn't apply to you please fill in '0'.* *Explanation of pages 47/50* • By **artistic activities** we mean activities that are part of your practice as an artist. By **art-related work** we mean activities that don't fall under your artistry, but that are nevertheless directly linked to art.
tijd11	Artistic activities (paid, including subsidized work)
tijd12	Art-related work (paid)
tijd13	Not-art-related work (paid)
tijd14	Artistic activities (unpaid)
tijd15	Art-related work (unpaid)
tijd16	Not-art-related work (unpaid, e.g. private, volunteer etc.)
P48	
kunink1	We would like to know whether you have been able to live off your artistic work during the various periods of your career. Have you ever received a grant or subsidy? 1=Yes 2=No

Name of variable	Survey question
P49	
kunink2	In which year(s) did you receive a grant or subsidy? *Please separate multiple answers with a comma*
P50	
	Please indicate what percentage of your income comes from artistic work, from art-related work and not-art-related work. If you don't know the exact answer, please give an estimate. *Please note: Your answers must add up to 100%.* *If a particular category doesn't apply to you please fill in '0'.*
artink1	Artistic activities
artink2	Art-related work
artink3	Not-art-related work
	Compared to previous years, is this more or less, or has it stayed the same? *Please indicate per activity whether it is more or less, or has stayed the same.* *If a particular type of work doesn't apply to you please select 'Not applicable'.* 1=More 2=Less 3=Equal 4=Not applicable
artink21	Artistic activities
artink22	Art-related work
artink23	Not-art-related work
fulpart	Do you prefer a full-time or a part-time artistic practice? 1=Full-time 2=Part-time 3=No preference 4=Not applicable
P51	
loba1	Which of the descriptions below best describes your career? Concerning the stability of your career 1=Unstable 2=Stable 3=Other, namely:
loba2	Concerning the nature of your employment 1=Long-term employment 2=Short-term contracts 3=Other, namely:

Name of variable	Survey question
loba3	Concerning the type of career development 1=Declining 2=Stable 3=Rising 4=Other, namely:
P52	
vervolg	This survey is part of a larger project for which we would also like to conduct interviews with artists about their professional career. May we contact you for an interview about your experiences and views on contemporary artistic practice? 1=Yes 2=No
P53	
naam	**Follow-up survey** You have indicated that you are interested in doing an interview in the context of this survey. Please fill in your details below so we can contact you. The minimum information we would need is your name and email address. We shall contact you in due course. Thank you in advance for your cooperation. **Please note!** If you fill in your details here, your answers shall no longer be completely anonymous. However, the information you provide shall of course always be treated with the strictest of confidence and shall never be shared with third parties.
naam	Name
email	Email address
email1	Email address *To prevent a wrong email address being entered we kindly request you duplicate it.*
straat	Street
huisnr	House number
toevoeg	House number suffix
postcode	Postal code
woonpl	City
land	Country
telefoon	Telephone number

Name of variable	Survey question
P54	
opmerk	**Do you have any additional comments or suggestions?**
Last page	
	Many thanks for participating in this survey. If you still have any questions please contact: Camiel van Winkel (Professor in Visual Arts, AKV|Sint-Joost, Avans University, Den Bosch/Breda) email: ch.vanwinkel@avans.nl and/or Pascal Gielen (Professor, Arts in Society, Fontys School of Fine and Performing Arts, Tilburg) email: p.gielen@fontys.nl You may now close this screen; all your answers have been automatically saved.

Appendix 2: General Findings Online Survey

1. Typology

Table 3: Artists typology

Category of Artists	Frequency	Percentage
Active - Hybrid artists	52	21.1%
Active - Pluri-active artists	70	28.3%
Active - Monolithic artists	20	8.1%
Not-Active - Art-related	60	24.3%
Not-Active - not-art-related	45	18.2%
Total	247	100%

N=247; Missing=24.

VARIABLES=KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER= none

2. General Findings – Hybridization Report

Table 4: Response by country

Country	Approached respondents	Explicit non-response	Response rate	Response percentage
Netherlands	276	9 (3.2%)	161	58.3%
Flanders	181	5 (2.8%)	105	58%
Total	457	14 (3.1%)	274 (8 other)*	60%

**Note*: The total of this column is higher than the sum of the fields because 8 respondents stated they have a different nationality.

Table 5: Response by art school

Art school	Approached respondents	Explicit non-response	Response	Response percentage
St. Lukas, Brussels	63	3 (4.8%)	24	38.1%
Fontys, Tilburg	130	4 (3.1%)	64	49.2%
AKV|St.Joost, Breda & Den Bosch	146	5 (3.4%)	97	66.4%
KASK, Antwerp	44	1 (2.3%)	25	56.8%
St. Lucas, Ghent	74	1 (1.4%)	56	75.7%
Total	457	14 (3.1%)	247 (8 other)*	60%

**Note*: The total of this column is higher than the sum of the fields because 8 respondents stated they followed a different study.

Table 6: Response by gender

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Female	147	55.1%
Male	120	44.9%
Total	267	100%

Table 7: Response by nationality

Nationality	Frequency	Percentage
Dutch	161	59.4%
Belgian	106	39.1%
Other	4	1.5%
Total	271	100%

Table 8: Response by cohort (graduation year)

Cohort	Frequency	Percentage
1975	64	24.3%
1990	117	44.5%
2005	82	31.2%
Total	263	100%

Note: Not all respondents answered the questions related to table 3-6; furthermore a filtering has taken place for respondents from different art schools and/or graduation years. This explains the differences in totals.[37]

[37] Table 2-6 are based on the tables from the hybridization report out of practical reasons (Gielen et al., 2012). All other tables are based on an individual SPSS output.

3. Polyactivity

Table 9: Do you do any paid or unpaid work outside of art? (not-art-related work)[38]

	Frequency	Percentage
No	134	66.3
Yes	68	33.7
Total	202	100%

N=271; Missing=69

Table 10: Type of Artist by Do you do any paid or unpaid work outside of art? (not-art-related work)[39]

Type of Artist	No	Yes	Total
Active - Hybrid artists	30	22	52
	57.7%	42.3%	100%
	22.4%	32.4%	25.7%
Active - Pluri-active artists	50	20	70
	71.4%	28.6%	100%
	37.3%	29.4%	34.7%
Active - Monolithic artists	14	6	20
	70%	30%	100%
	10.4%	8.8%	9.9%
Not-Active – Art-related	40	20	60
	66.7%	33.3%	100%
	29.9%	29.4%	29.7%
Total	134	68	202
	66.3%	33.7%	100%
	100%	100%	100%

N=271, Missing=69 X^2=2,676; df=3; p>0,05 (n.s.)

38 VARIABLES= werkRE; FILTER=none

39 VARIABLE= KunstenaarstypologieZ BY werkRE; FILTER=none

Table 11: Nationality of respondent by Do you do any paid or unpaid work outside of art? (not-art-related work)[40]

Nationality of respondent	No	Yes	Total
Dutch	79	42	121
	65.3%	34.7%	100%
Belgian	53	24	77
	68.8%	31.2%	100%
Total	132	66	198
	100%	100%	100%

N=267; Missing=69X^2=0,266; df=1; p>0,05 (n.s.)

Table 12: Year of graduation from art school by Do you do any paid or unpaid work outside of art? (not-art-related work)[41]

Year of Graduation	No	Yes	Total
1975	38	10	48
	79.2%	20.8%	100%
1990	52	32	84
	61.9%	38.1%	100%
2005	39	24	63
	61.9%	38.1%	100%
Total	129	66	195
	66.2%	33.8%	100%
	100%	100%	100%

N=263; Missing=68 X^2=4,815; df=2; p>0,05 (n.s.)

40 VARIABLES= NationalityRE BY werkRE; FILTER=(NationalityRE = 1 | NationalityRE = 2)

41 VARIABLES= kunopaj BY werkRE; FILTER=(kunopaj = 1 | kunopaj = 2 | kunopaj = 3)

4. Non-Active Artists[42]

Table 13: Are you active as an artist?

	Frequency	Percentage
No	108	42.7%
Yes	145	57.3%
Total	253	100%

N=271; Missing=18

Table 14: Type of Not-Active Artist by Gender[43]

Type of Not-active Artist	Gender		
	Female	Male	Total
Art-related work	38	21	59
	64.4%	35.6%	100%
Not-art-related work	25	20	45
	55.6%	44.4%	100%
Total	63	41	104
	100%	100%	100%

N=108; Missing=4X^2=0,837; df=1; p>0,05 (n.s.)

Table 15: Type of Not-Active Artist by Nationality[44]

Type of Not-active Artist	Nationality		
	Dutch	Belgian	Total
Art-related work	34	26	60
	56.7%	43.3%	100%
Not-art-related work	29	16	45
	64.4%	35.6%	100%
Total	63	42	105
	60%	40%	100%

N=108; Missing= 3X^2=0,648; df=1; p>0,05 (n.s.)

[42] VARIABLES=Actieve_kunstenaar; FILTER=none

[43] VARIABLES=KunstenaarstypologieZ BY geslachRE; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 0)

[44] TABLES=KunstenaarstypologieZ BY NationalityRE; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 0)

Table 16: Type of Not-Active Artist by Cohort[45]

Type of Not-Active Artist	Year of Graduation from Art School			
	1975	1990	2005	Total
Art-related work	11	26	22	59
	18.6%	44.1%	37.3%	100%
Not-art-related work	11	24	10	45
	24.4%	53.3%	22.2%	100%
Total	22	50	32	104
	21.2%	48.1%	30.8%	100%

N=107; Missing=3

X^2=2,745; df=2; p>0,05 (n.s.)

Table 17: If not-active artist: Active in the past as artist?[46]

	Frequency	Percentage
No	57	52.8
Yes	51	47.2
Total	108	100%

N=108; Missing=0

45 VARIABLES=KunstenaarstypologieZ BY kunopaj; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 0) & (kunopaj = 1 | kunopaj = 2 | kunopaj = 3)

46 VARIABLES=vldknstRE; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 0)

Table 18: If not-active artist but active in the past: How many years?[47]

#Years	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
0	5	9.8	9.8
1	5	9.8	19.6
2	11	21.6	41.2
3	3	5.9	47.1
4	6	11.8	58.8
5	3	5.9	64.7
6	3	5.9	70.6
10	4	7.8	78.4
14	1	2.0	80.4
15	1	2.0	82.4
16	2	3.9	86.3
18	2	3.9	90.2
20	3	5.9	96.1
22	1	2.0	98
25	1	2.0	100
Total	51	100	

N=51; Missing=0

Mean=6.61; Median=4.0

Table 19: Cohort 1975 – if not-active artist but active in the past: How many years?[48]

#Years	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
2	1	14.3%	14.3%
3	1	14.3%	28.6%
5	1	14.3%	42.9%
10	1	14.3%	57.1%
18	1	14.3%	71.4%
22	1	14.3%	85.7%
25	1	14.3%	100%
Total	7	100%	

N=7; Missing=0

Mean=12.14; Median=10.00

47 VARIABLES=vltk1; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 0) & (vldknstRE = 1)

48 VARIABLES=vltk1; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 0) & (vldknstRE = 1) & (kunopaj = 1)

Table 20: Cohort 1990 - If not-active artist but active in the past: How many years?[49]

#Years	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
0	2	7.1%	7.1%
1	4	14.3%	21.4%
2	3	10.7%	32.1%
3	1	3.6%	35.7%
4	2	7.1%	42.9%
5	2	7.1%	50%
6	3	10.7%	60.7%
10	3	10.7%	71.4%
14	1	3.6%	75%
15	1	3.6%	78.6%
16	2	7.1%	85.7%
18	1	3.6%	89.3%
20	3	10.7%	100%
Total	28	100%	

N=28; Missing=0

Mean=7.79; Median=5.50

Table 21: Cohort 2005 - If not-active artist but active in the past: How many years?[50]

#Years	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
0	3	18.8%	18.8
1	1	6.3%	25%
2	7	43.8	68.8%
3	1	6.3%	75%
4	4	25%	100%
Total	16	100%	

N=16; Missing=0

Mean=2.13; Median=2.0

[49] VARIABLES=vltk1; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 0) & (vldknstRE = 1) & (kunopaj = 2)

[50] VARIABLES=vltk1; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 0) & (vldknstRE = 1) & (kunopaj = 3)

Table 22: Past activity as an artist by Nationality[51]

You are currently not active as a visual artist. Have you been active in the past	Nationality respondent		
	Dutch	Belgian	Total
No	24	33	57
	42.1%	57.9%	100%
Yes	40	11	51
	78.4%	21.6%	100%
Total	64	44	108
	59.3%	40.7%	100%

N=108; Missing=0

X^2=14,712; df=1; p<0,05 (SIG)

Table 23:Past activity as an artist by Cohort[52]

You are currently not active as a visual artist. Have you been active in the past?	Year of graduation from art school			
	1975	1990	2005	Total
No	15	23	18	56
	26.8%	41.1%	32.1%	100%
Yes	7	28	16	51
	13.7%	54.9%	31.4%	100%
Total	22	51	34	107
	20.6%	47.7%	31.8%	100%

N=107; Missing=0

X^2=3,290; df=2; p>0,05 (n.s.)

[51] VARIABLES= vldknstRE BY NationalityRE; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 0)

[52] VARIABLES= vldknstRE BY kunopaj; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 0) & (kunopaj = 1 | kunopaj = 2 | kunopaj = 3)

Table 24: Reason for stopping as an artist: Economic reasons/not able to make a living

Economics reasons?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	35	68.6%
Not mentioned	16	31.4%
Total	51	100%

Table 25: Reason for stopping as an artist: Insufficient talent

Insufficient talent?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	5	9.8%
Not mentioned	46	90.2%
Total	51	100%

Table 26: Reason for stopping as an artist: Disgusted with art world

Disgusted with art world?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	13	25.5%
Not Mentioned	38	74.5%
Total	51	100%

Table 27: Reason for stopping as an artist: Starting a family

Starting a family?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	12	23.5%
Not mentioned	39	76.5%
Total	51	100%

Table 28: Reason for stopping as an artist: Illness or injury

Ilnnes of injury?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1	2%
Not mentioned	50	98%
Total	51	100%

Table 29: Reason for stopping as an artist: Lack of motivation

Lack of motivation	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	11	21.6%
Not mentioned	40	78.4%
Total	51	100%

Table 30: Reason for stopping as an artist: Change of heart/interest

Change of heart/interest?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	12	23.5%
Not mentioned	39	76.5%
Total	51	100%

Table 31: Reason for stopping as an artist: Burn-out

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	2	3.9%
Not mentioned	49	96.1%
Total	51	100.%

Table 32: Reason for stopping as an artist: Other

Other reason?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	11	21.6%
Not mentioned	40	78.4%
Total	51	100%

5. Active Artists

Table 33: Active artists

Type of Active Artist	Frequency	Percentage
Hybrid artist	52	36.6%
Pluri-active artist	70	49.3%
Monolithic	20	14.1%
Total	142	100%

Note: Extracted from Table 1

Table 34: Type of Active Artist by Nationality[53]

Type of Active Artist	Nationality		
	Dutch	Belgian	Total
Hybrid artist	35	16	51%
	68.6%	31.4%	100%
Pluri-active artist	37	31	68
	54.4%	45.6%	100%
Monolithic	15	4	19
	78.9%	21.1%	100%
Total	87	51	138
	63%	37%	100%

N=141; Missing=3

X2=4,902; df=2; p>0,05 (n.s.)

[53] VARIABLES= KunstenaarstypologieZ BY NationalityRE; FILTER= (Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (NationalityRE = 1 | NationalityRE = 2)

Table 35: Type of Active Artist by Cohort[54]

Type of Active Artist	Year of Graduation from Art School			
	1975	1990	2005	Total
Hybrid artists	12	24	13	49
	24.5%	49.0%	26.5%	100%
Pluri-active artists	17	27	24	68
	25.%	39.7%	35.3%	100%
Monolithic artists	8	7	4	19
	42.1%	36.8%	21.1%	100%
Total	37	58	41	136
	27.2%	42.6%	30.1%	100%

N=139; Missing=3

X2=3,885; df=4; p>0,05 (n.s.)

Table 36: Reasons to engage in activity: Autonomous studio practice[55]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	107	87%
Financial necessity	1	.8
Combination of artistic and financial	15	12.2%
Total	123	100%

N=145; Missing 22

Table 37: Reasons to engage in activity: Installations on site (temporary)[56]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	42	80.8%
Combination of artistic and financial	10	19.2%
Total	52	100%

N=145; Missing 93

[54] VARIABLES= KunstenaarstypologieZ BY kunopaj; FILTER= (Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (kunopaj = 1 | kunopaj = 2 | kunopaj = 3)
[55] VARIABLES=artact31; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[56] VARIABLES=artact32; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1

Table 38: Reasons to engage in activity: Art in public space (permanent)[57]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	11	30.6
Combination of artistic and financial	25	69.4
Total	36	100%

N=145; Missing 109

Table 39: Reasons to engage in activity: Other forms of commissioned art[58]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	9	17%
Financial necessity	4	7.5%
Combination of artistic and financial	40	75.5%
Total	53	10%

N=145; Missing 92

Table 40: Reasons to engage in activity: Design[59]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	13	41.9
Financial necessity	2	6.5
Combination of artistic and financial	16	51.6
Total	31	100.0

N=145; Missing 114

Table 41: Reasons to engage in activity: Graphic/Illustration[60]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	7	24.1%
Financial necessity	4	13.8%
Combination of artistic and financial	18	62.1%
Total	29	100%

N=145; Missing 116

[57] VARIABLES=artact33; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[58] VARIABLES=artact34; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[59] VARIABLES=artact35; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[60] VARIABLES=artact36; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1

Table 42: Reasons to engage in activity: Industrial design[61]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	2	28.6
Financial necessity	1	14.3
Combination of artistic and financial	4	57.1
Total	7	100%

N=145; Missing 138

Table 43: Reasons to engage in activity: Interior or landscape architecture[62]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	2	28.6%
Combination of artistic and financial	5	71.4%
Total	7	100%

N=145; Missing 138

Table 44: Reasons to engage in activity: Photography commissions[63]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	4	28.6%
Financial necessity	1	7.1%
Combination of artistic and financial	9	64.3%
Total	14	100%

N=145; Missing 131

Table 45: Reasons to engage in activity: Film or documentary[64]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	9	64.3%
Combination of artistic and financial	5	35.7%
Total	14	100%

N=145; Missing 131

[61] VARIABLES=artact37; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[62] VARIABLES=artact38; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[63] VARIABLES=artact39; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[64] VARIABLES=artact310; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1

Table 46: Reasons to engage in activity: Clothes or fashion design[65]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	1	25%
Combination of artistic and financial	3	75%
Total	4	100%

N=145; Missing 141

Table 47: Reasons to engage in activity: Other forms of applied art[66]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	6	30%
Financial necessity	3	15%
Combination of artistic and financial	11	55%
Total	20	100%

N=145; Missing 125

Table 48: Reasons to engage in activity: Radio/Television[67]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	1	50%
Combination of artistic and financial	1	50%
Total	2	100%

N=145; Missing 143

Table 49: Reasons to engage in activity: Social art projects[68]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	4	40%
Combination of artistic and financial	6	60%
Total	10	100%

N=145; Missing 135

[65] VARIABLES=artact311; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[66] VARIABLES=artact312; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[67] VARIABLES=artact313; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[68] VARIABLES=artact314; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1

Table 50: Reasons to engage in activity: Writing/Publications[69]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	14	66.7%
Financial necessity	1	4.8%
Combination of artistic and financial	6	28.6%

N=145; Missing 124

Table 51: Reasons to engage in activity: Publishing[70]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	2	50%
Combination of artistic and financial	2	50%
Total	4	100%

N=145; Missing 141

Table 52: Reasons to engage in activity: Music/DJ[71]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	6	66.7%
Combination of artistic and financial	3	33.3%
Total	9	100%

N=145; Missing 136

Table 53: Reasons to engage in activity: Performance[72]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	7	63.6%
Combination of artistic and financial	4	36.4%
Total	11	100%

N=145; Missing 134

[69] VARIABLES=artact315; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[70] VARIABLES=artact316; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[71] VARIABLES=artact317; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[72] VARIABLES=artact318; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1

Table 54: Reasons to engage in activity: Art education (secondary education)

	Frequency	Percentage
Combination of artistic and financial	8	100%

N=145; Missing 137

Table 55: Reasons to engage in activity: Art education (HBO/ University)[73]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	1	5.3%
Financial necessity	1	5.3%
Combination of artistic and financial	17	89.5%
Total	19	100%

N=145; Missing 126

Table 56: Reasons to engage in activity: Art education (e.g. museum guide, children workshops)[74]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	1	4.5%
Financial necessity	8	36.4%
Combination of artistic and financial	13	59.1%
Total	22	100%

N=145; Missing 123

Table 57: Reasons to engage in activity: Curator/Organizing exhibitions[75]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	11	47.8%
Financial necessity	1	4.3%
Combination of artistic and financial	11	47.8%
Total	23	100%

N=145; Missing 122

[73] VARIABLES=artact320; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[74] VARIABLES=artact321; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[75] VARIABLES=artact322; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1

Table 58: Reasons to engage in activity: Working for an artists' initiative or cultural institute[76]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	12	40%
Financial necessity	2	6.7%
Combination of artistic and financial	16	53.3%
Total	30	100%

N=145; Missing 115

Table 59: Reasons to engage in activity: Committee work or jury work[77]

	Frequency	Percentage
Artistic reason	16	64%
Combination of artistic and financial	9	36%
Total	25	100%

N=145; Missing 120

[76] VARIABLES=artact323; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1
[77] VARIABLES=artact324; FILTER=Actieve_kunstenaar = 1

6. Job Satisfaction

Table 60: Satisfied with current professional situation[78]

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	91	37.8%
No	41	17%
More or less	109	45.2%
Total	241	100%

N=271; Missing=30

Table 61: ACTIVE ARTISTS- Satisfied with current professional situation?[79]

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	44	31.7%
No	25	18%
More or less	70	50.4%
Total	139	100%

N=145; Missing=6

Table 62: NOT-ACTIVE ARTISTS- Satisfied with currentprofessional situation?[80]

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	47	46.1%
No	16	15.7%
More or less	39	38.2%
Total	102	100%

N=108; Missing=6

[78] VARIABLES=amb4; FILTER=none
[79] VARIABLES=amb4; FILTER= (Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)
[80] VARIABLES= amb4; FILTER= Actieve_kunstenaar = 0

Table 63: Type of Active Artist by Satisfaction with current professional situation[81]

Type of Active Artist	Are you satisfied with your current professional situation?			
	Yes	No	More or less	Total
ybrid artists	21	8	22	51
	41.2%	15.7%	43.1%	100%
Pluri-active artists	19	13	37	69
	27.5%	18.8%	53.6%	100%
Monolithic artists	4	4	11	19
	21.1%	21.1%	57.9%	100%
Total	44	25	70	139
	31.7%	18.0%	50.4%	100%

N=139; Missing=6X^2=3.671; df=4; p>0.05 (n.s.)

Table 64: Type of Not-Active Artist by Satisfaction with current professional situation[82]

Type of Not-Active Artist	Are you satisfied with your current professional situation?			
	Yes	No	More or less	Total
Art-related work	22	10	28	60
	36.7%	16.7%	46.7%	100%
Not-art-related work	25	6	11	42
	59.5%	14.3%	26.2%	100%
Total	47	16	39	102
	46.1%	15.7%	38.2%	100%

N=102; Missing=6X^2=5,600; df=2; p>0,05 (n.s.)

[81] VARIABLES= KunstenaarstypologieZ BY amb4; FILTER= (Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)
[82] VARIABLES= KunstenaarstypologieZ BY amb4; FILTER= (Actieve_kunstenaar = 0)

Table 65: ACTIVE ARTISTS: Gender by Satisfaction with current professional situation[83]

Gender	Are you satisfied with your current professional situation?			
	Yes	No	More or less	Total
Female	17	17	34	68
	25%	25%	50%	100%
Male	25	8	35	68
	36.8%	11.8%	51.5%	100%
Total	42	25	69	136
	30.9%	18.4%	50.7%	100%

N=145; Missing=9X^2=4,778; df=2; p>0,05 (n.s.)

Table 66: ACTIVE ARTISTS: Nationality by Satisfaction with current professional situation[84]

Nationality	Are you satisfied with your current professional situation?			
	Yes	No	More or less	Total
Dutch	31	18	37	86
	36%	20.9%	43%	100%
Belgian	13	5	31	49
	26.5%	10.2%	63.3%	100%
Total	44	23	68	135
	32.6%	17.0%	50.4%	100%

N=145; Missing=10X^2=5,514; df=2; p>0,05 (n.s.)

[83] VARIABLES= geslachRE BY amb4; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)
[84] VARIABLES= NationalityRE BY amb4; FILTER= Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (NationalityRE <= 2)

Table 67: ACTIVE ARTISTS: Cohort by Satisfaction with current professional situation[85]

Year of Graduation from Art School	Are you satisfied with your current professional situation?			
	Yes	No	More or less	Total
1975	17	10	9	36
	47.2%	27.8%	25.0%	100%
1990	14	4	38	56
	25.0%	7.1%	67.9%	100%
2005	12	8	21	41
	29.3%	19.5%	51.2%	100%
Total	43	22	68	133
	32.3%	16.5%	51.1%	100%

N=133; Missing=6X^2=17,348; df=4; p<0,05 (SIG)

[85] VARIABLES= unopaj BY amb4;FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (kunopaj <= 3)

7. Type of work contract

Table 68: My career is best described as... (Type of employment)[86]

	Frequency	Percentage
Long-term employment	106	48.2%
Short-term contracts	69	31.4%
Other	45	20.5%
Total	220	100%

N=271; Missing=51

Table 69: My career is best described as... (Stability)[87]

	Frequency	Percentage
Unstable	75	34.1
Stable	119	54.1
Other	26	11.8
Total	220	100%

N=271; Missing=51

Table 70: ACTIVE ARTISTS: My career is best described as... (Type of employment)[88]

	Frequency	Percentage
Long-term employment	55	43.3%
Short-term contracts	41	32.3%
Other	31	24.4%
Total	127	100%

N=145; Missing=18

[86] VARIABLES=loba2; FILTER=none
[87] VARIABLES= oba1; FILTER= none
[88] VARIABLES=loba2; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

Table 71: NON-ACTIVE ARTISTS: My career is best described as... (Type of employment)[89]

	Frequency	Percentage
Long-term employment	51	54.8
Short-term contracts	28	30.1%
Other	14	15.1%
Total	93	100%

N=108; Missing=15

Table 72: ACTIVE ARTISTS: My career is best described as... (Stability)[90]

	Frequency	Percentage
Unstable	42	33.1%
Stable	67	52.8%
Other	18	14.2%
Total	127	100%

N=145; Missing=18

Table 73: NON-ACTIVE ARTISTS: My career is best described as... (Stability)[91]

	Frequency	Percentage
Unstable	33	35.5%
Stable	52	55.9%
Other	8	8.6%
Total	93	100%

N=108; Missing=15

[89] VARIABLES= loba2; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 0)
[90] VARIABLES= oba1; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)
[91] VARIABLES= loba1, FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 0)

Table 74: Type of Active Artist by Type of Employment[92]

Type of Active Artist	My career is best described as... (Type of employment)			
	Long-term employment	Short-term contracts	Other	Total
Hybrid artists	25	15	8	48
	52.1%	31.3%	16.7%	100%
Pluri-active artists	26	20	17	63
	41.3%	31.7%	27%	100%
Monolithic artists	4	6	6	16
	25%	37.5%	37.5%	100%
Total	55	41	31	127
	43.3%	32.3%	24.4%	100%

N=145; Missing=18X^2=4,782; df=4; p>0,05 (n.s.)

Table 75: Type of Not-active Artist by Type of Employment[93]

Type of Not-active artist	My career is best described as...(Type of employment)			
	Long-term employment	Short-term contracts	Other	Total
Art-related work	29	16	8	53
	54.7%	30.2%	15.1%	100%
Not-art-related work	22	12	6	40
	55%	30%	14%	100%
Total	51	28	14	93
	54.8%	30.1%	15.1%	100%

N=108; Missing=15X^2=0.001; df=2; p>0,05 (n.s.)

[92] VARIABLES= KunstenaarstypologieZ BY loba2; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)
[93] VARIABLES= KunstenaarstypologieZ BY loba2; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 0)

Table 76: Type of Active Artist by Career Stability[94]

Type of Active Artist	My career is best described as... (Stability)			
	Unstable	Stable	Other	Total
Hybrid artists	14	26	8	48
	29.2%	54.2%	16.7%	100%
Pluri-active artists	21	35	7	63
	33.3%	55.6%	11.1%	100%
Monolithic artists	7	6	3	16
	43.8%	37.5%	18.8%	100%
Total	42	67	18	127
	33.1%	52.8%	14.2%	100%

N=145; Missing=18X^2=2,456; df=4; p>0,05 (n.s.)

Table 77: Type of Not-active Artist by Career Stability[95]

Type of Not-active Artist	My career is best described as... (Stability)			
	Unstable	Stable	Other	Total
Art-related work	19	30	4	53
	35.8%	56.6%	7.5%	100%
Not-art-related work	14	22	4	40
	35%	55%	10%	100%
Total	33	52	8	93
	35.5%	55.9%	8.6%	100%

N=108; Missing=15X^2=0,175; df=2; p>0,05 (n.s.)

[94] VARIABLES=KunstenaarstypologieZ BY loba1; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)
[95] VARIABLES= KunstenaarstypologieZ BY loba1, FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 0)

Table 78: ACTIVE ARTISTS: Career Stability by Type of Employment[96]

	My career is best described as... (Type of employment)			
My career is best described as... (Stability)	Long-term employment	Short-term contracts	Other	Total
Unstable	8	27	7	42
	19.0%	64.3%	16.7%	100%
Stable	44	10	13	67
	65.7%	14.9%	19.4%	100%
Other	3	4	11	18
	16.7%	22.2%	61.1%	100%
Total	55	41	31	127
	43.3%	32.3%	24.4%	100%

N=145; Missing=18
X^2=48,190; df=4; p<0,05 (SIG)

Table 79: NOT-ACTIVE ARTISTS: Career Stability by Type of Employment[97]

	My career is best described as... (Type of employment)			
My career is best described as... (Stability)	Long-term employment	Short-term contracts	Other	Total
Unstable	7	21	5	33
	21.2%	63.6%	15.2%	100%
Stable	41	5	6	52
	78.8%	9.6%	11.5%	100%
Other	3	2	3	8
	37.5%	25.0%	37.5%	100%
Total	51	28	14	93
	54.8%	30.1%	15.1%	100%

N=93; Missing=15
X^2=35,457; df=4; p<0,05 (SIG)

96 VARIABLES= loba1 BY loba2; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

97 VARIABLES= loba1 BY loba2; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 0)

Table 80: ACTIVE ARTISTS: Gender by Type of Employment[98]

	My career is best described as... (Type of employment)			
Gender	Long-term employment	Short-term contracts	Other	Total
Female	23	20	20	63
	36.5%	31.7%	31.7%	100%
Male	31	19	11	61
	50.8%	31.1%	18.0%	100%
Total	54	39	31	124
	43.5%	31.5%	25.0%	100%

N=145; Missing=21
X^2=3,792; df=2; p>0,05 (n.s.)

Table 81: ACTIVE ARTISTS: Nationality by Type of Employment[99]

	My career is best described as... (Type of employment)			
Nationality	Long-term employment	Short-term contracts	Other	Total
Dutch	28	26	22	76
	36.8%	34.2%	28.9%	100%
Belgian	26	14	8	48
	54.2%	29.2%	16.7%	100%
Total	54	40	30	124
	43.5%	32.3%	24.2%	100%

N=145; Missing=21
X^2=4,094; df=2; p>0,05 (n.s.)

98 VARIABLES= geslachRE BY loba2; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

99 VARIABLES= NationalityRE BY loba2; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (NationalityRE <= 2)

Table 82: ACTIVE ARTISTS: Cohort by Type of Employment[100]

	My career is best described as... (Type of employment)			
In which year did you graduate from art school?	Long-term employment	Short-term contracts	Other	Total
1975	14	10	8	32
	43.8%	31.3%	25%	100%
1990	27	15	10	52
	51.9%	28.8%	19.2%	100%
2005	12	14	12	38
	31.6%	36.8%	31.6%	100%
Total	53	39	30	122
	43.4%	32%	24.6%	100%

N=145; Missing=23
X^2=3,903; df=4; p>0,05 (n.s.)

Table 83: ACTIVE ARTISTS: Gender by Career Stability[101]

	My career is best described as... (Stability)			
Gender	Unstable	Stable	Other	Total
Female	19	32	12	63
	30.2%	50.8%	19%	100%
Male	21	34	6	61
	34.4%	55.7%	9.8%	100%
Total	40	66	18	124
	32.3%	53.2%	14.5%	100%

N=145; Missing=21
X^2=2,129; df=2; p>0,05 (n.s.)

100 VARIABLES= kunopaj BY loba2; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (kunopaj <= 3)

101 VARIABLES= geslachRE BY loba1; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

Table 84: ACTIVE ARTISTS: Nationality by Career Stability[102]

	My career is best described as... (Stability)			
Nationality	Unstable	Stable	Other	Total
Dutch	26	38	12	76
	34.2%	50%	15.8%	100%
Belgian	15	28	5	48
	31.3%	58.3%	10.4%	100%
Total	41	66	17	124
	33.1%	53.2%	13.7%	100%

N=145; Missing=21
X^2=1,081; df=2; p>0,05 (n.s.)

Table 85: ACTIVE ARTISTS: Cohort by Career Stability[103]

	My career is best described as... (Stability)			
In which year did you graduate from art school?	Unstable	Stable	Other	Total
1975	9	20	3	32
	28.1%	62.5%	9.4%	100%
1990	13	31	8	52
	25.0%	59.6%	15.4%	100%
2005	18	14	6	38
	47.4%	36.8%	15.8%	100%
Total	40	65	17	122
	32.8%	53.3%	13.9%	100%

N=145; Missing=23
X^2=7,117; df=4; p>0,05 (n.s.)

102 VARIABLES= NationalityRE BY loba1; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (NationalityRE <= 2)

103 VARIABLES= kunopaj BY loba1; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (kunopaj <= 3)

Table 86: ACTIVE ARTISTS: Satisfaction with current professional situation by Type of Employment[104]

	My career is best described as... (Type of employment)			
Are you satisfied with your current professional situation?	Long-term employment	Short-term contracts	Other	Total
Yes	22	9	10	41
	53.7%	22.0%	24.4%	100%
No	8	6	9	23
	34.8%	26.1%	39.1%	100%
More or less	25	26	12	63
	39.7%	41.3%	19.0%	100%
Total	55	41	31	127
	43.3%	32.3%	24.4%	100%

N=145; Missing=18
X^2=7,581; df=4; p>0,05 (n.s.)

Table 87: ACTIVE ARTISTS: Satisfaction with current professional situation by Career Stability[105]

	My career is best described as... (Stability)			
Are you satisfied with your current professional situation?	Unstable	Stable	Other	Total
Yes	9	28	4	41
	22.0%	68.3%	9.8%	100%
No	8	7	8	23
	34.8%	30.4%	34.8%	100%
More or less	25	32	6	63
	39.7%	50.8%	9.5%	100%
Total	42	67	18	127
	33.1%	52.8%	14.2%	100%

N=145; Missing=18
X^2=14,898; df=4; p<0,05 (SIG)

104 VARIABLES= amb4 BY loba2; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

105 VARIABLES= amb4 BY loba1; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

Table 88: – ACTIVE ARTISTS: Sum percentage of time spent on artistic, applied and art-related activities[106]

	Frequency	Percentage
0	1	1.4
24	1	1.4
35	1	1.4
50	1	1.4
54	1	1.4
58	1	1.4
60	1	1.4
65	1	1.4
90	1	1.4
100	57	78.1
110	4	5.5
120	1	1.4
125	1	1.4
154	1	1.4
Total	73	100

N=145; Missing=72

106 VARIABLES=Totale_tijdbesteding; FILTER= Actieve_kunstenaar = 1

Table 89: Time allocation of ACTIVE ARTISTS on artistic, applied and art-related activities (paid and unpaid)[107]

		Percentage of time spent weekly on artistic work (both paid and unpaid)	Percentage of time spent weekly on art-related work (both paid and unpaid)	Percentage of time spent weekly on not-art-related work (both paid and unpaid)
N	Valid	57	57	57
Mean		38.51	31.84	29.65
Median		40.00	30.00	25.00
Std. Deviation		22.878	23.254	24.606
Minimum		0	0	0
Maximum		90	85	90
Percentiles	25	20.00	12.50	10.00
	50	40.00	30.00	25.00
	75	57.50	50.00	40.00

Table 90: Time allocation of HYBRID artists on artistic, applied and art-related activities (paid and unpaid)

		Percentage of time spent weekly on artistic work (both paid and unpaid)	Percentage of time spent weekly on art-related work (both paid and unpaid)	Percentage of time spent weekly on not-art-related work (both paid and unpaid)
N	Valid	31	31	31
Mean		34.81	36.45	28.74
Median		35.00	30.00	30.00
Std. Deviation		19.811	22.956	22.265
Minimum		5	5	0
Maximum		80	85	90
Percentiles	25	20.00	15.00	10.00
	50	35.00	30.00	30.00
	75	50.00	50.00	40.00

[107] VARIABLES=tijd_artistieke_werkzaamheden, tijd_kunstgerelateerde_werkzaamheden, tijd_nietkunstgerelateerde_werkzaamheden; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100)

Table 91: Time allocation of PLURI ACTIVE artists on artistic, applied and art-related activities (paid and unpaid)[108]

		Percentage of time spent weekly on artistic work (both paid and unpaid)	Percentage of time spent weekly on art-related work (both paid and unpaid)	Percentage of time spent weekly on not-art-related work (both paid and unpaid)
N	Valid	23	23	23
Mean		41.13	29.78	29.09
Median		40.00	30.00	20.00
Std. Deviation		23.833	22.027	26.087
Minimum		0	0	0
Maximum		85	80	80
Percentiles	25	20.00	10.00	5.00
	50	40.00	30.00	20.00
	75	60.00	40.00	45.00

Table 92: Time allocation of MONOLITH artists on artistic, applied and art-related activities (paid and unpaid)[109]

		Percentage of time spent weekly on artistic work (both paid and unpaid)	Percentage of time spent weekly on art-related work (both paid and unpaid)	Percentage of time spent weekly on not-art-related work (both paid and unpaid)
N	Valid	3	3	3
Mean		56.67	.00	43.33
Median		70.00	.00	30.00
Std. Deviation		41.633	.000	41.633
Minimum		10	0	10
Maximum		90	0	90
Percentiles	25	10.00	.00	10.00
	50	70.00	.00	30.00
	75	90.00	.00	90.00

[108] VARIABLES=tijd_artistieke_werkzaamheden, tijd_kunstgerelateerde_werkzaamheden, tijd_nietkunstgerelateerde_werkzaamheden; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100) & (KunstenaarstypologieZ = 2)

[109] VARIABLES=tijd_artistieke_werkzaamheden, tijd_kunstgerelateerde_werkzaamheden, tijd_nietkunstgerelateerde_werkzaamheden; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100) & (KunstenaarstypologieZ = 3)

Table 93: Percentage of time spent weekly on artistic work (both paid and unpaid) by Type of Active Artist[110]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1572.132	2	786.066	1.530	.226
Within Groups	27738.114	54	513.669		
Total	29310.246	56			

N=57; Missing=0

Table 94: Percentage of time spent weekly on art-related work (both paid and unpaid) by Type of Active Artist[111]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3797.988	2	1898.994	3.872	.027
Within Groups	26483.590	54	490.437		
Total	30281.579	56			

N=57; Missing=0

Table 95: Percentage of time spent weekly on not-art-related work (both paid and unpaid) by Type of Active Artist[112]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	594.554	2	297.277	.482	.620
Within Groups	33310.428	54	616.860		
Total	33904.982	56			

N=57; Missing=0

[110] VARIABLES=tijd_artistieke_werkzaamheden BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100)
[111] VARIABLES=tijd_kunstgerelateerde_werkzaamheden BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100)
[112] VARIABLES=tijd_nietkunstgerelateerde_werkzaamheden BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100)

Table 96: Time allocation on PAID activities by Active Artists [113]

		Percentage of time spent on artistic work (paid, including subsidized work)	Percentage of time spent on art-related work (paid)	Percentage of time spent on not-art-related werk (paid)
N	Valid	57	57	57
Mean		16.16	21.49	13.42
Median		10.00	10.00	.00
Std. Deviation		19.466	22.932	20.510
Minimum		0	0	0
Maximum		80	80	80
Percentiles	25	.00	5.00	.00
	50	10.00	10.00	.00
	75	20.00	37.50	20.00

Table 97: Time allocation on UNPAID activities by Active Artists [114]

		Percentage of time spendt on artistic work (unpaid)	Percentage of time spent on art-related work (unpaid)	Percentage of time spent on not-art-related work (unpaid)
N	Valid	57	57	57
Mean		22.35	10.35	16.23
Median		20.00	5.00	10.00
Std. Deviation		20.448	14.295	19.098
Minimum		0	0	0
Maximum		90	70	90
Percentiles	25	6.50	.00	5.00
	50	20.00	5.00	10.00
	75	30.00	15.00	20.00

[113] VARIABLES=tijd11 tijd12 tijd13; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100)

[114] VARIABLES= tijd14 tijd15 tijd16; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100)

Table 98: Time allocation on UNPAID activities by Active Artists[115]

		Percentage of time spent on artistic work (unpaid)	Percentage of time spent on art-related work (unpaid)	Percentage of time spent on not-art-related work (unpaid)
N	Valid	57	57	57
Mean		22.35	10.35	16.23
Median		20.00	5.00	10.00
Std. Deviation		20.448	14.295	19.098
Minimum		0	0	0
Maximum		90	70	90
Percentiles	25	6.50	.00	5.00
	50	20.00	5.00	10.00
	75	30.00	15.00	20.00

Table 99: Time allocation on PAID activities by HYBRID Artists[116]

		Percentage of time spent on Artistic work (paid, including subsidized work)	Percentage of time spent on art-related work (paid)	Percentage of time do spent on -not-art-related work (paid)
N	Valid	31	31	31
Mean		17.61	26.13	10.48
Median		10.00	20.00	.00
Std. Deviation		20.215	24.756	14.740
Minimum		0	0	0
Maximum		80	80	50
Percentiles	25	.00	5.00	.00
	50	10.00	20.00	.00
	75	20.00	40.00	20.00

115 VARIABLES= tijd14 tijd15 tijd16; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100)

116 VARIABLES= tijd11 tijd12 tijd13; FILTER= (Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100) & (KunstenaarstypologieZ = 1)

Table 100: Time allocation on UNPAID activities by HYBRID Artists[117]

		Percentage of time spent on artistic work (unpaid)	Percentage of time spent on art-related work (unpaid)	Percentage of time spent on not-art-related work (unpaid)
N	Valid	31	31	31
Mean		17.19	10.32	18.26
Median		20.00	5.00	10.00
Std. Deviation		12.682	13.474	19.893
Minimum		0	0	0
Maximum		50	50	80
Percentiles	25	5.00	.00	.00
	50	20.00	5.00	10.00
	75	25.00	10.00	25.00

Table 101: Time allocation on PAID activities by PLURI ACTIVE Artists[118]

		Percentage of time spent on artistic work (paid, including subsidized work)	Percentage of time spent on art-related work (paid)	Percentage of time spent on not-art-related work (paid)
N	Valid	23	23	23
Mean		13.26	18.04	19.13
Median		10.00	10.00	5.00
Std. Deviation		15.493	19.928	26.528
Minimum		0	0	0
Maximum		50	70	80
Percentiles	25	.00	.00	.00
	50	10.00	10.00	5.00
	75	25.00	35.00	30.00

117 VARIABLES= tijd14 tijd15 tijd16; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100) (KunstenaarstypologieZ = 1)

118 VARIABLES= tijd11 tijd12 tijd13; FILTER= (Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100) & (KunstenaarstypologieZ = 2)

Table 102: Time allocation on UNPAID activities by PLURI ACTIVE artists[119]

		Percentage of time spent on artistic work (unpaid)	Percentage of time spent on art-related work (unpaid)	Percentage of time spent on not-art-related work (unpaid)
N	Valid	23	23	23
Mean		27.87	11.74	9.96
Median		20.00	10.00	9.00
Std. Deviation		23.195	15.998	9.172
Minimum		0	0	0
Maximum		80	70	35
Percentiles	25	10.00	.00	5.00
	50	20.00	10.00	9.00
	75	40.00	20.00	15.00

Table 103: Time allocation on PAID activities by MONOLITH artists[120]

		Percentage of time spent on artistic work (paid, including subsidized work)	Percentage of time spent on art-related work (paid)	Percentage of time spent on not-art-related work (paid)
N	Valid	3	3	3
Mean		23.33	.00	.00
Median		.00	.00	.00
Std. Deviation		40.415	.000	.000
Minimum		0	0	0
Maximum		70	0	0
Percentiles	25	.00	.00	.00
	50	.00	.00	.00
	75	70.00	.00	.00

[119] VARIABLES= tijd14 tijd15 tijd16; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100) (KunstenaarstypologieZ = 2)

[120] VARIABLES= tijd11 tijd12 tijd13; FILTER= (Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100) & (KunstenaarstypologieZ = 3)

Table 104: Time allocation on UNPAID activities by MONOLITH artists[121]

		Percentage of time spent on artistic work (unpaid)	Percentage of time spent on art-related work (unpaid)	Percentage of time spent on not-art-related work (unpaid)
N	Valid	3	3	3
Mean		33.33	.00	43.33
Median		10.00	.00	30.00
Std. Deviation		49.329	.000	41.633
Minimum		0	0	10
Maximum		90	0	90
Percentiles	25	.00	.00	10.00
	50	10.00	.00	30.00
	75	90.00	.00	90.00

Table 105: Percentage of time spent weekly on artistic work (paid, including subsidized work) by Type of Active Artist[122]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	413.123	2	206.561	.536	.588
Within Groups	20806.456	54	385.305		
Total	21219.579	56			

N=57; Missing=0

Table 106: Percentage of time spent weekly on artistic work by Type of Active Artist[123]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1886.868	2	943.434	2.366	.103
Within Groups	21528.114	54	398.669		
Total	23414.982	56			

N=57; Missing=0

Table 107: Percentage of time spent weekly on art-related work (paid) by Type of Active Artist[124]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2325.805	2	1162.903	2.315	.108
Within Groups	27122.440	54	502.267		
Total	29448.246	56			

N=57; Missing=0

121 VARIABLES= tijd14 tijd15 tijd16; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100) (KunstenaarstypologieZ = 3)

122 VARIABLES=tijd_11 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100)

123 VARIABLES=tijd_14 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100)

124 VARIABLES=tijd_12 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100)

Table 108: Percentage of time spent weekly on art-related work (unpaid) by Type of Active Artist[125]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	365.773	2	182.887	.892	.416
Within Groups	11077.209	54	205.133		
Total	11442.982	56			

N=57; Missing=0

Table 109: Percentage of time spent weekly on not-art-related work (paid) by Type of Active Artist[126]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1557.544	2	778.772	1.912	.158
Within Groups	22000.351	54	407.414		
Total	23557.895	56			

N=57; Missing=0

Table 110: Percentage of time spent weekly on art-related work (unpaid) by Type of Active Artist[127]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3236.476	2	1618.238	5.084	.009
Within Groups	17189.559	54	318.325		
Total	20426.035	56			

N=57; Missing=0

125 VARIABLES=tijd_15 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100)

126 VARIABLES=tijd_13 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100)

127 VARIABLES=tijd_16 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100)

9. Income

Table 111: Sources of Income of full time Active Artists [128]

		Percentage of income from artistic work	What percentage of your income comes from art-related work	Percentage of income from not-art-related work
N	Valid	56	56	56
Mean		31.73	32.66	35.61
Median		20.00	20.00	20.00
Std. Deviation		29.932	33.221	36.600
Minimum		0	0	0
Maximum		100	98	100
Percentiles	25	5.00	1.25	.00
	50	20.00	20.00	20.00
	75	50.00	63.75	67.50

Table 112: Source of Income Active Artists[129]

		Percentage of income from artistic work	Percentage of income from art-related work	Percentage of income from not-art-related work
N	Valid	128	128	128
Mean		32.52	35.94	31.54
Median		20.00	20.00	10.00
Std. Deviation		31.396	35.283	37.272
Minimum		0	0	0
Maximum		100	100	100
Percentiles	25	5.00	5.00	.00
	50	20.00	20.00	10.00
	75	50.00	70.00	70.00

128 VARIABLES=artink1 artink2 artink3; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totaal_inkomen = 100) & (Totale_tijdbesteding = 100)

129 VARIABLES=artink1 artink2 artink3; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totaal_inkomen = 100)

Table 113: Sources of Income HYBRID artists [130]

		Percentage of income from artistic work	Percentage of income from art-related work	Percentage of income from not-art-related work
N	Valid	49	49	49
Mean		31.61	37.57	30.82
Median		20.00	30.00	20.00
Std. Deviation		27.373	31.906	34.162
Minimum		0	0	0
Maximum		100	100	100
Percentiles	25	7.50	10.00	.00
	50	20.00	30.00	20.00
	75	50.00	57.50	60.00

Table 114: Sources of Income PLURI ACTIVE artists[131]

		Percentage of income from artistic work	Percentage of income from art-related work	Percentage of income from not-art-related work
N	Valid	63	63	63
Mean		30.78	40.70	28.52
Median		20.00	25.00	.00
Std. Deviation		31.646	37.953	37.652
Minimum		0	0	0
Maximum		100	100	99
Percentiles	25	5.00	8.00	.00
	50	20.00	25.00	.00
	75	50.00	80.00	60.00

[130] VARIABLES=artink1 artink2 artink3; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totaal_inkomen = 100) & (KunstenaarstypologieZ = 1)

[131] VARIABLES=artink1 artink2 artink3; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totaal_inkomen = 100) & (KunstenaarstypologieZ = 2)

Table 115: Sources of Income MONOLITH artists[132]

		Percentage of income from artistic work	Percentage of income from art-related work	Percentage of income from not-art-related work
N	Valid	16	16	16
Mean		42.19	12.19	45.63
Median		25.00	.00	55.00
Std. Deviation		41.149	24.965	43.775
Minimum		0	0	0
Maximum		100	90	100
Percentiles	25	5.00	.00	.00
	50	25.00	.00	55.00
	75	90.00	10.00	90.00

Table 116: Percentage of Income from Artistic work by Type of Active Artist[133]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1726.971	2	863.485	.874	.420
Within Groups	123454.959	125	987.640		
Total	125181.930	127			

Table 117: Percentage of Income from Art-related work by Type of Active Artist[134]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	10583.793	2	5291.896	4.484	.013
Within Groups	147519.707	125	1180.158		
Total	158103.500	127			

Table 118: Percentage of Income from Not-art-related work by Type of Active Artist[135]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3772.993	2	1886.497	1.366	.259
Within Groups	172658.811	125	1381.270		
Total	176431.805	127			

132 VARIABLES=artink1 artink2 artink3; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totaal_inkomen = 100) & (KunstenaarstypologieZ = 1)

133 VARIABLES=artink1 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totaal_inkomen = 100)

134 VARIABLES=artink2 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totaal_inkomen = 100)

135 VARIABLES=artink3 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (Totaal_inkomen = 100)

10. Evolution of income

Table 119: Evolution of Income from Artistic work[136]

	Frequency	Percentage
Now more than before	51	39.8%
Now less than before	34	26.6%
Equal	33	25.8%
Not applicable	10	7.8%
Total	128	100%

N=145; Missing 17

Table 120: Evolution of Income from Art-related work[137]

	Frequency	Percentage
Now more than before	52	41.3
Now less than before	19	15.1
Equal	29	23.0
Not applicable	26	20.6
Total	126	100.0

N=145; Missing 19

Table 121: Evolution of Income from Not-art-related work[138]

	Frequency	Percentage
Now more than before	18	15.1
Now less than before	26	21.8
Equal	29	24.4
Not applicable	46	38.7
Total	119	100.0

N=145; Missing 19

136 VARIABLES=artink21; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

137 VARIABLES=artink22, FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

138 VARIABLES=artink23; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

Table 122: Evolution of Income from Artistic work by Type of Active Artist[139]

	Now more than before	Now less than before	Equal	Total
Hybrid artists	25	10	11	46
	54.3%	21.7%	23.9%	100%
Pluri-active artists	22	16	20	58
	37.9%	27.6%	34.5%	100%
Monolithic artists	4	8	2	14
	28.6%	57.1%	14.3%	100%
Total	51	34	33	118
	43.2%	28.8%	28.0%	100%

N=118; Missing=0
X^2=9,205; df=4; p>0,05 (n.s.)

Table 123: Evolution of Income from Art-related work by Type of Active Artist [140]

	Now more than before	Now less than before	Equal	Total
Hybrid artists	22	8	12	42
	52.4%	19%	28.6%	100%
Pluri-active artists	28	7	14	49
	57.1%	14.3%	28.6%	100%
Monolithic artists	2	4	3	9
	22.2%	44.4%	33.3%	100%
Total	52	19	29	100
	52.0%	19%	29%	100%

N=100 Missing=0
X^2=5,489; df=4; p>0,05 (n.s.)

139 VARIABLES= KunstenaarstypologieZ BY artink21; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (artink21 <= 3)

140 VARIABLES= KunstenaarstypologieZ BY artink22; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (artink21 <= 3)

Table 124: Evolution of Income from Not-art-related work by Type of Active Artist[141]

	Now more than before	Now less than before	Equal	Total
Hybrid artists	7	16	10	33
	21.2%	48.5%	30.3%	100%
Pluri-active artists	7	8	18	33
	21.2%	24.2%	54.5%	100%
Monolithic artists	4	2	1	7
	57.1%	28.6%	14.3%	100%
Total	18	26	29	73
	24.7%	35.6%	39.7%	100%

N=73 Missing=0
X^2=9,846; df=4; p<0,05 (SIG)

Table 125: Evolution of Income from Artistic work by Cohort[142]

Year of Graduation from Art School	Now more than before	Now less than before	Equal	Total
1975	9	13	8	30
	30.0%	43.3%	26.7%	100%
1990	17	15	17	49
	34.7%	30.6%	34.7%	100%
2005	23	4	7	34
	67.6%	11.8%	20.6%	100%
Total	49	32	32	113
	43.4%	28.3%	28.3%	100%

N=113; Missing=0
X^2=13,928; df=4; p<0,05 (SIG)

141 VARIABLES= KunstenaarstypologieZ BY artink23; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (artink21 <= 3)

142 VARIABLES= kunopaj BY artink21; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (kunopaj <= 3) & (artink21 <= 3)

Table 126: Evolution of Income from Art-related work by Cohort[143]

Year of Graduation from Art School	Now more than before	Now less than before	Equal	Total
1975	15	7	3	25
	60%	28%	12%	100%
1990	22	5	16	43
	51.2%	11.6%	37.2%	100%
2005	13	5	9	27
	48.1%	18.5%	33.3%	100%
Total	50	17	28	95
	52.6%	17.9%	29.5%	100%

N=95; Missing=0
X^2=6,354; df=4; p>0,05 (n.s.)

Table 127: Evolution of Income from not-art-related work by Cohort[144]

Year of Graduation from Art School	Now more than before	Now less than before	Equal	Total
1975	5	6	1	12
	41.7%	50.0%	8.3%	100%
1990	7	8	15	30
	23.3%	26.7%	50%	100%
2005	5	9	13	27
	18.5%	33.3%	48.1%	100%
Total	17	23	29	69
	24.6%	33.3%	42.0%	100%

N=69; Missing=0
X^2=7,179; df=4; p>0,05 (n.s.)

143 VARIABLES= kunopaj BY artink22; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (kunopaj <= 3) & (artink22 <= 3)

144 VARIABLES= kunopaj BY artink23; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1) & (kunopaj <= 3) & (artink23 <= 3)

11. Standpoints and Opinions: Artistic Autonomy

Table 128: Professional ambitions of Active Artists[145]

		My work is subordinated to my private life	I am disciplined in my work	I don't like fixed routines in my work	Security is important to me	Challenge is important to me	My profession comes before my private life	I identify with my profession	When I collaborate with others I am usually the driving force	I am ambitious	I'm trying to improve my financial situation	Social status is important to me	I want my work to contribute to society	Work doesn't play a central role to me
N	Valid	140	140	140	140	139	139	138	139	139	139	139	138	138
	Missing	5	5	5	5	6	6	7	6	6	6	6	7	7
Mean		2.44	4.12	3.06	3.19	4.29	3.09	4.06	3.45	3.86	3.93	3.40	3.44	2.21
Median		2.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	2.00
Minimum		1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Maximum		5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Percentiles	25	1.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00
	50	2.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	2.00
	75	4.00	5.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	4.00	5.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	4.00	3.00

Table 129: *My work is subordinated to my private life* by Type of Active Artist[146]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.925	2	.462	.327	.721
Within Groups	193.497	137	1.412		
Total	194.421	139			

N=140; Missing=5

Table 130: *I am disciplined in my work* byType of Active Artist[147]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.668	2	.334	.346	.708
Within Groups	132.267	137	.965		
Total	132.936	139			

N=140; Missing=5

145 VARIABLES=amb11 amb12 amb13 amb14 amb15 amb16 amb17 amb18 amb19 amb110 amb111 amb112 amb113; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

146 VARIABLES=amb11 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

147 VARIABLES=amb12 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

Table 131: *I don't like fixed routines in my work* by Type of ActiveArtist [148]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2.390	2	1.195	.871	.421
Within Groups	188.032	137	1.372		
Total	190.421	139			

N=140; Missing=5

Table 132: *Security is important to me* by Type of Active Artist[149]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2.916	2	1.458	1.173	.312
Within Groups	170.255	137	1.243		
Total	173.171	139			

N=140; Missing=5

Table 133: *Challenge is important to me by* Type of Active Artist [150]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2.669	2	1.334	2.512	.085
Within Groups	72.238	136	.531		
Total	74.906	138			

N=140; Missing=6

Table 134: *My profession comes before my private life* by Type of Active Artist [151]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	7.086	2	3.543	2.592	.079
Within Groups	185.878	136	1.367		
Total	192.964	138			

N=140; Missing=6

Table 135*: I identify with my profession* by Type of Active Artist[152]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.491	2	.246	.235	.791
Within Groups	141.045	135	1.045		
Total	141.536	137			

N=140; Missing=7

148 VARIABLES=amb13 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

149 VARIABLES=amb14 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

150 VARIABLES=amb15 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

151 VARIABLES=amb16 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

152 VARIABLES=amb17 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

Table 136: When I collaborate with others I am usually the driving force by Type of Active Artist [153]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2.337	2	1.169	1.118	.330
Within Groups	142.109	136	1.045		
Total	144.446	138			

N=140; Missing=6

Table 137: *I am ambitious* by Type of Active Artist[154]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.978	2	.989	.890	.413
Within Groups	151.145	136	1.111		
Total	153.122	138			

N=140; Missing=6

Table 138: *I'm trying to improve my financial situation* byType of Active Artist[155]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.407	2	.704	.704	.496
Within Groups	135.873	136	.999		
Total	137.281	138			

N=140; Missing=6

Table 139: *Social status is important to me* by Type of Active Artist[156]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	4.681	2	2.340	1.980	.142
Within Groups	160.758	136	1.182		
Total	165.439	138			

N=140; Missing=6

Table 140*: I want my work to contribute to society* by Type of Active Artist[157]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3.971	2	1.986	1.472	.233
Within Groups	182.065	135	1.349		
Total	186.036	137			

N=140; Missing=7

153 VARIABLES=amb18 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

154 VARIABLES=amb19 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

155 VARIABLES=amb110 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

156 VARIABLES=amb111 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

157 VARIABLES=amb112 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

Table 141: *Work doesn't play a central role to me* by Type of Active Artist[158]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2.408	2	1.204	.932	.396
Within Groups	174.497	135	1.293		
Total	176.906	137			

N=140; Missing=7

Table 142: Characteristics of autonomous artists according to Active artists [159]

Autonomous visual artists are artists who...		... have complete artistic control over their work	... can support themselves	... do not depend on commissions	... do not depend on subsidies	... create work that relates to art from the past	... work in a studio	... work independently	... create work without any (functional) applications	... create work that can be shown in galleries and art
N	Valid	145	145	145	145	145	145	145	145	145
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		4.48	2.99	3.05	2.77	2.74	2.99	3.97	3.17	3.57
Median		5.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	4.00
Minimum		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Maximum		5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Percentiles	25	4.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.50	2.00	4.00	2.00	3.00
	50	5.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	4.00
	75	5.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	4.00	5.00

Table 143: *Autonomous visual artists are artists who: Have complete artistic control over their work* by Type of Active Artist[160]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	4.664	2	2.332	3.156	.046
Within Groups	102.723	139	.739		
Total	107.387	141			

N=145; Missing=0

158 VARIABLES=amb113 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

159 VARIABLES= knstom11 knstom12 knstom13 knstom14 knstom15 knstom16 knstom17 knstom18 knstom19; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

160 VARIABLES= knstom11 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

Table 144 Autonomous visual artists are artists who: Have complete artistic control over their work[161]

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean Lower Bound	95% Confidence Interval for Mean Upper Bound	Minimum	Maximum	Between-Component Variance
Active - Hybrid artists		52	4.29	.936	.130	4.03	4.55	1	5	
Active - Pluri-active artists		70	4.50	.897	.107	4.29	4.71	1	5	
Active - Monolithic artists		20	4.85	.366	.082	4.68	5.02	4	5	
Total		142	4.47	.873	.073	4.33	4.62	1	5	
Model	Fixed Effects		.860	.072		4.33	4.61			
	Random Effects			.141	3.86	5.08				.037

N=142; Missing=0

Table 145: Autonomous visual artists are artists who can support themselves by Type of Active Artist[162]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.794	2	.397	.252	.778
Within Groups	219.178	139	1.577		
Total	219.972	141			

N=142; Missing=0

Table 146: Autonomous visual artists are artists who: Do not depend on commissioned work * Type of artist[163]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	15.758	2	7.879	4.718	.010
Within Groups	232.129	139	1.670		
Total	247.887	141			

N=142; Missing=0

161 VARIABLES= knstom11 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

162 VARIABLES= knstom12 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

163 VARIABLES= knstom13 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

Table 147: ***Autonomous visual artists are artists who: Do not depend on commissioned work by*** **Type of Active Artist**[164]

					95% Confidence Interval for Mean				
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Minimum	Maximum	Between-Component Variance
Hybrid artists		52	2.63	1.299	.180	2.27	3.00	1	5	
Pluri-active artists		70	3.16	1.293	.154	2.85	3.47	1	5	
Monolithic artists		20	3.60	1.273	.285	3.00	4.20	1	5	
Total		142	3.03	1.326	.111	2.81	3.25	1	5	
Model	Fixed Effects		1.292	.108	2.81	3.24	3.38			
	Random Effects			.263	1.90	4.16				.145

N=142; Missing=0

Table 148: ***Autonomous visual artists are artists who: Do not depend on subsidies*** **by Type of Active Artist**[165]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3.409	2	1.704	.910	.405
Within Groups	260.451	139	1.874		
Total	263.859	141			

N=142; Missing=0

Table 149: ***Autonomous visual artists are artists who: Make work that is related to art from the past*** **by Type of Active Artist**[166]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.889	2	.444	.233	.792
Within Groups	264.942	139	1.906		
Total	265.831	141			

N=142; Missing=0

164 VARIABLES= knstom13 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

165 VARIABLES= knstom14 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

166 VARIABLES= knstom15 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

Table 150: *Autonomous visual artists are artists who: Work in their own studio* by Type of Active Artist[167]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	5.877	2	2.938	1.560	.214
Within Groups	261.870	139	1.884		
Total	267.746	141			

N=142; Missing=0

Table 151: *Autonomous visual artists are artists who: Work independently* by Type of Active Artist[168]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2.362	2	1.181	.787	.457
Within Groups	208.462	139	1.500		
Total	210.824	141			

N=142; Missing=0

Table 152: *Autonomous visual artists are artists who: Make work without any functional application* by Type of Active artist[169]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	11.830	2	5.915	3.434	.035
Within Groups	239.445	139	1.723		
Total	251.275	141			

N=142; Missing=0

167 VARIABLES= knstom16 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

168 VARIABLES= knstom17 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

169 VARIABLES= knstom18 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

Table 153: ***Autonomous visual artists are artists who: Make work without any functional application by*** **Type of Active Artists**[170]

					95% Confidence Interval for Mean				Between-Component
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Minimum	Maximum	Variance
Hybrid artists		52	2.79	1.446	.201	2.39	3.19	1	5	
Pluri-active artists		70	3.34	1.214	.145	3.05	3.63	1	5	
Monolithic artists		20	3.50	1.277	.286	2.90	4.10	1	5	
Total		142	3.16	1.335	.112	2.94	3.38	1	5	
Model	Fixed Effects			1.312	.110	2.94	3.38			
	Random Effects				.226	2.19	4.13			.098

N=142; Missing=0

Table 154: ***Autonomous visual artists are artists who: Create work that can be shown in galleries and art museums*** **by Type of Active Artist**[171]

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	6.091	2	3.045	1.882	.156
Within Groups	224.959	139	1.618		
Total	231.049	141			

N=142; Missing=0

170 VARIABLES= knstom18 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

171 VARIABLES= knstom19 BY KunstenaarstypologieZ; FILTER=(Actieve_kunstenaar = 1)

A. **Appendix 3:** Interview Manual per Type of Artist

1. Type 1/2: the hybrid artist

INTRO

Introduction of the study. Explain briefly the aim of the interview: to complement and lend more depth to the data provided by the respondent in the online survey. The first question serves to "break the ice" and provide a context for the interview that follows:

- Can you tell us something about the nature of your work?

PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

Our research shows that many visual artists today have mixed practices, combining autonomous and applied artistic activities. From your answers to the questionnaire, this seems to apply to you also. In your case, we can even speak of "hybridization", meaning that the distinction between autonomous and applied work has blurred *in full or in part*.

- Can you say something more about the combination of autonomous and applied artistic work in your case, and about the nature of the hybridization of your professional practice?
- How does that work in practice?
- Has your work become more hybrid over the years?
- If so, since when and to what degree?
- Have there been important breaking points or "triggers" in your artistic body of work in that respect?
- What is the effect of the combination of autonomous/applied on the nature of your autonomous work?
- In what way has that work changed, if at all?
- Do you personally still attach importance to the distinction between autonomous and applied forms of art?
- Do you regard this "hybridization" as a positive personal choice based on artistic considerations or as something that has been enforced by social or economic conditions?
- What are the pros and cons of a mixed practice (artistically, financially, socially)?

- Would you rather have remained a purely individual studio artist, if that would have been financially possible?
- What extra skills did you have to acquire in order to have a hybrid professional practice?
- Do you notice a trend of increasing hybridization with other artists around you as well?
- If so, how would you explain this trend?
- When did it start?
- What does this trend of hybridization mean for the social position of artists, in your opinion?
- Have you had the benefit of a "bonus" at the start of or during your career, e.g. an inheritance, a gift, support by a friend or family member?

To conclude this section, ask the respondent to outline their professional network by listing the people with whom they had work-related contact during one representative month in their calendar. Spend no more than ten minutes on this.

EDUCATION

- How do you feel about your training in art?
- What were the strong points in your training?
- What were the weak points in your training?
- How did you benefit professionally from your training?
- How did you benefit from your training in terms of personal development?
- Did your training lack anything that you later needed?
- Were you able to build a hybrid art practice *in spite of* or *thanks to* your training? (In other words, has the narrow specialism of an education in visual art been a benefit or disadvantage in developing a broad practice?)
- Do you feel that visual art education should teach students extra skills, in light of the fact that many visual artists nowadays have hybrid practices?

VALUE REGIMES

We would like to know what tensions respondents experience between different value regimes and how they compromise between them, if at all.

There are 21 cards. On each card one concept is printed. Ask the respondent to arrange the cards in the following way and comment on it:

- Choose the five concepts that are most important to you and place them in ascending order of importance.
- Can you explain why these concepts are the most important ones to you?
- How do they relate to each other?
- From the 21 concepts, choose two concepts between which you experience great tension or conflict in your professional practice.
- How do you cope with this tension?
- Are you looking for a solution or compromise? How?
- Finally, choose five more concepts that have caused you problems during your career.
- Why did you have problems with these?

CONCLUSION

Provide a brief summary of what has been discussed. This gives the respondent the opportunity to evaluate the interviewer's perceptions and correct them if necessary. Ask the respondent if there are any relevant issues that have not been discussed during the interview.

Thank the respondent for his or her cooperation.

Note: Leave the recording equipment switched on until the very last moment!

12. Type 3/4: the pluri-active artist

INTRO

Introduction of the study. Explain briefly the aim of the interview: to complement and lend more depth to the data provided by the respondent in the online survey. The first question serves to "break the ice" and provide a context for the interview that follows:

- Can you tell us something about the nature of your work?

PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

Our research shows that many visual artists today have mixed practices, combining autonomous and applied artistic activities. From your answers to the questionnaire, this seems to apply to you also. In your case, however, we cannot speak of "hybridization", whereby the distinction between autonomous and applied work has blurred *in full or in part*.

- Can you say something more about the combination of autonomous and applied artistic work in your case?
- How does that work in practice?
- Why do you personally still attach importance to the distinction between autonomous and applied forms of art?
- How do you keep autonomous and applied types of work separated?
- What are the pros and cons of a mixed practice (artistically, financially, socially)?
- Would you rather have remained a purely individual studio artist, if that would have been financially possible?
- What extra skills did you have to acquire in order to have a hybrid professional practice?
- Do you notice a trend of increasing hybridization with other artists around you?
- If so, how would you explain this trend? When did it start?
- Do you regard this "hybridization" as a positive personal choice based on artistic considerations or as something that is enforced by social or economic conditions?
- What is your personal opinion about this?

- What does this trend of hybridization mean for the social position of artists, in your opinion?
- Have you had the benefit of a "bonus" at the start of or during your career, e.g. an inheritance, a gift, support by a friend or family member?

To conclude this section, ask the respondent to outline their professional network by listing the people with whom they had work-related contact during one representative month in their calendar. Spend no more than ten minutes on this.

EDUCATION

- How do you feel about your training in art?
- What were the strong points in your training?
- What were the weak points in your training?
- How did you benefit from your training professionally?
- How did you benefit from your training in terms of personal development?
- Did your training lack anything that you later needed?
- Were you able to build a mixed art practice *in spite of* or *thanks to* your training? (In other words, has the narrow specialism of an education in visual art been a benefit or disadvantage in developing a broad practice?)
- Do you feel that visual art education should teach students extra skills, in light of the fact that many visual artists nowadays have mixed or hybrid practices?

VALUE REGIMES

We would like to know what tensions respondents experience between different value regimes and how they compromise between them, if at all.

There are 21 cards. On each card one concept is printed. Ask the respondent to arrange the cards in the following way and comment on it:

- Choose the five concepts that are most important to you and place them in ascending order of importance.
- Can you explain why these concepts are the most important ones to you?
- How do they relate to each other?

- From the 21 concepts, choose two concepts between which you experience great tension or conflict in your professional practice.
- How do you cope with this tension?
- Are you looking for a solution or compromise? How?
- Finally, choose five more concepts that have caused you problems during your career.
- Why did you have problems with these?

CONCLUSION

Provide a brief summary of what has been discussed. This gives the respondent the opportunity to evaluate the interviewer's perceptions and correct them if necessary. Ask the respondent if there are any relevant issues that have not been discussed during the interview.

Thank the respondent for his or her cooperation.

Note: Leave the recording equipment switched on until the very last moment!

3. Type 5: the monolithic artist

INTRO

Introduction of the study. Explain briefly the aim of the interview: to complement and lend more depth to the data provided by the respondent in the online survey. The first question serves to "break the ice" and provide a context for the interview that follows:

- Can you tell us something about the nature of your work?

PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

Our research shows that many visual artists today have mixed practices, combining or even mixing autonomous and applied artistic activities. From your answers to the questionnaire, this does not to apply to you.

- Did you make a deliberate choice to keep working strictly as an autonomous studio artist?
- Why?
- Have you tried to expand your practice with applied art forms, for instance with assignments for art in the public space?
- Do you notice many fellow artists who have a mixed professional practice?
- If so, how would you explain this trend?
- When did it start?
- What does this trend of increasing "hybridization" of the professional practice of visual artists mean for the social position of artists, in your opinion?
- Do you regard this "hybridization" as a positive personal choice based on artistic considerations or as something that has been enforced by social or economic conditions?
- What is your personal opinion about this?
- Do you think that, as an autonomous studio artist, you are part of a minority?
- How do you explain this?
- What are the pros and cons of a strictly autonomous practice (artistically, financially, socially)?
- Is it more difficult for a strictly autonomous artists to make a living?
- How certain or uncertain is your working situation?

- How far are you able to look ahead in terms of exhibitions and income?
- Have you had the benefit of a "bonus" at the start of or during your career, e.g. an inheritance, a gift, support by a friend or family member?

To conclude this section, ask the respondent to outline their professional network by listing the people with whom they had work-related contact during one representative month in their calendar. Spend no more than ten minutes on this.

EDUCATION

- How do you feel about your training in art?
- What were the strong points in your training?
- What were the weak points in your training?
- How did you benefit from your training professionally?
- How did you benefit from your training in terms of personal development?
- Did your training lack anything that you later needed?
- Do you feel that visual art education should teach students extra skills, in light of the fact that many visual artists nowadays have mixed or hybrid practices?

VALUE REGIMES

We would like to know what tensions respondents experience between different value regimes and how they compromise between them, if at all.

There are 21 cards. On each card one concept is printed. Ask the respondent to arrange the cards in the following way and comment on it:

- Choose the five concepts that are most important to you and place them in ascending order of importance.
- Can you explain why these concepts are the most important ones to you?
- How do they relate to each other?
- From the 21 concepts, choose two concepts between which you experience great tension or conflict in your professional practice.
- How do you cope with this tension?
- Are you looking for a solution or compromise? How?

- Finally, choose five more concepts that have caused you problems during your career.
- Why did you have problems with these?

CONCLUSION

Provide a brief summary of what has been discussed. This gives the respondent the opportunity to evaluate the interviewer's perceptions and correct them if necessary. Ask the respondent if there are any relevant issues that have not been discussed during the interview.

Thank the respondent for his or her cooperation.

Note: Leave the recording equipment switched on until the very last moment!

4. Type 6/7: not (any longer) active as an artist

INTRO

Introduction of the study. Explain briefly the aim of the interview: to complement and lend more depth to the data provided by the respondent in the online survey. The first question serves to "break the ice" and provide a context for the interview that follows:

- Can you tell us something about the kind of work you do?

PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

You graduated from an art academy, but your answers to the questionnaire indicated you are no longer active as an artist. We would like to ask you how this came about.

- How soon after finishing your art education did you decide upon a different career?
- What made you decide not to start an artistic career or to end it?
- Do you still have many friends who are active as visual artists?
- Do you see any future possibilities of working as an artist?
- Do you regret leaving the art world? Or are you glad that you did?
- In what ways do you or don't you regret this?
- Did you find your present occupation through your contacts in the art world?

EDUCATION

- How do you feel about your training in art?
- What were the strong points in your training?
- What were the weak points in your training?
- How did you benefit from your training in terms of personal development?
- Do you feel that there is still any relationship between your present occupation and visual art?
- If so, what relationship? Please explain.
- In your present occupation, are you benefiting in any way from the skills you have learned during your training in art? In what sense?
- In hindsight, do you regret not having chosen a different education?
- If so, what would have been a better choice?

VALUE REGIMES

We would like to know what tensions respondents experience between different value regimes and how they compromise between them, if at all.

There are 21 cards. On each card one concept is printed. Ask the respondent to arrange the cards in the following way and comment on it:

- Choose the five concepts that are most important to you and place them in ascending order of importance.
- Can you explain why these concepts are the most important ones to you?
- How do they relate to each other?
- From the 21 concepts, choose two concepts between which you experience great tension or conflict in your professional practice.
- How do you cope with this tension? Are you looking for a solution or compromise? How?
- Finally, choose five more concepts that have caused you problems during your career.
- Why did you have problems with these?

CONCLUSION

Provide a brief summary of what has been discussed. This gives the respondent the opportunity to evaluate the interviewer's perceptions and correct them if necessary. Ask the respondent if there are any relevant issues that have not been discussed during the interview.

Thank the respondent for his or her cooperation.

Note: Leave the recording equipment switched on until the very last moment!

Appendix 4. List of interviewees and coding of key characteristics

To collect the qualitative data, we hired 18 Master students as interviewers. Their names and the related abbreviations used in the item overview (Table 156) can be found in

Table 155. The first interviewer was always the one responsible for conducting the interview and writing the related transcript.

Table 155: List of Interviewers

Abbreviation	Name
A.R.	Anna Ramsair (MSc)
A.T.	Anna Tjalsma (MA)
C.M.	Ceryan Molema (MA)
C.vdW.	Christianne van de Weg (MA)
D.D.	Deckers Dorien (MA Sociology)
G.G.	Geerts Gerrit (MA Sociology)
G.vG.	Gerda van Galen (MA)
H.E.	Hanne Elsen (BA and MA Sociology)
J.O.	Jeanine Oostland (MA)
J.D.	Jef Deyaert (BA and MA Sociology)
J.dC.	Joris De Coninck (BA and MA Sociology)
K.P.	Kirsten Poortier-Kamphorst (Research Master)
L.J.	Lena Jansen (MA Arts & Heritage)
P.P.	Paulien Parren (MA Arts & Heritage)
P.B.	Peter Bernaers (MA Arts & Heritage)
R.K.	Roelinda Klip (MA)
T.O.	Tessa Overbeek (Research Master)
V.B.	Violet Benneker (MA)

A list of the interviewees and their key characteristics is given in Table 156. The type of artist is stated according to the abbreviations used in the text:

Mon – Monolith

Plu – Pluri-active

Hyb – Hybrid

NN – Not active, not-art-related

NW – Not active, with art-related work

Table 156: Qualitative Data Item Overview

Entry	Type	Nationality	Graduation Year	Gender	Interviewer 1 / 2
37	NW	BE	2005	F	T.O. / H.E.
38	Mon	NL	2005	M	A.T. / J.O.
49	NW	NL	2005	F	J.O. / A.T.

Entry	Type	Nationality	Graduation Year	Gender	Interviewer 1 / 2
61	NW	BE	1990	M	T.O. / K.P.
72	Hyb	NL	1990	F	J.O. / A.T.
75	Hyb	NL	1975	F	J.O. / A.T.
78	NW	NL	1990	F	A.R. / V.B.
84	NN	NL	2005	F	G.vG. / R.K.
88	Mon	NL	1975	F	K.P. / T.O.
90	Hyb	NL	1975	M	V.B. /A.R.
94	NW	NL	1975	M	V.B. / A.R.
96	Hyb	BE	1975	M	J.D. / J.dC.
97	Plu	NL	2005	M	C.vdW. / A.R.
98	Mon	NL	1975	M	T.O. / K.P.
106	Hyb	NL	2005	M	G.vG. / R.K.
108	Plu	NL	1975	F	K.H. / M.L.
114	NW	NL	1975	F	A.R. / V.B.
121	NN	NL	1990	M	J.O. / C.vdW.
130	NW	NL	1975	M	M.L. / C.M.
141	Mon	NL	1975	M	C.vdW. / J.O.
143	Mon	BE	2005	F	T.O. / H.E.
145	Hyb	NL	1975	M	J.O. / A.T.
147	Plu	NL	1975	M	T.O. / K.P.
152	Hyb	NL	1975	M	M.L. / K.H.
155	Mon	NL	1990	M	P.P. / P.B.
159	Hyb	NL	1975	M	V.B. / A.R.
167	Hyb	NL	2005	M	C.vdW. / A.R.
182	NW	NL	2005	F	A.T. / J.O.
185	Hyb	NL	1975	F	A.T. / J.O.
186	Mon	NL	1975	M	G.vG. / R.K.
189	Hyb	NL	1975	F	A.T. / J.O.
191	NW	BE	2005	F	D.D. / L.J.
195	NW	NL	1990	F	J.O. / A.T.
199	Plu	NL	2005	F	A.T. / J.O.
200	NW	NL	1990	F	T.O. / K.P.
209	Mon	NL	2005	F	C.vdW. / A.R.
211	Mon	NL	2005	M	C.M. / K.H.
212	Hyb	NL	1975	M	M.L. / K.H.
213	NN	NL	1990	M	A.R. /.CvdW.
219	NW	NL	2005	F	A.T. / J.O.
220	Mon	NL	1990	M	J.O. / A.T.
233	Hyb	NL	2005	F	A.T. / J.O.
237	Mon	NL	1975	M	A.R. / C.vdW.
239	NN	NL	2005	M	M.L. / K.H.
242	Hyb	NL	1990	F	A.T. / J.O.
244	Mon	NL	1975	M	J.O. / A.T.
246	Mon	NL	1990	F	J.O. / A.T.

Entry	Type	Nationality	Graduation Year	Gender	Interviewer 1 / 2
251	Plu	NL	1990	M	T.O. / K.P.
253	Hyb	NL	2005	F	A.T. / J.O.
269	Hyb	NL	1990	F	A.T. / J.O.
271	Plu	NL	2005	M	A.R. / V.B.
275	Plu	NL	1990	M	J.O. / A.T.
276	Hyb	NL	1990	F	M.L. / C.M.
283	NW	NL	2005	F	T.O. / K.P.
286	Mon	NL	2005	F	K.H. / M.L.
306	NW	NL	1990	F	T.O. / K.P.
309	Mon	NL	1975	M	J.O. / A.T.
334	NW	BE	1990	F	H.E. / T.O.
343	Plu	BE	1990	M	G.G. / L.J.
351	Plu	BE	1990	M	L.J. / D.D.
358	Hyb	BE	1975	M	L.J. / G.G.
360	Hyb	BE	1975	M	G.G. / L.J.
362	Mon	BE	2005	F	H.E. / T.O.
373	NW	BE	1990	F	T.O. / H.E.
375	NW	BE	1975	M	P.P. / P.B.
388	NW	BE	1975	F	L.J. / D.D.
397	Mon	BE	1990	F	G.G. / L.J.
403	Mon	BE	1990	F	T.O. / H.E.
404	Mon	BE	2005	M	D.D. / L.J.
416	NW	BE	1975	M	D.D. / L.J.
418	Hyb	BE	1975	M	L.J. / D.D.
425	Plu	BE	?	F	L.J. / D.D.
426	Plu	BE	2005	F	L.J. / G.G.
432	Mon	BE	1990	M	J.dC. / J.D.
435	NW	BE	1990	F	L.J. / G.G.
448	Hyb	BE	1990	M	L.J. / G.G.

Appendix 5. Transcripts (digital appendix)

Nederlandse Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)

Het onderhavige onderzoek is voortgekomen uit een ander onderzoeksproject rond de hybridisering van de kunstpraktijk in Nederland en Vlaanderen in de afgelopen 35 jaar (Gielen et al., 2012). Waar dat onderzoek naar hybridisering voornamelijk stoelde op de analyse van kwantitatieve gegevens, was het de bedoeling van dit onderzoek om enkele hiaten in te vullen door de kwantitatieve resultaten te relateren aan de kwalitatieve gegevens uit dezelfde steekproef van personen. Om precies te zijn, is er een analytische differentiatie opgesteld tussen kunstenaars, gebaseerd op wisselende opvattingen van autonomie, eerst via het hybridiseringsonderzoek op basis van de kwantitatieve analyse en vervolgens aangepast door dit onderzoek, op basis van diepte-interviews. De kernvraag van de eerdere research was of er in de loop van de afgelopen decennia al dan niet een nieuw type kunstenaar was ontstaan: de hybride kunstenaar, die zich met zowel autonome kunst als met vormen van toegepaste kunst bezighoudt, met een gedeeltelijke of volledige overlapping tussen beide praktijken die uitmondt in een vervagen van de grenzen tussen autonome en commerciële praktijken. Naast die beroepsmatige overlapping tussen twee op gespannen voet met elkaar staande kunstpraktijken, was de verwachting dat hybride beeldende kunstenaars onverschillig zouden staan tegenover de notie van autonomie, in die zin dat ze geen bewust onderscheid zouden maken tussen commerciële activiteiten en autonome activiteiten, die altijd waren beschouwd als tegengestelde vormen van kunst. Dat is ook wat de hybride kunstenaar onderscheidt van de 'pluri-actieve' kunstenaar: pluri-actieve kunstenaars doen ook beide, maar maken een duidelijk onderscheid tussen autonome werkzaamheden en toegepaste kunstvormen. Daarom wordt ook de basis van elke analyse gevormd door de individuele opvatting van autonomie binnen het veld van culturele productie.

De allereerste opgave was dan ook het zoeken naar een werkbare definitie van het begrip *autonomie* binnen de wereld van de kunst. Daartoe heb ik gebruik gemaakt van de klassieke sociologie en de theorieën van Pierre Bourdieu (1993) over het 'veld van culturele productie' (Hoofdstuk 2.1). Bourdieu houdt zich in zijn veldtheorie bezig met het begrip autonomie als een collectief fenomeen van een veld van sociale actie en niet met de individuele autonomie zoals het begrip gebezigd wordt wanneer we spreken over autonome artistieke praktijken of autonome beeldende kunstenaars. Daarom moeten we ons bij het begrip autonomie in de eerste plaats realiseren dat er meerdere

vormen van autonomie zijn, afhankelijk van context en doel. In de Bourdieusiaanse context heeft het begrip als 'doel' het illustreren van de relatieve afhankelijkheid en/of autonomie van het ene veld van sociale (inter)actie tegenover het andere. Met andere woorden: Bourdieu gebruikt de term autonomie voor het beschrijven van het vermogen van een veld om te handelen volgens de eigen normen, waarden en regels. Zijn theorieën helpen dus bij het conceptualiseren van de kunstwereld in brede zin, waarbij de individuele kunstenaar deel uitmaakt van de onderscheiden collectieve groep van individuen en instellingen die zich bezighoudt met culturele productie. De meest autonome kant van dat veld handelt volgens zijn eigen regels, die Bourdieu, in het geval van het veld van culturele productie, omschrijft als een 'omgekeerde economie'. Marktwetten, zoals de accumulatie van economisch kapitaal of de regulerende kracht van vraag en aanbod zijn hier niet van toepassing. In plaats daarvan wordt de norm gekenmerkt door prestige, authenticiteit en een zekere afwijzende houding tegenover het kapitalisme. Economisch succes in de kunst wordt vaak geassocieerd met de massale vercommercialisering van artistieke producten en wordt daarom als minder prestigieus beschouwd. Desalniettemin is de overheersende opvatting dat de autonome kunstenaar die de economische wetten van de markt volledig kan regeren, het ultieme ideaal is; een toetssteen om de werkelijkheid aan af te meten, maar tegelijkertijd niet reëel, want volledige autonomie tegenover de buitenwereld is onbestaanbaar. Toch kan de mate van autonomie van het gehele veld van culturele productie worden gemeten door te kijken in welke mate het kapitalistische denken al dan niet geaccepteerd is binnen het collectief van actoren. In de context van dit onderzoek moet de informatie worden opgevat als een indicator van het effect van de focus op de creatieve industrie van de afgelopen decennia op het veld van culturele productie. Hoewel de culturele industrie zoals die tegenwoordig wordt opgevat ook de traditionele kunsten als een gebied van culturele productie omvat, staat die toch voornamelijk voor de commerciële, toegepaste kunsten zoals grafische vormgeving of de filmindustrie. Die lijn doortrekkend, kan de hybride kunstenaar worden gezien als een product van een kunstwereld die ruimte schept voor een bredere acceptatie van commerciële activiteiten zonder dat te zien als een verlies van autonomie: de hybride kunstenaar houdt zich actief bezig met zowel autonome als toegepaste kunst en accepteert daarbij dat de grens tussen beide geheel of gedeeltelijk vervaagt.

Tegelijkertijd is dit het punt waarop Bourdieus conceptualisering van het veld van culturele productie niet langer voldoende basis biedt voor het doel van dit proefschrift. Wat we aan Bourdieu kunnen ontlenen, is een robuust kader voor het begrijpen van de kunstwereld in bredere zin. Zijn begripsvorming helpt bij het verklaren van de onderliggende principes binnen dit specifieke veld. Daarbij is zijn bepaling van de autonomie van het veld – door te kijken naar de mate waarin het kapitalistische denken daarin overheerst – zeer nuttig om te kunnen begrijpen welke implicaties de specifieke opvattingen van autonomie van kunstenaars in een bredere sociale context hebben. Toch vormen de rigiditeit van zijn theorie en het ontbreken van de mogelijkheid om rekening te houden met de individuele kunstenaars (het singuliere, zoals Heinich (2003) het noemt) een beperking die de behoefte doet ontstaan aan aanvullende analytische instrumenten (Hoofdstuk 2.2).

Bourdieus veldtheorie houdt geen rekening met de individuele of wisselende posities van kunstenaars. Conceptueel gezien, kunnen zijn theorieën worden aangepast met een oplossing uit de Actor Netwerk Theorie (zie bijvoorbeeld Gielen, 2008; Latour, 2010)(Hoofdstuk 2.3). Daarin is de notie van het actor-netwerk vergelijkbaar met Bourdieus begrip 'veld'. In tegenstelling tot dat veld wordt in de ANT het netwerk niet beschouwd als een afgebakende ruimte met vaststaande buitengrenzen. Het netwerk is vloeiender en flexibeler omdat het erkent dat alles voortdurend met alles in wisselwerking staat. De structuur van een netwerk wordt bepaald door de verbindingen en niet, zoals bij Bourdieus veld, door een onderliggende strijd om overheersing. In een netwerk worden voortdurend nieuwe connecties gevormd en kunnen andere verbanden ophouden te bestaan. Daarom wordt het actor-netwerk beschouwd als een zeer heterogene, quasi-onbeperkte ruimte die voortdurend verandert. Deze heterogeniteit maakt het netwerk sterker, want hoe groter het wordt, hoe meer connecties het heeft en hoe minder afhankelijk het is van één enkele connectie. Het vormt geen vaste plek, maar een veelvoud van onderling verbonden 'plekken' van de wisselend belang. Het netwerk houdt ook niet op bij de grenzen van het wetenschappelijk interessegebied (in dit geval de wereld van de kunst) maar erkent ook verbanden en connecties die zich uitstrekken tot buiten dat gebied. Als we kijken naar het netwerk van individuele kunstenaars betekent dat dat zij binnen de kunstwereld op een bepaalde manier handelen die heel goed kan zijn beïnvloed door factoren die daar geheel los van staan, maar deel uitmaken van hun netwerk. Dat kan het medium zijn dat zij voor hun kunst hebben gekozen

(schilderkunst, beeldhouwkunst, fotografie, et cetera), hun gezinsverantwoordelijkheden of zelfs de omvang van hun atelier, et cetera. Binnen de ANT worden dus niet alleen 'agents' en instellingen beschouwd als actoren die het maatschappelijk handelen beïnvloeden, maar ook objecten (niet-menselijke actoren). Dat het medium een plek heeft in de analyse binnen de ANT is belangrijk, omdat empirische bevindingen de indruk wekken dat het gekozen medium een cruciale rol speelt bij het bepalen van de positie van een 'agent' binnen de kunstwereld. Kunstenaars die, bijvoorbeeld, fotografie als kunstvorm hanteren, zijn veel meer geneigd om (ook) binnen een context van toegepaste kunst te werken, omdat die connectie logischer of natuurlijker is voor hen dan voor bijvoorbeeld traditionele schilders.

Aangezien het actor-netwerk niet-hiërarchisch van structuur is, biedt het een neutraal analyse-instrument om sociale structuren en (inter)actie te onderzoeken. Hoewel Bourdieu een abstractie van objectieve, ordenende structuren wil bieden, lijkt alleen zijn terminologie al een oordeel in zich te houden. Zo zegt hij bijvoorbeeld dat de commercieelste kant van het veld wordt overheerst door het veld van macht (lees: politiek en economie) ten koste van autonomie. Hoewel er op zich niets mis is met een theorie die een waardeoordeel behelst, heeft zo'n theorie wel een bepaalde vooropgestelde opvatting over het begrip autonomie. Voor een onderzoek naar de perceptie van autonomie van beeldend kunstenaars en mogelijke veranderingen daarin, is zo'n vooropgestelde definitie uiteraard niet gepast. Hierbij moet echter worden opgemerkt dat Bourdieu zelf er niet geheel van overtuigd is dat echte autonomie bestaat. Hij beschouwt die als een sociale conceptie, een historisch bedenksel dat gerelateerd is aan het ontstaan van een autonoom veld van artistieke productie. Hoe zo'n veld van artistieke productie dat relatief onafhankelijk is van met name het algemene economische veld, is ontstaan, wordt in hoofdstuk 2.3 uitgelegd aan de hand van esthetische theorie en de kunstgeschiedenis (bijv. Hitters, 1996; Horkheimer & Adorno, 2010; Van Winkel, 2007; Warnke, 1996; White & White, 1965). Zonder er hier al te diep op in te gaan, zijn twee historische ontwikkelingen het meest van invloed geweest op het ontstaan van de kunstwereld zoals we die nu kennen. De eerste voert terug op het middeleeuwse rechtssysteem en de gedeeltelijke vrijstelling van kunstenaars van het verplichte gildelidmaatschap. De daaraan gerelateerde oprichting van de eerste kunstacademies in de zestiende eeuw ondersteunde de opvatting van kunst als een interessegebied dat zich onderscheidt van pure ambachtelijkheid. De tweede historische

verandering die van grote invloed is geweest op de opvattingen binnen en over de kunstwereld, is de opkomst van de avant-gardebeweging aan het eind van de negentiende eeuw. We kunnen wel stellen dat die de basis vormt voor de hedendaagse algemene opvatting van echte artistieke autonomie als zijnde vrij van sociale, politieke, functionele of economische verplichtingen. De beroemde 'kunst-omwille-van-de-kunst'-beweging werd verondersteld om de kunst te beschermen tegen kapitalistische vermarkting en commercialisering. In die beweging ontstond ook de connotatie van kunst als iets wat maatschappelijk verrijkend was en kapitalisme als 'slecht-anders' – een algemene opvatting die ook in de veldtheorie van Bourdieu doorschemert, zoals hierboven al is beweerd. De esthetische theorie kan daarom helpen om de evolutie van de bipolaire kunstwereld te begrijpen. Bovendien heeft die theorie in sterke mate de overtuigingen en percepties van kunstenaars over autonomie, hun werk en de kunstwereld in het algemeen bepaald. Ondanks het feit dat Bourdieu de rol van de kunstgeschiedenis wel erkent, maar niet opneemt in zijn veldtheorie en afdoet als een sociale conceptie, denk ik dat de rol van de kunstgeschiedenis van grote betekenis is voor het begrijpen van de innerlijke logica en structuur binnen het veld; en dan met name met betrekking tot opvattingen over autonomie.

Economen hebben hun eigen terminologie en logica om te beschrijven hoe de kunstwereld functioneert (Hoofdstuk 2.4). Aangezien het meer kapitalistische denken de andere kant van het spectrum vormt binnen het veld van culturele productie, moet hun 'stem' ook worden gehoord, vanuit diezelfde noodzaak om de innerlijke logica en structuren te begrijpen. Voor mij is het voornamelijk een pragmatische stem die zich op een heel rationele manier uitspreekt over het 'hoe' en 'waarom' binnen het kader van de kapitalistische logica van de markt. Gezien het feit dat een van de grootste problemen van kunstenaars is om genoeg geld te verdienen om zichzelf te onderhouden, kan de economische kijk op de eigenaardigheden van de artistieke arbeidsmarkt niet buiten beschouwing blijven.

In de vakliteratuur over de culturele en creatieve industrie [172] krijgen die eigenaardigheden of 'problemen' van creatieve arbeid veel aandacht. In zijn boek *Cultural Industries* (2007) onderscheidt Hesmondalgh vier belangrijkste problemen rond artistieke productie:

[172] De definitie van deze termen en de verschillen tussen worden uitgebreid behandeld in hoofdstuk 2.4

1. Creatief werk is *zakelijk riskant*, want de smaak aan de vraagzijde is zowel subjectief als onvoorspelbaar.
2. De romantische opvatting van kunst en kunstenaars heeft geleid tot een *mystificatie van de kunst*, waardoor spanningen zijn ontstaan tussen kunst en commercie.
3. De aard van artistieke producten leidt ertoe dat zij lijden onder *hoge productiekosten* en *lage reproductiekosten*.
4. Artistieke producten zijn veelal *semipublieke goederen*, wat betekent dat ze door meerdere mensen kunnen worden 'geconsumeerd', zonder dat dat invloed heeft op het oorspronkelijke product.

Die omstandigheden op de markt voor artistieke goederen noodzaken de kunstenaar ertoe om strategieën te bedenken die risico's minimaliseren. Dat risico is in de eerste plaats het financiële risico van het niet meer kunnen betalen van de rekeningen vanwege werkloosheid of gebrek aan succes. Dergelijke risicomijdende strategieën komen meestal neer op privésteun door familie of beschermers, publieke steun in de vorm van subsidies of beurzen en persoonlijke strategieën zoals het hebben van meerdere banen (diversificatie van het eigen menselijk kapitaal). Vooral die laatste strategie heeft veel aandacht gekregen in de vakliteratuur. Artistieke projecten zijn meestal beperkt in tijd. Betrokkenheid bij meerdere projecten tegelijkertijd verkleint het risico op werkloosheid dan ook in sterke mate. Vooral heterogene engagementen helpen daarbij omdat, bijvoorbeeld, wijzigingen in overheidsbeleid of zelfs smaak waarschijnlijk minder fataal zijn voor iemand die zich bezighoudt met een veelvoud aan uiteenlopende activiteiten; dan is er immers altijd wel een project of een bepaald deel van het professionele netwerk waarop kan worden teruggevallen.

De econoom Throsby (2001, 2007, 2008a, 2008b) heeft in zijn onderzoeken de meest gangbare werkgebieden van kunstenaars in drie categorieën ingedeeld: kunstpraktijken, aan kunst gerelateerde praktijken en niet aan kunst gerelateerde praktijken. In het onderhavige onderzoek zijn de kunstpraktijken nader opgedeeld in autonome-kunstpraktijken en toegepaste-kunstpraktijken, om rekening te kunnen houden met die twee polen binnen het veld van culturele productie. Deze indeling is eerder theoretisch dan praktisch van aard, zoals is gebleken uit de empirische analyse van de praktijken van kunstenaars met meerdere banen. In een dergelijke praktijk moeten in het algemeen veel strategische besluiten worden genomen, moet economisch worden nagedacht, en moet aan netwerken en planning worden gedaan. Kunstenaars die zich in de hedendaagse kunstwereld staande proberen te houden, worden daarom ook wel vergeleken met eigenaren van kleine bedrijfjes of 'culturele ondernemers'. Het

nadeel daarvan is dat die ondernemingsactiviteiten – op de eerste plaats het netwerken – erg veel tijd kunnen opslokken, waardoor kunstenaars zich minder kunnen concentreren op hun kunst dan ze eigenlijk zouden willen. Het voordeel is dat een groot netwerk een investering voor de lange termijn is, want als goede connecties eenmaal zijn aangeknoopt, kunnen die meestal op enig moment in de toekomst weer worden aangesproken. Bovendien is het een manier om een goede reputatie te verwerven en door anderen te worden aanbevolen, twee zaken die van groot belang zijn om te slagen en die de kans op toekomstig werk vergroten.

Samenvattend, heb ik vier verschillende academische disciplines gebruikt om te komen tot een theoretische basis voor de analyse van artistieke praktijken. Elke discipline is toegepast voor de theorievorming van verschillende aspecten van het platform waarop kunstenaars handelen. Het economisch perspectief verklaart hoe kunstenaars binnen hun markt handelen en waarom de markt voor artistieke goederen een merkwaardige markt is, vergeleken bij andere. Het discours over de kunstgeschiedenis verklaart de romantische opvatting van de kunstwereld die vandaag de dag nog steeds overheerst. Die wordt weerspiegeld in zowel de zelfperceptie van kunstenaars als in de verwachtingen van de buitenwereld over hoe de kunstwereld functioneert. De ANT is een flexibel instrument om te verklaren hoe het individu tegelijkertijd een concrete en heterogene positie kan innemen binnen het collectief van agenten die betrokken zijn bij culturele productie en wat de structuur van dat collectief is binnen het veld en daarbuiten. En Bourdieus veld van culturele productie helpt bij het bepalen van de grenzen van de kunstwereld in relatie tot andere velden van sociale (inter)actie en definieert zo de dichotomie van het onderzoekskader waarbinnen de analyse kan plaatsvinden.

Mijn onderzoek richt zich met name op het begrip autonomie. Enerzijds is er maatschappelijke autonomie, die kan worden afgeleid van de mate van autonomie die het veld van culturele productie als zodanig heeft, gerelateerd aan het overheersende veld van macht (politiek en economie). Anderzijds is er artistieke autonomie, die het niveau van autonomie dat individuele kunstenaars hebben in hun artistieke praktijk betreft. Beide kunnen worden vastgesteld door de algehele tendensen in kunstpraktijken en de opvattingen van de gehele groep van kunstenaars te onderzoeken. Hoewel een significant aantal kunstenaars bij een van beide tegengestelde polen kan

worden ingedeeld, is het juist de tussengelegen positie die kan helpen bij het vaststellen van potentiële waardenverschuivingen binnen de kunstwereld. Door te kijken naar de groep kunstenaars die zich bezighoudt met zowel autonome productie als het maken van meer commerciële toegepaste kunst als onderdeel van hun uit meerdere banen bestaande praktijk, kan een onderscheid worden gemaakt.

Ten eerste zijn er 'pluri-actieve' kunstenaars die beide doen, maar die activiteiten als in wezen van elkaar gescheiden beschouwen. Hun opvatting kon nog overeen met de traditionele romantische opvatting van de kunsthistoricus. De veronderstelling is dat ze zich bezighouden met activiteiten aan de culturele-industriekant van het veld omdat ze daartoe genoodzaakt zijn vanwege een afname van maatschappelijke autonomie. Hun waardensysteem bevindt zich echter aan de autonome kant van het veld. Binnen die logica impliceert dat dat er spanning bestaat tussen het hedendaagse veld in brede zin en de verlangens van de kunstenaars binnen dat veld. Of, anders geformuleerd, terwijl het veld van culturele productie in een bredere sociale context gezien veranderd is, is de kunstwereld zelf niet veranderd.

Ten tweede zijn er hybride kunstenaars die zowel autonoom als toegepast werk maken en beide als gelijkwaardig of zelfs uitwisselbaar beschouwen. Hun opvatting komt meer overeen met het discours rond de hedendaagse creatieve industrie. De veronderstelling is dat zij op de afname van maatschappelijke autonomie hebben ingespeeld door hun waardensysteem daaraan aan te passen, dat wil zeggen aan de culturele-industriekant van het veld. De implicatie hier is dat ook de kunstwereld de kapitalistische marktlogica heeft geïnternaliseerd die van buitenaf in het veld in brede zin is doorgedrongen. Met andere woorden, omdat het veld van culturele productie in zijn bredere sociale context is veranderd, is de kunstwereld zelf ook veranderd, hetgeen wijst op een nieuwe opvatting van autonomie die in potentie de traditionele romantische opvatting van de autonome kunstenaar vervangt.

Empirische bevindingen

Van onze steekproef van actieve kunstenaars kan bijna de helft van de respondenten worden gekenmerkt als pluri-actief en iets meer dan een derde kan worden beschouwd als hybride kunstenaar volgens onze definitie. De meerderheid van de kunstenaars valt dus in het grijze gebied tussen autonome- en toegepaste-kunstpraktijken. Uit die cijfers

kan worden afgeleid dat het veld van culturele productie inderdaad wel eens meer naar de kant van de culturele industrie zou kunnen neigen. Tenminste, dat lijkt de kwantitatieve analyse van de praktijken te suggereren. Voor een bondige uitspraak moeten echter ook de opvattingen van de kunstenaars in kwestie in beschouwing worden genomen. Daarvoor heb ik gebruik gemaakt van de kwalitatieve gegevens die zijn verzameld. Daarmee kwam ook de wellicht belangrijkste ontdekking van het onderzoek naar voren, namelijk dat de kwantitatieve en kwalitatieve gegevens niet met elkaar overeenkomen. Te veel respondenten zijn op basis van de online peiling ingedeeld bij een bepaalde categorie kunstenaars, maar bleken (ondanks het vooraf testen van de peiling) ofwel hun eigen praktijk anders te zien, ofwel onze definitie van de terminologie verkeerd te hebben geïnterpreteerd (zoals waar autonome, aan-kunst-gerelateerde en toegepaste kunst voor staat of hoe wij een hybride kunstpraktijk definieerden). Zo maken bijvoorbeeld heel wat hybride respondenten in feite een duidelijk onderscheid tussen hun verschillende kunstpraktijken. Uiteindelijk betekent dit dat verschillende methoden verschillende werkelijkheden creëren die op zich waar zijn, maar die zich moeilijk naar elkaar toe laten vertalen. Het gevolg daarvan is dat voor het doen van uitspraken over praktijken en opvattingen van kunstenaars binnen het veld van culturele productie de analyse van de kwalitatieve data voor het onderhavige onderzoek van veel meer betekenis is.

Er kan hier een onderscheid worden gemaakt tussen zes nogal gedifferentieerde types opvattingen van autonomie en praktijken. Met andere woorden, tussen het zwart en wit van de twee polen die al door Bourdieu zijn beschreven, kunnen we nog vier 'tinten grijs' vaststellen. De zes meest voorkomende types van opvattingen van autonomie zijn:

1. **Utopische autonomie** – verwijst naar de opvatting van autonomie als een utopie om naar te streven. Die kan echter nooit volledig worden bereikt omdat de buitenwereld altijd invloed zal uitoefenen op de kunstenaar en zijn werk. In deze opvatting van autonomie wordt in feite erkend dat iedereen is ingebed in omstandigheden, ervaringen en noodzakelijkheden die het individu vormen. Echte autonomie wordt dan ook gezien als een welhaast goddelijke neutraliteit van waaruit het creëren zou moeten plaatsvinden. Daarmee worden alle aanspraken op autonome artistieke productie tot maatschappelijke fictie, zoals Bourdieu zou zeggen.

2. **Alleen onafhankelijke kunst is autonoom** – verwijst naar een opvatting die overeenkomt met het romantische idee van de atelierkunstenaar. Ongeacht mogelijke andere praktijken waarmee kunstenaars zich bezighouden,

beschouwen dergelijke kunstenaar hun werk alleen maar als autonoom als dat werk tot stand komt uit geen andere motivatie dan hun intrinsieke verlangen en inspiratie om kunst te maken.

3. **Autonoom werk kan ook in opdracht ontstaan** – is in wezen dezelfde opvatting, alleen wordt opdrachtwerk nu ook beschouwd als deel van de autonome praktijk. Hier lijkt het medium waarin wordt gewerkt de doorslag te geven. Als de opdracht leidt tot hetzelfde of soortgelijke werk als wat autonoom tot stand komt, wordt dat werk in het algemeen beschouwd als onderdeel van de primaire artistieke activiteiten. Dat is niet het geval wanneer er een duidelijke aanpassing in stijl of inhoud wordt verlangd.

4. **Het scheppingsproces is autonoom** – verwijst naar een opvatting van autonomie die iets opener is omdat hij alleen gekoppeld is aan het zelfgestuurde proces van creëren en niet aan het object zelf. De vorm of functie die het product krijgt nadat het gemaakt is, is niet van belang. Voorwaarden vooraf worden echter afgewezen. Conceptuele kunst is een goed voorbeeld van deze opvatting van autonomie omdat het concept achter het kunstwerk belangrijker is dan esthetische overwegingen of vorm of functie van het product.

5. **Artistieke vaardigheden zijn autonome vaardigheden** – wijst op een opvatting van artistieke praktijken die zich eigenlijk helemaal niet bekommert om autonomie. De kunstenaars scheppen genoegen in het aanwenden van hun creatieve en artistieke talent, ongeacht welke vorm of functie dit aanneemt. Men is zich wel bewust van verschillen tussen autonome productie en toegepaste productie, maar hecht daar geen belang aan.

6. **Leven als kunstwerk** – is het andere uiterste van een opvatting van autonomie. Hier gaat het om de bijna egocentrische overtuiging dat iedere handeling van een kunstenaar deel uitmaakt van zijn autonome artistieke praktijk. Hierbij wordt het hele leven ondergeschikt gemaakt aan het artistieke scheppen en alleen al door het feit dat iemand een kunstenaar is, heeft bijna iedere handeling in potentie een artistieke dimensie of gewaarwording.

Ten slotte kom ik hiermee terug bij mijn onderzoeksvragen. Het doel was namelijk het beschrijven van de rol van autonomie zoals opgevat door de kunstenaars binnen het veld van culturele productie en tegelijkertijd het onderzoeken van de algemene staat van het veld van culturele productie.

Wat de rol van autonomie betreft, kan worden gezegd dat persoonlijke verschillen, en voorkeuren die kunstenaars hebben, verreweg de belangrijkste bepalende factor zijn voor hun opvatting van autonomie. Afgezien daarvan bepaalt het medium waarvan kunstenaars zich bedienen in grote mate hoe natuurlijk zij zich met andere praktijken dan hun autonome werk kunnen bezighouden. In hoeverre verschillende praktijken nog

steeds worden gezien als autonoom hangt voor een deel af van hun persoonlijke opstelling en voor een deel op de verschillen tussen de primaire en secundaire praktijk. Wanneer de verschillen tussen autonoom en ander artistiek werk slechts marginaal zijn, doet de vraag zich niet eens voor. Wat tot nu toe niet duidelijk was, was of gemengde praktijken tot een opener definitie van autonome praktijken leidden of slechts tot een grotere acceptatie van het bezig zijn in verschillende praktijken. In het algemeen gesproken kan niet worden bevestigd dat er sprake is van een dermate vervaging van grenzen tussen praktijken dat zij bijna samensmelten (zoals onderzoek naar hybridisering suggereert). Als er verschillen zijn, zijn die voor de respondenten altijd duidelijk. Daarom kan ook geen onderscheid worden gemaakt op basis van een 'gedeeltelijke of volledige vervaging van grenzen' – ze vervagen namelijk niet! Er zijn ofwel geen echt grote verschillen of de verschillen zijn zichtbaar, maar voor de kunstenaar niet van belang. De bereidheid tot het doen van concessies varieert – maar niet dermate dat activiteiten in elkaar overvloeien. Zelfs kunstenaars die geen hiërarchisch onderscheid maken tussen autonome en toegepaste praktijken (die dus het dichtst staan bij de theoretische definitie van de hybride kunstenaar) ervaren niet al hun activiteiten als autonoom, zoals de hybridiseringstheorie zou suggereren. In plaats daarvan is autonomie als zodanig minder belangrijk geworden in hun professionele praktijk. Aangezien bleek dat dit los stond van het jaar van afstuderen en de nationaliteit van de respondenten, komt het in feite neer op een persoonlijke keuze van de individuele kunstenaar. Soms spelen externe factoren een belangrijke rol, zoals gezinsverband door een of succes, maar ook die factoren zijn duidelijk persoonlijk en verschillen per kunstenaar.

Als we kijken naar de algemene status van het veld van culturele productie, kan een trend om opener te staan tegenover andere, ook toegepaste, mogelijkheden van inkomstenverwerving zowel kwantitatief als kwalitatief worden bevestigd. Helaas bieden de kwalitatieve data niet de mogelijkheid om te onderzoeken of die mogelijkheden van inkomstenverwerving steeds vaker worden aangetroffen in de creatieve sector. De kwantitatieve analyse van de inkomensontwikkeling duidt er echter op dat dit inderdaad het geval is. De respondenten zien ook een toenemende noodzaak om voor zichzelf op te komen vanwege de bezuinigingen op de culturele sector door de overheid.

Terugkomend op de opvatting van maatschappelijke en artistieke autonomie kunnen we daarom zeggen dat de maatschappelijke autonomie wel degelijk is afgenomen. Kunstenaars zien zich geconfronteerd met een grotere noodzaak om creatieve manieren te vinden om zichzelf te onderhouden en zijn daarom minder autonoom ten opzichte van het maatschappelijke dogma van de neoliberale markteconomie. Hun artistieke autonomie is in overeenstemming daarmee ook afgenomen, omdat kunstenaars worden 'gedwongen' om concessies te doen in hoe ze hun werktijd besteden. Desalniettemin hebben autonome waarden nog steeds de bovenhand in het veld van culturele productie en dat suggereert dat er een interne strijd is tussen beide polen van het veld zoals Bourdieu het beschreven heeft. In polemische termen zou je kunnen zeggen dat het kapitalisme een veldslag gewonnen heeft, maar nog niet de oorlog, hoewel ik persoonlijk moet zeggen dat het er niet al te best uitziet. Ik denk dat de toekomst ons zal moeten leren of kunstenaars creatieve of rebelse manieren kunnen vinden om terrein terug te winnen ten gunste van meer autonomie en minder noodgedwongen economisch denken. Anders zouden we wel eens op het punt kunnen staan van de zoveelste herdefiniëring van de rol en het doel van de kunst binnen de samenleving.

About the Author

Anna van Dillen (1983) completed a Bachelor of Arts in European Studies in 2006, and a subsequent Master of Arts and Heritage: Cultural management, policy and education (with distinction / Cum Laude) in 2007 at Maastricht University. Her focus within the interdisciplinary studies became the field of cultural sociology.

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Next to her research, she was employed as a researcher, lecturer and supervisor at Fontys School of Art, Tilburg. Besides developing and teaching courses and lectures concerned with the creative industries, globalization and cultural history, her tasks also included collaboration on the research project *The Hybrid Artist: The Organization of Artistic Practices in the Postindustrial Era*, where she developed and implemented a cross-national online survey, created and supervised an alumni database and recruited, briefed as well as coordinated 18 cross-national interviewers.

After finishing her PhD research, she left the academic world in order to work as a consultant.