

CHAPTER THREE

THE MUSICIAN

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Overview

The current study seeks to extend understanding of the careers of classical instrumental musicians, and to consider a definition that encompasses the roles that a musician may expect to perform in order to achieve sustainable practice. Chapter Three considers literature relating to musicians, commencing with a chronological history of the classical musician within Western society, and encompassing discussion on employment, attrition, injury and gender.

3.1.2 Background

Leopold Mozart (1717/1756) offered several suggestions as to the etymology of the word ‘music’, including a Greek word meaning to seek industriously and scrutinise, Egyptian words referring to water and to science, and a Hebrew word signifying “an excellent and perfect work, conceived and invented to the honour of God” (p. 17). It is interesting also to consider the derivation of the word ‘artist’. According to Allen (2002), the English word ‘art’ “derives from the Latin word ‘ars’, the term for technical skill in making things or performing difficult tasks, and ars originated in the Greek word ‘ararisko’, for fitting something together” (p. 2). ‘Ars’ relates to ‘arts-techne’, which describes the skill and rules involved in making something, and to ‘poiein’, which refers to making something happen and from which comes the term ‘poetics’. Allen pointed out that the arts were considered craft until the eighteenth century, at which time the so-called ‘fine arts’ were separated and the word ‘aesthetic’ was coined. Prior to the aesthetic labelling, he argued, arts had been assumed to be a part of the social fabric of society incorporating morality, education and leisure.

It is particularly noteworthy that a search of specialist music dictionaries including *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Sadie & Tyrrell, 2001) failed to locate the inclusion of the word ‘musician’. General English dictionaries provided definitions that indicate a traditional view of a musician as one who performs: for example, *The*

Budget Macquarie Dictionary (2000) defined a musician as “one skilled in playing a musical instrument” (p. 264), and *The Australian Concise Oxford Dictionary* (2001) as “a person who plays a musical instrument, esp. professionally, or is otherwise musically gifted” (Moore, p. 882). Conversely, Salter’s 1963 guide to careers in music suggested that the term musician “can cover a number of quite different fields: interpretative – performers (both instrumental and vocal) and conductors; creative – composers and arrangers; educative – professors, teachers, lecturers, examiners and adjudicators; and those of scholarship, writing, criticism and various other activities ...” (p. 8). More recent career guides reflect a similarly broad view of the diverse opportunities available within the music profession (Hannan, 2003; Weissman, 1990).

Artists are at the heart of the cultural industries, and yet little is known about them. The majority of research on careers in the arts concerns the broad visual and performing arts sector, or the still broader cultural industries (Alper et al., 1996; Guldberg, 2000; McCarthy et al., 2001; Menger, 1999; National Endowment for the Arts, 2002; Throsby & Hollister, 2003). The term ‘artist’ thus used includes a range of activities such as writing, visual arts and crafts, acting, dancing, music, composing, and community cultural development. Much of the existing research employs definitions derived from problematic governmental data collections as discussed in Chapter Two.

Likewise, little is known about the working lives of classical musicians – a lack of research that has been acknowledged internationally (Bennett, 2003b; Mills, 2003; Rogers, 2004). Classical music performance is a specialist field that demands exceptionally high levels of skill and commitment in preparation for a career that is unlikely to offer participants rewards commensurate with effort (Ellis, 1999). The requirement for musicians to have a broad base of skills appears to have been widely accepted for some time; indeed professional musicians historically have engaged in multi-skilling in order to remain financially viable, or for increased job satisfaction (Hannan, 2003; Passman, 1997; Weissman, 1990). Defining the composition of such a base of skills, though, requires understanding of the performance and non-performance roles of musicians, and the extent to which music-related activities occur or are supported within the wider cultural environment (Weller, 2004).

3.2 Chronological History of the Professional Musician

3.2.1 Musicians in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (c. 1000-1600AD)

In the mid to late Middle Ages, professional musicians were often civil watchmen; known as *pifferi* in Italy, *turner* in Germany, and *waits* in England. Typically, a German *turner* lived in the town tower and used his instrument, (often a shawm because of the large amount of noise it could generate) to warn the townspeople of fire, approaching strangers or other catastrophes. He would also ring the church bells as required, and would sound the town bells or play music to signal each hour. The *turner* was assisted by apprentices whom he trained to be musicians in their own right whilst they boarded with him and worked as servants.

From the 12th century, musicians' guilds were founded to protect the rights of their members and would fight to maintain their respective performance monopolies. Monteverdi once found himself in the midst of one such dispute, and had his beard pulled by angry city musicians (Arnold, 1990). Itinerant musicians of the 11th and 12th centuries such as *jongleurs* and minstrels were unable to secure guild membership or employment; along with their children they were perceived as dishonourable and were without legal rights (Salmen, 1983b/1971). Such was the stigma of itinerant musicians that applicants to trade guilds were required to provide proof that they did not descend from a musician. Musicians satisfied the need for entertainment as required, and the majority lived outside of the social class system until partial integration in the late Middle Ages.

Unlike the members of other guilds, musicians' official duties often did not provide sufficient salary; hence incomes were subsidised with the provision of music for weddings, funerals and other social occasions. One of the ways in which musicians achieved both sufficient income and a higher social status was to undertake non-music work as scribes, spies, teachers and servants (Raynor, 1972). As court and royal patronage of musicians grew, so did the disdain with which itinerant musicians were held, to some extent fuelled by court and civic musicians who jealously guarded their positions. In many places, musicians were separated from the nobility by means of a curtain behind which they performed. Salary from the nobility for court musicians varied from alms given to the poorest musicians, to feudal tenure awarded the most respected of court musicians. Despite the obvious need of money to meet their daily needs, itinerant musicians were often paid in the form of gifts rather than with money.

The formation of court music ensembles in the 14th century enabled musicians to achieve civil servant status; hence the availability of more secure and non-mobile employment became increasingly attractive. Nonetheless, civic positions still were preferred because civic musicians were appointed for life and enjoyed greater security than could be found in a position at court. In addition, civic musicians had close contact with the church and the court as well as interaction with the municipality.

It was in the 14th century that Canterbury Cathedral in England established an instrumental group for inclusion in the music for services, which was a significant move because the use of instruments in the church had been debated for some time. By the 15th century, England hosted guild chapels where services were sung, resulting in increased employment for musicians and the potential for a freer style of music than would have been acceptable in churches and cathedrals.

Employment for 17th – century musicians commonly took the form of a director of school music, church organist, or musician for a court or municipality. There were also many military musicians from the latter 17th century, most of whom were without military obligations and who formed part of standing armies (Braun, 1983/1971). *Hautboists*¹ were amongst the most respected musicians of the time: court hautboists were often paid as master musicians from a separate budget, with a salary higher than they would previously have received from the military. Typically, *hautboists* were exempted numerous duties of the regular court musician, and were obliged to follow the directives of the court conductor only during court performances. *Hauboists* also came from traditional systems of training such as that offered to English and Scottish waits (Headington, 1980). Many town pipers took up the fashionable *hautbois* in the mid-17th century as it offered the potential for more lucrative and prestigious employment, and because the *hautbois* was easier to blow than the cornet!

Social status also differed between wind and string instrumentalists: for instance, trumpets were considered the instrument of the elite or ruling classes, and wind players were able to charge considerably more for their performances than were their string counterparts. Organists were thought to be lower class if playing portable organs, which were often used for dance and street music. Conversely, church organists could achieve a relatively high social status due to the ecclesiastical nature of their work (Petzoldt, 1983/1971; Salmen, 1983a/1971).

¹ The *hautbois* was the precursor to the modern oboe.

3.2.2 Musicians from the 18th Century to the Present

The career of the instrumental musician from the 18th century to the present is marked by a diminution in ecclesiastical and court control, the popularity of virtuoso instrumentalists, and the emergence of the concert orchestra. The dismissal (and subsequent availability for work) of many court musicians enabled numerous noblemen to maintain court orchestras. It became a hallmark of social status to maintain one's own orchestra inclusive of the prestigious wind instruments: "At no other time did so many court orchestras exist as in the 18th century. It is said that around 1780 some 400 musicians were employed in the service of the nobility in Vienna" (Braun, 1983/1971, p. 135).

Immense variations were to be found in the salaries of 18th – century musicians. Table 3.1 demonstrates the variation in salaries for musicians at the court of Dresden in the year 1711. Included are examples of Italian operatic musicians, who were generally paid much higher salaries than instrumental musicians, and who on occasion attained 'superstar' status.

Table 3.1 Salary Comparison of 18th – Century Musicians in Italy and Dresden

Position(s)	Noted examples	Fee (taler)
<i>Italy 1717</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kapellmeister and first singer • Singer (castrato) 	Lotti and Stella Senesino	10,500 7,000
<i>Dresden 1711</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kapellmeister • Master of concerts • Court composer • Chamber musician • Court accompanist/organist • Violinist (probably principal) • Contre Basse • Violist (rank and file) • Copyist 	Schmidt Woulmyer Veracini Weiss Pezold Pissendel Selencka	1,200 1,200 1,200 1,000 400 400 350 100 50

(Derived from Farstad, 1999; Petzoldt, 1983/1971)

It was common practice in the 18th century to delay the payment of salaries and allowances to court employees, sometimes for several years, causing inevitable hardship to employees and their families: Petzoldt (1983/1971) cited the petition of German violinist Kastner, who appealed that he had fulfilled the role of the deceased first

violinist for almost six years and was still awaiting his pay rise! Petzoldt continued with an example of the consequences of continual lavish festivals, in this case under the German Duke Christian (reign 1712 – 1726). An imperial decree in 1727 demanded that balance be restored to the ducal budgets. The response of Christian's successor, Duke Adolph II, was to capriciously dismiss the entire orchestra.

It was implied frequently in the literature that musicians' careers were historically less broad than they are today. Although aspects of globalisation and technology impact more upon musicians now than ever before, multiple employments are characteristic of the accounts of musicians' careers from the Middle Ages to the present day: "The environment in which art is made has always been 'commercial' and 'product-driven' and this needs to be acknowledged" (in Lancaster, 2004c, p. 33/1).

Telemann was typical of an 18th – century musician who sought multiple employments in order to secure a reasonable income. His diaries and writings include mention of a number of concurrent roles including director of church music, secretary of the Frauenstein Association, chairman of the Tabakskollegium, and composer for wealthy citizens and the church (Petzoldt, 1974/1967). Multiple roles appear to have been common for many 18th-century orchestral musicians who gave music lessons, produced concerts, organised and performed with freelance groups, sold musical equipment, and copied manuscripts (Mahling, 1983/1971; Salmen, 1983a/1971).

Due largely to the security offered by such posts, the general preference for civic positions persisted into the 19th century. The uncertainty of court appointments in the 18th and 19th centuries led many musicians to seek municipal roles: for instance, in 1739 Telemann left his court position at Eisenach to work in Frankfurt, and later worked in Hamburg (Petzoldt, 1974/1967). Additional considerations included a court's claim to intellectual property created during a period of service, and the difficulties associated with obtaining permission to travel other than as required by the court (Mahling, 1983/1971).

The designation of ecclesiastical states to secular control following the Congress of Vienna in the early 19th century led to the further dissolution of court orchestras throughout Europe. Over one hundred states in Germany alone lost their independence (Raynor, 1976); hence many court establishments became commercial and public concerns and a paying audience grew to be essential to the survival of each venture. Loss of power amongst the lesser aristocracy resulted in significantly less patronage than had previously been available.

3.2.2.1 Virtuoso and Freelance Musicians

Ancient Rome was dazzled by visiting virtuosi who were rewarded with riches, property and influence, and Greek aulos players of around 600BC gave glittering performances often for great reward (Pincherle, 1963/1961, p. 15). Pincherle described a virtuoso as “a skilled performer, but one limited to the practice of his instrument” (p. 15). Its origins suggest a much broader definition, as given in a music dictionary compiled by Brossard in 1703 (in Pincherle) as an adjective derived from the Italian word ‘virtu’. Virtu relates to goodness of soul, and to superior skill or talent in the theory or practice of the fine arts. Used also to describe visual artists, the term was applied most commonly to musicians. Virtuosi became prominent in Europe in the mid-18th century, at which time public concerts grew in popularity, printing made more music available, and travel between cultural centres increased. The travels of Mozart as a child prodigy exemplify the trend towards European tours.

In the 19th century, freelance virtuosi and composers became increasingly common as did the trade in printed music (Hortschansky, 1983/1971). Virtuosity such as that displayed by Paganini, Liszt and Chopin was one of the ways in which to succeed quickly as a soloist; however success was not attributed solely to performance skill. All three of the aforementioned instrumentalists combined brilliance in performance with a variety of income streams such as teaching, composition and the sale of publications. Likewise, composers such as Schubert, Brahms and Berlioz sustained freelance careers. It was not until the 19th century that increased dependence upon agents and publishers became more common (Petzoldt, 1983/1971).

Philanthropy and personal wealth were crucial factors in a musician’s ability to pursue a musical career; according to Mahling (1983/1971), many 18th - and 19th - century orchestral musicians had middle-class backgrounds and numerous musicians came from musical families. Reich (1991) suggested that composers of the 19th century had similar backgrounds: “many of the parents of nineteenth century musicians, both male and female, were themselves skilled and talented artists” (p. 101). Mendelssohn is one such example of a musician who had family wealth to support his musical ventures. Philanthropy was often crucial for the less financially fortunate, although it was accompanied by routine obligations that required an unwelcome additional interface with the real world. Support from the state was not free of obligations either: for example, travel was often restricted, the demand for compositions and performances

was often high, and times of revolution and political turmoil could necessitate the composition of anthems and patriotic songs.

As stated by Schubert in one of countless possible examples, the desire for independence was often accompanied by the desire not to be concerned with the more mundane aspects of life: “the artist prefers to be left to himself and desires to be freed from reality” (in Salmen, 1983a/1971, p. 270). Inevitably, however, the reality of a freelance existence included dealers and the public whose favour was a pre-requisite to economic security, hence total separation from the mundane was rarely achieved. Concerned about the realities of forging and sustaining a freelance career in music, Weber began a guidebook for musicians in which he included information about travel routes, useful contacts, profitable seasons and dates, expenses and venues (Friese-Greene, 1991; Raynor, 1976).

Orchestral salaries in the 19th century display similar variations to those in the preceding century. Salaries from both court and state orchestras were largely insufficient to meet musicians’ daily needs, with the result that musicians were forced to take additional employment such as teaching in order to survive. Raynor (1976) quoted Hallé’s description of the dire situation in which many musicians found themselves when the wealthy students on whom they depended were scattered due to the French Revolution of 1848: “A first violin at the Opera was lucky if he earned 900 francs a year; he lived by giving lessons. It is hardly to be supposed that he could have saved on a very brilliant scale. Now their pupils have gone, what is to happen to such people?” (in Raynor, p. 28). In line with Table 3.1, Table 3.2 includes for comparison the details of salaries awarded to operatic musicians. Figures were derived from Raynor (1976).

Table 3.2 Salary Comparison of 19th – Century Musicians in Dresden and Leipzig

Position(s)	Noted examples	Fee (Taler)
<i>Operatic musicians (c1821 – Dresden)</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kapellmeister • First soprano • Second soprano or tenor • Additional female singers 	Moracchi and Weber	1500 5000 2000 1500
<i>Opera orchestra musicians (1820 - Leipzig)</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concert master • Section leaders • Rank and file players • Casual players 		400 200 150 150

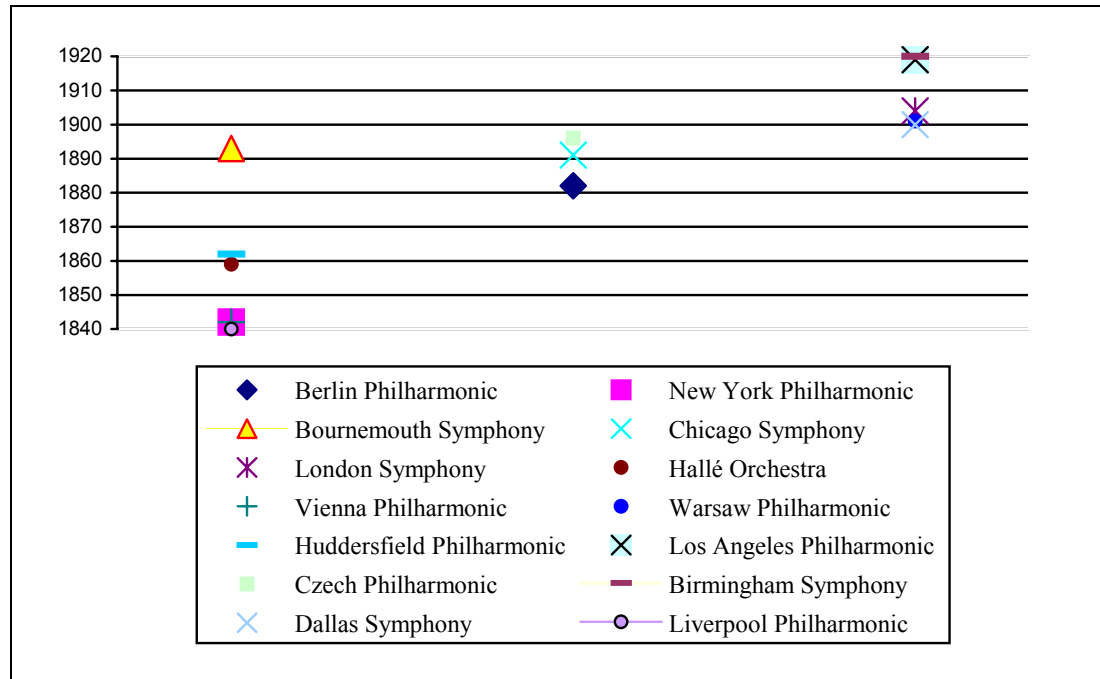
3.2.2.2 The Rise of the Concert Orchestra

The publication of music sparked demands for the performance of existing popular repertoire and contributed to a change in the role of kapellmeister from composer and musical director to simply musical director. Another important change was the 19th - century trend from private to public ownership, which was epitomized by the opera houses. These changes had a radical impact on the status and role of the instrumental musician, and upon the interface of musicians with audiences and directors. Music ceased to be an intimate social necessity and became “a remote, esoteric delight thundered out by vast orchestras or dispensed by virtuoso players and singers. It became increasingly the pleasure of a cultured *elite* rather than an immediate communication between men and women” (Raynor, 1972, p. 355).

In the post-war period of the mid-19th century, numerous amateur and semi-professional orchestras, choirs and associations were formed, and many musicians travelled extensively to give concert tours. Public concerts originated, and remained particularly popular, in cities that did not contain opera houses. Operatic orchestras employed professional musicians and tended towards a much higher standard than their amateur counterparts. The operatic orchestras had very busy schedules: for instance, the Leipzig orchestra played each year for 110 opera performances and a similar number of plays. Accordingly, despite the potential for difficulty with the technical demands of new works, amateur concert orchestras provided a vital source of exposure for composers and soloists.

Professional musicians from the remaining court orchestras began to organise concerts in addition to their regular duties. Figure 3.1 illustrates a selection of the semi-professional and professional concert orchestras that were founded from the mid-1800s, most of which were either linked to an opera company or were limited to an annual season of approximately fifteen concerts.

Figure 3.1 Sample of Symphony Orchestra Establishment from 1840 - 1920



Nineteenth – century concert orchestras such as that of the London Philharmonic Society and the semi-professional Gewandhaus orchestra, which was amalgamated with the Leipzig opera orchestra, increasingly performed larger scale works with a conductor, and at a much higher standard than previously heard. In addition, work for musicians was to be found in pit orchestras, choral festival orchestras and at the theatre. For instance, conductor Franz Lachner scheduled Beethoven symphonies during intervals at the Vienna court opera theatre from 1830 until 1834. In another example, Otto Nicolai, conductor of the Kärntnertortheater from 1841 to 1847, formed an orchestra comprising all of the instrumentalists from the Vienna state opera for the performance of symphonic works. Initially headed The Philharmonic Academy, the orchestra is known today as the Vienna Philharmonic (Vienna Philharmonic, 2001).

The Philharmonic Society in London was founded in 1813 by a group of professional musicians. Rather than maintain its own orchestra, the society contracted musicians from the opera, and tickets were affordably priced to enable attendance regardless of social class. Later concert societies in Europe brought with them a social elitism incorporating formal dress, preferred seating and committees dominated by businessmen (Taylor, 1945).

Until 1840, theatres in London were permitted to produce only works that included music; consequently music in theatres provided regular work for musicians and

heralded many singing actors (McDonald, 1979). The first salaried full-time orchestra in England was the British Broadcasting Authority Philharmonic (known now as the BBC Philharmonic Orchestra), which was founded in 1930. Australia's first full-time orchestra was founded with the support of the government of New South Wales by the first Director of the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, Henri Verbrugghen, in 1916; the year after the conservatorium's foundation. Titled the Conservatorium Orchestra, its players comprised salaried players and conservatorium students (Sydney Symphony Orchestra, 2004).

3.3 Employment Characteristics of the Musician

To the observer, the current world of a professional musician may be somewhat romantic; comparable to that of athletes and actors, the superstars of stage, screen and track (McCarthy, 2001; Rosen, 1982). The reality of the musician's working life, however, appears to be rather different: "Performing artists face more difficult employment circumstances than do other professionals (McCarthy et al., 2001, p. 41). Performing artists use a variety of different skills to secure regular work (Create Australia, 2001; McCarthy et al., 2001), and three-quarters of performing artists hold non-arts jobs either part-time or full-time (Alper et al., 1996).

High earnings of the 'superstars' create an unrealistic picture of average earnings, and the superstar image serves to inspire naïve interest in the profession (McCarthy, 2001), motivating the next generation of musicians. Petzoldt (1983/1971) stated that "the world of difference between the *bierfidler*, dependent upon tips, and the internationally known castrati of the 18th century still would exist. In general, little has changed in this respect to the present day" (p. 187). MacDonald (1979) concurred, observing that orchestral salaries were not substantial and that non-tenured orchestral players in particular depended upon income from additional activities such as teaching.

A British survey of orchestral musicians (Metier, 2001b) found that the majority of players were concerned about insufficient non-performance skills in areas such as instrumental pedagogy, taxation and copyright, marketing, law, and small business management; leading to the conclusion that orchestral players pursue interests in a wide range of activities beyond their orchestral roles. A chorus's or orchestra's average call time of around 24 hours each week necessitates many hours of private practice commitment prior to the first rehearsal of each week's new works, and the irregular

nature of orchestral rosters makes it difficult for musicians to meet the obligations of other regular work (Faulkner, 1973).

Manturzevska (1990) conducted biographical research of the life-span development of musicians. She suggested that many musicians did not achieve their potential due to difficulties faced when overcoming social and personal barriers such as poor socio-economic conditions, or the lack of a supportive mentor figure. Furthermore, there are practical inhibitors to career development: for example, rehearsal and practice time is vital to the success of musicians and these essential aspects can be difficult to secure amidst the commitment to other employment and the demands of managing a business (Lehman, 1996).

Engagement with the performance of music is a fundamental part of life as a musician; yet for many musicians this engagement will be primarily through teaching, mentoring, directing, technology, business and management (West Australian Music Industry Association, 1992; Woodward, 2002). Although numerous musicians would prefer to focus solely on performance, the reality is that they have to be conversant with the role of business manager and to run their practice within a market that is ever more global, diverse and digital, and increasingly concerned with localised identities (Throsby & Hollister, 2003; Create Australia, 2001; Faulkner, 1973; Johansson, 1996). Further, performance itself has changed over time as musical scores have become on the whole much more prescriptive, and as technology has enabled audiences to grow to a size where the intimacy between performer and audience is difficult to capture (de Haan, 2000). Letts (2000b) stated that music, “more than almost any other commodity, has lent itself to globalisation. And globalisation is upon it” (p. 1). Arising within globalisation literature are the two major themes of economic and political, and socio-cultural implications (Stuart-Wells et al., 1998), both of which impact the musician in terms of identity within a global and changing market.

A review of the literature associated with employment and longitudinal career patterns in classical music was intended to provide an indication of factors impacting upon attrition, employment and professional roles, and the performance and non-performance attributes required to sustain professional practice. However, as discussed in Chapter Two, the part-time, contractual and spasmodic nature of music industry employment denotes that Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) data on music industry activity provide a limited evidential base. In addition, the federal government’s arts funding agency (the Australia Council) focuses “principally on professional rather than amateur

practice within artforms, and also largely excludes commercial activities such as rock and pop music” (Throsby, 2001, p. 1). Consequently, ABS data are not representative of the broader industry roles assumed by many practitioners.

Throsby and Hollister’s economic study of professional artists in Australia (2003) is an important Australian report in terms of understanding the careers of artists, including musicians. The researchers found that census data “still contain disturbingly large numbers in the ‘not elsewhere classified’ or similar categories for some artistic occupations” (Throsby & Hollister, 2003, p. 15). Reconciliation of survey and census data concluded that the previous national census had underestimated the artist population by 46%. A summary of the Throsby and Hollister study is included as Appendix A, (cf. p. A1).

Performing artists are more likely than other artists to work in low-skilled service industries (Throsby & Thompson, 1994), a factor that contributes significantly to a low average income. According to the RAND report (McCarthy et al., 2001), musicians and composers in the United States earn half the amount received by actors and directors, even though they work an average of 48 weeks each year and have only four percent unemployment. However, low rates of unemployment can be misleading; taking into account that 75% of performing artists earn at least part of their income in non-arts employment, in reality the rate of unemployment calculated in terms of arts-related employment alone logically would be much higher than reported.

A survey of 100 British arts organisations revealed employment characteristics reflective of the literature on multiple job holding and workforce casualisation: the organisations employed approximately 7,500 people, of whom 3,500 (47%) were casual employees and 920 (23%) worked on a part time basis. Volunteers comprised an additional 1,600 workers. Data revealed growing industry trends to be casualisation and an ensuing need for effective business skills:

A large majority (over 70%) [of participants] believe that the number of freelance and short-term contracts is going to rise and that there is going to be more competition in securing work. Allied to this is a trend towards increasing ‘portfolio’ careers and a recognition of the necessity of multi-skilling (Metier, 2001a, p. 5).

A previous Metier music industry study found that 81% of musicians held a secondary occupation, and 41% held more than two (Metier, 2000). A survey of Royal College of Music (RCM) alumni also noted a significant trend towards casualisation, data from which is shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Rise in the Percentage of RCM Alumni Holding Portfolio Careers

<i>Employment characteristics</i>	1979 (%)	1995 (%)
Single job	71	28
Multiple employment	29	72

(Derived from Mills & Smith)

The British Musicians' Union reported that "in all sectors of music performance the pressure is to move towards more casualisation and less employed work. As well as the highest levels of performance skills, British musicians will need more and more sophisticated ancillary and backup skills to support their chosen career" (in Metier, 2000, p. 49). The statement was supported by the findings of a British labour force survey that reported a rise of 38% between 1981 and 1991 in the number of self-employed musicians (O'Brien & Feist, 1997).

3.3.1 Attrition

Typically, careers in music are intense and short-lived, and factors contributing to attrition include family commitments, low and irregular salary, sporadic work, unsociable hours, prolonged periods of travel, multiple employers, and injury (Aguilar, 1998; Alper et al., 1996; Ellis, 1999; Goodman, 1970; Menger, 1999; Throsby & Thompson, 1994). Goodman (1970) suggested that many musicians leave the profession soon after entering it, and implied an "average professional life expectancy of just under seventeen years" (p. 11). Menger (1999) concurred, and described attrition as occurring typically in the mid-thirties or forties as career mobility declined. Many musicians leave for more stable employment outside of the music industry. They pursue their artistic interests avocationally and contribute to the plethora of amateur arts organisations both performing within and supporting the arts (Hoegh-Guldberg, 2000).

At a conference dedicated to artist research, it was reported that one third of performing artists ceased to work as artists within two years of joining the labour force, and that in general the artists who remained in the profession were those who worked contractually and who pursued a number of different interests (DiMaggio, 2000). Low salaries and rates of pay were a contributing factor: "More [people] want to get in than there are places for. So employers can pay less than the job warrants. People get to 35, want to marry and have kids, and can no longer afford to stay in the theatre" (Metier, 2001a, p. 32). The influence of inconsistent income was reflected in a book compiled from the

statements of Australian musicians: for instance, “[t]here’s no average income when you’re freelance. You get a good week and then you get a bad week. ... we can’t exist on my precarious income” (Smith & Robinson, 1990, p. 53).

The impact that these factors have upon personal relationships can be compounded, particularly for women (Summers, 2003; Weissman, 1990), as practitioners respond to the demands of family commitment: “I go off to work at seven o’clock at night when my husband is home so he can look after the children. The night work when you work five or six nights a week is killing. ... It’s soul-destroying” (in Smith & Robinson, 1990, p. 124). Higher levels of success equate to longer periods of travel, resulting in difficulties with the management of family responsibilities and meeting the commitment of non-performance roles that demand regular attendance (McCarthy, 2001; Stremikis, 2002).

3.3.2 Orchestral Musicians

In a letter written in 1911, Busoni described orchestral players as akin to “a suppressed crowd of rebels. ... Routine gives their playing the varnish of perfection and assurance. For the rest, they loathe their work, their job and, most of all, their music” (in Bonavia, 1956, p. 242). Faulkner’s 1973 survey of orchestral musicians found that most become “anchored in their organization, experience no or little mobility, and, unless they feel entrapped, adjust and become committed to their work in a stable work setting” (in Menger, 1999, p. 5). A recent British survey of 498 orchestral players concluded that orchestral work “can be spiritually exhausting ... all but the most devoted tend to become increasingly disenchanted with their lot. ... Under [circumstances] such as these the orchestral musician’s life becomes a series of dull chores” (Metier, 2001b, p. 79).

Worthy of note, Salmen (1983a/1971) described much the same lack of mobility for 18th – century orchestral musicians: “Only when there was no opportunity for employment in one’s own court did one make the decision, generally with the permission of the local ruler, to seek employment away from home” (Salmen, p. 226). Mahling (1983/1971) suggested that musicians tended to change their employment within the jurisdiction of a particular ruler, and that it was unusual for an orchestra to employ musicians from other countries.

Quantz (1966/1752) described as problematic the recruitment of orchestral leaders on purely soloistic and political grounds, and criticised the selection of orchestral leaders without investigation of the potential leadership and communication qualities of

applicants. The current process for the selection of orchestral leaders continues to focus almost exclusively upon performance reputation, mirroring Quantz's comments that

[t]he old men often think it mortifying to submit to a leader not so rich in years as they, and the young imagine that they have all the skill required of a good leader, notwithstanding the multitude of duties incumbent upon him. But how can an orchestra subsist or prosper if only obstinacy, envy, hatred, and disobedience prevail among its members, instead of a sympathetic and docile spirit? (ibid, p. 273).

The potential for contracted musicians to play a greater role in their organisations is gaining recognition within classical orchestras. Musicians tend to be independent, self-motivated thinkers with skills far beyond their performance expertise. The routine existence of life within an orchestra together with a lack of career mobility, lack of personal practice time and irregular hours, contributes to dissatisfaction with the role (Arian, 1971; Crouch & Lovric, 1990; Loebel, 1982; Yffer, 1995). Dissatisfaction with an orchestral role was described by an orchestral musician who contributed to Smith and Robinson's (1990) study: "[t]here are in most symphony orchestras long periods of frustration. I don't think that any orchestra, no matter how great the conductor, can provide anyone with a continuously stimulating and exciting experience" (p. 118). The sentiment was further highlighted by Yffer (1995) in his bibliographic account of life as an orchestral musician: "[o]ut of perhaps 150 concerts a year, the number that were truly enjoyed by the players on account of an inspiring conductor can be counted on the fingers of one hand" (ch. 5, p. 2).

Mirroring the move by several London orchestras who function as self-managed organisations with musicians partially responsible for artistic and strategic management (Peacock, 1970), the musicians of the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra accepted cuts in pay in May 2003 in return for a new organisational structure that placed central artistic decisions in the hands of a new artistic vision committee rather than with an artistic director. The committee draws upon the expertise of musicians to facilitate concert programming and orchestral management. The orchestra's managing director, Bruce Coppock, proposed that "[o]ne of the key frustrations for musicians, typically, is they are not engaged, other than playing, in the real artistic planning and development of an orchestra" (in Perken, 2003, p. 1). The involvement of musicians in the operational side of orchestras may assist with the facilitation of professional development opportunities in line with non-performance roles – adding to the stimulation of the role and to the skills and knowledge of musicians.

The societal role of the orchestra has evolved, and the change has had a profound effect on orchestral musicians. According to Crouch and Lovric (1990):

[t]he ideology of ‘economic rationalism’ which appears to have dominated public discourse in the last few years has often, in the musicians’ view, meant that artistic considerations and standards have been subordinated to the drive towards visibly ‘increased productivity’ imposed upon them by their organizations (p. 15).

The involvement of musicians in artistic and strategic planning, educational and community programs has the potential to benefit both the organisation and the musicians themselves. Christopher Latham, a former violinist with the Australian Chamber Orchestra, predicted that orchestras in the future “will be a whole bunch of musicians who can do different things. ... The orchestra will become a much more fluid organisation, multi-faceted” (in Cunningham, 2004).

Wichterman (1999) suggested that orchestras have “neglected to provide ongoing professional development for musicians” (p. 7). According to Nadel (1998), sustainable practice depends upon “controlled growth and investment in staff” (p. 3). As orchestras take on more of a community and education role, it is essential that players are equipped with the skills that will enable successful interaction with those programs, and it would seem to be the position of many organisations that the resources for that training are not available.

3.4 Physical and Psychological Injury

Musicians have long been acknowledged to be susceptible to work-related injury due to the physical and emotional demands of the profession (Brandfonbrener, 1990; Harman, 1993; Williamon, 2004; Zaza & Farewell, 1997). One of the first books dedicated solely to musicians’ injuries was Kurt Singer’s (1932) *Diseases of the Musical Profession: A Systematic Presentation of their Causes, Symptoms and Methods of Treatment* (in Harman, 1993). Harman identified literature relating to the occupational diseases of musicians published as long ago as Ramazzini’s *Diseases of Tradesmen* (1713), followed by Poore’s 1887 research into musician’s cramp. C.P E Bach’s *Essay on the True Art of Keyboard Playing*, first published in 1753, warned of the hazards of repetitive bass lines during which the left hand would grow stiff, and the muscles remain contracted. Bach also warned of the psychological strain associated with prolonged periods of performance: “[a]ssuming that one were hardened to such labor,

even the most dependable musician would begin eventually to waver drowsily and unwittingly through fatigue” (1974/1753, p. 30).

The rate of injury amongst professional musicians in Australia is high: 60% of all orchestral musicians carry an injury at any one time (Archdall, 2002). The Symphony Orchestra Musicians’ Association (2004) suggested that part of the blame lies in the orchestral programming, in that “[m]usician injury levels are exacerbated with unduly heavy work schedules” (p. 12). Australian injury statistics reflect those of other countries: for example, a Spanish study of 1,613 musicians found that 79% of musicians suffered from a physical problem related to their profession, as did 90% of musicians between 30 and 40 years of age (Llobet, 2004). Llobet concluded that “knowledge about anatomy, physiology, ergonomics and postures appears to be essential in order to change the musicians’ attitude” (ibid, p. 196). A 1997 survey of 57 orchestras worldwide reported that 56% of musicians had experienced pain whilst playing during the previous year, and 19% suffered pain so acute that they could no longer perform (in James, 2000).

Numerous studies cited high incidents of injuries leading to complete cessation of performance activities (Amadio & Russotti, 1990; James, 2000; Zaza & Farewell, 1997). Recent American research (2002) reported that “potentially career-ending occupational injuries among musicians include hearing loss, overuse syndromes, entrapment neuropathies, focal hand and lip dystonias, and other musculoskeletal and neuromuscular conditions” (Chesky, Kondraske, Henoch, Hipple, & Rubin, p. 29). Kenny (2004) investigated cognitive, behavioural and cognitive-behavioural interventions that included foci on changing dysfunctional behaviours using mental imagery techniques, altering thinking patterns from unproductive to productive, and combinations of educational and psychological interventions; grouped as cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT). Despite the apparent plethora of related literature, Kenny’s exploration of current treatments concluded that literature relating to music performance anxiety is patchy and contradictory, so that firm conclusions are difficult to reach.

Since the early 1990s there has been a gradual shift in the focus of performing arts medicine research from the treatment of existing injuries towards strategies for injury prevention (Fry, 1993; Nicholas Institute of Sports Medicine and Athletic Trauma, 2004; Norris, 1993a; Sternbach, 1993). As well, there has been increased recognition of the physiological or cognitive aspects of musicians’ injuries (Fishbein, Middlestadt, Ottai, Straus, & Ellis, 1988; Rozmaryn & Leo, 1993). For instance, Fishbein et al.’s

1988 survey of 2,212 orchestral musicians in the United States determined a marked association between stress and the incidence of physical and physiological injuries amongst players.

Important foci of injury prevention have been: (1) increased physiological and psychological awareness from the earliest stages of musical development (Weaks, 1996); (2) availability and affordability of treatment and advice (Llobet, 2004); and (3) the necessity for musicians to become more physically and psychologically aware (Postollec, 2002). Research has also highlighted: (4) a general lack of pedagogical training amongst instrumental tutors at every level, and the potential role of tutors in reducing the incidence of playing-related injury; (5) the role of conservatories in promoting healthy work practices for students and in providing suitable professional development for instrumental staff (Norris, 1993b; Williamon, 2004); (6) the need for proactive measures such as the development of a fitness regime (Lahme, 2004); and (7) the role of professional organisations in promoting healthy workplaces (Cornwell, 2004).

There is increasing recognition of the role of conservatories in preventing physical and psychological injury, highlighted by a directive from the US-based National Association of Schools of Music (NASM) that all music schools include injury-awareness and prevention in their curricula. As a result, research and practice centres prepare ‘kits’ that will enable NASM schools to meet their injury prevention obligations, although it is too early to test the results of this approach.

Williamon (2004) was also critical of the lack of injury prevention strategies in conservatories: “the education and training of performers fail to incorporate the advice to students on care of the body, prevention of injury and psychological well-being” (p. 257). A study conducted by the British Association of Performing Arts Medicine found that over 70% of students seen by them since 1992 had presented with non-structural, performance-related problems that could be overcome by effective performance and practising. Williamon’s work forms part of an initiative at the Royal College of Music (RCM) that provides performance students with six hours of seminars on physical and psychological issues. Key strategies include a mental skills program using relaxation and mental imagery techniques adapted from successful programs used with elite athletes, a Neuro feedback program enabling participants to observe and then learn to redress brain activity, and an exercise and lifestyle program that targets physical fitness using key concepts of exercise science (Williamon, 2004).

The attendance of staff at the RCM sessions is optional, and although it is anticipated that professional development for staff will follow it could be argued that it is crucial for instrumental teachers to be equipped with the skills and knowledge required to implement injury prevention strategies within the teaching setting. It would seem that the majority of instrumental teachers do not have the knowledge to offer effective advice to students. Barrowcliffe (1999) surveyed 231 music faculty members in Canada, and found that university music teachers were not knowledgeable about specific areas of playing-related injuries (PRI) including focal dystonia, thoracic outlet syndrome and carpal tunnel syndrome, despite the fact that 60% of them had experienced a PRI. A sizeable 80% of the teachers reported that they had students with a PRI. Chesky (2002) concurred, suggesting that “few students benefit from prevention because music educators are generally unaware of these issues” (p. 31).

3.5 Women in Western Classical Music

Feminist research in music is comparatively recent, and is therefore mostly third-wave or reflective (compensatory) research; the third-wave component addressing the ‘lived’ experience of women who “juggle jobs, kids, money and personal freedom in a frenzied world” (Vitale, 1999, p. 2). Lamb, Dolloff and Howe (2002) suggested advantages resulting from the lack of gender-related research in music in that although the music profession is years behind many others, it benefits from the plethora of research now available from within other disciplines (in Colwell & Richardson, 2002).

Writing about women in music from a historic perspective, Jezic (1994) cited Edward Naumann’s 1882 history of music, in which it was written that “all creative work is well-known as being the exclusive work of men” (in Jezic, p. 4). Historically, women in the Middle Ages were often excluded from guild occupations and therefore appeared with itinerant musicians whose social status was very low, and who were not favoured by the church. Salmen (1983a/1971) suggested that women “shared the economic uncertainties of the profession with their male colleagues, yet were usually paid less and treated with more disdain” (p. 268).

Jezic (1994) suggested that at least one of three situations almost always existed for female musicians, being that they belonged to a musical family, were raised in an all-female institution, or that they grew up in the presence of either royalty or of families with patron-affiliation (in Stremekis, 2002). Stremekis found that “the professional participants knew their goal in music early in life, were self-directed, and came from

supportive musical families” (p. 91). In fact, the conditions of a supportive family, social and self identity with music, and an unthreatening environment appear to play a key role in the musical development of both male and female musicians (Davidson, 1999).

Educational opportunities in music were traditionally quite different for men and women (Rieger, 1985/1976). For example, it wasn't until the foundation of music conservatories in the 1880s that women performers were able to access music education and training at an advanced level, and few conservatories accepted women composers (Pendle, 1991). Women were not permitted to receive a degree in music from Oxford University until 1921, despite the fact that Elizabeth Stirling passed the examinations in 1856 (Fuller, 1995). Men were also able to undertake training in the armed forces, which was an option not available to women until after World War II. In accordance with the historical lack of openings for professional training, it is interesting to review women in their traditional roles as supporters of the arts; as the player rather than the concertmaster, as the teacher and not the professor, and as avocational player and organiser (Neuls-Bates, 1996; Whitesitt, 1991).

The exclusion of women from professional orchestras in the late 19th century led to the formation of many all-women orchestras, and opposition to women's involvement in mainstream orchestras continued into the 20th century. When New York's Musical Union became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in 1903, it was obliged to accept women as union members. The transcripts of interviews held on the subject with three local musicians were published in London's *Musical Standard*, and included the following quote in relation to the place of women in theatre orchestras: “Do I think that our theatres will eventually employ women musicians? No, most emphatically to that question. ... Woman, lovely woman, is always to be admired, except when she is playing in an orchestra” (Neuls-Bates, 1996, p. 203).

The rise of women in orchestras has historically been the result of external factors such as the loss of male musicians due to war (Rieger, 1985/1976): for instance, during the First and Second World Wars, women took orchestral positions in many orchestras in place of men who had been called upon to fight. After the war, battles were fought to retain the place of women in orchestras. To illustrate, in 1942 – during the Second World War – the number of women musicians in the Sydney Symphony Orchestra rose to thirty-two from a pre-war total of twenty (Sydney Symphony Orchestra, 2004).

The exception to women in orchestras came traditionally in the form of the harpist. Composer and feminist Ethel Smyth described the female orchestral harpist as “this solitary, daintily-clad, white-armed sample of womanhood among the black coats, as might be a flower on a coal dump” (in Fuller, 1995, p. 27). As late as 1969, applications from women musicians for a position in the Berlin Philharmonic were returned with the answer: “Following an old tradition, the Berlin Philharmonic does not accept any women musicians” (Rieger, 1985/1976, pp. 151-152). It was not until 1982 that the Berlin Philharmonic accepted women.

In 1997, female harpist Anna Leikes became a full member of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. It was the first time since the orchestra’s foundation in 1842 that a woman had been admitted, and the orchestra was not alone; the same year, the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra also admitted women for the first time. The Vienna orchestra’s reposition followed constant lobbying by US women’s groups, and a directive to the orchestra’s board from the German Chancellor. There were also threats of boycotts and demonstrations during the orchestra’s next major tour, which was scheduled to begin the week following the historic decision. A more sceptical observer would note the dire shortage of male harpists!

Elena Ostleitner, a professor of music at the male – dominated Vienna conservatory described the admission of women to the orchestra as a “difficult and delicate issue ... [she said] ... it’s as if the Pope were going to be a woman” (Eakin, 2003, p. 1). Of interest, the Vienna Philharmonic has always been run by a twelve-member committee elected from amongst its players and has no separate management structure, highlighting a potential weakness with the afore-mentioned progression towards giving musicians a greater role to play within their organisations.

Men continue to dominate leadership roles such as that of the orchestral conductor, section leader or conservatorium lecturer (Australia Council, 1987; Banks, 1993; Jepson, 1993; Lawson, 1991; Rogers, 1989). Rogers found there to be “a strongly sex-segregated workforce in professional music: women are under-represented overall in professional playing, and they are even more under-represented in principal positions and in particular instrumental groupings” (1989, p. 22). The past twenty years, however, has seen an increase in the number of women within the fields of performance, management and composition as women have competed with their male counterparts for available positions (Rochlin, 2003).

In 1977, Margaret Hillis became the first woman to conduct in Carnegie Hall. The opportunity arose when, hours before the concert, the orchestra's scheduled conductor fell and was unable to perform (Stremikis, 2002). The irony is that Hillis' debut is remembered for her gender rather than for the impromptu, successful direction of one of the world's major orchestras. In 1994, Melbourne – born Nicollette Fraillon became the first Australian woman to conduct an Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) orchestra, and the first woman to be chief conductor of a major European symphony orchestra – the Royal Netherlands Ballet Company in Amsterdam. Another Australian, Simone Young became the first woman to conduct in the major opera houses of Paris, Munich, Berlin and Vienna.

Throsby and Hollister's (2003) analysis of Australian artists found that female artists earn appreciably less than men in all categories of income: artistic practice, teaching, administration, cultural development and writing about the arts. Throsby reported "a long history of disadvantage experienced by women artists" (p. 60), and found the financial support of a spouse to be more important for women artists, and that "a substantially larger proportion of females than of males believe that caring for children restricted their careers as artists" (p. 61). The lack of women in leadership positions would in part explain the salary difference between male and female musicians indicated by several recent economic studies (Weissman, 1990).

Despite an increase in participation at all levels of the profession, women continue to experience less opportunities to forge careers in music and are less likely than men to audition for positions in traditionally male-dominated orchestras; particularly for wind, brass and percussion positions (Crouch & Lovric, 1990). For instance, when trombonist Megumi Kanda won the principal position with the Missouri Symphony Orchestra, only 7 of the 76 applicants were women (Schmidt, 2003). A contributing factor appears to be that musical instrument preference is gendered, in that fewer girls choose to play instruments perceived as instruments for boys. Several studies have indicated that the preference and subsequent uptake of musical instruments is gendered (Allmendinger & Hackman, 1995; Gould, 1992; Green, 1997; North, Colley, & Hargreaves, 2003; O'Neill & Boulton, 1996).

Allmendinger and Hackman (1995) described orchestras as "relatively elite and traditionally male organizations" (p. 2), and there have been a number of lawsuits triggered when women musicians were awarded principal roles during 'blind' auditions (where the audition is conducted with a screen between the applicant and the selection

panel to preserve anonymity), only to be demoted once the director realised her gender. The ethnicity of musicians has led to similar legal action (Rochlin, 2003).

Relevant literature suggests that many women have left, and more continue to leave the profession due to a lack of opportunities and the difficulties associated with managing family and other commitments whilst maintaining an uninterrupted career in music: “continuity of work in music and effective networking are both important factors in progression, leading as they do to engagements with different groups and promotions within the primary group” (Rogers et al., 1993, p. 10).

Stremikis (2002) suggested that women musicians “must be independent thinkers who are unconcerned about conforming to stereotypes and able to withstand difficult experiences related to gender and their career” (p. 91). Equity issues have contributed to the formation of education, community and mentoring schemes facilitated by many arts organisations in Australia. The presence in leadership roles of females such as composers Peggy Glanville-Hicks and Elena Kats-Chernin, and conductor Simone Young is facilitating a change in the traditional image of composers and conductors as bewigged old men (Fuller, 1995), although one still is unlikely to find a poster of a female composer or conductor on a classroom wall. The acceptance of women into the more male-dominated music institutions and roles continues to make headlines, yet reports of successful integration appear to serve as a reminder that inequity and marginalisation remain major problems in the music profession.

3.6 Concluding Comments

As suggested by Crouch and Lovric, there appears to be a lack of literature and research specific to the area of musicians’ careers. In order for research objectives to be met, initial research is required to identify: (1) employment opportunities for classical instrumental musicians within the music industry and the cultural industries; (2) factors contributing to, and the extent of attrition; (3) the relevance of literature concerning artists in general, and that pertaining to the cultural industries; and (4) the skills and attributes considered by musicians to be essential for the achievement of sustainable careers. Combined, these factors will form the subject of the ensuing study.