The Music Workforce, Cultural Heritage, and Sustainability

Peter PETOCZ, Anna REID, and Dawn BENNETT

Peter PETOCZ, Macquarie University, Australia

Peter Petocz is Associate Professor in the Department of Statistics at Macquarie University. His research interests include applications of statistics in a wide variety of disciplines (including the arts) and statistics pedagogy, and he is widely published in these areas. He is an editor of the *Statistics Education Research Journal* and has carried out research projects investigating lecturers' and students' conceptions of sustainability and related dispositions that are key aspects of professional preparation at the tertiary level. Contact: peter.petocz@mq.edu.au

Anna REID, Sydney Conservatorium of Music, University of Sydney, Australia

Anna Reid is Professor and Head of School at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music. Her research interests include music pedagogy, the impact of musical instrument construction on performance style, graduate dispositions and professional preparation, and conceptions of disciplines and learning at the tertiary level. Her investigations of participants' conceptions of sustainability and related dispositions have been an important component of her research over the previous decade. Contact: anna.reid@sydney.edu.au

Dawn BENNETT, Curtin University, Australia

Dawn Bennett is Distinguished Research Fellow and Director of the Creative Workforce initiative at Curtin University. Her research interests include creative labor markets, identity development, music education and research frameworks. Recent grants extend work on the role of identity development in student engagement. Dawn serves on multiple editorial boards. She is on the board of directors for the Music Council of Australia and serves as a commissioner for the ISME Commission for Education of the Professional Musician. Contact: dawn.bennett@curtin.edu.au

ABSTRACT

Larger than any other creative industry, music is an intangible cultural asset whose sustainability is included in the United Nation's fourth pillar of sustainability. Music contributes to both cultural heritage and also cultural sustainability. Despite this, not enough is known about the characteristics and dynamics of work and career for musicians or the relationships between these activities and cultural life. While there is some recent research describing the use of music for cultural heritage and sustainability in contemporary indigenous contexts, little of this describes the importance of music for culture in urbanized communities. Writing from the perspective of Australia, we contend that the idea of 'creolization' – the development of a new culture from a combination of traditional ones – is a useful concept for broadening understanding of music for cultural heritage and sustainability. More practically, we argue that exploring musical artifacts and performance practices from different cultures and times can contribute to our understanding of cultural heritage and highlight cultural sustainability as an essential professional disposition.

Keywords: Music, Creative industries, Australia, Cultural heritage, Cultural sustainability, Creolization

1. INTRODUCTION

Musicians contribute to the cultural identity and economic health of contemporary society. They work in a range of very different ways, from large formal ensembles to small independent community gatherings. Regardless of the genre and context of music, musicians play an important societal role as their music reflects contemporary cultural style, makes homage to past practices, and pushes forward into new and innovative practice. In some instances their music is recorded and remembered formally, but in many more it is of the moment. In these cases only the audiences experience its impact.

In any modern urban context, music making is multifaceted and takes its oeuvre from the preferences of its population. It is tempting to think that there may be a particular sound and genre that is linked to a particular place and the ethnic groups that reside there. However, a contemporary city comprises people with a wide range of cultural and ethnic backgrounds and it is this diversity that is captured by formal and informal music making. In essence, the music making typically found in urban settings is 'creolized' – musicians combine and build upon their own and others' cultural heritages. Understanding how musicians work within such a complex environment may provide insights into the cultural health of a society and shed light on the nature of musical work.

Because many forms of music making and working are transitory, it can be difficult to identify the precise contribution of musicians to the cultural identity and economic health of a city. It is equally difficult to determine how this contribution is continued and promulgated. It is widely agreed that analysis of the characteristics of music work can be achieved only through empirical research, but the results rarely uncover the more informal contributions of musicians. Until now, Australian society has not been able to fully understand and document the social benefits of music to its cultural identity and economic health. In part this difficulty lies in the nature of the workforce itself. Many musicians are self-employed and their performances are irregular, comprising a 'portfolio' of activities that aggregate to a (sometimes) livable level of employment. Musicians' portfolio careers fluctuate depending on the community's cultural opportunities and requirements; it has been impossible to target the provision of support from government bodies in a sufficiently informed or strategic manner.

Against this background there is a need to rethink the contribution of the music workforce to cultural identity by undertaking creative workforce research that considers not only the workforce itself but its cultural aspects. In this paper we first consider the contribution of musicians to cultural heritage and sustainability, and then investigate the role played by creative workforce research within the concepts of cultural heritage and sustainability. Our discussion considers the notion of creolization as a concept linking heritage and sustainability, and investigates a theory of professional learning and identity formation to interpret the motivations of musicians in the creative workforce.

2. THE AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT

The professional life, working conditions and cultural contribution of musicians are relatively opaque. Research in this area is largely speculative and subject to small empirical studies (Creech et al., 2008), and we know little, for example, about cultural life primarily from the perspective of musicians, and within distinct cultural environments.

Many musicians make their living with established musical institutions such as opera companies, symphony orchestras and production companies (Throsby & Zednik, 2010), while others work predominantly as educators or

administrators. Musicians may migrate overseas or within Australia (Bennett, 2010), and a significant number develop a portfolio career (Bennett, 2008) featuring multiple concurrent employments. We speculate that each of these musicians has made a contribution to the cultural fabric of Australia, and that this has gone largely unrecognized and untapped. In a sense, an aspect of Australia's cultural heritage is lost when the working lives of musicians are unrecorded. Also lost is any clear knowledge of the economic impact of these cultural workers.

With approximately 5,200 enrolled music students at any one time across Australia (Music Council of Australia, 2011), the need to understand the characteristics of working life in music is essential for those who prepare and support this workforce. Music graduates become part of an Australian industry worth $7billion each year (Music Council of Australia, 2011). Australian Census data suggest that the creative sector employs around 315,200 people, and within this, music is the largest sector. With the inclusion of creative workers embedded in other economic sectors, employment nationally is reported to be just under half a million people (CIE, 2009).

Despite the industry's size, however, the Australia Council reports a continuing trend of underemployment, unemployment and multiple employments amongst Australia's musicians, including around 16,000 musicians working in professional performance (Throsby & Zednik, 2010) as specialist creative workers.

3. MUSIC, CULTURAL HERITAGE AND SUSTAINABILITY

The creation of sustainable careers in music is highly problematic. Influences such as digitization, globalization and deregulation mean that musicians must navigate new contexts and business models, apply both meta-knowledge and disciplinary-based knowledge in their work, and maintain diverse skill sets appropriate to each task (Reid, Dahlgren, Abrandt Dahlgren & Petocz, 2011). These include the capacity to work across music genres and a range of performance sites encompassing digital environments (Masnick & Ho, 2012) as well as community and educational settings (Bartleet, et al. 2009).

Such social, cultural and technological developments arguably make music careers more challenging than ever before; and yet it is possible that some of the strategies and resources utilized by musicians have remained largely unchanged over many decades. The same might be said for the characteristics of music careers, which are often heralded without evidence as 'newly complex' (Bennett, 2008).

This professional environment means that many Australian music graduates sustain their careers by undertaking a range of paid and unpaid, predominantly part-time and freelance work both within and outside the world of music (Bridgstock, 2005). Despite the prevalence of these complex music careers, there are major gaps in our understanding of how they operate and, in turn, how they contribute toward cultural sustainability over time. These gaps mean that career preparation, continuing career support strategies, and understanding of the societal benefits gained from music all fall behind their potential (Bartleet et al., 2012; Bennett, 2008).

Central to this argument are the notions of cultural heritage and cultural sustainability. We see these as essentially two sides of the same coin. Cultural heritage refers to the preservation in some form or other of the non-tangible aspects of society in the past. In the context of the music workforce this might include musical compositions, performance genres and styles, musical instruments and techniques, social expectations around practice and performance,

and so on. Cultural sustainability, on the other hand, refers to the continuation of these non-tangible aspects of society into the future, in some form or other, and necessarily modified in some way. Cultural sustainability is based on cultural heritage, as the future is based on the past, but it in turn influences the (re-)assessment of cultural heritage, as the past is re-interpreted in terms of the future.

Cultural sustainability has been recognized as a subset of 'Ecological Sustainable Development' and comprises the fourth 'pillar' of a model for community sustainability (Duxbury, Mateus, Jeannotte, & Andrew, 2012). While it is recognized that cultural vitality is critical for economic health and social equity, and while musicians represent the largest subset of creative workers, contemporary discussions of cultural sustainability that include musicians are sparse.

In the early 21st century the idea of sustainability has acquired an environmental and scientific status, with the period 2005-2015 declared the decade for Education for Sustainable Development (UNESCO, 1995-2010). Throsby (2008) has argued that culture, and specifically the musical side of culture, has a real economic benefit. However, national data collections report only on mainstream musical institutions (such as symphony orchestras) and fail to record the wide variety of musical activities that are the result of individual entrepreneurial work, or which reside in urban community contexts. Despite this recording lacuna, governments at all levels recognize the importance of music festivals (a large employer of musicians) as a means of encouraging tourism (Sounds Australia, 2010).

International discussion on cultural heritage and sustainability has highlighted various models that form intersections between government policies and business practices. Examples from Australian industry demonstrate the importance of musical culture alongside economic benefit. These include Rio Tinto's 'Cultural Heritage Guide' (2011) and the Texaco Foundation's support for Indigenous communities' musical culture as well as for traditional Western Art music (Dowling, 2000). Cultural sustainability means that the identity of a community is both preserved and developed. Towns in Canada, for instance, have 'Integrated Community Sustainability Plans' (Duxbury et al., 2012, p. 3) which help communities develop their cultural identity.

Similarly, a focus of cultural heritage and sustainability through music has been on identity preservation and promulgation amongst Indigenous populations (Neuenfeldt & Oien, 2008; Dunbar-Hall, Gibson & Gibson, 2004) but less so amongst diverse communities that reside in urban contexts. Recognizing that pathways for cultural sustainability are essential for the cultural sector to maximize its impact on the country's social and economic life, Australia's national cultural policy recognizes that:

culture forms an important catalyst for engagement and growth. Communities with strong cultural engagement are more resilient, inclusive, cohesive and positive. They are the hub of multiculturalism, linking and unifying people from different backgrounds and circumstances, fostering understanding and building a common sense of purpose. (Commonwealth of Australia, 2013, p. 102)

The experience of musical life is an essential component of this narrative.

A quick look through any community newspaper paints a picture of the importance of community music making. There it is possible to find evidence of rich cultural activity in the form of community concerts and exhibitions presented by small groups of passionate musicians and artists. As Pratt (2008, p. 228) argues, each creative industry "has its own ecology of labor markets and

contracting networks", indicating that a creative class is critical for urban renewal. Specifically, each musician and group will have established a particular 'market' based on interests, genres and instrumental/vocal groupings.

4. CULTURE AS CREOLIZATION

Music work in Australia is subject to complex cultural interchanges including those experienced in informal and formal learning environments, and in the social sphere. Musicians are constantly on the lookout for sounds that will make them distinctive (hence confer on them an economic advantage) and this distinction is often found in the fusion of disparate musical styles. The fabric of Australian society suggests that music work takes place in rich and varied cultural contexts, which result in a form of musical creolization.

We use the term 'creolization' to refer to the interaction between diverse musical cultures and the ensuing growth of new musical cultures that select components from the original cultures and blend them in creative ways. Musical creolization can be considered as the bridge between musical heritage and musical sustainability, between the past and the future of cultural identity expressed through music.

When we consider the impact of culture on music making it is easy to see how the development and performance of the music in different social situations also contributes to changes in the way that the musician sees herself. Musical and social identity is influenced by these different contexts and settings for music making, and by the distinctly different ways in which diverse cultures approach music. As Hess explains, "As cultures fuse musically, our identity shifts. We become creole subjects through the encounters we experience, particularly … in highly diverse urban spaces" (2010, p. 155). This involves different melodic, harmonic, rhythmic and instrumental features, and it is in this hybrid world that musicians must build and sustain their careers. To quote Hess again, "The question then becomes: when cultures travel, who or what is refigured or remade and what becomes possible after the encounter? I posit that these encounters affect all parties; people become creole subjects – subjects constantly affected by their continuously changing cultural environments" (2010, p. 155). Cities that have had multiple waves of immigration lend themselves to creolization in music. This then suggests that an exploration of cultural heritage and sustainability should include not only the changing sound of the music produced in the city, but the way in which musicians see themselves as agents in that process.

While many research studies of non-Western music focus on the heritage value of indigenous musics in their original contexts, or the extension of that heritage into other cultural situations, Hess suggests that "All of these politics of self-congratulation indicate a power relation between the Western Self and the exotic Other that privileges the former, thus reaffirming the dominant and allowing for the continual colonization of the Other" (2010, p. 160). She emphasizes the colonizing characteristic of predominantly Western environments towards indigenous music. When such music is played and re-interpreted in Western musical contexts, a form of creolization takes place in which the Western musicians adopt the indigenous and form a new personal and shared identity as a result. However, other forms of creolization can occur without any deliberate adoption from Indigenous musicians.

Contemporary urban communities accommodate people with a multiplicity of backgrounds, cultural allegiances, experiences and musical preference. 'Western music' is an uneasy term that describes a historical corpus of music that has always incorporated musical elements from different areas of the world. An obvious

example is the incorporation into mainstream Western musical forms of elements of jazz, itself a creolization of African folk music and European musical forms. Yet, very little is known about how 'Western', 'Indigenous', 'Traditional' or 'Contemporary' music functions as a totality in contemporary urban environments. Additionally, such creolization refers not only to the forms of music but also to the contexts in which the music is experienced as player or appreciator.

Music graduates working in Australia find that the creolized atmosphere also provides them with an insight into global music making. While some musicologists have claimed that musical creolization and global mobility will generate musical homogeneity—a form of cultural blandness—others suggest that globalization will generate richness for cultural regeneration. For example, Erikson (2003, p. 224) writes:

A very different perspective is achieved if, rather than seeing globalization as an aspect of capital accumulation or as a euphemism for cultural imperialism, one regards it as a two-way process entailing a democratization of symbolic power whereby post-colonial scholars, authors and artists are enabled to define and invent the world on a par with the intellectuals of the metropolitan centers.

Musical life in Australia provides a good example of this two-way process. Music festivals and ad hoc concerts enable the logical fusion of music through the social interactions of musicians. Simple proximity, that is, the musician's home location, often provides the impetus to create a new musical sound through collaboration with other 'locals'. Although some urban areas attract persons with similar cultural backgrounds, the majority of such places in Australia do not. This enables a practical means for people to explore 'other' music and engage with each other in the co-creation of 'new' music that reflects the flavor and character of the urban environment.

Cohen (2007, p. 369) goes further:

We easily miss subtle, discreet but undeclared social changes that slowly but cumulatively generate major shifts in social conduct, opinions and consciousness. Behind the deafening nationalist, fundamentalist and mono-cultural noises are the soft but pervasive sounds of diversity, complexity and hybridity.

Therefore, it is critical to reexamine the notion of a creative workforce to include an acknowledgement of the hybridity of musical development and the effect of it on the economic lives of musicians.

As an expression of cultural heritage and sustainability, urban music making pushes through established normative boundaries and can be seen as a form of urban creolization. However, whilst creolization is an expression of the here and now and firmly based in social contexts, musicians also incorporate ideas from musicians in the past. This retrospective view enables musicians to pay homage to music of the past and reinvent that music for modern contexts.

5. WORKFORCE RESEARCH FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE AND SUSTAINABILITY

A major dilemma in creative workforce research is that the creative industries sector has not adequately understood how portfolio careers are constituted and operate, given that they often evade traditional employment survey measures. Indeed, the complexity of creative work has meant that statistical collections poorly represent the cultural sector with regard to both "size and variety of professional identities and employment relationships" (Gollmitzer & Murray, 2009, p. 6). This includes national census surveys such as that conducted in Australia which is believed to underestimate the artist population by over 50 percent (Throsby, 2008).

Creative labor that is non-standard and innovative is uncommon, and most labor has its routine or familiar component (Caves, 2000). Recognition of the complexity and import of creative work has led to significant advances in creative workforce research, including analyses of 'good and bad' work (Fitzgerald, Rainnie & Bennett, 2011); old and new sectors including digital economies (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010); the characteristics of creative work (Smith & McKinley, 2009); flexibility and autonomy (Banks, 2010); and creativity itself (Hesmondhalgh, 2008). This last, linked by policy makers to innovation, knowledge and economic growth, has been described as a 'doctrine' for policy makers (Schlesinger, 2007). Whether or not it is a doctrine, the economic link has given rise to a number of significant changes to the ways in which culture and creativity are reported and, as a result, supported.

In an attempt to categorize creative workers, the Australian Research Council's Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries and Innovation identified a creative trident of occupations (Higgs et al., 2008) which describes workers as specialist creatives employed in core creative occupations within creative industries (for example, orchestral musicians); embedded workers employed in core creative occupations within other industries (for example, artists working in therapeutic settings within the health sector); or support workers employed in other occupations within the creative industries (for example, workers undertaking administrative or business support roles). Creative workers undertaking work predominantly outside the trident, for example as other professionals, are defined as 'non-creative workers'.

One of the anomalies of the creative trident model is that all teaching is deemed a 'non-creative' activity, which situates this most primary use of artistic skills outside a creative worker's creative portfolio of work. Moreover, as Higgs and Cunningham (2008) and Higgs, Cunningham

and Bakhshi (2008) have acknowledged, the fact that the creative trident categorizes individual workers within a single trident mode means it cannot capture the complexities of creative work. Bennett et al. (forthcoming) agree, having found that creative workers commonly work across more than one creative trident mode. Indeed, they have argued that "whilst the dominant narrative is to speak of embedded workers, it is far more accurate to speak of embedded work as a component of a creative worker's portfolio".

Understanding the characteristics of music careers will enable an understanding of these creative workers' diverse contributions to the cultural life of Australia and assist in the formulation of policy, the maintenance of cultural heritage and the promulgation of sustainable approaches to cultural activity.

Another aspect of this workforce research for cultural heritage and sustainability is that performing practices and styles constantly evolve. This is evidenced in a range of written texts across several centuries as well as in analysis of recordings made since the turn of the 20th century (Philip, 1992). The study of musicians' performing practices provides invaluable data pertaining to the knowledge and understanding of cultural value and sustainability. These studies demonstrate that fashions in performance style have been shaped and driven by social context and/or individual preference.

The need for particular types of music making has influenced the circumstances in which musicians make their living, the type of music performed, the forces for those performances, and even the tools or instruments of the trade. During the second half of the 20th century, for example, there was an explosion of interest in the field of period-instrument performance—now commonly known as historically-informed performance or HIP—which has provided wide-

ranging employment opportunities and rich musical experiences for countless musicians as well as an important expansion of musical-cultural activities. Significantly, this has exerted a strong influence on classical performance style and on audience expectation. Examples of this can be seen in the changing approach of chamber ensembles and symphony orchestras with regards to particular repertoire and playing style, as well as in the establishment of a culture within which period-instrument performance ensembles have been able to thrive.

The value of the HIP field has been in providing a tool for stimulating musical intuition leading to the production of original and interesting results that are a product of our own time: the "style of now" (Taruskin, 1995, p. 102). HIP methodology, involving the investigation of the tangible and intangible evidence of performing practices of past eras, provides a useful model for gathering data about musicians' activities and experiences. The implications here for cultural heritage and sustainability are obvious.

Returning to our focus on a community's musical life, it is possible to investigate the cultural contribution of musicians through an examination of musical artifacts. Musicians' personal archives containing concert brochures, programs and flyers, as well advertisements and reviews in newspapers, journals and other media, can create a rich picture of the background to contemporary music culture (Peres Da Costa, 2012). These materials include important data about the types of concerts (repertoire and forces), venues, reception of performances, and comments about the style of music making and use of music in historical settings.

Another approach concerns the collection of oral histories in the form of interviews, to record the reminiscences of participants and provide further data about their lived experiences of music making and the nature and value of musical life. These two sources (artifacts and interviews) provide a valuable picture of musicians' work and thinking in earlier eras. But the 21st century also enables an investigation of the styles of music used through the examination of different forms of recordings. Analysis of audio and video recordings, focusing on the stylistic elements of performance, affords contemporary musicians an auditory insight into the performing style of the past. Recordings augmented by rehearsal and performance annotations in scores and parts provide a practical means of past musicians to communicate with contemporary artists. This approach allows the establishment of an artistic continuity between generations; a linking of heritage and sustainability. These elements can be compared with written and/or verbal accounts to reveal the anomalies that exist between them and actual practice. Recent research in early piano recordings has done this successfully for the late-nineteenth and early-20th centuries (Peres Da Costa, 2012).

As elsewhere, the Australian Bureau of Statistics recognizes cultural activity as an important contributor to the economy. Similarly, Hawkes suggests that "cultural vitality is as essential to a healthy and sustainable society as social equity, environmental responsibility and economic viability" (2001, p. vii). Hawkes (p. 3) provides a workable definition of culture that includes "the social production and transmission of identities, meanings, knowledge, beliefs, values, aspirations, memories, purposes, attitudes and understanding". Absent from this definition is the experience of music making and listening as part of the urban landscape. This perspective would align with the Santorini Statement, which expresses that "the preservation of cultural heritage is a crucial component of identity and self-understanding that links a community to its past" (International Network on Cultural Policy, 1998, n. p).

Despite international discussion on the role of cultural sustainability for community identity, Reid and Petocz's (2006) research on educator and student perceptions of the concept of education for sustainable development suggests that very few students see culture as an aspect of sustainability, focusing rather on environmental aspects. In Australia, environmental sustainability features strongly in scientific policy documentation; however, there is little discussion of cultural sustainability and development. Neither has it featured strongly in creative workforce research.

6. THE ROLE OF PROFESSIONAL FORMATION

Creative workforce research aims to inform and support both practicing creative workers and those engaged in their initial professional learning. Using a research approach that investigates variation in the way people experience similar situations, Reid, Abrandt Dahlgren, Dahlgren and Petocz, (2011) have described a general model of professional learning. The model, based on ten years' research in Australian and Swedish higher education, shows the strong relationship between discipline knowledge as it is presented in post-secondary contexts, and the views of professional work held by students and graduates.

In the model, summarized at Figure 1, the diagonal direction represents aspects of identity and engagement. These combine in some sense the horizontal and vertical dimensions (learning for work, and knowledge for the profession) and crystallize from the background context represented by professional dispositions.

Reid et al. argue that if people view their profession in a limiting way (extrinsic technical), in the sense that they perceive the profession as being contained within specific boundaries and comprising specific techniques, this may limit potential professional opportunities. A broader view is described by the extrinsic meaning level, where the idea of professional work revolves around understanding and developing the meaning of the specific discipline objects such as musical scores and forms. People holding this view will tend to see their learning in terms of increasing their understanding of the discipline through investigating the meaning inherent in such objects. At the broadest intrinsic meaning level, there is an explicit ontological aspect to work and study. People holding this view perceive that their professional work is related to their own personal and professional being in an essential way. They will characteristically take a personal approach to their discipline and actively integrate
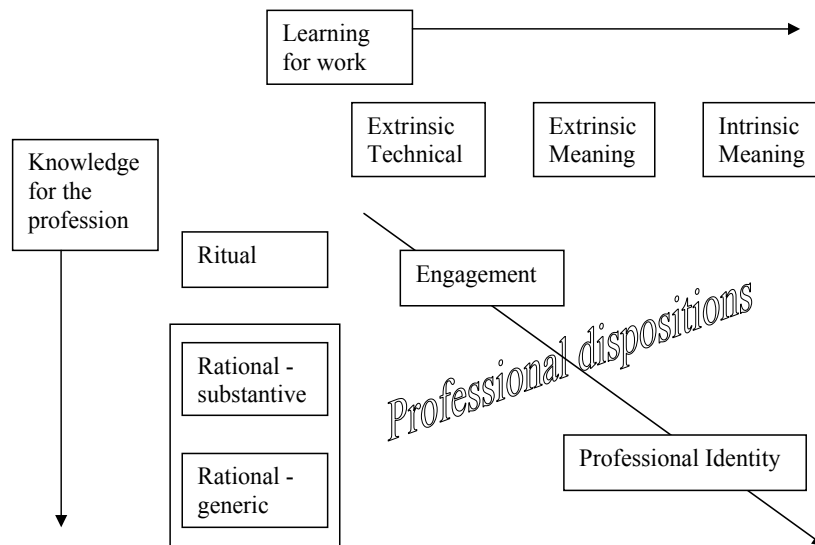

Figure 1. Professional learning
Source: Reid et al. (2011), p. 30

their professional learning with other aspects of their life.

Reid et al. found that differences in people's understanding of self and of knowledge/expertise had profound impacts on their professional activity and how they viewed themselves as professionals. This ontological dimension of working life seems to be important. When people's engagement with studies and profession is at the broadest level they see themselves becoming and being a professional, and their identity is strongly linked with their position as a professional. Barnett (2007, p. 102) talks of "the will to learn" and identifies dispositions as the expression of this will to learn, stating: "each disposition is an orientation to engage with the world in some way". While Barnett focuses on dispositions as personal qualities, we use the term in the sense of specific capabilities or ways of engaging with the world at a high level. Understanding the relationships between creative work and the context within which it occurs is central to this thinking.

Examining our context of the musician's working life, the model provides an opportunity to look at the aspects of professionalism that are sustained by individual attention and those that are sustained through external factors. Although the model was developed through investigations with students in different discipline areas as they become professionals, we can adapt the meaning of the diagram for the context of the creative workforce. The diagonal path of personal identity and professional dispositions is extremely relevant. As the musician progresses from musical education into the workforce, we can extrapolate that their formal learning and their professional music-making experience will contribute to their identity as a musician. Similarly, their engagement with different genres of music (analogous to the knowledge for the profession dimension) will show their willingness and capability for utilizing

different forms of music. This element is critically important, as we postulate that the more flexible a musician can be in the consideration and adoption of different forms of music, the broader their performance (and hence economic) options will be.

The learning for work dimension also suggests different levels of engagement with diverse forms of music (and here we mean music in social contexts). A musician who may relate to the 'extrinsic technical' dimension will feel happiest when the music making event is more formal and demands less of their own original creative input. Workspaces that are typical of this sort of engagement are the more formal Western orchestral genres. In contrast, a musician who adopts an intrinsic meaning approach to her work will have a high level of engagement and interest in varied forms of music and their communicative value for their audience.

7. CONCLUSIONS

When music students enter post-secondary study they expect that their studies will lead them towards some form of professional career; however, in contemporary settings the professional career path for graduates can be volatile, changeable and challenging. Understanding the experience of established and new members of the music workforce will explicate the professional formation and career development of musicians, and illuminate their use of cultural heritage and their contribution to cultural sustainability. Many musicians have had formal training, but the opportunities for engaging with different cultural communities in a large city also provide a fertile field for ongoing professional learning.

We suggest that creative workforce research would be strengthened by investigation that informs new approaches to the study of heritage

and sustainability from the perspective of artists, specifically musicians, and that this acknowledges the complex role of creolization for the establishment and promulgation of contemporary culture. Utilizing this broader cultural heritage framework enables a different way of examining the forms of work, identity and professional dispositions and skills that are common for (or even required of!) creative artists in urban communities. Whilst the trident view examines a musician's predominant work and the frequency of such work, the cultural heritage framework places the individual musician at the center of the story. Without musicians being engaged and interested in the music of their communities, the sounds of each community will simply remain interpretations of Western musical hegemonies. Instead, the framework may enable us to see how individuals engage with creative work in a manner that may offer them economic security outside mainstream musical organizations. This would allow a critical analysis of interview data that would show how individuals contribute to culture in society. The methodology requires a tripartite investigation of musicians' lived experience, which enables intangible musical assets to be located within contemporary society as an aspect of heritage and sustainability.

We would encourage an innovative approach to the investigation of the lives of musicians as creative workers that shows how the community at large encounters music and musical thinking that may well have been lost to the community. For example, the heritage of past performances and curated materials would demonstrate the importance of music as a sustainable component of culture. This element could make a strong contribution to ecological sustainability by understanding performance practice as a key aspect of intangible practice.

The working life of professional musicians, a subset of the creative workforce, in both formal and informal situations may give an indication of cultural health in urban environments. The practice of music performance enables workers to pay homage to the cultural musical practices of the past. The creation of music for new social situations supports musical and economic sustainability building on musical heritage. The concept of creolization in music shows how musicians adopt, adapt and change sound to explicitly reference their current social situation. Creative workforce research has focused on the economic condition of workers in that area. However, we suggest that the life world of the musician provides a more holistic way of seeing the contribution of music to the cultural life of any community.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

REFERENCES

Banks, M. (2010) Autonomy guaranteed? Cultural work and the "Art-Commerce Relation". *Journal for Cultural Research, 14,* 251-269.

Barnett, R. (2007). *The will to learn: Being a student in an age of uncertainty*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Bartleet, B., Bennett, D., Bridgstock, R., Draper, P., Harrison, S., & Schippers, H. (2012). Preparing for portfolio careers in Australian music: Setting a research agenda. *Australian Journal of Music Education*, *2012*(1), 32-42.

Bartleet, B., Dunbar-Hall, P., Letts, R., & Schippers, H. (2009). *Sound links: Community music in Australia*. Nathan: Griffith University.

Bennett, D. (2008). *Understanding the classical music profession: The past, the present and strategies for the future*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Bennett, D. (2010). Creative migration: A Western Australian case study of creative artists. *Australian Geographer, 41*(1), 117-128.

Bennett, D., Coffey, J., Fitzgerald, S., Petocz, P, & Rainnie, A. (Forthcoming). Beyond the creative: Understanding the intersection of specialist and embedded work for creatives in metropolitan Perth. In Hearn, G. Bridgstock, R. Goldsmith. B., & Rodgers, J. (Eds.) *Creative work beyond the creative industries: Innovation, employment, and education*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Bridgstock, R. (2005). Australian artists, starving and well-nourished: What can we learn from the prototypical protean career? *Australian Journal of Career Development, 14*(3), 40-48.

Caves, R. (2000). *Creative industries: Contracts between art and commerce*. Cambridge: Harvard Business Press.

Centre for International Economics. (2009). Creative industries economic analysis final report. Canberra: CIE.

Cohen, R. (2007). Creolization and cultural globalization: The soft sounds of fugitive power. *Globalization, 4*(2), 369-384.

Commonwealth of Australia. (2013). Creative Australia: A national cultural policy. Canberra: Government of Australia.

Creech, A., Papageorgi, I., Duffy, C., Morton, F., Haddon, E., Potter, J., et al. (2008). From music student to professional: The process of transition. *British Journal of Music Education, 25*(3), 315–331.

Dowling, A. (2000). Case study: Preserving cultural heritage. *The Washington Quarterly, 23*(2), 164-165.

Dunbar-Hall, P., Gibson C., & Gibson P. (2004). Deadly sounds, deadly places: Contemporary Aboriginal music in Australia. Sydney: University of New South Wales.

Duxbury, N., Jeannotte, M. S., Andrew, C., & Mateus, M. J. (2012). Culture in sustainable communities: Improving the integration of culture in community sustainability policy and planning in Canada and Europe. Paper presented at International Conference on Cultural Policy Research (ICCPR) 2012: 'Culture, politics and cultural policies'. Barcelona, Spain, July.

Eriksen, T. (2003). Creolization and creativity. *Global Networks, 3*(3), 223-237.

Fitzgerald, S., Rainnie, A., & Bennett, D. (2011). The place(s) of good work: moral economies within global production networks. Paper presented at the Moral Economies of Creative Labour Conference, Institute of Communication Studies, University of Leeds, July 2011.

Gollmitzer, M., & Murray, C. (2009). *Work flows and flexicurity: Canadian cultural labour in the era of the creative economy*. Vancouver: Center for Expertise on Culture and Communities.

Hawkes, J. (2001). *The fourth pillar of sustainability: Culture's essential role in public planning*. Victoria: Common Ground Publishing.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2008). Cultural and creative industries. In Bennett, T. (Ed.) *The SAGE handbook of cultural analysis* (pp. 552-569). London and Los Angeles: SAGE.

Hesmondhalgh, D., & Baker, S. (2010). A very complicated version of freedom: Conditions and experiences of creative labour in three cultural industries. *Poetics: Journal of Empirical Research on Culture, the Media and the Arts, 38*, 4-20.

Hess, J. (2010). Musically creolizing subjects: Re(envisioning) world music education. *Encounters on Education, 11*, 155-166.

Higgs, P., & Cunningham, S. (2008). Creative industries mapping: Where have we come from and where are we going. *Creative Industries Journal, 1*(1) 7-30.

Higgs, P., Cunningham, S., & Bakhshi, H. (2008). *Beyond the creative industries: Mapping the creative economy in the United Kingdom*. Nesta: London.

International Network on Cultural Policy. (1998). Santorini Statement. Retrieved January 17, 2013, from http://www.incp-ripc.org/en/ministerial-meetings/235-santorini-statement.html.

Masnick, M. & Ho, M. (2012). *The sky is rising! A detailed look at the state of the entertainment industry*. California: Techdirt.

Music Council of Australia. (2011). Student enrolments and award programs at Australian public tertiary music institutions. Retrieved January 15, 2013, from http://www.mca.org.au/research/research-reports/research-reports/16378-student-enrolments-and-award-programs-at-australian-public-tertiary-music-institutions

Neuenfeldt K., & Oien K. (2001). Our Home, our and ... Something to sing about: Indigenous popular music as identity narrative. *Aboriginal History*, 2001, 27–38.

Peres Da Costa, N. (2012). *Off the record: Expressive performing practices of the romantic pianist*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Philip R. (1992). *Early recordings and musical style: Changing tastes in instrumental performance, 1900-1950*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pratt, A. (2008). Creative cities: The cultural industries and the creative class. *Geografiska Annaler B, Human Geography, 90*, 107-117.

Reid, A., & Petocz, P. (2006). University lecturers'

understanding of sustainability. *Higher Education, 51*(1), 105-123.

Reid, A., Abrandt Dahlgren, M., Dahlgren, L. O., & Petocz, P. (2011). *From expert student to novice professional*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Reid, A., Petocz, P., Bennett, D., & Peres Da Costa, N. (2013). Cultural heritage and sustainability as an essential disposition for music graduates. In Frielick, S., Buissink-Smith, N., Wyse, P., Billot, J., Hallas, J., & Whitehead, E. (Eds.) *Research and Development in Higher Education: The place of learning and teaching, 36*(pp. 381-390). Auckland, New Zealand, July.

Rio Tinto. (2011). *Cultural heritage guide*. Retrieved January 17, 2013, from http://www.riotinto.com.au/documents/Rio_Tinto_Cultural_Heritage_Guide.pdf

Schlesinger, P. (2007). Creativity: From discourse to doctrine. *Screen, 48*(3), 399-387.

Smith, C., & McKinley, A. (2009). Creative industries and labour process analysis. In McKinley, A. and Smith, C. (Eds.) *Creative labour: Working in the creative industries*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sounds Australia. (2010). Australia's Contemporary Music Markets. Retrieved February 2, 2013, from http://arts.gov.au/sites/default/files/pdfs/music-markets-guide-10-11.pdf.

Taruskin, R. (1995). *Text and act: Essays on music and performance*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Throsby, D. (2008). *Creative Australia: The arts and culture in Australian work and leisure*. Occasional Paper 3,2008. Canberra: Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia.

Throsby, D., & Zednik, A. (2010). *Do you really expect to get paid? An economic study of professional artists in Australia*. Melbourne: Australia Council for the Arts.

UNESCO (1995–2012). *Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)*. Retrieved March 3, 2013 from http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/education-for-sustainable- development/browse/1/.