

# **Mobilising capitals in the creative industries: An investigation of emotional and professional capital in women creatives navigating boundaryless careers**

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**Abstract:** Bourdieu has been an extraordinarily influential figure in the sociology of music and music education. For over four decades, his concepts have helped to generate both empirical and theoretical advancements in the fields of music and sound art in the creative industries. Although Bourdieu's tools take many shapes within his own writing and in different disciplines, the dominant interpretation of capital – which he defines as an amalgamation of economic, cultural and social capital – we argue, has coalesced around narrowly construed views of what constitutes careers in 'music' within sociological studies of music. Therefore, the significance of this chapter's contribution to the field is both empirical and theoretical. We expand how theories of capital can be used to explore the professional lives of two highly respected women working in the creative industries. Throughout this chapter we ask: Within creative industries, how do women creatives recognize and operationalize their capitals? Which capitals are valuable and how are they valued? What are the 'practices' they use to generate capital? First, we briefly summarize Bourdieu's approach to capital as well as some Bourdieusian-inspired conceptual expansions of emotional capital and professional capital. Then, in the second half of the chapter, we work implicitly with these theories focusing on two case studies of women creatives who are currently navigating boundaryless careers. To conclude, we make a theoretical contribution to how emotional and professional capitals work in tandem, influencing each other which opens up new ways of thinking critically about how we accumulate and use capitals to reveal the conditions favouring the concentration and expansion of capitals by women creatives.

**Keywords:** expanded theory of capitals; Bourdieu; creative industries; boundaryless careers; music

## **Introduction**

Bourdieu remains an influential figure in sociological studies of music, particularly in investigating how the social context of music mediates, intersects with and reifies power relations at the core of music consumption as well as discussions of 'highbrow' forms and cultural 'structured spaces' of musical production (Burnard, 2012; Burnard, 2015; Schmidt, 2016). For scholars concerned with the question of what music is and how the collective

production of music is made possible sociologically (Roy & Dowd, 2010), extending Pierre Bourdieu's contribution – specifically on distinction and judgement and his conceptualization of fields, habitus and capitals – has become a vibrant field of study. Within studies of the sociologies of music, it should be noted there has been extensive critique of Bourdieu's contribution (Stahl, Perkins & Burnard, 2017; Bull, 2015;) as well as a call for renewal within the current research in the sociology of music (Prior, 2011; Hall, 2015). More recently, a Bourdieusian conceptual toolkit has allowed scholars to theorize individuals working in creative industries to navigate these unequal and contradictory spaces (Burnard et al, 2015; Wright, 2010; Friedman, O'Brien, Laurison, 2017).

Within the 'creative labour' industries of music, sound art, film, television, theatre, arts, music, gaming, 'creative tech' and new media sectors sociologists have worked with precision to document how gendered and classed inequalities operate (McKinlay & Smith, 2009; Friedman and Laurison 2019). Bourdieu's influence has fostered important insights in gender inequality, with feminist scholarship emphasizing a greater understanding of the social reproduction at the interface between gender-biased masculinist traditions and working conditions in the music industry/ies (Dromey & Haferkorn, 2018; Leonard, 2007). **Our chapter builds on both** current research in area of creative industries as well as a revival in Bourdieusian scholarship bringing the two together to investigate the professional lives of two women creatives.

Exploring the relationship between gender and music productions, Clare Hall (2015) uses the analytic tool of 'musical habitus' to identify and understand how the male, middle-class body becomes one in which specific musical aptitudes become entrenched through processes of

socialization. Hall's research highlights the ways in which individuals construct and negotiate social identities across diverse settings and practices of music education, and in the highly gendered collaborative nature of music making. Such collaboration subverts/reaffirms: gendered norms (Bull, 2015; Stahl & Dale, 2013); the power of music to enable class re-mobility in recovering lost social capital (Hofvander Trulsson, 2016); the highly territorial cultural 'structured spaces' of music production and music education (Schmidt, 2016); and the highly gendered fields of creative labour (Bennett and Burnard, 2015; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2011).

Additionally, recent scholarship by Friedman, O'Brien and Laurison (2017) has documented the gendering and classing of the creative industries, specifically the UK Cultural and Creative Industries (CCIs) where there exists a pervasive white, male, middle-class bias in British film, television and theatre. Furthermore, the habitus of the classical music performer, often belongs to an elite group bearing distinct and distinguished dispositions which is, in turn, structured by the context of the conservatoire. Rosie Perkins' (2015) research demonstrates how the *logic of practice* is manifested in the opportunities and constraints embedded within the capital underscoring the institutional habitus and learning culture of the conservatoire. Through this research we see how these industries often require the right forms of capitals in order for agents to successfully navigate hierarchized fields.

Drawing on the application of Bourdieusian approach of capital, as well as recent conceptual expansion in emotional and professional capitals, the research presented in this chapter investigate the professional lives of two women currently working in music as sonic artists and sound scientists. Both navigate what is commonly referred to as boundaryless careers, defined as

careers which involve fluid movement across sectors. These sectors are often sustained by external networks which break traditional organizational assumptions about hierarchies and normative notions of career advancement thus requiring further investigation. The notion of a boundaryless career is a concept first introduced in 1990s by career theorists Arthur and Rousseau (1996, p. 4) where it was originally proposed as a career which moves across the boundaries of separate employers however, as we will see, what is meant by boundaryless careers, especially in the creative industries, can be quite complex.

In their study of creative industries, Bennett and Burnard (2015) documented the need for understanding “multiple human capital career creativities,” emphasizing work that transcends fields. In presenting data on how two women creatives negotiate what Bourdieu calls a ‘feel for the game,’ we ask: Within creative industries, how do women creatives recognize and operationalize their capitals? Which capitals are valuable and how are they valued? What are the ‘practices’ they use to generate capital? First, we summarize how Bourdieu defined ‘capital’, as well as some Bourdieusian-inspired conceptual expansions with emotional capital and professional capital. Then, in the second half of the piece, we use these theories to explore empirical data.

### **Clarifying Bourdieu’s approach to capital**

Theorizing capital through a Bourdieusian approach involves thinking of it as a convertible resource generated, accumulated and exchanged within schooling systems, home contexts, and related social fields. Capital is obtained when one is consecrated (embraced and celebrated) by the actors in the field; this can be done through how the player, artist, creative, receives forms of

recognition from others in the field. Therefore, capital accumulation reflects, and is oriented *by* and *through*, our social positions and through our lives. Capitals manifest and accumulate in many different ways (Reay, 1995, p.354). In his oeuvre, Bourdieu (1979/1984; 1986) defines four forms of capital: economic (money and assets); social (affiliations and networks: familial, religious and cultural); symbolic (prestige, reputation); cultural (forms of knowledge; taste, language). Bourdieu argues that, whatever the form, capital provides resources that reflect power and reproduce inequality (Reay, 2002). Bourdieu defines social capital as the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutional relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition, providing each of its members the backing of collectively owned capital. Cultural capital, conceived by Bourdieu, encompasses a broad array of linguistic competences, manners, preferences, and orientations, which are “subtle modalities in the relationship to culture and language” that further social mobility beyond the economic means available to the individual (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 82). Therefore, the social position of an individual is influenced not simply by their economic capital but also by their “portfolio of economic, cultural, symbolic and other forms of capital” and also the individual’s ability to activate these capitals to their advantage within a given field (Hart, 2013, p. 52-53).

While all individuals possess various capitals that can be operationalised in the field, capitals cannot always be operationalised with equal ease. The game that occurs in the fields, according to Bourdieu, is always competitive, where the accumulation of capitals and status is always at stake. Importantly, each field, whether it is economic, social or educational, contains ‘distinctions’ which are symbolically valued (Bourdieu, 1984). Distinction can become a key

focus where agents pursue it in order to attempt to establish superiority. Therefore, field is always theorized as profoundly hierarchised and characterised by continuous struggle. It is important to note that even since there are “dominant social agents and institutions having considerable power to determine what happens within it, there is still agency and change” (p. 73).

### ***Conceptual Expansions of Capital: Emotional and Professional Capital***

Helga Nowotny (1981) originally introduced the concept of emotional capital centred on the bounds of affective familial relationships, encompassing the emotional resources that are collectively drawn upon. Expanding the concept of emotional capital as a heuristic tool, Diane Reay (2000) furthered Nowotny’s contribution to probe mothers’ emotional engagement with their children’s education (both positive and negative) as well as its intergenerational nature, specifically how it was passed from mother to child. Drawing on both Nowotny (1981) and Allatt’s (1993) Reay’s concept of *emotional capital* is understood as emotional resources but not necessarily something that can be increased or exchanged. Instead, Reay (2000) emphasizes how emotional capital has a cost in terms of interpersonal relationships and personal wellbeing (p. 580). Specifically, for Reay, “like all the other capitals, emotional capital is context and resource constrained” (p. 581) and, furthermore, it varies across class contexts influencing mother-child relationships in different ways; therefore, according to Reay, it has “a much looser link with social class than Bourdieu’s other capitals” (p. 582).

In a subsequent publication, Reay (2004) explored the relationship between emotional capital and the extent to which it may be gendered. This stems from wider Bourdieusian feminist work

on how cultural and social capital is mediated through gender, how people make use of their capital and resources is theorized as a gendered process (Kenway & Kelly, 2000; Skeggs, 1997). Gendered differences in capital use is linked to employment opportunity, why women do more childcare and housework than men, and trends in female labor force participation rates. In almost every country in the world, men are more likely to participate in labor markets than women (Ortiz-Ospina & Tzvetkova, 2017). However, drawing particularly on Nowotny, Reay (2004, p.60) highlights how women often bear the brunt of emotional labour and have this capital in “greater abundance than men” acquired through “adverse conditions”. Furthermore, emotional capital, in Reay’s interpretation, which is gained in the private sphere of the family, lacks direct convertibility and therefore it could be conceived as a weak capital. More recently, Reay (2015) has expanded her thinking highlighting the affective dimension of emotional capital, as one of several other dimensions, part of the resultant dispositions in the habitus, “a propensity to fatalism, ambivalence, resilience, resentment, certainty, entitlement or even rage” (p. 10), where “the impact of these affective and psychological transactions becomes sedimented in certain habitus” (p. 12). In our chapter, we argue that there exists important links between the utility of emotional capital, gender and the field of music; it is a key component which structures how these two women navigate the creative industries and foster their creativities.

Contrasting Reay’s work, Zembylas’s (2007) scholarship on emotional capital does not engage with gender but instead emphasizes how emotional capital is historically situated and often tied to unrecognised mechanisms and emotional norms, serving to maintain certain ‘affective economies’ (Ahmed, 2004), specifically in relation to teachers’ and students’ emotional practices. According to this interpretation, emotional capital is generated both in the habitus and

in educational contexts. Different to Reay, Zembylas writes that emotional capital is potentially a useful concept to think with but it “risks being co-opted into a parenting model for the emotional profit (or cost) generated in families and its repercussions for children” (p. 452). He highlights two key dangers: (i) strong associations of the term with economic theory (increasing/decreasing); and (ii) how it can easily be “co-opted by management and functionalist discourses” (p. 456). Therefore, Zembylas emphasises how emotional capital, in his interpretation, must be theorised as tied closely to social and political contexts, where theorists should focus on how individuals can ‘use’ emotional capital in facilitating certain actions.

Emotional capital, as a conceptual expansions of capital, regardless of its interpretation, remains an interesting provocation, however, what has received less attention by those interested in revising Bourdieu’s approach to capital are theorizations of professional capital. A strict Bourdieusian approach to professional capital would consider it card to be played in a game which is always competitive where individuals use a range of strategies to maintain or improve their position in the field where the object of the game is to accumulate various types of capital. Therefore, for Bourdieu, we can assume that professional capital is focused on advantage where accruing capital advantage lead to further advancement.

There have two significant conceptual expansions in theorizing professional capital. First, according to Hargreaves and Fullan (2013), professional capital in the teaching workforce is a function of the “interactive, multiplicative combination” of human capital, social capital and decisional capital (p. 39). In their view, professional capital, which actually bears little resemblance to a Bourdieusian conception of capital, can be increased and decreased through



professional development. Second, drawing on recent research in the music industry/ies, Bennett and Burnard (2015) theorize *professional capital* as an important dimension of *social capital* closely aligned with judgement and values found at the interface of culture and commerce. Bennett and Burnard's approach to professional capital compels us to investigate the ways in which capitals are socially recognised in boundaryless careers involving movement across sectors where there is an accrual of power.

In critically considering these two conceptual expansions of Bourdieu's theories of capital, we see a shift away from theorizing professional capital solely focused on accrual. For scholars who seek to modify Bourdieu's tools, we need more research which attends to both the gendered dimension as well as the collective nature of capital. We see our research on women creatives as making a theoretical contribution to how emotional and professional capitals work in tandem, influencing each other. In exploring how these two women navigate careers involving music with/in the creative industries, we utilize the plurality of approaches to theorizing emotional and professional capital which, we believe, have the capacity to help us understand the enabling functions and values driving boundaryless careers especially when considered together. It is here that this chapter makes a significant contribution to Bourdieu applied in the analysis and conceptual expansion of capital in relation to women creatives mobilizing capitals as they navigate boundaryless careers with/in music.

### **Gender, bias and the creative industries**

Within the creative industries, men and women often experience the unique employment issues affecting workers differently and come with gendered motivations for participating in their

various sectors. There is substantial evidence that pre-existing gender-based narratives also influence the division of labour and responsibilities in the ways men and women are recruited, access power, or are promoted in this relatively new field (Bull, 2015; Scharff, 2018). Recent research from the field of social psychology shows, for example, that, in most industries, perceived gender biases in the evaluation of creativity negatively affect women's work experiences and their chances of success (Proudfoot, Kay & Koval, 2015). The prevailing salience of gender is evidenced by the under-representation of women in the creative industries as with the association of masculinity with creative workers such as composers, conductors, and record producers, and related work in film and TV emphasis social capital as 'jobs for the boys' (Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Conor, Gill and Taylor, 2015). This is especially true in contexts that explicitly reward creative skills, such as the launch and growth of successful start-ups or entry to typically male domains such as digital audio commerce (Born and Devine, 2015).

Yet, while these biases exist, within research in the field of creative industries what remains obscure and empirically unsubstantiated are the experiences of women, specifically: (i) the role of one's capitals in defining project-based creative work that characterises boundaryless careers in the creative industries; (ii) the ways in which team-based creative industries, such as those of sound and digital arts creative workers, manage to build a spectrum of collaborative relationships (e.g. social capital) as well as (iii) how capitals are accumulated and operationalised as female creatives navigate boundaryless careers, which, in turn, shape work practices.

## **The Study: The Method**

The case studies drawn upon in this chapter is part of a larger study (Burnard, Iles & Cornelissen, 2019) that uses social network theory to explore the role and significance of social networks in identifying opportunity creation in the creative industries. Drawing on a form of narrative inquiry based upon sociological, social constructionism, phenomenological qualitative design and feminist ideas and practices, we employed semi-structured interviews to focus on the experiences and identities of 47 women creatives in the creative industries, how their actions and experiences are an expression of personal and inner self. Narrative inquiry, as an umbrella term, captures personal and human dimensions of experience over time and takes account of the relationship between individual experience and cultural context (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

For these two case studies, we transcribed in-depth interviews involving six 2-hour interviews. Then we developed an inductive/deductive coding system that included six categories: field, habitus, capital, practice, social reproduction, creativities, choices and critical events. The case narratives introduce each artist and then describe the forms of capital that are generated and recognised as legitimate. The forms of capital that appear to have real purchase are analysed from data gathered by interviews; secondary data used include interviews with these artists in websites, blogs, Technology Entertainment and Design (TED) Talks, reports and live performance observations. The interview questions were carefully conceived with the aim of building up a shared understanding of how different forms of capital influence careers.

To expand our understanding of how creative industries are navigated, we draw on Bourdieu and conceptual expansions to code the data. We worked implicitly with notions of emotional and professional capital documenting how such conceptual expansions assist us to understand how

capitals are circulated, reinvested and reconnected. In the first round of analysis, the data was mapped into twelve overlapping codes: career (testing the boundaries, positioning, relational, contributions); bestowed; community; networks/networking (social forms / professional); agency and mutuality; possibility thinking ('what if' / heart / centre of all creativities); inspirational (models / mentors); workplace preparedness; expert / expertise (as purposeful engagement in practices); collaboration; practice (professional autonomy, intentionality, engagements); and professional identity. The forms of capital are summarised in Table 1.

**Table 1: Forms of capital and their characteristics summarised**

<b>Capital</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>
Economic	Financial assets, income, money (Bourdieu, 1986)
Professional	A function of the 'interactive, multiplicative combination' of human capital, social capital, decisional capital' (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2013, p. 39) which can be increased and decreased through sophisticated interventions
Emotional	Affective dimensions of dispositions involving emotional engagement and familial influences (Nowotny 1981; Reay, 2000, 2004, 2015)
Community-building	Opportunity creation for peer learning, networked forms of obtaining work, and work that is undertaken with others and can be seen as a secondary form of social capital. (Bennet & Burnard, 2015)
Career-positioning	Developing knowledge, self and market (Bennet & Burnard, 2015) A secondary form of cultural capital.
Inspiration-forming	Involving role models, inspirational figures and supporters: significant others who have played a role in creative and business choices (Bennet & Burnard, 2015). A secondary form of social capital.
Bestowed gift-giving	Things which are "given away" in forms such as mentorship, pro bono work and shared knowledge
Social	Involving networks of human connections
Cultural	<i>Embodied</i> through physical and psychological states; <i>institutionalised</i> through social and cultural recognition such as degrees or other marks of success; and <i>objectified</i> by means of external goods such as books or the media

Symbolic	Prestige, reputation (Bourdieu, 1979/1984; Bourdieu, 1986)
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### *Introducing the participants and sampling criteria*

The choice of these two participants from the rest of the cohort was made according to how both participants gravitated towards sound and interdisciplinary arts rather than specifically/simply musicians and that their working and non-working lives of both women are conflated.

In terms of creative labour in practice, both women work as sonic artists and sound scientists across a number of sectors of the creative industries considered to be male dominated. Both women are white, from privileged/upper middle-class backgrounds, where, arguably, they have chosen their own identity markers and are agentic in the formation of many dispositions in their own habitus. Both are respected and recognized creatives who are endorsed by other creatives and organisations/institutions in their fields. Both hold distinctive social positions that shape their given fields. As we present the two case studies, it is clear that both women engage with diverse creativities (practice principles and forms of authorship) that were evidenced in their practice and project agendas with international communities and networks. Throughout the chapter, capital and field are employed in conjunction with habitus to shape decision-making and action in creating sociologically grounded career trajectories. Furthermore, both exercise considerable discretion as to how they endeavor to meet work targets and invest a considerable amount of control over the content and quality as well as the organization of their work (which may easily result in approximately 60 working hours per week).

With a degree in Electronics and a PhD in Physics from Cambridge University, Kate Stone, a sound scientist, founded the award-winning lab ‘Novalia’; a technology company which features

patented interactive print to explore the space where traditional print and conventional electronics converge. Novalia brands itself as being ‘experiential’: creating immersive, playable experiences connecting brands to audiences around the world; and ‘social’: achieving hundreds of thousands of hits shared by adding touch, connectivity and data to surfaces / print. Born in South Africa, Mira Calix, a sonic artist, is a ‘self-taught’ award winning artist, composer and performer involved in collaborations with video artists, visual artists, poets, composers, film makers and museum curators. Although Calix’s earlier music is specialised in mixing her vocals with beats and experimental electronic textures and natural sounds, since the 2000s she has incorporated classical instrumentation and digital audio music technology, creating a unique soundworld. She has extensive funding from the British Council.

Table 2 features the multiple projects, artistic and innovative activities and the extent of cross-sectorial networking that fuel opportunity creation and nurture the diverse creativities (such as collaborative, intercultural, interdisciplinary, digital and performance creativity) which can counter the pressures towards conformity arising from residing in one field; and, so, ‘being much more than just a musician’. (See Appendix 1 for a summarized configuration of creative work across sectors for Kate Stone and Mira Calix)

### **Introducing the Case Studies**

In presenting the case studies, we draw on ethnographic field notes and data from semi-structured interviews to capture the phenomenological accounts, descriptions and reflections on lived experience (Smith et al, 2009) of each of these creative workers. Our focus is on how their capitals are understood, translated and accumulated.

### *Case Study 1 – Mira Calix*

Mira Calix is a British-based musician, DJ, composer, and sonic artist known for mixing her intimate vocals with jittering beats and experimental electronic textures and natural sounds including live insects. She has incorporated orchestration and live classical instruments in her performances and recorded work. Although her earlier music is almost exclusively electronic music, Calix is suspicious of the labels of ‘artist’ or ‘musician’ and sees herself as a ‘self-taught’ sound artist and as an ‘environment builder’. She works across mediums (music, video, paper hanging) where the art “lives in space and it moves in time”. Integral to how the ‘practices’ are used to generate capital – and which capitals – Calix has a clear conception of her creative inspiration and process as one of Do It Yourself (DIY) and ‘problem-solving’.

So my rule is [professional capital] if you come to me with a proposal, and I know how to do it, that’s ...because if I understand how to do it that means it is not just very interesting, because it means I’ve done it. It was easily solvable. If it is really scary and I haven’t got a clue how to do it, then it is intriguing. So like those are my basic rules, it might sound a bit weird, but I think I only feel like that because I like risk and I like to be scared evidently...[emotional capital] but I always say my work is 49% problem solving and 51% the thing that has no possible wording. Like there’s no words to describe the 51%, but 49% of what I do is problem solving. I just like problems... I like problem solving and that’s what being an artist is to me [cultural capital].

According to Calix, in terms of professional capital, she began as a solo artist though she was always aligned closely with networks which allowed her to see the wider music ecology. She discusses about how, even when she toured, she was ‘making all the work on my own’ and it was only when she was commissioned to do things that she began to alter her perspective on collaboration as a site of capital accumulation. Over time, though, she came to see the importance of social/professional capital in relation to her music creation.

So you will see the same people over and over and vice versa so... it is highly collaborative what they do and also...[social capital] If I trust someone and they are brilliant, two key factors, they have to be brilliant, on time and trustworthy [inspiration forming capital]. Trustworthy in the sense of being committed to the work. Then, of course, those things go on forever and my whole... there is no distinction between my personal life and my work life it is all one thing...And the people I work with become my friends and vice versa... [emotional capital] So the network is imperative...

Furthermore, working in her networks, Calix sees these networks as extending her as a sound artist. Where she was accomplished as an individual, she now sees what she can accomplish in terms of collective competences and collaboration. This is reminiscent of Reay's (2000) work on emotional capital, where Calix views her work as not necessarily something that can be increased or exchanged; instead she emphasizes how it is interwoven with interpersonal relationships and personal wellbeing (p. 580) and is "context and resource constrained" (p. 581), *tied closely to human connections made within the field*. In reference to an individual she met through her networks, Calix describes how she is attuned to the possible professional capital (the skill set) which she sees as potentially useful.

So people come into the circle [community building capital]and at some point maybe I will end up working with her, because she has a very specific skill set and I may need that skill set [bestowed-giftgiving capital]. And then we now know each other... as I said actually not that well on the job, on that job, but we've... developed some... So the circle grows and grows because good people bring in good people who bring in good people [career-positioning capital], and you just try and get rid of the chaff so to speak.

At this point Calix demonstrates her 'feel for the game' or 'strategic orientation to the game' where she sees the value of the other players in relation to her own value (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 99). We assume she would, therefore, play the game depending on both her own sense of capital and the changing field or, in this case, what particular project she is working on. .



While she has had both positive and negative experiences working in the creative industries, the negative experiences do not seem to have become ‘sedimented’ in her habitus (Reay, 2015, p. 12).

### *Case Study 2 – Kate Stone*

Kate Stone came to the University of Cambridge to do a PhD in physics and micro-electronics and has established an award-winning start-up company called ‘Novalia’ which makes anything printed interactive, giving printed materials a 21<sup>st</sup> century user experience. She is now a visiting scholar at NYU’s music education group and continuing to shake up the world of digital music making with her own successful start-up company. While her background is in the sciences, she continues to innovate creating immersive tactile and playable experiences with interactive paper using a Bluetooth platform which captures sound data through touch, connectivity and data to surfaces (see a set of DJ decks and paper drumkits demonstrated onstage [https://youtu.be/y9wzax\\_Ptio](https://youtu.be/y9wzax_Ptio)). While Stone does not describe herself as an artist, her work is artistic; she says: “What I’m trying to achieve is creative experience... [and]... to create experiences for people.”

Integral to understanding the ‘practices’ used to generate capital and which capitals are valued in accordance with the logic of the field, Stone has a clear conception of her creative inspiration and process, describing herself as ‘curious’ and interested in the ‘what if sort of possibilities’ – where “You don’t necessarily need a goal, I mean you just need to feel the flow, which is just taking you.” Stone speaks openly about her penchant for working against the system and, in her view, the system has the potential to stifle creativity, “Like I can’t be creative, you’ve got this

silly system in my way.” Stone gives expression to an awareness of an existing hierarchy, one in which her capitals accumulate accordingly.

It was probably like nine years ago, or so, when the business [Novalia] was just me. And I was much more in science mode. I was developing technology to print transistors. I was still stuck in this sort of printed electronics; engineering; science-y mode, where developing technology was about the engineering... there's a huge amount of science required in engineering to make this happen [professional capital]. And that was what Novalia was about. It was about how to print these transistors. And how to print display effects, and how to print batteries, and how to bring all that together... I took that vision along to a company that makes children's trading cards. And I showed them the beginnings of what I was trying to make, saying, 'Oh, this is a technology that's going to totally transform electronics, and we'll be able to have these transistors and circuits just printed within card, and displays will change, and touch this and this will happen'. And it was funded by a government grant, and stuff like that. And the requirements of a government grant [economic capital] are that you're developing stuff that's going to come to fruition in five to seven years...that was like me in my lab coat in my garage, that I'd turned into a clean room, it was like my moment as a scientist [social capital]... [which] is a big kick back from where I'd got to, of being a Cambridge PhD, all these resources, all this cleverness [symbolic capital], to being back on the sheep farm [cultural capital]. Got a problem to solve, you've got stuff around you, you either solve it from the stuff around you or you die. [emotional capital]

Stone's perception of social capital and social networks is tied to her strong drive favouring inclusivity of practices. In a perfect demonstration of Bourdieu's theory of practice, her social position as an individual is influenced not simply by accumulating economic capital but also by other forms of capital and the association between practices/dispositions as well as volume/composition of capital.

... I kind of have a vision, a few visions, of things that I could help create that would make a difference or generally be useful for people [inspiration forming]. And I'm very aware that I can't do that alone, and I need to attract a team of people around me to achieve these things [social capital]. And that means that everything we do, as well as fulfilling and exploring the goals to create something that makes a difference for people [career positioning], as well as doing that we have to be very aware that we also hunt and

gather to collect resources [economic capital], to sustain us on our journey [community building].

Here we see Stone's attention to the value of collective competences and collaborative practice. So, where Bourdieu defines 'social capital' as the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network, this is the type of capital integral to the networking in the creative industries and why social networks are important to industry recognition of creative individuals' work in creative production. Similar to Calix, for Stone, the process of creation is less about the accrual of social capital to protect a sense of status and more tied to the ultimate goal of creating experience through collectively realized skills. She values her professional autonomy, and her intentionality, but is clear that her engagements with the professional community are essential to her work as an artist and creator.

Working implicitly with emotional capital, we see how – for Stone – her words are reminiscent of deep feelings, tied to her creativity, which she feels powerfully and describes as 'forces'. These forces, according to her, are what guide her and attract her to work. With her many prominent public engagements (see TED Talks, Vimeo and YouTube inspirational talk appearances given her a 'celeb' status) there is a calculative balance between investment and return which means organizing private life in a way that enables flexibility in terms of time and mobility. According to Stone, navigating boundaryless careers is less about explicit self-marketing of her company 'Novalia' and more about professional capital and strategic investment in her stock of social capital (Bourdieu, 1984) which fosters new commissions. The value Stone places on public engagement as part of her work practice (as a professional capital resource generator) sheds some light on the economic logic that links work creation

opportunities, human, social and decisional resource management practices and the importance of translating and accumulating **professional capital**:

I think the reason why I don't spend the whole time when I'm on stage speaking at public engagements, saying the name of my company [Novalia}, and promoting what we do, is I'm just thinking beyond that moment. So I have a lot of sayings, and one of them is: *Thinking big is thinking bigger picture. And thinking great is thinking greater good.* And we need to go beyond thinking big, and we need to go beyond thinking great (**professional capital**). Just think way beyond that [**career positioning**]. And yeah, I could have promoted, and pushed the name of my company in a YouTube video of me talking to a bunch of teenage girls that came together by NASA... But if I've inspired this room of kids to do something amazing with their lives [**bestowed-gift giving**], there's a chance that that could come back for me big style, like people at NASA remember me [**inspiration forming capital**]. I mean they emailed yesterday asking if we'd help them write one of their space apps challenges based around our tech... Same day I got another email saying, 'We have this event in New York City about powerful women', or something, 'And we want you to be on the panel' [**community building capital**]. It's like that... it's just not what... it's not why I did it. But those are the little things that happen. And those little things may and more often turn into other things [**interactive, multiplicative professional capital**].

In her narrative, we see the hallmarks of Reay's (2015) later theorizations of emotional capital which highlight the affective dimension and resilience. Stone sees her work as a site of human and social justice, especially as it manifests itself as the wellspring of inventiveness and originality fueling her creative work.

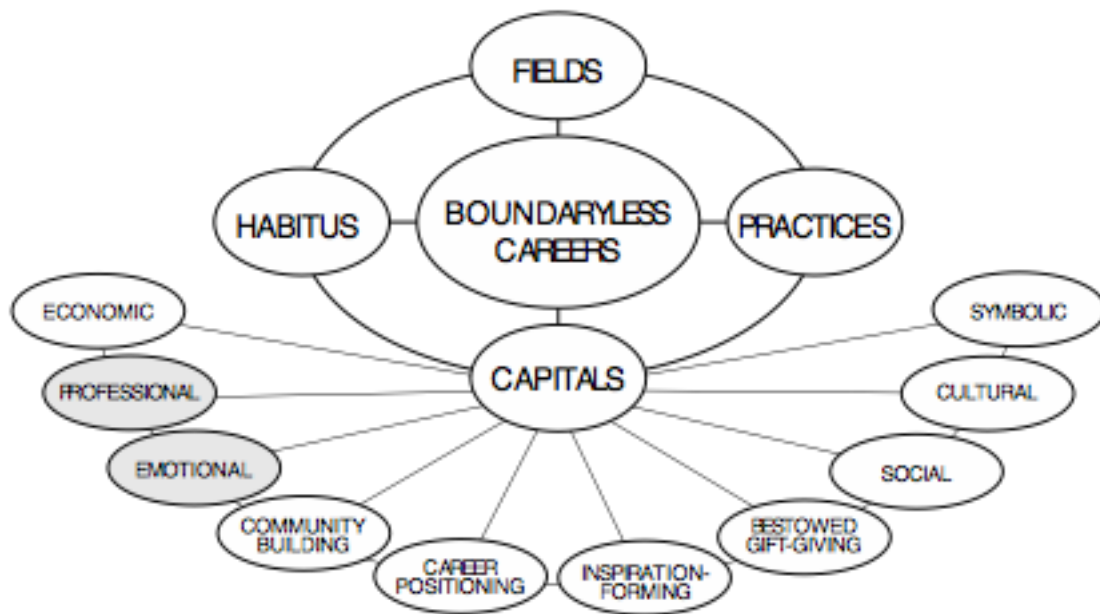
I kind of have a vision, a few visions, of things that I could help create that would make a difference or generally be useful for and valued by people [**symbolic capital**]. And I'm very aware that I can't do that alone, and I need to attract a team of people around me to achieve these things. And that means that everything we do, as well as fulfilling and exploring the goals to create something that makes a difference for people, as well as doing that we have to be very aware that we also hunt and gather to collect resources, to sustain us on our journey. And that kind of defines everything that I do [**emotional capital**]. There's those two things, which is a challenge for me, is that I have to keep gas in the tank, and I also have to keep reading the map, and be mindful of where we're going. And often those two are at odds. But that defines what I do [**emotional capital**]. And yeah, if an entrepreneur is someone who has a vision of a journey they want to go

on, and reads the map, and keeps finding ways to put gas in the tank, then I guess that's what I am.

## **Discussion**

We know that a Bourdieusian approach to capital involves the superior knowledge, skills, dispositions, and qualifications which compose cultural capital, all of which are believed to have exchange value where they can be converted to economic and symbolic capitals. For Bourdieu, the conceptual tool of habitus, is useful to explain the actions and decisions of people, understands, uses, and accumulates capital(s) – inherent in and across fields. Furthermore, depending on how the habitus understands the capitals it has been dealt, it can often exert influence and foster improved access to better jobs, income, and status. This chapter broadens a Bourdieusian approach to capital to explore two creative workers who have navigated boundaryless careers. In drawing upon Bourdieu's theory of capital, and two conceptual expansions, we see the diversity of capitals these women operationalize in forging their career paths. Drawing on the words of Stone and Calix, we see how mobilising emotional and professional capital allows them to circulate, reinvest and connect across sectors. In investigating these two creative workers, we focus on: (i) how and why investment in one's capitals becomes a key attribute for these women; (ii) the ways in which the development of emotional and professional capitals are tied to the field of team-based creative industries; and (iii) how they accumulate and operationalise emotional and professional capitals in the navigation of boundaryless careers.

In understand how emotional and professional capital exist relationally to other forms of capital, we now introduce Figure 1:



Or

My other version?

**Figure 1: A framework for theorising an accumulated array of capitals at work in boundaryless careers**

(i) how and why investment in one's capitals becomes a key attribute for these women;

In terms of how we understand investment in their capitals, it would appear Calix and Stone's conceptions of capital, closely aligned with their intersecting and generative creativities, were, instead, tied to a complex negotiation of both 'bucking the system' while very much 'playing the game' while also keeping some distance from institutional creative entrenchment. So, while the types of capital are important, either in or across fields and/or possessed by them, we argue it is

emotional and professional capital working in tandem which allow Calix and Stone, to build sustainable, boundaryless careers in music. Such career paths involve a coming together of emotional and professional capitals which enable a fertile arena for stimulating productive interdisciplinary collaborations that play a role in accumulating capitals in the (re-) combination of existing and innovative ideas, materials and practices in new ways.

Within the creative industries professional relationships can be tenuous, flexible and short-term and are more often facilitated by strategic contact with key individuals – a process which involves mobilizing capitals as imperative. Capital works to facilitate opportunity creation, and encourage breaking away from the field's normative constraints by moving out into and linking across sectors of the creative industries. Individuals in the creative industries not only share ideas but collaborate on specific projects; furthermore their interaction on such projects work to both generate and accumulate capitals which, in turn, becomes a critical condition for opportunity creation in boundaryless careers across the creative industries.

In terms of gender and labor, Reay (2004) highlights how women often bear the brunt of the emotional labour and, therefore, have emotional capital due to “adverse conditions” (p. 60). In focusing on how women operationalise capitals in the creative industries, we draw attention to the importance of the gendered experience and its relationship to both emotional capital and professional capital. While Calix and Stone appeared to be adept at accruing and negotiating professional and social capital and, therefore, making the field work for them, there is something deeper going on here in terms of the costs associated with emotional capital.

(ii) the ways in which the development of emotional and professional capitals are tied to the field of team-based creative industries; and

For Bourdieu, field is a particular social space that involves a network or configuration of push and pull relations, of struggles and tensions. On one level, the notion of boundaryless-ness careers these women navigate challenges rigid notions of field, however, the data would suggest this is not always the case. This raises interesting questions when one considers how field structures the habitus, while at the same time the habitus, in turn, structures the field. In terms of making a contribution to the production of creative work in music (and several other sectors in the creative industries), the notion of boundaryless-ness foregrounds the importance of being able to adeptly mobilise emotional and professional capitals which becomes an integral part of navigating the creative industries. Furthermore, emotional (trust, creative inspiration) and professional capital (collective, strategic) capital, always working in tandem, clearly plays a role in the tension between conformity to working in one sector (e.g. the music industry) and deviation across sectors (e.g. diverse configurations across sectors that include art, design, creative technologies, film, theatre and start-up businesses).

Outlining how power, perspectives and relationships are interconnected, we glimpse the conditions of possibility for capital accumulation and exchange. The conceptual expansions allow us to see how emotional and professional capitals work in tandem, influencing each other where there is less attention to a high stakes game and a less ego-driven approach to their work as sound artists or IT (creative tech) professionals. These two female creatives do not appear to



want to dominate these creative industries where men already dominate; instead they take great care to work largely outside these industries where they believe they can maintain power over the creative process. Professional capital, theorized here as social capital, for both women, appears for the most part flexible, navigated with a focus on strategic marshalling of resources for a particular creative output. This is in contrast to what Friedman, O'Brien, Laurison (2017) document where success for actors in UK cultural and creative industries (CCIs) was "heavily contingent on the economic, cultural and social capital at their disposal" (p. 1006).

(iii) how they accumulate and operationalise emotional and professional capitals in the navigation of boundaryless careers.

In reference to different approaches to emotional capital (Nowotny, 1981; Reay 2004, 2015; Zembylas, 2007), our theorizing centres on the relationship between emotional capital and trust as a source of inspiration for these women. These two case studies suggest that emotional capital is not necessarily tied to historically situated mechanisms in certain "affective economies" (Ahmed, 2004; Zembylas, 2007) and more tied to these women creative's ability to feel inspired, to explore diverse configurations of interdisciplinary collaborations as the habitus adapts to the challenges of the project – operationalizing the capitals accordingly – to bring the project to fruition. Furthermore, this adaptation – and their independence – almost appears to have nourishing elements, bolstering their sense of themselves as sonic artists and sound scientists who generatively accumulate and graft multiple forms and configurations of capital that signify the focal point of opportunity creation in the amplification of global musical identities in a contemporary society.

## **Conclusion**

This research explores the dynamic structure of the creative industries, the role of capitals, and in turn, the ways in which two sonic artists both develop and undertake a boundaryless career which are creatively sustainable. Based on the experiences of Calix and Stone, it seems like possessing emotional capital and professional capital allow them to transverse many fields relatively fluidly. However, drawing on Reay, we question the cost of the emotional capital being operationalised? Is there not a calculative balance made between investment and return, time and mobility as a means to raising professional capital and the accumulation of emotional capital?

Therefore, it is vital to gain a deeper understanding of how all of the capitals outlined above, but particularly emotional and professional capital, can be further developed/accumulated/generated in order to support artists through the ongoing challenge of careers in the creative industries. For example, we know very little about the capitals valued by the men who still largely control these industries. In considering how emotional and professional capital may work in tandem, we suggest for these two creatives that the prominence of public engagements, commissions, inspirational talk appearances gives them a ‘celeb’ status. In achieving and maintaining their career success, arguably, it involve what Bennett and Burnard (2015) have documented as the need for “multiple human capital career creativities.” Theorizing capitals (resources) inscribed in and acting as, a mode of incorporated knowledge (usually tacit) and reflecting ‘primary experience of the social world’ (Bourdieu, 2004, p.3), such a mobilization of capitals works as a

way of circulating, reinvesting and connecting one's practice/s. Equally important, we believe further research in this area, and the under-representation of women creatives and musicians from working-class and/or black and minority ethnic backgrounds, and vertical segregation (referring to the over or under-representation of particular groups in positions of power) as well as horizontal segregation (relation to the concentration of particular groups in specific sectors of the creative industries) which will enrich the theoretical foundations of capital theory and open up new career opportunities for graduates, especially in music, to enter many and varied careers.

**Appendix 1: Summarised configuration of creative work across sectors for Kate Stone and Mira Calix**

<b>Kate Stone</b>	<b>Creative Industries Sector</b>	<b>Fields /Activity</b>	<b>Collaborations/Communities</b>
	Music (making/creating)	Sound/sonic production	Education; Visiting scholar New York Universities music education group
	‘Start up’ Inventor	Public engagements	NASA invited talks TED Talks The Trigger (SXSW) <a href="https://youtu.be/FC4zXgALaW4">https://youtu.be/FC4zXgALaW4</a>
	Performing arts, Music,	DJ decks made of paper	Individual users and user communities which transcend industry boundaries
	Film & Video	Public engagement	TED Talks <a href="https://youtu.be/y9wzax_PtIo">https://youtu.be/y9wzax_PtIo</a>
	Start-up	Enterprise and entrepreneurship	Novalia brings technological innovation underscored by the accessibility of user-friendly and affordable printed surfaces <a href="https://youtu.be/qppa7lKmsXo">https://youtu.be/qppa7lKmsXo</a>
	Print/ Publishing/ Visual art	Music Tech Performance	From postcard to bus shelter size, Novalia prints interactive sound technology using beautiful tactile printed touch sensors to connect people, places and objects Ideas Series 2016 <a href="https://youtu.be/Dw3XaOZO-yU">https://youtu.be/Dw3XaOZO-yU</a>
	Design	Business	Novalia, her own start-up company which blends science with design to create experiences indistinguishable from magic
	Science	Digitisation	Novalia blends science with design to create novel sound experiences
<b>Mira Calix</b>	Music (Electronic and Classical)	Recording contracts	Signed to Record label Warp Involving collaborations with many ‘interesting and knowledgeable people’ Boiler Room London DJ Set <a href="https://youtu.be/IWvAdVkBIZa">https://youtu.be/IWvAdVkBIZa</a>

	Performing and media arts	Sonic arts performance DJing	Working with visual artists, dancers and musicians and many others from many other disciplines to create the production of creative artefacts/music for dance, theatre, film, opera and installations by means of technological and new ways that make them marketable to a global audience Songs DJing: Boiler Room London <a href="https://youtu.be/IWvAdVkBIzA">https://youtu.be/IWvAdVkBIzA</a>
	Museums and art galleries	Cultural enterprise and Community arts work	The making of 'Moving Museum 35' on a public bus which offered a participatory space where sonic canvases were exhibited in motion; a collaboration with Nanjing University of the Arts, China and the AMNUA Museum– seen as an important determinant of new knowledge formation, alongside the technological production and innovation of the region's cultural heritage <a href="https://vimeo.com/152918647">https://vimeo.com/152918647</a> <a href="https://vimeo.com/160632815">https://vimeo.com/160632815</a>
	Creative technology	Digitisation Enterprise	Collaborations with technology-centric people working in highly specialised areas <a href="http://www.miracalix.com/">http://www.miracalix.com/</a> <a href="https://miracalixportal.bleepstores.com/">https://miracalixportal.bleepstores.com/</a>

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