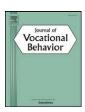
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Journal of Vocational Behavior

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/jvb



Career trajectories of Dutch pop musicians: A longitudinal study

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ARTICLE INFO

Article history: Received 29 October 2009 Available online 13 April 2010

Keywords:
Boundaryless career theory
Social support
Professional attitude
Professional network
Career development
Longitudinal
Pop musicians
The Netherlands

ABSTRACT

Systematic studies of artistic careers are scarce and this is the first large-scale study on the career development of pop musicians. Using a prospective longitudinal approach we followed a sample of aspiring pop musicians in the Netherlands (N=369) over a three-year period. First we identified four groups of pop musicians with different career patterns, that is, upward careers, downward careers, stable successful careers and stable unsuccessful careers. By means of a multigroup growth mixture model we examined how career success was influenced by social support, professional attitude and professional network. Results showed that successful pop musicians experience more social support, have a stronger professional attitude and a more extensive professional network. Moreover, our study shows that these findings were consistent both between and within the different career pattern groups.

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Introduction

In the field of career studies, a new paradigm with regard to the study and conceptualization of careers has emerged, most commonly referred to as 'boundaryless career theory'. Within this new theoretical paradigm it has been theorized that, as a result of societal changes, there has been a shift from traditional career models, that conceptualised careers as linear trajectories within a single organization, to a new career model: the 'boundaryless career' (Arthur, Khapova, & Wilderom, 2005; Cheramie, Sturman, & Walsh, 2007; Eby, Butts, & Lockwood, 2003; Sullivan & Arthur, 2006). This theoretical concept, first introduced by Arthur and Rousseau (1996), refers to the notion that many professionals are no longer tied to one organization throughout their careers, but rather seek to manage their own career paths. Furthermore, boundaryless career theory emphasizes increased physical and psychological mobility, unpredictability of careers, and the psychological importance of success (Arthur, Inkson, & Pringle, 1999; Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Cheramie et al., 2007; Sullivan & Arthur, 2006).

In an empirical approach to the boundaryless career, three categories of career competencies that play a major role in the development of such boundaryless careers are distinguished (see for example: DeFillipi & Arthur, 1996). These include: 1) 'Knowing why' competencies that relate to the individual's career motivation, personal meaning of work and career identification, 2) 'Knowing how' competencies including career-relevant skills and job-related knowledge, and 3) 'Knowing whom' competencies that refer to career-related networks and contacts. It is hypothesized that all three categories of competencies are positively related to career outcomes (DeFillipi & Arthur, 1996; Eby et al., 2003; Sullivan & Arthur, 2006).

Although much has been written on the boundaryless career, there is still insufficient empirical research on the factors that are important for career success within the boundaryless career (Cheramie et al., 2007; Eby et al., 2003). Furthermore, as most studies are still cross-sectional, there is a need for longitudinal research on career trajectories (Arthur et al., 2005; Sullivan, 1999). In the present study we use a prospective longitudinal approach to examine the career development of a group of aspiring pop musicians in the

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Netherlands. We will analyze how their career patterns are influenced by three predictor variables: social support, professional attitude, and professional network.

Creative workers and boundaryless careers

One of the antecedents of boundaryless careers is the increasing economic impact of creative workers in most Western societies. This occupational category consists of people whose economic function is to create new ideas and new technology, and includes people from such diverse fields as science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment. Richard Florida uses the term 'creative class' to identify this group, as opposed to the 'working class' of the industrial society, and the 'service class' of the postindustrial society. Throughout his work, he emphasizes the influential and crucial role of this creative class for the economic growth of cities, regions, and countries and how these can gain economic advantages by attracting and nourishing creative talent (Florida, 2004, 2005, 2006).

Although his theory is not undisputed, empirical research in several countries has shown that the creative sector is indeed becoming increasingly important. For example, in the United Kingdom the creative industries are growing at more than twice the rate of other economic sectors (Missingham, 2006). Similarly in the Netherlands, the number of jobs in the creative sector has increased 34% between 1996 and 2004 (Raes & Hofstede, 2005, p.10). It is therefore surprising to note how little empirical attention has been given to the career development and career success of creative professions.

The growing importance of the creative workforce also leads to changes in the meaning and structure of work, leisure, and everyday life (Florida, 2004, 2006). It is exactly these changes, such as the employment context and the restructuring of organizations, that are discussed and theorized within the new paradigm of boundaryless career (e.g., Arthur et al., 1999; Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Cheramie et al., 2007; Sullivan & Arthur, 2006).

Both boundaryless career theory and creative class theory give cause for the empirical study of the careers of artists, as they are an important and central group within the creative workforce. First, relating to boundaryless career theory, we argue that artists in general have always experienced high levels of physical and psychological mobility as they are usually not bound to a single organization but often hired on a project basis, leading to high levels of career uncertainty and the necessity of multiple job holding (Gabrielsson, 2003; Janssen, 2001; Kemp, 1996; Menger, 1999). In addition, Menger (2001) points out that the arts can be seen as forerunners in the trend towards increasingly flexible labour markets. In empirical studies this same point is raised, for example by Bielby and Bielby (1999) in their study of careers of Hollywood screenwriters and their contingent labour markets, or by Jones (1996) in her study of project networks within the film industry. Consequently, empirical studies on artistic careers could hold important implications for other types of careers that are 'becoming' boundaryless. Moreover, Sullivan (1999) calls for career scholars to consider other research fields that may provide important insights for investigating boundaryless career patterns. In the present study we will focus on one particular creative profession, that of the popular musician and we will study their career patterns by looking at the development of their career success.

Measuring musicians' career success

It has been noted that success is an evaluative concept and that judgements about success always depend on the perspective of the person who judges (Judge, Cable, Boudreau, & Bretz, 1995). Furthermore, career success is a multi-dimensional concept, meaning that it encompasses several dimensions which influence the evaluation as to whether someone is successful or not. In the career studies literature, career success is often defined in two ways. A distinction is made between subjective career success relating to subjective feelings of success and career satisfaction, and objective career success relating to objectively observable career accomplishments (Judge et al., 1995; Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2005).

Scholars within the field of empirical research on artistic careers have focused on aesthetic success, an additional conceptualisation of career success, and applied criteria indicating the artistic impact of the artist's work. These factors include the amount of attention that artists receive from art critics, their inclusion in reference works, or ratings on aesthetic significance by experts or critics (e.g., Giuffre, 1999; Kozbelt, 2005; Simonton, 1986; van Rees & Vermunt, 1996). This conceptualization of success in artistic professions is usually referred to as reputation. An artist's reputational value can be translated into financial value, and reputation then becomes the foundation of economic success (Becker, 1982; Beckert & Rössel, 2004; Bourdieu, 1996).

In this study our aim is to compare the individual careers of different types of aspiring pop musicians over time. As both subjective success and aesthetic success are based on subjective perceptions of artistic achievements, we argue that these conceptualisations of success are not appropriate to make comparisons between individual careers of pop musicians. We therefore limit our scope to indicators of objective career success. For pop musicians there are three related areas in which the career accomplishments can be objectively observed: media exposure, sales of recordings and live performance (Frith, 1988; Longhurst, 2007; Shuker, 2001; Toynbee, 2000). These three areas also represent the most important sources of income for pop musicians and thus form the basis of their economic success.

Social support, professional attitude, and professional network

A cross-sectional study among pop musicians has shown that among a set of 21 different correlates of career success, social support, professional attitude, and professional network were the strongest predictors of career success (Zwaan, ter Bogt, & Raaijmakers, 2009). We will first elaborate on how these variables are theoretically related to career success.

For this study we defined social support as the amount of emotional support that individuals receive from family, friends and peers in their musical activities. In several studies the different mechanisms in the relationship between social support and career success have been studied social support. For example, social support was found to have a positive overall impact on career optimism (Friedman, Kane, & Cornfield, 1998), it plays an important antecedent role in the reduction of work–family conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Michel, Mitchelson, Pichler, & Cullen, 2009), it reduces absenteeism, depression and anxiety, and it increases resistance to burnout (El-Bassel, Guterman, Bargal, & Su, 1998; Myung-Yong & Harrison, 1998; Olson & Schultz, 1994; Winstead, Derlega, Montgomery, & Pilkingon, 1995). Overall, it was found that social support is positively related to career outcomes (e.g., Feldman & Ng, 2007; Harris, Moritzen, Robitschek, Imhoff, & Lynch, 2001; Ng et al., 2005; Parasuraman, Purohit, Godshalk, & Beutell, 1996). We argue that it is reasonable to assume that social support plays an important role in the career development of pop musicians since artistic careers in general are characterized by high levels of job and career uncertainty (Gabrielsson, 2003; Janssen, 2001; Kemp, 1996; Menger, 1999). Moreover, performance anxiety which leads to job-related stress is common among musicians (Hamann, 1985; Hamann & Sobaje, 1983; Kemp, 1996, 1997; Lehrer, 1987).

Professional attitude was defined as gauging to what extent the respondents saw themselves as professional pop musicians or in other words, how much their music making activities was perceived as the central activity in their professional careers. As such, professional attitude is related to concepts such as Work Centrality or Job Involvement, defined as the degree of importance that working has to the identity of an individual (England & Whitely, 1990) and the psychological importance of work in the person's life (Parasuraman et al., 1996). In earlier studies, Work Centrality and Job Involvement were found to be positively related to career success (e.g., Judge et al., 1995; Ng et al., 2005; e.g., Parasuraman et al., 1996).

In several studies on individual career success it was found that the amount of network relationships, or social capital, is positively related to career success (e.g., Bozionelos, 2008; Ng et al., 2005; Tharenou, 1997). Often social capital is operationalized as informal networks within or outside the organization. However, for pop musicians their network takes a different shape, as this occupational group is largely dependent on several intermediary agents for the realization of their career accomplishments. These intermediaries include: persons working at record companies, radio stations and other media personnel, music publishers, booking agents, artist managers, and music journalists. As such, the professional networks of pop musicians show strong resemblance to the project networks in the film industry as described by Jones (1996). For these kinds of occupational groups social networks are important as knowing 'the right people' might lead to career opportunities and career advancement. A study among Artist and Repertoire (A&R) managers working in the music industry showed that investing in a professional network is indeed an important requirement for pop musicians to become successful (Zwaan & ter Bogt, 2009). Menger (2001) also emphasizes the need for artists in general to invest in networking activities. Finally, the importance of network relationships, or in other words having an extensive professional network, is emphasized in studies on the boundaryless career (de Janasz & Forret, 2008; Sullivan, 1999). In these studies it is argued that in the era of the boundaryless career, individuals frequently make career moves and maintaining a good network is seen as crucial to career success.

Within the empirical approach to boundaryless career theory discussed above, it is argued that three kinds of career compentencies play a central role in the development of career outcomes, including 'knowing why' competencies, 'knowing how' competencies, and 'knowing whom' competencies. When applied to our study, professional attitude can be grouped in the 'knowing why' category, since having a strong professional attitude also refers to reasons why pop musicians are engaging in activities related to music as they are trying to establish a professional career. Both social support and professional network can be grouped in the 'knowing whom' category as social support refers to the pop musician's informal network of friends and family whereas professional network relates to the more formal and job-related network of colleagues and music industry professionals. For several reasons we did not incorporate the 'knowing how' category within our study. The most important reasons being that there are no clear-cut methods on how to measure musical talent and, in addition, that different subgenres within popular music may require different musical skills.

Studying career success with a longitudinal model

A career, and as a result career success, by definition develops over time (Arthur, Hall, & Lawrence, 1989). The most obvious method for social scientists to study development over time is to carry out a longitudinal analysis. Previous research on either career success or artistic career development can be placed in one of two types of longitudinal studies: 1) studies in which the predictor variables were measured at the initial measurement and related to the dependent variable, in this case career success, measured at a later stage of the respondent's career and 2) studies that are based on retrospective data.

The first type of longitudinal study is often applied in career studies. Examples include studies on the influence of proactive personality on career success over a two year period (Seibert, Kraimer, & Crant, 2001); motivation and general cognitive ability on career success three to four years later (O'Reilly & Chatman, 1994); level of self-esteem during university years on career success ten years after graduation (Salmela-Aro & Nurmi, 2007); and the Big Five personality dimensions on career success in later stages of adulthood (Judge, Higgins, Thoresen, & Barrick, 1999; Soldz & Vaillant, 1999). These studies, however, are not truly longitudinal, at least not in the sense that they longitudinally track the development of career success by measuring career success at several moments in time.

The second type of longitudinal study is often applied in studies that focus on artistic careers. Examples include Coulangeon, Ravet and Roharik (2005) who studied the gender differences in professional trajectories of French performing musicians, actors and dancers; Ekelund and Börjesson (2002) who studied the publishing careers of US literary writers; Bielby and Bielby (1999) who studied the employment and earning trajectories of US film and television writers; Giuffre (1999) who studied the development of

the reputation of American fine art photographers; or Van Rees and Vermunt (1996) who studied the development of the reputation of Dutch literary authors.

Because these studies are retrospective in nature they can only include relatively successful artists, that is, those who were in fact able to establish a professional career. As Getzels and Csikszentmihalyi (1976, p.161) note: "it is impossible to compare retrospectively those who achieve success with those who do not." Likewise, Menger (2001, p. 245) observes: "Ideally, one should follow true cohorts of artists through longitudinal surveys to get reliable and valuable information".

The present study is the first to our knowledge that takes on such an approach to systematically study the careers of a specific group of artists, that is, pop musicians, a group typically characterized by having boundaryless careers. We have followed a sample of pop musicians during three years, making this study truly longitudinal in nature, in order to find out how social support, professional attitude and professional network are related to the development of career success measured at three subsequent year intervals.

Method

Participants and procedure

Respondents were initially approached in collaboration with a number of organizations in the Dutch pop music field that either provided us with names and addresses or sent out a call through their mailing list or website. These included three national organizations: the pop musician's labour union FNV-KIEM BV Pop; the Dutch Pop and Rock Institute (Nationaal Pop Instituut)¹; and the Grand Prize of the Netherlands (Grote Prijs van Nederland).² In addition, four regional pop organizations (GRAP, Amsterdam; PopUnie, Zuid-Holland; BRAM/BrabantPop, Noord-Brabant; and Groverpop, Groningen) assisted in the approach to respondents. These organizations represent two areas within the Randstad, the urbanized centre of the Netherlands, which includes the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague, and two areas outside of the Randstad (the provinces of Groningen and Noord-Brabant). Lastly, we approached students from the Rock Academy in Tilburg, which is the first professional education institute for pop musicians in the Netherlands.

The primary objective was to include individual pop musicians who could be described as individuals with an aspiration to become professional pop musicians. The sample covers pop musicians from a broad range of backgrounds, genres, and regions. Age limits were set at 16 and 35 years. The minimum age in the Netherlands to earn money from public performances on a regular basis is 16 years. The upper age limit was set at 35 years since after this age, career mobility for artistic careers rapidly decreases (Menger, 1999). This resulted in a sample of 369 pop musicians, representing a broad range of backgrounds, genres, and regions. For the first measurement the age mean (M) for the sample was 25.1 years (SD=4.7). These participants were approached at three annual time-points, in 2005 (T1), 2006 (T2) and 2007 (T3), during the months September and October coinciding with the annual beginning of the 'cultural season' in the Netherlands. To increase our response rate, we used suggestions described by Dillman, such as pre-notification letters and follow-up messages, which are part of the tailored design method (Dillman, 2000).

Measures

Career success

The dependent variable in this study, *objective career success*, was measured using seven items regarding objectively observable career accomplishments over the past 12 months representing the three dimensions (live performance, media coverage, and sales of recordings) central to career success in pop music. *Performance frequency* measured the average amount of performances within the past 12 months ranging from 1 = once per year to 8 = more than once per week. *Performance frequency on regional/national music festivals* measured the average amount of performances on respectively regional and national music festivals within the past 12 months. *Regional/national radio airplay* measured the average amount of plays of the respondent's music on respectively regional and national radio stations within the past 12 months ranging from 1 = 0 plays to 10 = more than 50 plays. *Regional/national television airplay* measured the average amount of plays of the respondent's music on respectively regional and national TV stations within the past 12 months ranging from 1 = 0 plays to 10 = more than 50 plays. *CD sales* measured the number of CDs sold within the past 12 months ranging from 1 = 0 *CDs sold* to 6 = more than 1000 *CDs sold*.

Principal Component Analysis (PCA) of the standardized item scores resulted in one component (according to the decline in eigenvalues: 3.21, .99, .59 for T1; 3.67, .84, .60 for T2; and 3.26, 1.09, .52 for T3) which explained about 53% (T1), 61% (T2), and 54% (T3) of the total variance, containing the items *performance frequency*, *performance frequency regional festivals*, *performance frequency national festivals*, *regional radio airplay*, *national radio airplay*, and *regional television airplay* with component loadings ranging from .66 to .81 for T1; from .71 to .85 for T2; and from .63 to .81 for T3. Two items, *national television airplay* and *CD sales* did not sufficiently load on this composite variable and were left out of the analysis. On national television channels in general little attention is given to starting pop musicians. Only a few pop musicians within our sample did receive some coverage, but the vast majority of respondents

¹ The Dutch Pop and Rock Institute (Nationaal Pop Instituut) is now part of the Music Centre the Netherlands. This organization promotes Dutch music in the Netherlands and abroad and is funded by the Dutch Ministry of Culture. One of their activities is publishing the monthly magazine FRET which features reviews of demos from unsigned bands.

² The Grand Prize of the Netherlands (Grote Prijs van Nederland) is the biggest national popular music talent competition and consists of four genre divisions, Pop/Rock, Singer/Songwriter, Dance and Hip Hop/R&B.

answered they received no airplay at all on national television. With regard to CD sales we argue there are two further reasons why this item is left out of further analysis. First, for this group of pop musicians selling CDs is not the most important criterion for success. In most cases performing, radio airplay and journalistic attention eventually leads to an increased importance of CD sales; however, most pop musicians within our sample had not (yet) reached this point in their careers. Second, within the record industry in general, CD sales have dropped dramatically over the past five to ten years, making it an unstable indicator of success for any longitudinal study.

On the basis of the PCA results, one composite scale score was computed as the mean value of the six separate scale item values. This score was sufficiently reliable across the three measurements (Cronbach's α : .80 for T1, .83 for T2 and .80 for T3) and did not deviate significantly from normality.

Missing values for the career success variable were replaced by the mean of ten, multiple imputed values. Multiple Imputation (Little & Rubin, 2002) is a model-based approach of the treatment of missing values, which outperforms the traditional treatment of missing values such as deletion or mean replacement procedures (e.g., Acock, 2005). Based on the linear growth model depicted in Fig. 1, we selected in AMOS the built-in Bayesian stochastic regression imputation approach. This resulted in 10 complete data files, with missing values replaced by model imputed values. In subsequent analyses, missing values were replaced by the means of these 10 imputed values.

Predictor variables

The model in this study contains three predictor variables that were measured at T1: social support, professional attitude and professional network. These scales were developed by the authors and the scale items for social support and professional attitude can be found in Appendix A. Social support measures the amount of support from family and friends experienced by the respondents as indicated by four items (Cronbach's α =.82). Professional attitude measures whether subjects perceived themselves as professional pop musicians, this scale consists of three items (Cronbach's α =.69). Professional network was measured using four dichotomous items: whether subjects were represented by a manager, a booking agency, a record company, and/or a music publisher (response categories: 0 = no and 1 = yes). Confirmatory Factor Analysis showed these four items were indicative of the same latent construct. Therefore, the response values of these items were summed to obtain a 5 point scale score, measuring the width of their professional network, with scores ranging from 0 (no professional network) to 4 (complete professional network). Reliability of this scale is .57, as indicated by the Kuder–Richardson Formula 20 (KR-20, the measure of internal consistency reliability for dichotomous measures).

Preliminary analysis

In order to see how the predictor variables were related to the development of career success within our sample, we grouped respondents based on their career patterns. These career patterns were identified using a variable that was computed by subtracting

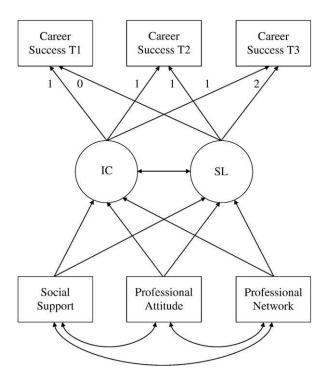


Fig. 1. Growth model.

each respondent's score on career success at T1 from their score on career success at T3. A positive score on the resulting variable indicated that the respondent's career success had increased over time, whereas a negative score was an indication of a decrease in career success over time. Based on this score, four different groups were identified. A first group consisting of pop musicians who had a difference score higher than the mean difference (M=-.07) plus one standard deviation (SD=.57). This group included respondents that had experienced a rise in their career success, therefore, the career pattern of this group was labeled as 'upward careers' (n=41). The second group included pop musicians with a difference score below the mean difference minus one standard deviation. Because the respondents in this group experienced a decline of their career success over time, we labeled the career pattern of this group the 'downward careers' (n=52). The remaining respondents had a difference score between the mean difference minus one standard deviation and the mean difference plus one standard deviation. For these pop musicians their level of career success remained relatively stable over time. Within this group we further distinguished between two groups: 1) respondents who were relatively successful (n=69), representing the top 25 percentile scores on career success within the stable group. This group's career pattern was labeled as 'stable successful careers'. And 2) respondents who were relatively unsuccessful representing the remaining 75 percent of the stable group (n=207) their career pattern was labeled as 'stable unsuccessful careers'.

Strategy of analysis

The influence of the predictor variables, *social support*, *professional attitude*, and *professional network* on the development of career success for these four groups were examined by means of a growth mixture model using the AMOS 16.0 software package (Arbuckle, 2007), which allows for the study of group specific growth trajectories. Fig. 1 shows a graphic representation of this growth model. The top part of Fig. 1 represents the three subsequent measurements of career success indicated with T1, T2, and T3. The development over time is depicted in the middle part of the model, indicated by the intercept and slope (IC and SL in Fig. 1). This model tests a linear trend in the development of success. Therefore, the loadings of the observed success variable at T1, T2 and T3 were fixed at 1 for the intercept factor, and the loadings for the slope were linearly fixed at 0, 1, and 2 for T1, T2 and T3 respectively. The residual variances of the observed variables were allowed to be freely estimated. The values for the intercept and slope were predicted by individual variation on the three independent variables, *social support*, *professional attitude* and *professional network*, shown in the bottom part of Fig. 1. Finally, the correlations between the three predictor variables and the correlation between the residuals of intercept and slope were included in the model and were constrained to be equal across groups.

The fit of the estimated growth model was assessed with the chi-square (χ^2) statistic and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). In addition, we used a fit index that is less sensitive to sample size: the Comparative Fit Index (CFI). For the CFI statistic, values of .90 are acceptable and of .95 or higher are indicative of good fit (Byrne, 2001; Hu & Bentler, 1999). For the RMSEA, values of up to .08 are acceptable and values of .05 indicate good fit (Browne & Cudeck, 1993; Byrne, 2001).

Results

Descriptives

For all of the variables in this study, the means, standard deviations and correlations are displayed in Table 1. As can be seen from this table all of the variables are significantly correlated to all other variables. Most noticeably, the three measurements of objective success are highly and significantly correlated. Additionally, the predictor variables are all significantly and relatively strongly correlated to the three measurements of success. These high intercorrelations justify further analysis of these variables in a longitudinal model.

Development of growth model

In order to keep the complexity of our estimated model as small as possible without losing information, we first tested a series of nested growth models with varying number of freely estimated parameters (i.e., with parameters that are allowed to differ for the groups). We started with a model in which all parameters were fixed (Model 1 in which all of the estimated parameters were constrained to be equal for the four career groups) and throughout Models 2 to 4 we increased the number of freely estimated parameters based on theoretical expectations. Because the groups are defined by differences in career development, we first allowed both intercept and slope means to be freely estimated in Model 2. Second, since we expected to find different means for the predictor

Table 1 Means, standard deviations and correlations of study variables (N=369).

	М	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Objective success T1	.01	.73	-					
2. Objective success T2	03	.68	.79**	-				
3. Objective success T3	06	.63	.65 **	.84**	-			
4. Social support	3.53	.90	.28 **	.28**	.30 **	-		
5. Professional attitude	3.54	.78	.34**	.35 **	.34 **	.21 **	-	
6. Professional network	.82	1.06	.54**	.47**	.42 **	.24**	.30 **	_

^{**} p<.01.

variables for the different groups in our model, these means were allowed to be freely estimated in Model 3. Third, as predictor variables were measured at T1, we expected to find differences in the regression weights from the predictor variables to the intercept. Therefore, these regression paths were allowed to be freely estimated in model 4. Finally, we compared the model fit to a model in which all parameters were freely estimated (Model 5). Table 2 shows the fit indices for these five models, as well as the model comparisons.

Model 1 shows a bad fit to the data, and although including the intercept and slope mean parameters in Model 2 shows a significant increase in fit, this model shows only a marginally acceptable fit. Including the predictor mean parameters in Model 3 also shows a significant increase in fit and leads to a satisfactory model fit. Our final model, Model 4, in which we included the regression paths from the predictor variables to the intercept, shows a significant increase in fit. This final model shows a good fit to the data. Table 2 also shows that Model 4 fits significantly better than Models 1, 2, and 3. Moreover, freeing up any more parameters (Model 5) does not lead to a significant increase in model fit.

Social support, professional attitude and professional network and the development of career success in different career groups

Table 3 displays the estimated model parameters for the four groups in our final model. With respect to the growth parameters (intercept and slope) the analyses shows no unexpected results.

Regarding the intercept mean (see Table 3, first row), the groups with upward careers and stable unsuccessful careers both have a relatively low score on career success at T1 whereas the groups with stable successful and downward careers have a high score on career success at T1. With regard to the intercept mean, the group stable successful differs significantly from the group stable unsuccessful. No other significant differences in intercept mean were found between the groups. These findings indicate that at our first time of measurement we can only distinguish between two groups, i.e., those who are relatively successful and those who are relatively unsuccessful. Both groups appear to be heterogeneous as the successful group contains individuals who are temporarily successful and their success decreases over time, in other words, the pop musicians with downward careers. Likewise, there are individual pop musicians within the unsuccessful group whose success increases over time, that is, the pop musicians with upward careers.

This difference can also be noted when looking at the slope mean values (see Table 3, second row). The four groups all differ significantly on the slope mean value, indicating that their career development is indeed significantly different. Moreover, the slope mean values are in line with the expected career patterns. The group upward careers have a positive slope value and the group downward careers have a negative slope value. The group stable unsuccessful have a slope value that is close to zero, and finally, the group stable successful have a slope value that is also relatively close to zero. However, for this last group, the slope value is slightly negative indicating that remaining successful for three years is rather difficult for this group of pop musicians.

With regard to the means of the predictor variables social support, professional attitude and professional network, we find several significant differences between the groups (see Table 3, third to fifth row). For social support we find that only the group with stable unsuccessful careers differs significantly from the other three groups. Apparently, social support is essential to either be successful or to become successful, as is the case for the other three groups. Furthermore, the group with stable successful careers shows the highest score on social support, which is a further indication for the importance of social support for career success.

Professional attitude shows similar results. The group with stable successful careers has the highest mean on this variable and also differs significantly from all other groups. This indicates that the truly successful pop musicians within our sample have a significantly higher professional attitude. In addition, the group with stable unsuccessful careers has the lowest mean on professional attitude and differs significantly from the group with downward careers. The group with downward careers, who do experience success at T1, does not differ significantly from the group with upward careers. These are further indications that having a professional attitude is connected to being, or becoming, successful.

For professional network we find that the two groups that are relatively successful at T1, the groups with downward careers and with stable successful careers do not differ significantly from each other. Both groups have a significantly higher score on professional network when compared to the other two groups, who are relatively unsuccessful at T1. The group with stable

Table 2 Model fit indices and model comparison statistics, N = 369.

Model	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	CFI	RMSEA	$\Delta \chi^2 \ (\Delta df)$	ΔCFI	ΔRMSEA
1	564.77	67	8.43***	.439	.143	-	-	-
2	163.64	61	2.68***	.884	.068	401.13 (6)***	445	.075
3	72.92	52	1.40*	.976	.033	90.73 (9)***	092	.035
4	51.78	43	1.20	.990	.024	21.14 (9)*	014	.009
5	39.98	34	1.18	.993	.022	11.80 (9)	003	.002

Model 1: all parameters fixed.

Model 2: means intercept and slope freely estimated.

Model 3: means intercept, slope, social support, professional attitude and professional network freely estimated.

Model 4: means intercept, slope, social support, professional attitude, professional network, and all three regression paths from the predictor variables to the intercept freely estimated.

Model 5: all parameters freely estimated. p<.05. *** p<.01.

Table 3 Model estimates.

	Upward (n=41)			Downward	Downward (n = 52) Stable unsu			ccessful (n=207)		Stable successful ($n = 69$)		
	M	SE M	β	М	SE M	β	M	SE M	β	M	SE M	β
IC	-1.04 _{a,b}	.57	_	56 _{a,b}	.49	_	95 _ь ***	.13	_	09 _a	.30	_
SL	.48 _d ***	.05	-	47^{***}_{c}	.05	-	.02,	.04	-	11_{b}^{*}	.05	-
SS	3.75 _b ***	.13	-	3.65b***	.09	-	3.34_{a}^{***}	.07	-	3.86 ^{**} **	.10	-
PA	3.60 _{a,b} ***	.11	-	3.63 _b ***	.09	-	3.38_{a}^{***}	.06	-	3.95°**	.07	-
PN	.66 _a ****	.15	-	1.42 _b ***	.16	-	.47***	.05	-	1.49 _b ***	.15	-
	В	SE B	β	В	SE B	β	В	SE B	β	В	SE B	β
SS→IC	10 _a	.10	15	.21*	.11	.23	.10 _{a,b} ***	.03	.25	.01 _{a.b}	.05	.02
PA→IC	.26**	.13	.31	.04 _a	.11	.04	.06**	.03	.15	17*	.07	.25
PN→IC	.11 _{a,b}	.09	.19	.29 [*] **	.06	.53	$.07^{*}_{a}$.03	.15	.15 [*] **	.03	.47

Note. IC = intercept; SL = slope; SS = social support; PA = professional attitude; PN = professional network. Within rows, means (Ms) or regression weights (Bs) with different subscripts differ significantly at p<.05. *p<.05. ***p<.001.

unsuccessful careers and the group with upward careers do not differ significantly from each other. These results show that professional network is related to being successful at T1.

When we look at the estimated regression weights from the predictor variables on the intercept (see Table 3, last three rows), we find that for the group with upward careers, the only significant regression path is for professional attitude. This indicates that within this group with upward careers, those who have a higher score on professional attitude are more successful at T1, and this effect is relatively strong (B = .26, $\beta = .31$).

For the group with downward careers the results show that the regression weights for social support and professional network are positively and significantly related to the intercept. This suggests that, within this group, pop musicians who experience more social support and who have a broader professional network have a higher score on career success at T1. These effects are relatively strong (B = .21, $\beta = .23$ for social support; and B = .29, $\beta = .53$ for professional network).

Within the group of pop musicians with stable unsuccessful careers we find that all three predictor variables are positively and significantly related to the intercept. This shows that within this group the more successful pop musicians experience more social support, have a more professional attitude and have a broader professional network. However, the effect sizes are relatively small $(B = .10, \beta = .25 \text{ for social support}; B = .06, \beta = .15 \text{ for professional attitude}; and <math>B = .07, \beta = .15 \text{ for professional network})$.

Finally, for the group of pop musicians with stable successful careers, we find that professional attitude and professional network are positively and significantly related to the intercept, but social support is not. These effects are moderate (B=.17, β =.25 for professional attitude; and B=.15, β =.47 for professional network). This indicates that even within this group of successful pop musicians, the pop musicians who have a more professional attitude and who have a broader professional network are even more successful.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to see how social support, professional attitude and professional network were related to the development of career success for groups of pop musicians with different career patterns. For this purpose we distinguished four groups of pop musicians. One group of pop musicians who were relatively successful at T1, but who experienced downward careers. A second group of pop musicians who were relatively unsuccessful at T1 and who experienced upward careers. A third group of pop musicians who were relatively unsuccessful at T1 and who remained unsuccessful over time. And finally, a group of truly successful pop musicians, that is, pop musicians who were relatively successful at T1 and who were able to sustain their rate of success over time. Since all four groups differed significantly on their values for the slope mean, the found career patterns were indeed significantly different.

The results of the growth model further showed that the groups differed significantly on all three predictor variables. Overall, pop musicians with stable successful careers experienced the most social support, had the strongest professional attitude and the best professional network. The pop musicians with stable unsuccessful careers experienced the smallest amount of social support, had the weakest professional attitude, and the smallest professional network. This indicates that social support, professional attitude as well as professional network are all significantly related to the level of career success. We find further support for these relationships when looking at the differences within the four groups. Most strikingly, we found that within the group of pop musicians with upward careers, those with a stronger professional attitude were more successful. Furthermore, within the group of pop musicians with downward careers we found that those with a better professional network were more successful, at least at T1. This indicates that for these pop musicians professional network is linked to initial higher level of success, but having a professional network does not automatically result in success at a later stage in their career. Finally, we found that within the group of pop musicians who were able to remain relatively successful throughout our period of measurement, the more successful pop musicians were characterized by a stronger professional attitude and a better professional network.

With regard to social support, we found that the group with stable successful careers experienced the most social support. When compared to the other three groups, only the group of relatively unsuccessful pop musicians experienced significantly lower levels of social support. Nevertheless, even within this unsuccessful group, we found that those pop musicians who experienced relatively more social support were more successful. Based on this consistent pattern of findings we argue that social support is essential for the career success of pop musicians. In earlier research it has been suggested that this relationship can be explained through the positive effect of social support on career optimism which in turn leads to better career outcomes (Friedman et al., 1998). Other studies have found that social support leads to an increased resistance to burnout (El-Bassel et al., 1998; Myung-Yong & Harrison, 1998). This seems particularly relevant since many scholars have noted that artists in general often experience high levels of job and career uncertainty (Gabrielsson, 2003; Janssen, 2001; Kemp, 1996; Menger, 1999). Additionally, for many musicians performance anxiety can be a serious occupational problem leading to job-related stress (Hamann, 1985; Hamann & Sobaje, 1983; Kemp, 1996, 1997; Lehrer, 1987). Therefore, it seems plausible that the relationship between social support and career success within this study indicates that social support is important for pop musicians for coping with job-related stress.

Regarding professional attitude we found that the group of pop musicians with stable unsuccessful careers had the weakest professional attitude when compared to the other three groups. Furthermore, within the group of pop musicians with upward careers, those with a stronger professional attitude were even more successful. Finally, for pop musicians with stable successful careers, a stronger professional attitude was also positively and significantly related to career success. These results imply that having a professional attitude is crucial for the career success of pop musicians. This finding is consistent with earlier studies in which conceptually related attitudes such as Work Centrality or Job Involvement were found to be positively related to career success (e.g., Judge et al., 1995; Ng et al., 2005; e.g., Parasuraman et al., 1996).

We argue that the relationship between professional attitude and career success can be best explained through the importance of professional attitude for the development of a professional network. In an earlier study it was found that important intermediaries in the record industry indicate that pop musicians should be aware of how the music business works. Pop musicians who lack some basic knowledge of the music industry are less likely to be selected by record companies or other important intermediary agents (Zwaan & ter Bogt, 2009). This suggests that for pop musicians in order to be successful it is necessary to have a professional attitude as well as know the right people to help further their career. Our results indeed show that professional attitude and professional network were significantly correlated. We suggest that in future research the relationship between professional attitude and the development of professional network should be studied in more detail.

Finally, our results concerning professional network showed that, similar to the findings for the other predictor variables, the most successful pop musicians had the best professional network, whereas the group of relatively unsuccessful pop musicians had the smallest professional network. Within the group of pop musicians with stable successful careers, those with a better professional network were more successful. Furthermore, when compared to social support and professional attitude, we find that professional network was most strongly correlated to career success. Based on these findings we argue that the musician's professional network is most central to their career success. For pop musicians, being represented by a manager, booking agency, music publisher or record company directly leads to measurable career improvement. It is through their professional contacts that pop musicians are able to translate their reputational value into financial value (Becker, 1982; Beckert & Rössel, 2004; Bourdieu, 1996). Additionally, their professional network enables pop musicians to get in touch with the right people who can help to increase their career success (Zwaan & ter Bogt, 2009).

The findings in this study are relevant in the light of boundaryless career theory. Several authors have noted that individuals more frequently make career moves and that the increased physical and psychological mobility of individual careers leads to career unpredictability and career uncertainty (Arthur et al., 1999; Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Cheramie et al., 2007; Sullivan & Arthur, 2006). This study shows that the more successful individuals experience higher levels of social support. This indicates that for boundaryless careers, as is the case for pop musicians, experiencing social support is an important perquisite for both psychological well-being as well as economic success. Moreover, having a professional attitude may be necessary to maintain a good network. This professional network is crucial to career success because the pop musicians in this study receive most of their job opportunities through their network. Similar conclusions have been drawn for other types of boundaryless careers in which individuals increasingly have to rely on both their professional network as well as informal social networks (de Janasz & Forret, 2008; Sullivan, 1999).

One possible limitation of our study is that the measurement of the success variable relies solely on the self-report of the respondents and thus this measurement is not truly objective, our choice to use this method was a result of several practical reasons. Most importantly, music industry statistics relating to performance, media attention and sales were either non-existent or not available to the authors. Another important limitation of our study holds that our sample only includes Dutch pop musicians who are mainly focused on the Dutch market and this could have implications for the generalizability of our findings. However, the Dutch market for pre-recorded music is a mature market and is even the 10th largest market in the world regarding sales (IFPI, 2008). Similar to many other local music markets there is a strong focus on Anglophone repertoire from the US and UK and the market is dominated by four multinational major record companies whose combined market share is around 70% (NVPI, 2007, 2008). This hints at the possibility that the situation for Dutch pop musicians is comparable to other countries and that our findings are indeed applicable to generalization. Yet, the Netherlands is a relatively small country and most Dutch pop musicians do not become successful in other countries, which turns the Dutch market into a sort of natural 'career ceiling'. This clearly has implications for the career perspective of Dutch pop musicians, especially when compared to pop musicians from the UK or the US.

In summary, our study shows that for pop musicians to be successful it is important to be supported by family and friends. It is even more important, if not crucial, for pop musicians to have a professional attitude towards their musical activities. Finally, the

musician's professional network is most central to their career success. For pop musicians to become successful and to retain a high level of success throughout their career, intermediaries such as managers, booking agents and record companies are indispensable. This shows how important it is for individual pop musicians to find reliable and trustworthy intermediaries.

Acknowledgments

This research was made possible by a grant from the Dutch authors' rights organization, BUMA, to which we want to express our gratitude. We also want to thank the reviewers for their helpful comments on an earlier version.

Appendix A. Scale items developed by authors

Social support

Answer options ranged from 1 (no support) to 5 (a lot of support) With regard to your musical career, how much support do you receive from:

- your friends?
- your mother?
- your father?
- other family members?

Professional attitude

Answer options ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree)

- I see myself as a professional musician.
- I am very different from musicians who only make music for fun.
- I take my career as a musician very seriously.

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