OCCUPATIONAL CALLING AS A PLATFORM FOR CAREER ADVANCEMENT IN ARTS MANAGEMENT: WHEN PASSION ISN'T ENOUGH

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ABSTRACT
Drawing on a study of 63 Australian arts managers, this paper explores the connection between having a passion or 'occupational calling' towards the arts and subsequent career experiences. It suggests that whereas passion and a desire to answer one's calling is a strong motivator to pursue a career in arts management, it does not guarantee subjective and/or objective career success. Formal knowledge and maintaining positive professional networks are also necessary for facilitating professional development and recognition. Being tough enough to withstand "hitting the mat", the negative impact of "big hits", "curve balls" and unexpected budget cuts was also identified as an essential skill. Based on the findings of the study, we argue that having a 'passion' or 'calling' towards the arts is not enough to support career advancement. Rather, career advancement in this industry is the result of a more composite and dynamic range of influences.

Key Words: Occupational Calling, Career, Arts Management

INTRODUCTION
This study of arts managers sought to obtain the views of male and female arts managers on how they perceive themselves in an increasingly uncertain and volatile managerial environment. There has been silence on arts managers' careers in the literature until recently (Rentschler and Jogulu, 2012), although early studies have indicated that career paths in arts organisations are distorted (DiMaggio, 1987). Since arts managers' careers have may take many different forms largely due to organisational size and context, their career paths are known to be convoluted. For some individuals, such an ambiguous career path may raise profound questions about their passion and purpose when developing their career strategies.

Arts organisations are distinctive in nature; for the arts mangers in them, values, creativity and imagination drive individual passion and motivation to work. However, how these values drive employment and a career path motivated by 'passion' presents a challenging journey. A career on the basis of principles, ideals and love for the arts is not sufficient to attract individuals to remain in the space. We utilise

'occupational calling' (Dobrow, 2012) as a framework to examine and explain the extent to which arts managers make sense of their decision to pursue a career in the arts. From the narratives we have collated, we illustrate how complex and complicated careers are for arts managers.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Finding and then answering our 'occupational calling' is an increasingly common theme in the contemporary careers literature and public discourse (Dobrow 2012). Furthermore, while historically associated with religious careers (Hall and Chandler 2005; Dik and Duffy 2009), the idea of each of us having an occupational calling and its close association with 'passion' for a particular career field now permeates discussions about a much wider range of career choice, including careers in the arts. Yet, the idea of a calling was not incorporated into any of the major theories of career choice (Duffy and Sedlacek 2010) even while the connection between the two has been a topic of much interest in recent years. At the heart of this public and scholarly interest is an assumption that each of us has such a calling and that being able to fulfil it provides for greater subjective career success (Heslin 2005) and creates more positive work performance and organizational cultures (Pratt and Ashforth 2003). To be sure, the idea of having a preference for a particular career or field is not new. It has always been a key theme in vocational guidance. Yet, what is new is how recognising and answering our occupational calling has permeated discourse in the wider public arena. Indeed, according to Steve Jobs in his now famous Stanford University commencement address where careers are concerned, nothing matters more: "Have the courage to follow your heart and intuition," he tells us. "They somehow already know what you truly want to become. Everything else is secondary."

While interest in the idea of 'occupational calling' has increased, according to Hunter, Dik and Banning (2010) one of the "most critical constraints on theory, research, and practice" has been "the lack of a consensus definition of the term" (p, 178). Yet, a review of the current literature suggests widespread use of two common themes. First, having a 'calling' means having a 'passion' for a particular occupational field. Second, it is likely to create a strong sense of commitment and involvement in that field. For example, Berg, Grant and Johnson (2010) understand occupational callings as comprising a sense of 'passion' and "strong emotional inclinations towards work-related activities that individuals find interesting, important, and worthy of their time". More recently, drawing on a seven year longitudinal study of 450 musicians, Dobrow and Tosti-Kharas (2011) define calling as "a consuming, meaningful passion people experience toward a domain" (p, 1005). According to Dobrow, (2012) the value of this definition is that it draws our attention to three key points. First, that a calling is usually directed toward a particular domain rather than to work more generally; second, that callings may change over time, becoming weaker or stronger depending on contextual and individual circumstances; and third, that an individual doesn't have to work in a particular domain to experience a calling toward it. For example, amateur musicians "are not employed as musicians, yet many experience a strong calling toward music" (Dobrow, 2012).

It has also been suggested that occupational calling is more likely to occur when our work becomes "more than a job or career" (Hall and Chandler 2005 p, 86). Dobrow's (2012) study of musicians speaks directly to this theme demonstrating how the calling to become a performer evolves over time. Similarly, in a study of film director Pedro Almodovar's career, Svejenova (2005) explores the power of calling and 'following one's heart' to provide subjective career success, understood as personal fulfilment and a sense of accomplishment (Heslin, 2005). She also addresses the impact of occupational calling on objective career success understood as an increase in status, and public recognition (Heslin, 2005). Bunderson and Thompson (2009) have also explored the role of calling as a key driver in the careers of zoo keepers and specifically their perceptions of career success— both objective and subjective. Hall and Chandler (2005) provide some explanation behind the putative connection between following one's calling and subsequent objective career success. They suggest that while following an occupational calling may provide a source of subjective success, it is also a platform for skill building and success: "An individual whose career is driven by a sense of calling benefits from enhanced metacompetencies, both of which aid the individual in navigating the career 'terrain' and a sense of psychological success" (2005 p, 163). It is this sense of psychological success and increased self-esteem which is likely to lead to more objective measures of performance and hence professional recognition/reward. Other authors have echoed this view suggesting that having a sense of meaning in our work is critical for both objective and subjective career success (Heslin 2005).

Turning our attention specifically to arts management, Suchy's study (2000; 2004) of museum directors identified passion as the driver for arts managers' performance, while Rentschler, Jogulu, Kershaw and Osborne (2012) identified spirituality as a metaphor in

museum marketing as a prerequisite for performance. While these studies did not explicitly study occupational calling, their implicit findings echo recent findings reported in the careers literature on this topic (Hall and Chandler 2005; Duffy and Sedlacek 2007; Bunderson and Thompson 2009; Hunter, Dik et al. 2010; Dobrow and Tosti-Kharas 2011). In other words, occupational calling has religious overtones, spiritual connotations and a passion that sees arts managers undertaking work where the intrinsic rewards outweigh the extrinsic rewards. Yet, there is still a gap in our understanding of the impact of occupational calling on the career decisions and experiences of arts managers. Therefore, the objective of this particular paper is to address that gap.

Based on our discussion thus far, we might assume that having an 'occupational calling' is an invariably positive experience. Yet, some scholars have adopted a more circumspect approach pointing out that it can be a "double-edged sword", that is to say, both "binding and ennobling" (Bunderson and Thompson 2009 p, 32), enabling and destructive (Vallerand 2010). For example, for some individuals having a 'passion' for a particular field may become a point of "obsessive passion" (Vallerand, Paquet et al. 2010) where the sense of commitment and excitement associated with it is experienced as beyond their control. This may, in turn, lead to predominantly ego-centred activities at the expense of social interactions and relationships with others. For this reason, passion has to be managed so that it supports the calling rather than becoming a focus for destruction (Vallerand 2010). Indeed, in some circumstances 'over-involvement' in a particular activity may have a negative impact on performance and sense of satisfaction. As a further point here, it is also notable that whereas Dobrow's (2012) longitudinal study of musicians reported that individuals who had a higher initial calling were more behaviourally involved in their work, she also reported that "individuals who were more behaviourally involved and socially comfortable in the calling domain experienced a *decrease* in calling over time". This finding introduces the more cautionary note that having a higher sense of involvement might well have a negative impact on our passion for our work in the long run.

In addition to the potentially negative impact of answering one's calling, it may also be that for some individuals, their economic and social influences do not allow them to answer their calling at all. Drawing on a study of educators at a school and a university, employees in a non-profit advocacy organization and a for profit manufacturing company, Berg, Grant and Johnson (2010) reported that individuals who feel that they have 'missed' their calling are more prone to "dissatisfaction with their current occupations [which] makes it difficult to ward of counterfactual thoughts and disappointments" (p, 989). On the other hand, they also report that individuals who have 'additional callings'—that is to say several areas to which they feel 'drawn' or 'passionate' about, are far less likely to experience long term regret because they can pursue alternative callings. The idea of a 'missed' calling and specifically its perceived consequences for emotional well-being and perceptions of career success (objective and subjective) draws our attention further to the more problematic dimensions of occupational callings. Where the careers in arts management are concerned, it invites us to consider what happens when someone has not been able to pursue their calling. What options are available to them and how do they manage not being able to answer their calling?

On the one hand, then, an occupational calling can provide an opportunity to experience a feeling of authenticity and meaning in our work. It can allow us to demonstrate our passion for a particular field of work which can, in turn, bestow a greater sense of behavioural and psychological involvement (Dobrow 2012), objective and subjective career success (Heslin, 2005) or what some authors have referred to as 'flow' (Suchy 1999). While this sense of passion may change over time, in some instances decreasing and in others simply changing to focus on a different or related domain, the overall assumption is that having a sense of calling and being able to fulfil it is usually a positive experience. Yet, it can also be a source of frustration where emotions reach boiling point, and in situations where our 'passion' and commitment to our work go unrecognized by the institutions within which we work and/or when our responsibilities towards others inhibit our ability to answer our calling and/or give it the time and energy we might wish. On the other hand *not* being able to answer a calling at all could introduce another source of problems, particularly given that people are more likely to regret inactions than actions (Gilovich, Medvec et al. 1998).

Building on the existent literature and focusing specifically on arts management, this paper reports the findings of a study of Australian arts managers. In doing so it answers the following two research questions:

1. To what extent do arts managers connect their decision to pursue a career in arts management with answering an occupational calling?
2. To what extent was this calling a platform for perceived objective and subjective career success?

METHODOLOGY

We focus our methodology on interpretation and enactment to account for how individual careers evolve over time in the arts sector. We aim to understand the interpretive schemes individuals utilise to make sense of their developing careers in arts organisations. By comparing shared meanings or paradigms, and participants' beliefs and worldviews, this study explores how arts managers act in a particular setting. In this study, we also show how meaning making by our respondents is influenced by the ways individuals describe themselves as engaging in their career planning as well as the social context within which their careers are currently embedded.

This study is based on quantitative surveys and qualitative interviews conducted with 63 Australian arts managers in a variety of small to medium cultural enterprises. Small to medium cultural enterprises are defined as arts organisations with one paid CEO, between one and three hundred paid staff, volunteers and a volunteer board of management that governs the operation of the cultural section. We considered local government and educational institutions 'cultural' for our study, as they are the locale in which museums, galleries, festivals, performing arts organisations and visual arts collections are held and managed. While local government and educational organisations per se do not have a volunteer board of management, their cultural facilities and services do. We only assessed the cultural component of the local government and educational organisations in determining the size of the organisation for our study.

The majority of our sample self-identified as Australian, with a few indicating that they had migrated from Vietnam, South America, New Zealand, China, India, Columbia, Denmark, Indonesia, Canada, Papua-New Guinea and Anglo-Europe. Indeed, there is a trend in arts organisations in Australia to employ migrant arts managers. Our intention was to have an inclusive sample to capture diverse career experiences in arts management. The managers we spoke to worked in cities on the east coast of Australia, including Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne and Hobart. They worked in government agencies, non-profit arts organisations, educational institutions and other domains such as theatres, dance studios, and the visual arts.

Our questionnaire and interview schedule elicited responses to questions on arts managers' careers. The questionnaire was several pages long with three different types of questions. These questions asked respondents about their current work and position, with particular questions on internal and external factors that assisted or inhibited their career experiences. We also asked respondents to report basic demographic information.

The interviews expanded the findings from questionnaire so that we could draw a more holistic view about arts managers' career experiences. Each interview lasted between 60 and 90 minutes and was digitally recorded, transcribed and organised using NVivo, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software. Responses were analysed thematically, where we identified a series of dominant and subsidiary themes which we used to theorise the findings. A key dominant theme in our analysis was 'passion' which was variously described as a form of 'occupational calling', with every participant mentioning their passion for the arts, the benefits of networking and mentoring and the nature of their calling. It is this theme that provides the foundation for our paper.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Table 1, below, shows the summary background information for the participants in this study. The sample is purposive and we focus on micro-level individual narratives rather than statistical analysis.

TABLE 1: SUMMARY BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE PARTICIPANTS (N=63)

GENDER	*18 MALES, 55 FEMALES*
Location of current employment	East and South Coast Coasts of Australia
Ethnicity	Chinese, Indian, Vietnamese, Colombian, Danish, Indonesian, Canadian, Papua-New Guinea, New Zealand, Anglo-European
Job Title	Arts Manager, Festival Manager, Marketing Co-ordinator, Events Manager, Gallery Manager
Number of staff (mean)	1.5-25

Approximately three quarters of the participants were female and one quarter male reflecting the broader trend towards the arts being dominated by women, both front and back of house, as managers and audiences. All participants defined themselves as being in managerial roles in arts organisations and were responsible for both people and budgets. They held managerial positions in various areas including as arts manager, events manager, festival manager, marketing coordinator and gallery manager.

The demographic characteristics of the men and women we interviewed are illustrated in Table 2. As can be seen from the table, most of our respondents have some form of higher education. They are juggling their personal and working lives, as most of them are partnered, although there are more men than women with partners. The majority of the respondents have children, although more men than women have children. Most are middle aged. In other words, the respondents have their careers in front of them, in most cases, or are in the prime of their careers. They are well educated, with at least one degree, as is expected for arts managers and have been managers for a number of years, with some having a deep and rich experience in arts management. These demographic data are in keeping with broader trends in arts management.

TABLE 2: DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTICIPANTS (N=63)

	MALE	**FEMALE**
EDUCATION High School Undergraduate Masters PhD	 - 5 7 3	 1 15 21 6
AGE (mean)	40-49	40-49
Income range*	$35,000 - $120,000	
MARITAL STATUS Partnered Single	 15 3	 38 17
CHILDREN None One or more	 11 7	 27 28
Years in current position (mean)	4.3	2.7
Years in current organisation (mean)	5.7	4.1
Years as manager (mean)	12.3	8.3

* In Australian dollars

Arts managers are not earning high salaries, as is to be expected in the non-profit arts where salaries are low by comparison with other types of managerial positions. Our participants had spent rather a short time both in their current position and in their current organisation, although the women had spent a somewhat shorter time in their current position and in a managerial role. This is not unusual in contemporary organisations. These data are discussed below as they have implications when assessed in conjunction participants' views about their careers.

Participants had worked in their current position for an average of less than three years for women and over four years for men, but had an average of 12 years and eight years' experience, respectively, in arts management. They worked in a diverse range of institutions including public arts galleries and museums, theatres, festivals and concert venues. Some of the cultural organisations were linked to local government or educational institutions.

FINDINGS
WHEN PASSION ISN'T ENOUGH

The findings of the study introduce a more circumspect view to the idea of answering one's occupational calling as a platform for both objective and subjective career success. Most participants reported that following their 'passion' had been a driving force behind their decision to pursue a career in the arts. Arts managers told us they "love" their work, "see the arts as encompassing things from the heart" and "believe in the cause of the arts" that ensures that they continue to work in it. Intrinsic motivators drive arts managers with passion being the key force for good. As Jane, a middle-aged female arts manager, tertiary educated, with 16 years' experience working in senior managerial roles in various states of Australia, told us:

Passion drives most arts managers. It certainly isn't the money. It's managers' love of the arts. Most managers have a connection, either as an artist or as a lover of the arts.

Jane is partnered but has no children. She is also a qualified teacher, with post-graduate qualifications in drama.

Mukul, a male, partnered and without children, tertiary educated, but not in his original domain of mathematics, with many years' experience in senior positions, reflected a similar view:

I started studying maths and science. But it wasn't a passion of mine. I dropped out and studied full time drama. That's what started the passion. Music is my passion.

Yet, our participants also reported that 'destructive passion' had exerted a powerful force on subsequent achievements and experiences. Some arts managers told us that passion made the arts "bitchy", "excluding" and "nasty".

One young male, Chris, was a highly qualified arts manager with four tertiary degrees and currently undertaking a fifth postgraduate course, described "fighting a losing battle" where meetings were "bailing water" with too few strategic decisions being made. Chris has a background in music, which is his "passion". But he is well trained as a manager, able to put his passion aside when making managerial decisions. He was promoted to senior arts manager with 25 staff. But under duress, passion still emerges as a driving force and reason for being hurt. His team was dismantled,

I was devastated. I was passionate about what I was doing. I was hurt. I
took three months' leave.

Soon after this setback, in another role he took up, he described himself as the only rational voice, reining in his passion to try to make sound decisions to save a failing arts organisation:

I was but one voice with lots of artists. Membership dropped off significantly. The membership was up in arms but they did little to save the organisation.

This view was supported by Mukul who told us that the arts "throw you curve balls" so that you end up "on the mat". Other managers told us that it was not being on the mat that was the trouble, but as Mukul said: "knowing how to get up off the mat" and "start again". In these instances, passion had been a destructive force, setting one arts manager against another and sometimes limiting opportunities to change. But the determination to "get up off the mat" sees arts managers taking negative experiences and using them to build their skills set when advancing to their next career challenge, turning destructive passion into a positive once more for their next career move.

Anna who was middle-aged and studying for her PhD, told us:
Having a passion is not enough in order to advance your career as an arts manager ... ... Arts managers grow up and leave the arts, but they come back in some other way. For me, it is through study and my research. They only leave because they are disgruntled. They never lose their passion.

We also heard reports of how destructive passion burns out arts managers suggesting that they oftentimes need

to take a break and refresh. In short, arts managers found that having passion was not enough in order to advance their careers, but it did drive them to want to satisfy their calling. In order to advance an arts management career, passion needs to be supported by education, hard work, skills development, networking and mentoring.

NETWORKING FOR CAREER ADVANCEMENT

Given the widely acknowledged connection between professional networks and career success, we asked arts managers about the importance of networking and mentoring in the questionnaire and during interviews. We heard from Wanda, who started as a teacher, and then did post-graduate course work, followed by a PhD:

I am dogged, driven. Missing out on a position at the national gallery really influenced me. I'm a manager in another gallery. But I'm ready for more challenges. I have hit a glass ceiling. I am highly qualified but I am not empowered in my position.

Wanda is in local government where our study suggests that arts managers may be more highly qualified than other staff but sometimes feels caught in a web of bureaucracy, not recognised for their expertise. Participants who worked in local government regularly described feeling 'misunderstood' by and isolated from their colleagues in the wider organisational environment and thus felt that they lacked the network connections to support their career advancement.

Another regional arts manager, Cathryn, described how the importance of networking cannot be underestimated when seeking to advance ones career. She works in rural and regional areas on the east coast of Australia. Like others we spoke to, she is tertiary educated, married, but without children. She described seeking to "hook into the local networks" to obtain her next job opportunity. Networks, she said, "create opportunities" and "create conversations" that "lead to the next role" in what she felt was a highly competitive professional field. Indeed, there was widespread agreement among our participants that the arts is a highly competitive industry. It is not surprising, therefore, that our participants had engaged in long periods honing their skills, building their networks and finding suitable mentors to ensure they can advance their careers. There was also widespread agreement that while formal education can open doors to rare opportunities for highly prized positions as an arts manager, networking and mentoring is what makes you visible: "people think of you when a vacancy occurs", Cathryn told us.
Another respondent, Anna, also spoke about the importance of networking and mentoring for career advancement:
I was mentored by the director of the gallery. I was sent to New York to support an international exhibition. After he left, I was made redundant.

Anna's experience provides a good example of the phenomena we introduced earlier, i.e. "hitting the mat". Anna reiterated that arts careers are "tumultuous". She said her confidence took a "big hit" despite the support of a senior colleague in her early career. This narrative highlights the benefit of networks and mentoring and also how such experience can also contribute to a career setback when the mentor moves on.

ETHNICITY AND GENDER IN ARTS CAREERS

Turning to individual action and interaction, we asked respondents about their ethnicity and gender to understand whether they perceived that it would hinder them in advancing their career. The answers were that ethnicity would not hinder advancement for arts managers (1.75 on a 5 point scale). This is an interesting finding in a domain that is becoming more heterogeneous. As a senior academic and senior arts manager, single, with a PhD, who "never lost her enthusiasm for the arts" Mona stated the following:

The arts was one of the first industries that was more open to women's talents. There were far fewer barriers for women in the arts than was the case in other industries. On the executive and artistic director sides of the arts business, the barriers have been stripped away more successfully than in other industries and in other sectors of the economy.

This view, however, was not universally expressed. For some, institutional barriers created barriers for promotion and/or increased responsibility and professional development. This view was expressed by some arts managers in local government and educational institutions, where the arts managers are specialists in an environment that does not have a creative mission. As Anna reflected:

In this day and age you would not expect barriers to promotion for women, but there are still more women in lower level managerial positions in the arts than there are women in senior managerial positions. That causes you to wonder.

How gender mediates and influences arts careers is explained by some of the female respondents. We sensed during our conversation that confidence was a major issue for female arts managers in developing their careers.

DISCUSSION

There was widespread awareness in our study of arts managers that a sense of calling or passion might be an important driver to initially pursuing a career in the arts as a manager, but, to ensure career advancement it would have to be supported by formal qualifications, mentoring and networks. Experience related to mentoring and networking, understanding "the way things are done around here" is an emerging theme discussed as our respondents negotiate with their work and non- work environments. This finding points to the centrality of *objective knowledge* (Penrose 1994), understood as knowledge that "can be formally taught, can be learned from other people or from the written word, and can, if necessary, be formally expressed and transmitted to others" (p,53) and '*personal knowledge'* (Penrose, 1959), which is "also the result of learning, but learning in the form of personal experience" (p, 53). For example, all participants had at least a university degree or other qualification in the arts or a related domain. A number of them had gained business qualifications later in their career. The broader move in Australia to provide specific and formal qualifications in the arts and arts management suggests educational institutions are recognizing the need for formal knowledge in the industry.

The arts managers who took part in this study firmly believed that formal learning (Penrose, 1959) is as much a requirement in the arts as it is in other industries/careers. This finding echoes Becker's (1999) argument that formal knowledge is a key component of our 'human capital' or "the stock of competences, knowledge and personality attributes that have a direct impact on our ability to work and thus to produce economic value (p, 15). The findings of this study also support Becker's argument that formal education has a direct impact on not just what we do but also how we do it.

In addition to *formal* knowledge, there was widespread agreement that experiential learning and knowledge are key requirements for aspiring arts managers. This belief was connected explicitly to mentoring relationships and provision of opportunities to 'learn on the job', thus drawing our attention to the role of "career communities" (Arthur and Parker 2002; Parker, Arthur et al. 2004) in the arts industry. It also points to the value of "occupational communities" (Van Maanen and Barley 1984) where both explicit and tacit knowledge are developed by networking with occupational peers. Respondents reported that maintaining professional networks served two main purposes: first, to provide opportunities for career advancement, and second as a source of experiential learning.

CONCLUSION

This paper suggests that whereas passion and the desire to answer one's occupational calling is a strong motivator to pursue a career in arts management, it is by no means a guarantee of either subjective and/or objective success. Formal and personal knowledge, understood as educational qualifications and professional experience, are also necessary as is maintaining positive relationships with occupational peers and within-industry networks. Being tough enough to withstand the "big hits", "curve balls" and unexpected budget cuts is also part of the skill set. In this regard we argued that while having "the courage to follow your heart and intuition" (Jobs, 2005) is important "everything else" is *not* "secondary". Rather, where the careers of arts managers are concerned, career advancement is the result of a more composite and dynamic range of influences.

There is no doubt that arts managers perceive that they have an occupational calling, dominated by their passion for their role, even though they earn little, work long hours and remain largely unrecognised in the wider scheme of managers. Nonetheless, arts managers are aware of the destructive force of passion, its need to be harnessed and supported by soft skills in mentoring and networking as well as hard skills in management, finance and marketing.

This study has only scratched the surface in seeking to understand arts managers and their career calling. There are three domains that remain for further study. First, we did not include volunteer arts managers in our study. We do not know how volunteers perceive their careers in the arts. This is worthy of further study. Second, curiously, the arts managers themselves often do not see that they work in a competitive space. It may take an outsider perspective to identify the nature of managerial work for the arts manager. We need greater understanding of this aspect of arts managers' careers. Finally, while arts managers often work in independent non-profit arts organisations, many of them also work as part of larger institutions, such as local government or educational institutions. We know little about these specialist arts managers in larger institutions and how they navigate the bureaucracies. Some find the managerial experience allows them to thrive while others feel stultified. These issues provide the context of other larger studies looking at different types of arts managers, some of them at the pinnacles of their careers in the arts as volunteers.

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