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An analysis towards the construction and the role of collaborative circles in jazz musicians of Barcelona

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Abstract

This article aims to study the impact that networks of contacts and circles of musicians have in generating work opportunities within the musical field of jazz. The research has been framed within the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's artistic field (1984, 1987) and the main characteristics of conformation of collaborative circles studied by Michael P. Farrell (2003). The methodology used is qualitative and is based on semi-structured interviews and participant observation conducted between 2015 and 2016 with musicians from the jazz scene of the city of Barcelona. From this fieldwork, we have analyzed the main contributions that contact networks and collaborative circles of jazz musicians offer to generate work opportunities within the musical artistic field. We have also studied how the collective work and the conformation of musical groups become a crucial artistic and creative platform both for the development of the individual careers of musicians and in the field of joint exploration of the musical language itself.

Keywords

musician, networking, collaborative circles, jazz, Barcelona

Un análisis sobre la construcción y el papel de los círculos colaborativos entre los músicos de jazz de Barcelona

Resumen

Este artículo pretende estudiar la repercusión que las redes de contactos y los círculos de músicos tienen en la generación de oportunidades de trabajo dentro del campo musical del jazz. La investigación se enmarca dentro de la perspectiva del campo artístico

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de Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1987) y de las principales características de conformación de los círculos colaborativos estudiadas por Michael P. Farrell (2003). La metodología empleada es cualitativa y está basada en entrevistas semiestructuradas y en observación participante llevadas a cabo entre 2015 y 2016 con músicos de la escena jazz de la ciudad de Barcelona. A partir de este trabajo de campo, se analizaron las principales aportaciones que las redes de contactos y los círculos colaborativos de los músicos de jazz ofrecen a la hora de generar oportunidades de trabajo dentro del campo artístico musical. También se estudió de qué manera el trabajo colectivo y la conformación de grupos musicales se convierten en una plataforma artístico-creativa fundamental tanto para el desarrollo de las carreras individuales de los músicos como en el campo de exploración conjunta del propio lenguaje musical.

Palabras clave

músico, redes, círculos colaborativos, jazz, Barcelona

Una anàlisi sobre la construcció i el paper dels cercles col·laboratius entre els músics de jazz de Barcelona

Resum

Aquest article es proposa estudiar la repercussió que les xarxes de contactes i els cercles de músics tenen en la generació d'oportunitats de feina en el camp musical del jazz. La recerca s'emmarca en la perspectiva del concepte de camp artístic de Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1987) i de les principals característiques que conformen els cercles col·laboratius segons Michael P. Farrell (2003). La metodologia és de caràcter qualitatiu i es basa en la realització (entre 2015 i 2016) d'entrevistes semiestructurades i en observació participant amb músics de l'escena jazz de la ciutat de Barcelona. A partir d'aquest treball de camp, es van analitzar les aportacions principals que les xarxes de contactes i els cercles col·laboratius dels músics de jazz ofereixen a l'hora de generar oportunitats de feina en el camp artístic musical. També es va estudiar de quina manera el treball col·lectiu i la conformació de grups musicals esdevenen una plataforma artístic-creativa fonamental tant per al desenvolupament de les carreres individuals dels músics com en el camp d'exploració conjunta del propi llenguatge musical.

Paraules clau

músic, xarxes, cercles col·laboratius, jazz, Barcelona

1. Introduction

The present research aims to study the construction and the role of collaborative circles in jazz musicians. The hypothesis defended in this article is that collaborative circles and networks in the field of music are crucial for the development of jazz musicians' artistic careers and that the work opportunities they have are conditioned, as one of its main variables, by the collaborative circles that each of them will establish throughout their artistic trajectory.

The focus of analysis was on the musical genre of jazz, and more specifically on the musicians who make up the jazz scene in Barcelona, a city that throughout the 20th century grew as a nerve center of the Catalan jazz scene and that currently has a strong presence in the jazz world both in a local and international context. The fieldwork of the present article was based on thirty interviews realized between October 2015 and November 2016¹

with professional jazz musicians resident in Barcelona. Also, other players in the music sector and qualified informants belonging to both the professional field of music and the academic field, with links to the analytical field of the arts and music, were interviewed.

The first section of the article presents the theoretical framework that encompasses the present investigation, specifying, mainly, the conceptual perspective of the artistic field of Pierre Bourdieu and the collaborative circles of Michael P. Farrell. Then, the second section presents the methodological and design approach that has been followed by the research, specifying mainly the techniques of data collection used and the fieldwork done. A third section, based on the fieldwork, analyzes the main contributions that circles and networks of contacts offer to jazz musicians, and the fundamental importance that the collective as a platform assumes in terms of creation and development of the artistic language. Finally, as a synthesis, we offer a section of conclusions that seeks to close the analytical approach of the presented theme.

1. This fieldwork is part of the research that the author is currently carrying out as a PhD Candidate in Sociology at the University of Barcelona, with a doctoral thesis that investigates the processes of professionalization and creation of jazz musicians.

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2. Theoretical framework

2.1. The artistic field

We will contemplate the object of study of the musicians that make up the field of jazz within what the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu presents as an *artistic field*. In it, artists belonging to different art forms will constitute “historically constituted spaces of play with their specific institutions and their own laws of operation”² (Bourdieu 1987, p. 108). In the artistic field of music, we will identify the musicians as their main agents, but other agents will also participate in the game of art, such as intermediaries, representatives, promoters, institutions regulating artistic practice, cultural institutions of the public administration, etc. Each of them will occupy a position in the field of art and will act from concrete interests that will respond to different logics that will articulate their actions. These actions will pursue the objective of conserving or improving the relations of power that they have, depending on the possession of the specific capital that each of them will have.

These agents will interact in different spaces of creation, interpretation, and production of artworks, and they will be required to share the same *code* to order these opportunities of production and exploitation of the capital in game. Thus, in the course of the aesthetic evolution of each artistic discipline (in this case study, in the field of music), norms and stylistic conventions have been established and updated that delimit the works that are accepted as artistic productions. For Bourdieu, what people will call ‘creation’ will be “the conjunction of socially constituted *habitus* and a certain position”³ (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 210), which will include, among others, the social position that the artist will occupy, the control he or she will have of the aforementioned stylistic conventions and the channels of entry to the art market and to the public to which they will have access.

2.2. Cooperation and interaction

In this artistic field, it will be where the musicians and the different agents of the jazz sector will relate to each other, forming a chain of rituals of interaction (Collins, 2004). The spaces of interaction will be multiple and the network of contacts will enable the realization of the different artistic works. Through cooperation and organization of a team of people, it will be possible not only to think and devise, but to execute, construct, interpret, and implement the remaining activities that allow the artwork to see the light (Becker, 1982; Crane, 1992). “All the artistic work [...]

involves the joint activity of a number, often a large number, of people. Through their cooperation, the art work we eventually see or hear comes to be and continues to be” (Becker, 1982, p. 1). These forms of cooperation may be occasional or periodically repeated and will determine the creation of many different “patterns of collective activity” (Becker, 1982, p. 1), which will facilitate the production of artistic works.

Thus, the chain of creation and production of artistic works will require a complex and articulated structure of different agents of the sector who will facilitate and help lead this work from the creator/artist to the receiver/audience. As an example of the emergence of jazz, as the American sociologist Paul Lopes recalls, this genre “was a collective expressions of a large number of individuals who did not necessarily all share a single purpose” (Lopes, 2004, p. 2), and not only involved jazz artists, but “record producers, concert producers, club owners, music critics, magazine publishers, and diverse audiences. All these various actors in jazz made up what Howard Becker (1982) calls an art world”.

The different strategies and actions that agents take and which will enable these collective activities will be conditioned by “the transactional contexts within which they are embedded” (Emirbayer, 1997, p. 287) and the limits of the field itself (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The decisions that the agents will take will, therefore, be the result of a set of variables and conditioning factors and the capacity that each of them will have to be able to access the resources. “Transactions unfolding within social networks are not always symmetrical in nature” (Emirbayer, 1997, p. 299), says the American sociologist Mustafa Emirbayer. Therefore, the analysis of a field, such as the field of art, will be based not only on individuals who form it in isolation, but also on the evaluation of “fluid social processes” (Dépelteau and Powell, 2013, p. xv) that are “made and reconstructed by relations between actors” (Dépelteau and Powell, 2013, p. xvi). The analysis of the relationships that develop in an artistic field such as the musical one, and more specifically in the field of the jazz scene, will allow the study of the processes of cooperation and conflict and how, from them, the production of works is conditioned, both in terms of aesthetics as well as of a more collective character.

2.3. Collaborative circles

For the analysis of the relationships that occur in the artistic field of music, we take the perspective of the collaborative circles of the American sociologist Michael P. Farrell (2003). Farrell identifies *collaborative circles* as those “primary groups consisting of peers

2. Translation made by the author of the article. Original reference: “espacios de juego históricamente constituidos con sus instituciones específicas y sus leyes de funcionamiento propias”.

3. Translation made by the author of the article. Original reference: “la rencontre entre un habitus socialement constitué et une certaine position”.

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who share similar occupational goals and who, through long periods of dialogue and collaboration, negotiate a common vision that guides their work" (Farrell, 2003, p. 11) and, therefore, they also become primordial when it comes to describing and analyzing creative and artistic activities. Farrell studies the formation of the collaborative circles, the informal structures that compose them and the dynamics that are developed therein. He also studies how those dynamics allow the creations and joint productions without leaving aside the evolution and later separation of the collective. The American researcher points out that often "a collaborative circle combines the dynamics of a friendship group and a work group" (Farrell, 2003, p. 7), starting as a "casual association among acquaintances working in the same discipline" (Farrell, 2003, p. 2) and, little by little, concentrating the creative activity until being the productive center of that group, sharing the vision of "what constitutes good work, how to work, what subjects are worth working on, and how to think about them" (Farrell, 2003, p. 11).

The constitution of most of the collaborative circles that Farrell describes happens during the transition from adolescence or early youth and entry into adulthood. "In the period between adolescence and adulthood when a person disengages from the family, masters a discipline, and crystallizes an adult occupational identity, a collaborative circle often becomes the primary group that completes socialization" (Farrell, 2003, p. 11). This usually happens in educational environments or training of the discipline where the first nuclei of networks of future professionals will be formed. The space of development of the particular groups could be called "magnet place" (Farrell, 2003, p. 18-19), since, according to Farrell (although apparently it may be coincidence that different members were known in the same space) it is probable that "members are more likely to share a common language and set of values, and they are likely to possess similar levels of 'cultural capital'" (Bourdieu 1993, DiMaggio and Mohr 1985 cited by Farrell, 2003, p. 19). In the case of musicians, the "magnet place" could be, in most cases, the school or institution where they have studied the art discipline. In addition, "like most friendships, collaborative circles are usually formed by people of relatively equal status who possess relatively equal resources" (Farrell, 2003, p. 20).

2.4. Artistic "conversation"

In order to analyze the musical practices and to better understand the mechanisms of construction and relationship of the collective, it will be necessary to know and specify the different elements or basic units that will compose the artistic-creative musical act,

which in the present case study is the specific field of jazz. In broad terms, we will define that jazz is a musical genre belonging to popular music that was born in the late nineteenth century in the United States, in a context of confluence between the African American communities along with the immigrants, mainly European and Creole, residing in the American lands. The musical baggage of all these groups allowed the development of different and new musical forms that, in a generic way, were coined under the name of *jazz*, and have been grouped throughout history in subgenres such as *bebop*, *swing*, *cool jazz*, *smooth jazz*, *dixieland*, *acid jazz*, *latin jazz*, *flamenco jazz* or *jazz fusion*.

As a result of their studies of jazz musicians in the United States, American sociologists Howard S. Becker and Robert R. Faulkner established four basic units of analysis: songs (understanding their forms, structures and how they are distributed), the interpreters, the "playing situations" and the "working repertoire" (Becker and Faulkner, 2005). Through the analysis of the repertoire and starting from the knowledge about "what the musicians know, what they think the other musicians know, and what they really know in common" (Becker and Faulkner, 2009), Becker and Faulkner reached different levels of analysis of the dynamics of relationship between the different members of the jazz music collective. With all these indicators, they could analyze how these groups of professionals were socially structured, not only from their use of the common repertoire as a resource, but also to study how they thought and what social repercussion the choice of one repertoire or another had. Therefore, the interrelation of music professionals is crucial in developing the necessary bonds to carry out the musical practice and to make up the whole social network that will allow them to subsist.

One of the characteristic features of the language of jazz and the construction of its aesthetic discourse is through improvisation and the exchange of proposals between the different musicians who play live. "In jazz, composition is much less important than performance. The standard tunes musicians play (blues and old popular songs) merely furnish the framework for the real creation" (Becker, 1982, p. 10-11). One of the main areas of interaction where more musical resources come into play are the *jam sessions*, which are informal gatherings where musicians mainly play jazz standards and build new musical discourses. In this space of interaction, dialogue is built through improvisation⁴ and common codes that aesthetically characterize the style of jazz. "Good jazz improvisation is sociable and interactive just like a conversation" (Monson, 1996, p. 84), this is how, through an exchange of interpreted and listened proposals, musicians formulate their ideas that facilitate the creation of a group discourse. Therefore, the relevance of being part of a creative work group or participating

4. Becker and Faulkner cite Barry Kernfeld in H. Becker and R. Faulkner (2009): "Barry Kernfeld (*Grove Online*, see "Improvisation") gives a clear and concise definition: 'The creation of a musical work, or the final form of a musical work, as it is being performed. It may involve the work's immediate composition by its performers, or the elaboration or adjustment of an existing framework, or anything in between'".

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in spaces of interaction and artistic exchange will be essential for the birth and development of a style. These collaborative artistic practices will result not only in a common production but also in the possibility for each artist to find and develop their own “voice” and artistic identity.

3. Methodology

The present research has been designed from a mainly qualitative methodological perspective. As will be explained below, semi-structured interviews and participant observation have been pursued to develop a qualitative research focused on the case study of jazz musicians that make up the *music scene* (Bennet and Peterson, 2004) in Barcelona. The criteria that led to limit the universe of musicians to the professional circuits that currently reside and/or work in Barcelona were: i) high concentration of musicians, ii) stylistic diversity; and iii) internationalization. In Barcelona, there are three major university schools of music that offer the specialty of jazz and modern music, entailing a high concentration of students and musicians in the city’s music scene. This situation conditions, in addition, a great stylistic diversity within the group of musicians. Lastly, the historical legacy that the genre of jazz has had in the city and its position of relevance within the international jazz scene is contemplated.

In the first stage of development of the fieldwork, a first study was prepared to determine the sample to be analyzed. Data were collected on more than 500 active musicians in the Barcelona music scene, from which a sample was selected, using among others the methodological strategy called “snowball” in order to achieve a greater degree of diversity and representation of the professionals in the jazz scene. This sample selection of the musicians was established from several cut criteria that conditioned the selection guidelines of the musicians finally interviewed: i) personal characteristics; ii) academic training; iii) artistic-musical specialty; and iv) development of the artistic-professional trajectory. In addition to the active musicians, other players in the music sector with a significant weight in the constitution of the reality of the current music scene in Barcelona were valued and contacted.

The semi-structured interview was chosen as the main method of the fieldwork of the present research (Corbetta, 2007; Taylor and Bogdan, 1987). A total of 30 semi-structured interviews were conducted, 16 of them with professional jazz musicians active in the Barcelona music scene. The remaining interviews were done, in a first block, to 6 different agents who have or have had an important position within the music scene and of the artistic world in general (members linked to musical formation, public administration, concert hall owners, festival organizers, and members of professional associations). In a second block, interviews were conducted with 8 informants qualified both in the professional and academic fields, in the latter case with researchers

who have developed studies around the themes of the artistic profession and the art world. Following the interviews, and to maintain the anonymity that was agreed upon with each of the interviewees, it was decided to label each of them according to the place they occupy within the different blocks of interviews conducted. These labels followed the following logic: i) jazz musicians [musician/], ii) other agents in the sector [other agent/] and iii) qualified professional informants [professional informant/] or qualified academics informants [academic informant/].

For each type of interview, a script was elaborated that included the main topics to be treated and models of questions that could be formulated or re-formulated during the interview, depending on how the interview evolved. The script of the semi-structured interview conducted with the main group of interviewees, the jazz musicians, was inspired by the interview pattern models made by Menger (1997) and Rodríguez Morató (1996), who were especially relevant in the analysis of the artistic universes that these researchers studied. The interview pattern for jazz musicians was structured in two main blocks: a first section that sought to establish a first contact with the interviewee, tracing its trajectory in training and entry into the professional world of music; and a second section that sought to contextualize, on the one hand, the artistic-musical domains in which the musicians usually work, and on the other to reflect on the characteristics that defined the group of musicians existing in the Barcelona scene and in what way it influenced the trigger of the job opportunities they had.

In parallel with the development of the interviews, it was decided to apply the participant observation method (Taylor and Bogdan, 1987) to complement the quantity and type of information of the scenario to be studied. During the various and multiple instances of participant observation that the author of the article made, an attempt was made to maintain an observational and analytical look. Subsequent to these participant observations, field notes were written as complete and detailed as possible, including the basic and descriptive data of the meeting (date, time, place of observation), scenario diagram, formal and informal interactions between its participants, and the specification of the role adopted by the researcher, among others. Instances of participant observation in both musical encounters (concerts, rehearsals, composition and/or recording sessions) and meetings with different institutions in the sector (in the context of education, public administration, associations of professionals in the jazz sector, etc.) were documented.

4. Findings

The jazz scene in Barcelona is made up of different participants who articulate their relationships to carry out their different musical practices. The main social agents that will characterize this field of jazz will be the musicians, who in Barcelona constitute

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a heterogeneous group from different countries and with multiple learning and musical training. In conjunction, we will find technicians and specialists in the entertainment industry (sound technicians, assemblers, road managers, etc.) and members of the music industry (such as record owners and management teams), who act as intermediaries between musicians and the public and play a crucial role in generating and enabling job opportunities and maintaining networks. Other agents in the sector, such as entrepreneurs and owners of concert halls, public administration institutions, members of the educational sector and, of course, the public who consume music, are also present.

In the present research, we have focused on analyzing the group of jazz musicians of the aforementioned Barcelona scene, placing the focus of study in two dimensions that are crucial to evaluate the impact and incidence that the social and relational factor has between the members of the musical group at the time of favoring the emergence of artistic-labor opportunities. The first will be in relation to professional circles and contact networks that musicians will weave throughout their artistic career and the second in relation to the artistic collective as one of the basic platforms of creation within the jazz language.

4.1. Circles of professionals and contact networks

Throughout the course of its formative and professional career, the musician will be in contact with multiple and different individuals with whom he or she will exchange an extensive knowledge of the discipline and the sector that will inevitably condition its subsequent development opportunities. In order to assess the potential impact of the new contacts that the musician will make, one could consider, on the one hand, the type of connection that the musicians will establish, depending on whether they have a professional or amateur projection, or if they are established, for example, in an educational context. On the other hand, it is important to determine the possibility of developing a common project, which would trigger a consolidation of the interaction link and a more continuous flow of knowledge and information. For example, artistic training spaces, as Farrell (2003) commented, are a center of concentration of future artistic-professional connections between musicians, what the American author names "magnet place". It is usual that there are circumstances of great proximity between different students, and future professionals of the sector, and also between student-

musician and teacher-musician. This promotes and facilitates the creation of a feeling of community that can favor the future stability of these contacts as more or less consolidated collaborative circles.

I think that when you study in a place, you do not do it just because you want to learn from the professors of this place or that, but because you want to cultivate a network of friends, people you know who will then be the ones to give you the job"⁵ [musician/9].

In turn, when one of these musicians has to assume the composition of a work team or the formation of a group or a band, it is much more likely to consider first the musicians with whom he or she studied and shaped old projects (and with whom the experience was positive), rather than looking at networks made up, a priori, of unknown people.

I have been called for occasional jobs by people I did not know, because they had been told about me, or had seen a video of me, I do not know where... There is a movement, but in general it works in the form of closed circles. Of course, you have the musicians with whom you've played, who you know work well and you have them, yes.⁶ [musician/15]

With the development of the respective trajectories and the different projects that will be carried out among the musicians, they end up weaving a network of contacts with those with whom they know they will be able to work. This connection is usually a mix between musical and personal affinity, and thus will start from a basis of understanding, listening, and empathy necessary for the development of the creative-musical process. As one of them commented, "we, musicians, relate to whom we get along with, as if we said, so, a guy I cannot stand will never call me or it will be very difficult"⁷ [musician/5]. We could conclude, then, that the quality of personal relationships is a crucial factor in the constitution of the collaborative (and trusting) circles that will be woven by the different musicians, although there will not be a guarantee of permanence throughout the professional career, as a multitude of variables can influence its extension over time. For example, new projects may arise for certain members of the circle that would require international mobility, disagreements may arise between different members or discrepancies may arise at the artistic level, among others.

5. Translation made by the author of the article. Original reference: "Penso que quan estudies en un lloc, no ho fas només perquè vols aprendre amb els profes d'aquell lloc o tal, sinó perquè et vols cultivar una xarxa d'amistats, de gent que coneixes que després seran els que et donin la feina" [musician/9].
6. Translation made by the author of the article. Original reference: "A mí me ha llamado para trabajos puntuales gente a la que yo no conocía porque le habían dicho, o había visto un video de mí en no sé dónde, hay movimiento, pero en general funciona por círculos más cerrados, digamos. Claro, tú tienes a los músicos con los que ya has tocado que sabes que funcionan y cuentas con ellos, sí" [musician/15].
7. Translation made by the author of the article. Original reference: "Els músics ja ens relacionem amb qui connectem, com si diguéssim, llavors a mi mai no em trucarà un tio que no el suport o serà molt difícil" [musician/5].

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Even so, a widespread feature in the field of art is that access to professional circuits within the field of art is not contingent upon the possession of a higher-education degree that has been obtained in an official art education center.⁸ Therefore, the very characteristics of the context will facilitate a great heterogeneity of trajectories and extracurricular formations of the members of the artistic world, in addition to requiring continuous learning processes throughout their professional careers. Whether it is due to the particular characteristics of popular music or jazz or the need to maximize possibilities and networks, it is common for the musician to get involved with a few projects simultaneously. These projects will allow them to consolidate different ties of interaction with multiple musicians and professionals in the sector, which can lead to greater job opportunities.

You have to be involved, I mean, I started my own music school, I started my own jazz festival, I've always had my own band, I worked with other people, I recorded with other people, I've talked... I just keep saying that usually, even if it doesn't include teaching per se, there are other aspects to the music business that you need to be involved in to keep it going for a long time. [professional informant/6]

In summary, we evaluated that in order to be able to access different artistic-labor opportunities, to be present in the "agenda" of contacts of different musicians and to be able to assume the orders that appear, the musician must be placed at the center of an interaction chain formed by different professionals of the sector on which they will depend, to a greater or lesser extent, the possibilities of work that will be generated. Maintaining a proactive and present attitude within the circles will be what will, in part, facilitate access to new circles of contacts, which in turn will widen opportunities and form a broader and more complex network of relationships.

4.2. The collective as an artistic-creative platform

One of the main instances of interaction around the musical act is the relation between the different musicians that will be given basically in the "transaction contexts" (Emirbayer, 1997). Among jazz musicians, the main areas of interaction will be: i) performance or live performance, either in a concert or a *jam session*, where improvisation will have great importance; ii) the rehearsal, as a space of creation and practice of what will constitute the musical work that will be interpreted to the public; iii) the

recording of music, which in jazz usually concentrates on several musicians interpreting at the same time. In each of these instances of interaction, the musicians will exchange artistic and musical knowledge and will promote the joint construction of a musical discourse.

One of the most common situations of confluence between different musicians within a creative environment will be the conformation of a band or musical group. Within the jazz context, the styles of most frequent musical groups are (apart from the *solo* format, with a single musician), that of a small band, formed by groups of two (*duo*), three (*trio*) or four (*quartet*) musicians, who can be instrumentalists and/or vocalists; that of a medium band, conformed by groups of five (*quintet*), six (*sextet*), seven (*septet*) or eight (*octet*) musicians; the *big band*, a typical jazz musical formation that is constituted by about fifteen musicians divided in a rhythmic section and three sections of wind instruments; and the orchestra, a large format musical formation made up of stringed instruments, wind and percussion. In the context of the jazz scene, these groups have a more or less constant development over time, always depending on the concert programming circuit where they are immersed and the implication that their different members may have with the project in the long-term.

According to academic interviewee Michael P. Farrell, the relevance and role of the possibility of forming a creative work group, in this case a musical band, will be essential for the birth of a "style [that] emerges out of the interaction among them, the group. They all play a part in constructing it" [academic informant/4]. This joint participation and the collective activity that will be carried out by the different members of the group will be crucial forms of cooperation (Becker, 1982) for carrying out the musical works.

From the interaction and the collaborative artistic practices will result, not only this joint production, but also the possibility for each artist to find and develop their own artistic "voice". In the specific case of jazz, it is also very common that there are regular collaborations between those performing live concerts or recording in a studio, but without the need to meet every week to rehearse or belong to a stable formation of a group. In this sense, it is valued that "the music sector is totally freelance, the musicians are very independent"⁹ [musician/3].

We will consider that jazz musicians constitute a collective that combines the individualistic side, strengthened by hours and hours of study and practice of the instrument, and also of composition, in solitude; with the collective aspect, based on an exchange and continuous desire to play together. Each circumstance will also be linked to the stage of development in which each musician

8. Currently in Catalonia, jazz musicians can be trained through different channels to acquire the musical and artistic knowledge that will allow them to build a professional career in the cultural sector of music, either within the official academic field, studying in a private school of music, receiving private lessons or having a more self-taught training experience.

9. Translation made by the author of the article. Original reference: "El sector musical es freelance total, los músicos son muy independientes" [musician/3].

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will be. For example, a musician who is in full development and consolidation as an interpreter commented: "In my case, now professionally as I see it is to continue teaching, but especially playing. Playing a lot, that is, I prioritize the concerts themselves, whatever they are"¹⁰ [musician/5].

It is valued that, although "the musician by definition is quite individualistic"¹¹ [musician/8], "what there is always more of is a lot of passion for this music, and that is what really unites us above everything", there is a final will which is "the pursuit of beauty, good music... then egos and personalities spend a little bit in the second place"¹² [musician/4]. And even more so with the adversities of the music market today, it is considered that "we are now more united than before"¹³ [musician/8].

It is also the generation that is growing up now, you know, I do not know, we are together studying and there is this exchange and we are all very excited about and we write music and so, there is like a desire to learn together and we know that we will not be covered with this, then already, because we share everything.¹⁴ [musician/6]

Jazz, as an artistic language, feeds on the collective creative process to develop as such. And this need of the musicians to meet together to play and create implies that "this job requires always being involved, and more if you take it as something creative, then you have to be surrounded by creative people"¹⁵ [musician/1]. Therefore, it is a creative process that benefits from sharing ideas and proposals, a dialogue in constant construction that promotes the development of an aesthetic language.

Every artistic profession has its things. The music may be more of a team, a team component and a necessary energy situation that requires quite powerful emotional stress. Collectivism and individualism are colliding and must be balanced.¹⁶ [musician/2]

As we have discussed in the previous section, the circles of knowledge and affinity between musicians are established, to a large extent, from the educational centers where they will receive most of their training or already in the most specialized stage. This link and personal tuning that is built between the different musicians ends up impacting on the work and musical dialogue that will be produced. "What I have found, at least from my perspective, is that with the people with whom I connect very personally, it is very easy for me to make music"¹⁷ [musician/6], especially because they start from a fluid communication base, both verbal and musical, and can establish dynamics that facilitate artistic work.

In this way, we will consider the artistic collective as a basic platform of creation within the context of the world of jazz and one of the starting points for analyzing and understanding the professional practices of this sector. The formation of groups among musicians will be instrumental to help sustain their artistic practices, develop their different trajectories and maintain dynamic creative work based on the artistic interaction between the members of each group.

5. Conclusions

This article aimed to demonstrate the crucial nature of the networks in the world of jazz and the possibilities they offer to generate links of collaboration and therefore to promote the development of artistic and work opportunities among different musicians. At the same time, it also sought to make a first analytical approach to the fundamental role played by groups of musicians in their multiple forms of interaction as a basic platform of creation. For this we have focused our analysis on the musicians belonging to the jazz scene of the city of Barcelona. It was based on a theoretical framework centered mainly on Pierre Bourdieu's (1984, 1987)

10. Translation made by the author of the article. Original reference: "En el meu cas, ara professionalment com em veig és, sigui continuant donant classes, però sobretot tocant. Tocant molt, o sigui, prioritzo els bolos en si, siguin els que siguin" [musician/5].
11. Translation made by the author of the article. Original reference: "El músic per definició és bastant individualista" [musician/8].
12. Translation made by the author of the article. Original reference: "El que sempre hi ha més és molta passió per aquesta música, i això és el que realment ens uneix per damunt de tot", [...] "la recerca de la bellesa, de la música bona [...] llavors els egos i les personalitats passen una mica en segon terme" [musician/4].
13. Translation made by the author of the article. Original reference: "Ara estem més units que abans" [musician/8].
14. Translation made by the author of the article. Original reference: "També és la generació que creix ara, saps, que no ho sé, estem junts estudiant i hi ha aquest intercanvi i estem tots molt trempats i escrivim música i hostia, hi ha com unes ganes d'aprendre junts i sabem que no ens forrarem amb això, aleshores ja, posats a fer, doncs ho compartim tot" [musician/6].
15. Translation made by the author of the article. Original reference: "Aquesta feina requereix estar súper implicat sempre, i més si t'ho prens com alguna cosa creativa, llavors has d'estar envoltat de gent creativa" [musician/1].
16. Translation made by the author of the article. Original reference: "Cada profesión artística tiene sus cosas. La música puede que vaya más de equipo, un componente de equipo y de situación energética necesaria que requiere un estrés emocional bastante potente. El colectivismo e individualismo están chocando y se deben tener en equilibrio" [musician/2].
17. Translation made by the author of the article. Original reference: "Amb lo que jo m'he trobat, almenys des de la meua perspectiva, és que amb la gent amb la qual connecto molt personalment, m'és molt fàcil fer música" [musician/6].

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artistic field perspective and the primary characteristics of Michael P. Farrell's (2003) collaborative circle conformation. A qualitative methodology was developed based on 30 semi-structured interviews and participant observation directed, mainly, to the musicians of the jazz scene of the city of Barcelona.

The characteristics of the artistic field of jazz condition an environment where the interaction and interrelation between the different musicians is fundamental to favor a constant exchange of new ideas and knowledge of the sector and of the artistic language itself. As one of the main instances of interaction, live performance and improvisation will play a key role in shaping the music scene. At the same time, the aesthetic itself will evolve as a result of the frequent artistic exchanges that its musicians perform in *jam sessions* and concerts.

In turn, the academic path made by musicians, whether in a municipal conservatory, in private music schools or in particular music lessons, even receiving a self-taught education, will condition the construction of the network of contacts. A network that, as we have seen, will form the basic professional circuit that each musician will have in order to develop their respective musical activity. Along the trajectory of artists, and therefore also jazz musicians, the different stages of artistic language development and assimilation offer the opportunity to associate and collaborate in groups to share concerns, questions, risks, or simply coexist creatively. This allows them to advance more quickly and deeply in the discipline and establish channels of creation through which each one will build its own artistic voice. This is why we will consider the talent of the current musician from the complexity of cultivating and developing both artistic and technical skills as well as behavioral and relational skills, and all of them will allow them to articulate the necessary gear to carry out the professional trajectory in the world of art.

Besides, a musical group will constitute a platform where musicians will be able to develop their personal trajectories parallel to a dynamic of collective creative work and exploration of new aesthetic and artistic ideas. Be it in a rehearsal, a recording or a live concert, the language of jazz enables, seeks and favors the generation of a discourse that will constantly explore new expressive horizons and will lead the musicians to a constant reinterpretation of the musical field.

In this way, it is considered that the artist must be studied from both sides, individual and collective, analyzing both the different group dynamics that will be formed and the paths undertaken separately as well as evaluate how each of the choices affect the production and creation of works and musical productions. In the case of jazz, the network of contacts and the different links and circles of collaboration and cooperation will be a basic platform for the generation and reformulation of the scene. A scene that will have to be group and, therefore, be formed by networks of contacts that will interact with each other to perpetuate the essence of the world of jazz.

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