

**CULTURE CLUB:
SOCIAL MOBILITY
IN THE CREATIVE
AND CULTURAL
INDUSTRIES**

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Finally, we would like to thank Swarovski Foundation for funding this research. Without their generous support this report would not have been possible.

Foreword

The Swarovski Foundation is delighted to support Centre for London and this report on social mobility in the creative and cultural industries.

The arts possess a remarkable ability to transform lives for the better, creating change in society and fostering culture, creativity and innovation in young people. Therefore, as a family business and through the work of our Swarovski Foundation, we are committed to removing barriers to entry and expanding opportunities in the arts for all.

Today, understanding and overcoming these barriers remains a major challenge, and for this reason, we are delighted to have supported Centre for London on this 'Culture Club' report. This important piece of research shines a light on the issues at play and proposes key recommendations for businesses, organisations and government to drive positive change.

The Swarovski Foundation is pleased to support what we hope will be an important step towards a future in which young people can access cultural and creative courses and jobs regardless of gender, ethnicity or background.

We commend all those who have contributed towards the success of this report – thank you for helping us to move towards our shared vision of creative and cultural opportunities for all.

Nadja Swarovski,
Chairperson of the Swarovski Foundation

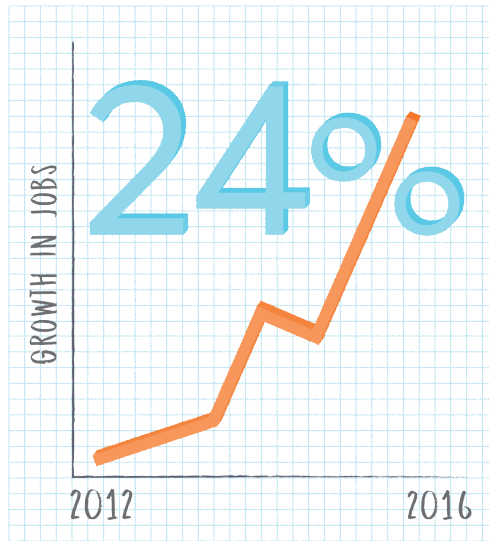
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Social mobility in the creative and cultural industries

London's creative industries are booming...

24 per cent growth in jobs since 2012



But the sector is failing to diversify its workforce...

23%

In 2016, BAME workers represented around 23 per cent of the sector.

95%

95 per cent of workers come from advantaged backgrounds.



Women are mainly in mid to lower-skilled positions.

Many people are locked out of creative careers due to:

- Unpaid internships
- Unstructured career paths
- Not knowing the right people
- Not having the right cultural reference points

'It's not about how talented you are, it's about who you know and how you know them.'

'Most people I know who are doing drama facilitator work are freelance...and that's hard...setting up your own business...I don't have a business background.'

The sector recognises that things need to change...

'No one would go unpaid in a construction company...Our industry is like,"Why would we pay for someone when we can get them for free?" That's ridiculous and needs to change.'

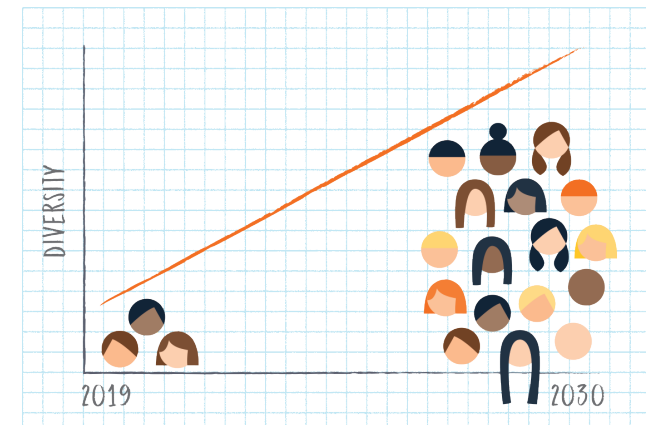
Cultural employers and educators need to do more to widen accessibility and opportunity...

- Amend recruitment practices to focus on skills not just academic achievement
- Improve mentoring
- Pay interns the National Living Wage
- Cultural training for apprentices



But the Mayor of London also has a role to play...

- Champion industry success stories
- Encourage cultural businesses to take a long-term view of the cultural workforce pipeline



Summary

London is one of the world's principal cities of culture, but access to cultural employment and production is denied to too many, undermining equality of opportunity and jeopardising future success.

This report aims to complement and expand on existing research on representation in the creative and cultural industries by adopting a London angle and focusing on three socio-economic factors (social class, gender and ethnicity). It considers barriers from the perspective of underrepresented young people themselves, as well as reflecting the views of educational institutions and employers.

The creative and cultural industries are a central part of London's economy...

- In 2015 the economic output (GVA) of the creative industries was £42 billion – an increase of 38 per cent in nominal terms since 2009.
- London accounts for more than 40 per cent of the United Kingdom's creative sector employment.
- From 2012 to 2016, the number of jobs in the creative and cultural industries in London rose by 24 per cent, bringing the total number to over 880,000.

...But evidence suggests that certain groups of young people are not able to break into these industries.

- Women and BAME people are underrepresented in most creative and cultural industries, with evidence of a gender and ethnicity glass ceiling effect.
- Working class employees are also underrepresented. Analysis conducted by the Greater London Authority found that 95 per cent of employees in the sector were categorised as coming from a more advantaged background.

Unequal access to economic, social and cultural capital creates inequalities in entering and progressing within the sector. Lack of economic capital (i.e. financial resources) creates a number of fundamental problems:

- Without alternative income sources, it is hard for many people to pursue a low-paid or unpaid entry-level role.
- Unpaid positions remain widespread in the sector, a challenge that is intensified by the high cost of living in London.
- This creates inequalities as economic capital can also contribute to the acquisition of both social capital and cultural capital.

Lack of social capital (i.e. personal networks and relationships) generates further obstacles:

- Much recruitment in the creative and cultural industries is carried out through networks – via word of mouth, links with family and friends, or personal recommendations – rather than through openly advertised jobs.
- For many people trying to break into the sector, developing these connections relies on taking unpaid positions “to get a foot in the door”.
- Educational institutions are seeking to fill the gaps, but the benefits of knowing someone already working in the sector remain considerable and present a barrier to students who don’t have established networks.

Cultural capital (i.e. skills, know-how, tastes, behaviours, and degrees) also plays a large role:

- Cultural capital is typically acquired by one's participation in the arts outside the education system – which is more likely in middle class backgrounds.
- Career paths in creative and cultural industries are notoriously murky: many young people lack the “know-how” to get ahead, while facing parental pressure to pursue more structured career options.
- Furthermore, the process of hiring talent often unconsciously selects employees on the basis of their cultural fit; many senior managers continue to believe that the sector is more meritocratic than it is in reality.

Cultural employers and educators need to do more to widen accessibility and opportunity...

- Employers and educational institutions should amend their recruitment practices to focus on broader skills rather than simply on academic achievement, as well as improving the uptake of mentoring.
- All internships in the creative and cultural industries should pay at least the National Living Wage and made subject to the Mayor's “Good Work Standard”; larger cultural employers should offer at least the London Living Wage for internships and entry-level roles.
- Employers – especially larger employers – should take part in the Social Mobility Foundation Index, so that they can track their own progress.

- In light of the recent government funding announcement for apprenticeships, the creative and cultural industries should work with the Institute for Apprenticeships and the National Apprenticeship Service to address the gaps in cultural training.

...But the Mayor of London also has a role to play.

- The Mayor should champion the creative and cultural industries as a place of opportunity and success stories, as many parents are sceptical about their children's chances of success in this sector.
- The Mayor should use his convening role to encourage cultural businesses to take a long-term view of the cultural workforce pipeline needed to keep London's creative economy thriving.

The creative and cultural industries are some of London's most economically successful sectors as well as among the most resilient to automation. Hence, there is a strong argument for broadening access to and mobility within the sector. This is an issue of equity, but also of sectoral success: failing to make the most of London's diverse talent will weaken the city's creative output.

Introduction

London is undoubtedly one of the world's principal cities of culture, if not the world's cultural capital – a place with leading creative talent in music, art, design, fashion, theatre and film. The Arts have been portrayed as one of the greatest forces for openness and social mobility;¹ and the creative industries have been described as – possibly more than any others – having their origins in individual characteristics, skills and talent.²

However, it is becoming increasingly clear that access to this cultural realm is denied to too many in the city – particularly in terms of employment and the production of cultural assets. Evidence suggests that certain groups of young people are not able to break into these industries, or build long-term careers within them.

The Mayor of London has made culture one of his priorities, and wants to ensure that the creative workforce is more reflective of the city and inclusive of all Londoners.³ As the creative and cultural industries is the most successful sector within London's economy – and among the most resilient to automation – there is a strong argument for broadening access to and mobility within this sector, for Londoners outside the groups presently dominant. This is an issue of equity, but also of sectoral success: failing to make the most of London's diverse talent will weaken the city's creative output.

In too many ways, entering into and progressing within London's creative and cultural industries relies on possessing the social, economic and cultural capital that is more easily accumulated by privileged classes and groups, rather than simply being a question of talent and merit.

This report aims to complement and expand on existing research on representation in the creative and cultural industries – by both adopting a London angle (though many findings will ring true for the rest of the UK) and also considering barriers from the perspective of underrepresented young people themselves. To do so, we held three focus groups with young people and sought views from educational institutions and employers at roundtable discussions and through interviews.

What are the creative and cultural industries?

Defining the creative and cultural industries is complex, and can encompass everything from advertising to architecture, and from software design to theatre (see Appendix 1). In this report, we **focus on four sub-sectors within the creative and cultural industries – namely design, fashion and crafts; museums and galleries; music, performing and visual arts; and film, TV, radio and photography.** However, we sometimes refer to data on the creative and/or cultural industries as a whole in the absence of more granular data.

The report looks at overall patterns of employment in the sector on the basis of social class, gender and ethnicity.⁴ It reviews the experience and views of young people, educators and practitioners, using possession of economic, social and cultural capital as an analytical framework. It then makes recommendations to City Hall, employers and educational institutions to tackle the underrepresentation of these groups within the cultural workforce. These aim to ensure that young people from all backgrounds can access cultural and creative courses and job opportunities in London – regardless of gender, ethnicity or social class.

1.

London's creative and cultural industries

This chapter highlights the growing importance of creative and cultural industries within London's economy, and looks at how representative of London's population these industries, and their senior management, are.

The creative and cultural industries in London

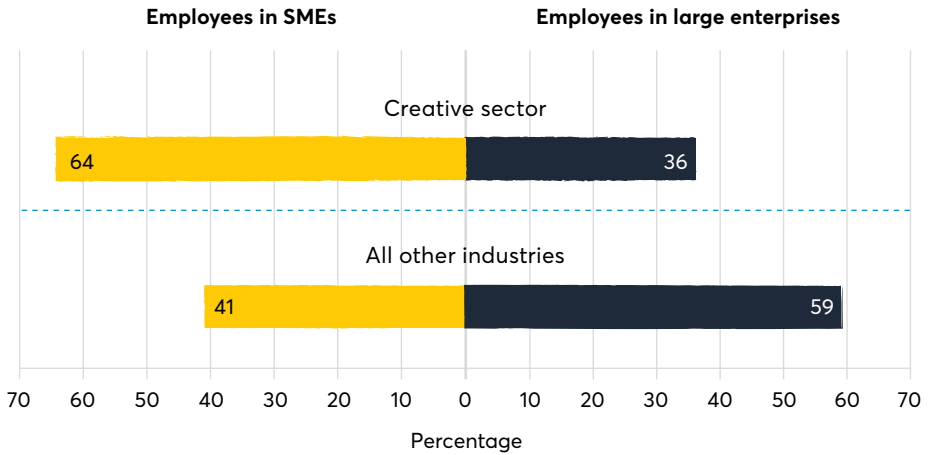
The creative and cultural industries are a significant contributor to London's economy: analysis by the Greater London Authority (GLA) estimated that in 2015 the economic output (GVA) of the creative industries was £42 billion – an increase of 38 per cent in nominal terms since 2009.⁵ London accounts for more than 40 per cent of creative sector employment in the United Kingdom, and a third of all its businesses in that sector.⁶

A key characteristic of the creative and cultural industries is that the majority of employment in London is located in small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) – a much larger proportion than in other sectors.

Since 2012, the number of jobs in the creative sector (see Figure 1) and cultural industries has increased by 24 per cent, bringing the total number of jobs to over 880,000 in 2016.⁷ Furthermore, and despite perceptions of low pay, people working in the creative and cultural industries receive relatively high earnings, with a gross median hourly pay for employees of £19.52 in 2016 – 23 per cent higher than in other industries. However, this value should be treated with caution: when broken down by sub-sector in 2016, the highest median pay in the industry came from “film, TV, radio and photography”, at £21.77, while the lowest came from “crafts; design; product, graphic and fashion design”, at £15.34.

Nonetheless, there is job growth in the sector, and this is likely to continue in the future. While in the foreseeable future around one-third of London's jobs could be automated,⁸ the creative and cultural industries is likely to be one of the most resilient. Centre for London research estimated a 24 per cent potential for jobs within the Arts, Entertainment and Recreation sector to be automated within the next 20 years – compared to the Wholesale & Retail and Transportation & Storage sectors, which have a 60

Figure 1: Employees by size of enterprise, in the creative sector



Source: ONS (2015), Creative industries in London by size of enterprise. SMEs are defined as enterprises with fewer than 250 employees.

and 63 per cent potential respectively.⁹ Further research by Nesta shows that occupations categorised as highly creative – artists, musicians, designers, actors – are not at high risk of automation.¹⁰

Underrepresentation in the creative and cultural industries

The discourse of the “creative city” emerged in the 2000s, promoting the idea of a thriving creative sector as one of the keys to economic revival in cities.¹¹ And in 2016, when Rt Hon Matt Hancock MP was Minister of State for the creative industries, he called the arts “one of the greatest forces for openness and social mobility”.¹²

Nonetheless, other research suggests that cultural labour markets tend to be dominated by white men from relatively privileged backgrounds.¹³ To assess this claim’s accuracy for the terms of this report, we review data below from the creative industries and four sub-sectors which represent their more “cultural” aspects (design and fashion; museums and galleries; music, performing and visual arts; and film, TV, radio and photography).

We focus on class, gender, race and ethnicity, which significantly affect social differentiation and inequality, particularly where they intersect.¹⁴ Gender, race and ethnicity are considered when thinking about organisational diversity¹⁵ (along with age): however, social class is often excluded entirely from discussions around diversity, as there is no UK legislative imperative to consider it as a source of disadvantage.¹⁶ However, it may be a strong determinant of the ease with which an individual can expect to enter and gain a foothold in the creative and cultural industries.¹⁷

Gender

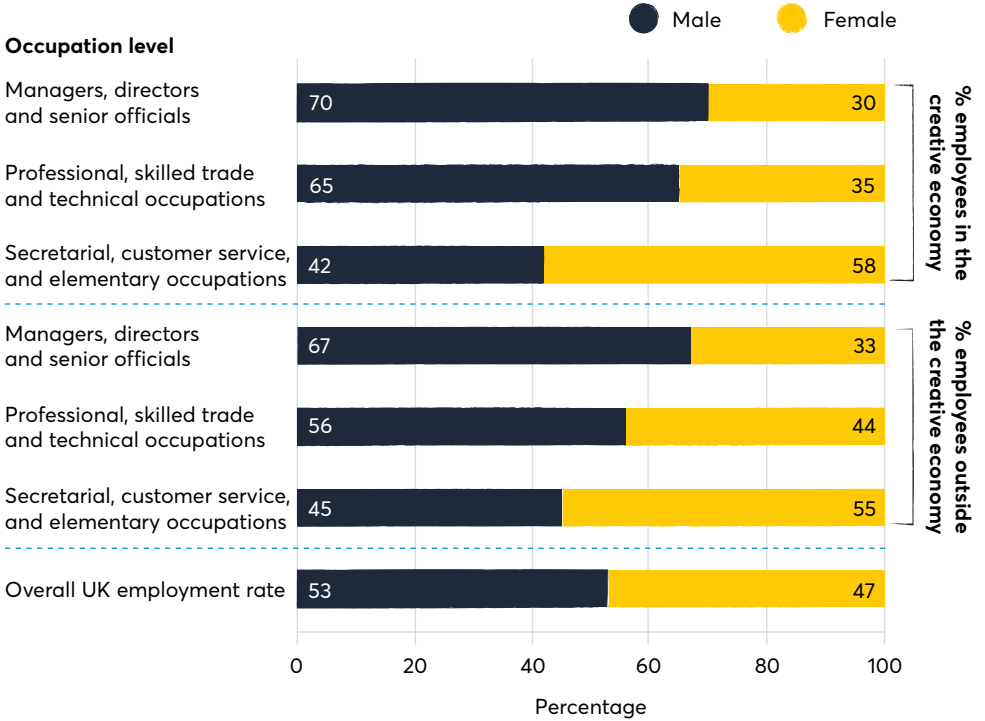
There continues to be a higher percentage of males than females in the creative economy, particularly in senior managerial professional occupations (Table 1). This percentage is also higher than in industries outside the creative economy. Additionally, there is a greater representation of women in mid-to lower-skilled positions. The data in Figure 2 suggests that there is a gender glass ceiling effect – i.e. a halt in advancement into a higher position for women. Although this glass ceiling also exists in other sectors, in the creative and cultural industries the ceiling applies more clearly for professional and intermediate positions.

Table 1. Gender representation in the UK creative and cultural industries by sub-sector

Creative industry sub-sector	Male	Female
Design: product, graphic and fashion design	58%	42%
Film, TV, video, radio and photography	60%	40%
Museums, galleries and libraries	34%	66%
Music, performing and visual arts	52%	48%
Overall UK employment rate	53%	47%

Source: ONS Annual Population Survey 2018. Employment Rate by Gender (Working age), UK. 2015 data

Figure 2. Gender representation in the creative and cultural industries by major occupation, compared to other sectors



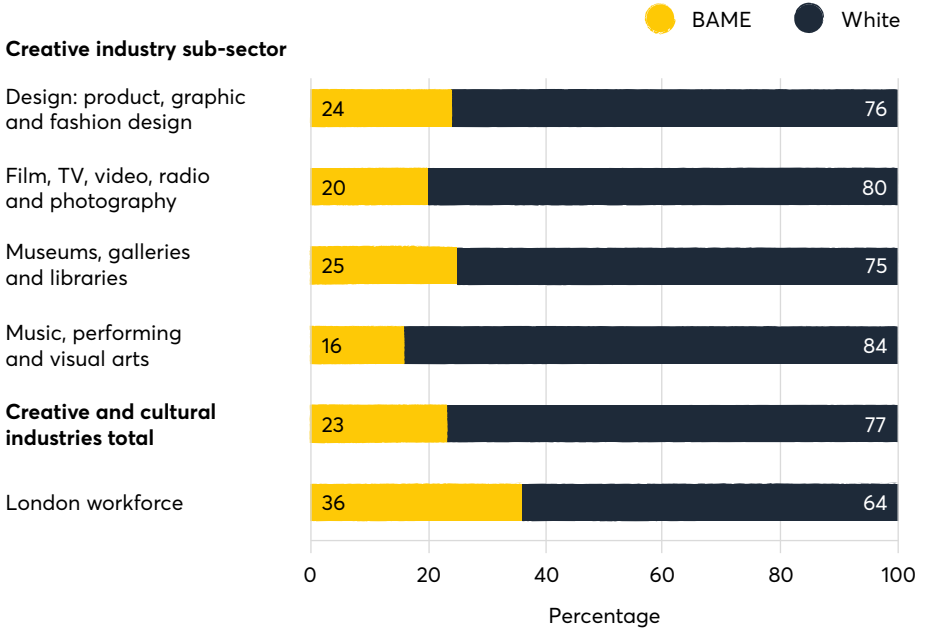
Source: ONS Annual Population Survey, London. 2016 data

Ethnicity

London’s Black Asian Minority Ethnic (BAME) groups make up 40 per cent of the population,¹⁸ but BAME employees are underrepresented in the creative and cultural industries. In 2016 they represented around 23 per cent of the sector compared to 36 per cent of the total London workforce (see Figure 3). The glass ceiling effect experienced by female employees in the creative industries also applies to BAME employees, where the majority – 32 per cent – are employed in lower-skilled occupations in comparison to senior roles (Figure 4). Furthermore, recent release of statistics in the television industry have demonstrated that BAME employees earn on average 16 per cent less than their

white counterparts, with the average annual bonus gap reaching 66 per cent.¹⁹

Figure 3. BAME representation in London's creative and cultural industries by sub-sector



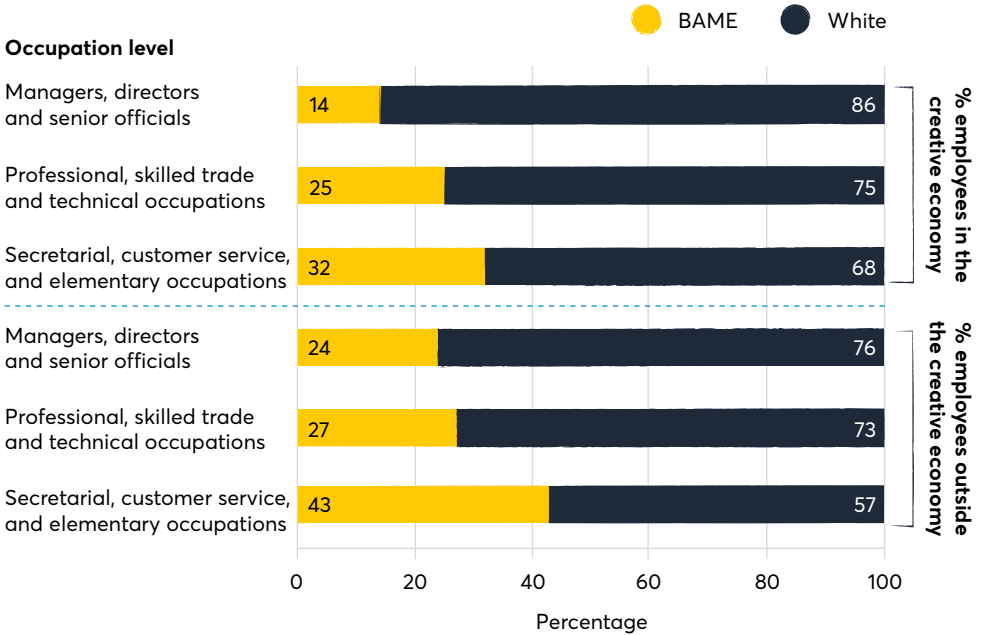
Source: ONS Annual Population Survey 2018. Employment Rates by broad ethnic group (Working age), London. 2016 data

Social class

At a national level there are concerns over the lack of representation of employees from working class backgrounds in the cultural and creative industries. For example, recent data within the television industry indicates that 60 per cent of employees have parents who work in professional or managerial positions; very low numbers of staff identify as coming from a working class background. Channel 4's working class employees, for instance, only make up nine per cent of its workforce.²⁰

Analysis conducted by the GLA also found an imbalance between employees from different socio-economic groups in the creative economy. 95 per cent of employees were categorised as coming from

Figure 4. BAME representation in London's creative and cultural industries by major occupation



Source: ONS Annual Population Survey, London. 2016 data

a more advantaged background, compared to five per cent from less advantaged backgrounds.²¹ Further academic research has shown that in the UK, working class employees make up 18 per cent of the music, performing and visual arts sector and 12 per cent of the film, TV and radio sector – yet represent 35 per cent of the UK population. By contrast, 28 per cent in music, performing and visual arts and 26 per cent in film, TV and radio come from privileged backgrounds – yet represent only 14 per cent of the population.²²

At a London level, the same study found that those employed in the capital's creative and cultural industries tend to come from significantly more privileged backgrounds. While around 45 per cent of those working in the creative and cultural industries outside London are from professional or managerial backgrounds, in London it is over 60 per cent. The class pay gap is also larger in

London, with those from working class backgrounds earning on average only 85 per cent of what those from higher professional and managerial backgrounds earn; elsewhere the same figure is 90 per cent.²³

The Creative Industries Federation has argued that organisational diversity means having a workforce that represents the communities where organisations operate – and, by extension, their potential audience.²⁴ Although the creative and cultural industries is thriving in London, London is failing on representation, particularly at senior levels – and the sector remains inaccessible to some groups, especially problematic given that it can offer well paid, fulfilling and future-proof careers. Furthermore, although cultural sector data does not always distinguish between cultural administration jobs and cultural production jobs, there is often evidence of a glass wall as well as a glass ceiling, for example in the case of women being overrepresented in administrative jobs in culture.²⁵ The next chapters will look at how entrance into and progression through the creative and cultural industries' sub-sectors continues to be exclusive.



Participants from digital content production, visual storytelling and creative media campaigning immersion courses: Create Jobs
Credit: Ketishia Vaughan

2.

Analytical framework

The previous chapter highlighted the importance of the creative and cultural industries to London’s economy, but also the lack of representation within the sector (particularly at senior levels) in terms of gender, ethnicity and social class.

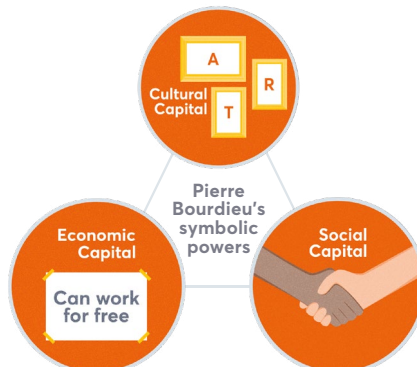
As our research aims to understand the barriers faced by young people in accessing the sector, this chapter outlines some explanations for these and the consequent lack of diverse representation. We look at the sociological literature and present the theoretical framework used to design our research method and analyse our research findings. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 then explore these findings in more detail.

Research framework

To explore the barriers to entry into the creative and cultural industries, this report draws on the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, which focuses primarily on social class – although this intersects with ethnicity and gender, which can intensify the impacts of class differentiation.²⁶

Capitals

Bourdieu argues that people from different social positions differ from one another with regard to their possession of three forms of capital: social, cultural and economic.²⁷ Combined, the possession of these “capitals” confer “symbolic power” to enter, progress and get ahead in society:



- **Economic capital** includes all kinds of material resources (e.g. financial resources, land or property ownership) – which can also be used to acquire more culture.
- **Social capital** consists of the benefits that flow from relationships at group (membership of a family or school) or individual (knowing important people) levels. Individuals can mobilise these when in need themselves or on behalf of their close relationships/social contacts, including for the purpose of gaining economic resources.
- **Cultural capital** comes in three forms:
 - *Embodied capital*: i.e. skills, formal knowledge, know-how, tastes and behaviours.
 - *Objectified capital*: i.e. possession of cultural goods (e.g. books, artworks).
 - *Institutionalised capital*: i.e. educational attainment (made legitimate by degrees and school certificates).²⁸

The following chapters of this report aim to articulate more clearly – from our research with young people, educational institutions and employers (see Appendix 2 for details) – how talent alone is no guarantee of being able to access and progress in the creative and cultural industries. Rather, education and especially social reproduction matter.

Among the salient findings of our research was the intensity of competition among applicants for jobs, with openings often attracting 100 applications for one entry-level position. This means those with the most symbolic capital have a significant advantage, while many young people are “not getting any results even though they had the right experience and the qualifications” – in a focus group participant’s words.



Participants from digital content production, visual storytelling and creative media campaigning immersion courses: Create Jobs
Credit: Ketishia Vaughan

3.

Barriers: the role of economic capital

For entrants to the creative and cultural industries economic capital is often required simply to get a foot in the door. Without sufficient resources such as income or time to pursue a low or unpaid entry-level role – often due to other commitments such as employment outside the sector to meet basic needs – opportunities remain limited. The challenge is intensified by the high cost of living in London.

This chapter presents evidence that economic capital is crucial to accessing the creative and cultural industries, and can also contribute to the acquisition of both social capital and cultural capital. Chapters 4 and 5 will look at this in more detail.

Unpaid internships

Though some employers no longer use unpaid internships, and the government is seeking to step up action where these are being used to sidestep minimum wage legislation, internships remain a stepping stone for entrants into employment across the cultural and creative industries. Although the nature of the work varies, research suggests that employers often expect interns to be highly educated, requiring at least a bachelor's degree.²⁹

Low-paid and unpaid internships have acted as a key barrier to social mobility in the creative and cultural industries. Entry-level graduates in particular embark on unpaid internships, perceiving them as a way to gain skills, networks and experience (see Chapter 4). However, this creates inequalities between those with economic capital (who are often financially able to carry out work for free) and those without.



I haven't done any internships because they don't pay well enough. I live on my own so if I do work it needs to be relevant to my circumstances... So, a living wage on an internship would definitely turn the whole thing around for me but some internships you have to work for free. I mean I would do it if I was living with my mum, but I don't so it's difficult.

Male BAME, working class, unemployed

Research by The Sutton Trust has estimated the minimum monthly cost of carrying out an internship in London is £1,019 on rent and living expenses.³⁰ Travel expenses, which are often paid by the employer, are excluded.

Therefore, unless an individual has the financial support of family, friends or carers, taking on free work in the city is a challenge. A participant currently working in the creative and cultural industries with prior experience outside the industry said:



It was a concern for me making that move because I worked in the public sector with a decent job, then made the move to work in the arts. I did perceive that the way for me to get into it is to do the unpaid internship and to take the low-paying job... the reason why I went for it was because I was 22, I was still living at home, I could afford to take it. But it was [...] a step backwards.

Male BAME, employed in the crafts and design sector

The majority of focus group participants said that they had taken on an unpaid internship to help boost their chances of paid work in the future. This does create financial pressures, however:



Often, they pay expenses but that's lunch, that's not even travel, you can't live on that, you can't pay rent on that. So I worked all day for free, then go and do a pub shift at night. And so that went on for five months until I managed to get an entry-level job in another TV company [...] there is this really challenging narrative. Even if they say they offer diverse opportunities, those opportunities still aren't paid. You have to have parents to support you or have some sort of income, you have to be self-sufficient just to start just to get some contacts, just to get unpaid work let alone paid work.

Female, employed in the film, TV, radio and photography sector

One employer said of the creative and cultural industries that:



...our strength is our weakness. Industries that aren't so desirable have had to think about how they attract people. And I think our industry because we're so desirable [...] there's a culture of unpaid internships. No one would go unpaid in a construction company, of course they wouldn't. Our industry is like, "why would we pay for someone when we can get them for free?" That's ridiculous and needs to change.

Employers from the creative and cultural industries have recognised that the culture of unpaid internships is prevalent, particularly in smaller organisations. However, as well as larger organisations moving away from this practice, smaller companies are following suit: one art gallery we spoke to abolished their unpaid internship programme in 2013, now instead running a 12-month paid trainee programme for two trainees that has supported 10 curators since its inception.

Educational institutions also recognise the issue, in some cases refusing to advertise unpaid work experience unless it is embedded in the course. However, they also outline evidence of employers sidestepping university job boards and instead informally approaching tutors to offer unpaid work experience to their students; this again creates a distinction between students who can and cannot afford to work for free.

Volunteering

Though less visible than the unpaid internship (and with less of a bad press), volunteering is also widespread in the cultural industries. While volunteering offers many advantages – to individuals, institutions and society – it can also reflect the distinction between those who have the resources and time to volunteer and those who cannot due to family commitments or financial pressures.



One of the talks we had at university [...] one of the girls was saying that she volunteered five days a week at [museum] and she was working shifts at the weekend and sleeping on her sister's floor, and people left the talk thinking is that something that they would have to do.

Female, unemployed

Volunteering is also demanding of young people's time, and is treated as a stepping-stone into the sector.



Some organisations advertised their volunteering jobs as if they were paid jobs [...] I think I did a personal details application, then a cover letter, then an interview. That's quite a lot for a volunteer role.

Female working class, unemployed

One employer we interviewed was aware that “*only a specific type of group can afford to volunteer, already excluding the majority of people who cannot enter the sector through these means*”. As a result, this employer has decided to restrict the length of volunteering programmes (up to a period of three months) and to offer volunteering after work where it can be combined with a paid position. Additionally, they highlight the need for greater transparency about the type of work given to volunteers, and for employers to stick to short-term roles if volunteers are to be unpaid.

The nature of unpaid work

Many focus group participants found that work experience (including unpaid work) enabled them to develop social networks and meet fellow creatives, exposing them to a wider network. Having sufficient resources to work for free in the creative and cultural industries makes it easier to successfully build social capital and obtain the experience needed for progression, thereby creating an uneven playing field. However, when unpaid work is essentially menial in nature, the costs can still outweigh the benefits, as one focus group participant who interned for free in the TV industry explains:



...I would literally be running errands, I'd be asked to take a DVD to a post-production company or pick something up from them or print a map out [laughs], really basic things. Logging that was one thing that... it's a fancy word but essentially it's transcribing an interview... it's mind-numbingly awful. It takes so much time so that's why they give it to the intern.

Female, employed in the film, TV, radio and photography sector

Unpaid work does not always constitute worthwhile experience, and can lead interns from poorer backgrounds to *“being in a worse financial position than [they] started in in the first place”*, according to one focus group participant. Some sub-sectors are aware of the challenges that young people from lower socio-economic backgrounds face in gaining experience, and the biases within their own organisations that allow those with economic means to get ahead. For example, an employer in the museums sector said that when looking for an experienced employee, they value people with paid experience more than those who have only done voluntary or unpaid work.

Precariousness and instability

In 2016, 28 per cent of jobs in London's creative economy were held by self-employed people, compared to 17 per cent in the non-creative economy.³¹ When homing in on the creative arts and entertainment sector, data from the ONS indicates that in 2017, of the 1,027,000 self-employed jobs in London 48,797 of them are in the creative arts and entertainment sector, a 41 per cent increase since 2004.³² A lot of work is on a project-by-project basis; therefore income is unstable and unpredictable. With little certainty as to where the next job will come from, in addition to the short contract length of projects and internships, the perceived risk of working in the creative and cultural industries is high. Young people are well aware and accepting of these risks.

However, this pattern of employment can accentuate disadvantage, as those with more economic capital and

support will be more resilient and have a stronger safety net – or may even have received financial support from family and friends to set up a business in the first place. This can also lead to parental reluctance for children to embark on cultural careers, particularly for parents from poorer backgrounds, as we were told by a senior employee in the TV sector.

As a result, those who studied a creative subject are often attracted to more stable careers in arts administration:



...you will find people with PhDs going for a curator role and that would pay £25k a year [...] we've advertised for a job for Head of Public Programmes. We get a stellar list of people applying for these jobs and I'm wondering 'why are you applying for these jobs?' [...] I think it's because it's a really good salary, it's got a pension attached to it, and it's got that stability attached to it. It's quite upsetting really when you have people who should be out there probably doing production.

University representative

The role of economic capital in acquiring other capital

The economic capital that enables young people to work in low-paid or unpaid employment is also a factor in acquiring other forms of capital – including the networks and understanding that form social and cultural capital:



The unpaid work experience was necessary to get the first few jobs, but there was nothing I did on those unpaid work experience placements that was valuable for getting a job, I could have just learnt it on the job... the biggest thing I had to learn was just how the industry worked and how to network...

Female, employed in the film, TV, radio and photography sector

The cost of living in London can also hinder the acquisition of cultural capital as well as social capital:



All my friends are in arts schools, in RADA, in Guildhall School of Music and Drama, and they are paying so much they don't have money to do anything else or build their wider knowledge or networking through going to events and going to the theatre, and that's the problem of being an art student in London... unless you get a permanent job that sustains you or you live with your parents in London it's like, how are you going to live and pay to build a network in London?

Female, student

Furthermore, educational institutions are aware of the role of economic capital in acquiring cultural capital. And having more economic capital helps to develop and hone talent:



...if you look at a 16-year-old and think they're talented that can sometimes be down to raw talent, sure, but actually a lot of the time it's down to practice and hours, and a lot of the time it's down to things like after-school clubs that are paid for, or tutorial times that are paid for.

University representative

Building networks

The continuing prevalence of unpaid entry-level work in London's creative and cultural industries has had a direct impact on the exclusion of working class people, and instead favours those with high levels of economic capital. Unpaid work is particularly helpful in the acquisition of networks, which the next chapter will examine.



Participants of the Young Creatives project run by the Roundhouse

Credit: Ellie Pinney

4.

Barriers: the role of social capital

This chapter will highlight the role of networks in helping people to enter and progress in the creative and cultural industries.

The importance of networking

The popular phrase “who you know matters more than what you know”³³ is particularly applicable to the creative and cultural industries. Many opportunities are accessed via word of mouth, through links with friends and family members in the industry, or through personal recommendations.



It's not about how talented you are, it's about who you know and how you know them. If you meet someone they're more likely to help you find a job or find work through them. If you know no one but you're doing the most amazing artwork or trying to get it seen people aren't going to help you... it's about trying to find ways to network as much as possible in London.

Female, student

Obtaining a strong network and remaining connected within the industry is key when looking for a position and progressing within London's creative and cultural industries. Nevertheless, without existing connections, finding such contacts relies on taking unpaid positions “to get a foot in the door” – as outlined in the previous chapter.



I was struggling to get anything else because it's so reputation-based, network-based, you've got to know someone to get a job.

Female, employed in the film, TV, radio and photography sector

To the young people we spoke to, the traditional practice of applying for jobs through a standardised process seems old-fashioned, unnecessary – and incredibly time consuming and complex. Further,

it seems that most jobs are found through networks or “a bit of luck”:



I've never gotten a job by actually applying for it. I got a job by emailing people tactically and sort of building up this network [...] now I have an Excel spreadsheet of people I know at various production companies who if I send my CV they will keep it in file [...] they will keep in touch with me if there is a job coming up because they don't advertise it.

Female, employed in the film, TV, radio and photography sector



The only thing I've managed to get recently... I literally just managed to send an email and thank God somebody replied and said we are looking for somebody. That's it. All the roles I've applied for online... nothing really.

Male working class, unemployed

Employers argue that that cultural organisations are not so competitive for talent compared to other sectors, due to a lot of recruitment being done through networks rather than advertised jobs:



The museum sector needs to stop with this practice [of recruiting through networks] because you're only recruiting who you know.

Employer in the museum sector



One of the big things I'm trying to push more is to advertise more jobs. So, all our apprenticeship schemes are advertised, every single permanent job on [channel name] is advertised. But a lot of the freelance work that happens in this industry is not advertised. So, it's a real challenge [...] It's often people they know who are filling these up.

Employer in the film, TV, radio and photography sector

But advertising jobs and recruiting in a traditional way can be an issue for small organisations:



A lot of work can happen with small organisations by word of mouth... even [to] go writing a job description, advertise a job, doing two rounds of interviews, is actually time-consuming [...] this is what they're trying to challenge in the university.

University representative

Lack of awareness of opportunities for young people

As a result of the factors outlined above, many employers and educational institutions invest in outreach initiatives – especially to groups who aren't aware of these owing to a lack of social capital.



We've tended to end up with people we already have in the industry and one of the big challenges is how do we broaden out to be more inclusive? [...] If you're recruiting from a puddle, then you're not getting as many voices than if you were recruiting from an ocean and I think that's the big challenge.

Employer in the film, TV, radio and photography sector

Some students have taken the initiative themselves – for example by setting up networks for BAME students at arts universities and emphasising the importance of network building among peers as well as with more experienced people within the industry.

Other further education arts specialist colleges also have schemes in place to support students,³⁴ and work placements are embedded in courses in order to establish contacts. Colleges devote a lot of time at the beginning of courses to exposing students to the creative and cultural industries: this helps to enhance connections, build the confidence to network, and see what it's like to work in the sector.



Half of our students' parents work in the creative industry, so they've got that stuff. But for the other half it's how you give them those networks once they're with us. That's where they do get the better jobs.

University representative

Some universities have started to develop professional mentoring programmes, matching students with people working in the creative and cultural industries. Mentoring is valuable but not accessible to all, as a focus group participant reflected:



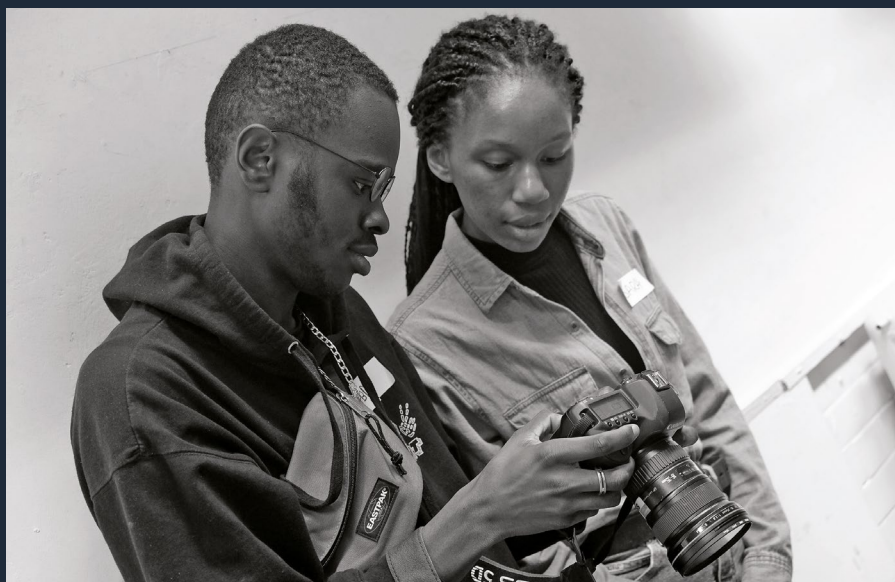
Once I kind of got in [...] someone would just take me under [their] wing and then they would give me the advice and tips and tricks to make it along the way. Which is good for me but I'm also thinking that this is something that needs to be shared.

Male BAME, employed in the crafts and design sector

Conclusions

Given the often informal approaches to recruitment, the benefits of knowing someone – a friend or relative – already working in the sector are considerable, illustrating the value of social capital and the challenges facing those students who have not accumulated it. A US study has highlighted the need to address gender, ethnic, and social class inequalities in terms of access to college resources and post-graduation career trajectories, after finding that graduates from these groups are more likely to find a job in an unrelated field after graduation.³⁵

Despite attempts from education institutions (and arts charities programmes) to fill the gaps, this level of social capital, often acquired with the support of economic capital, is concentrated among students from more privileged backgrounds. This is compounded by the possession of cultural capital, which is looked at in the next chapter.



Participants from digital content production, visual storytelling and creative media campaigning immersion courses: Create Jobs
Credit: Ketishia Vaughan

5.

Barriers: the role of cultural capital

Cultural capital comes in three forms:

- **Embodied capital:** i.e. skills, formal knowledge, know-how, tastes and behaviours.
- **Objectified capital:** i.e. possession of cultural goods (e.g. books, artworks).
- **Institutionalised capital:** i.e. educational attainment made legitimate by degrees and school certificates.

Research has shown that exposing children to diverse cultural activities – which is more likely in middle class backgrounds – has a positive indirect effect on creative employment.³⁶ This chapter considers how cultural capital is acquired, and how cultural education is not the sole provider of the skills and “embodied capital” required to progress in the creative and cultural industries.

Inequalities in acquiring cultural capital

Lack of investment in cultural education

The underrepresentation of minority groups in the creative and cultural workforce may partly result from insufficient opportunities within the education system. There has been a national decline in the uptake of creative subjects in schools, reducing opportunities for young people to explore the arts. For instance, the average number of Key Stage 4 arts entries per pupil has fallen by 20 per cent in both inner and outer London between 2007 and 2016.³⁷ The provision of creative subjects has fallen most in schools that have a higher proportion of children receiving free school meals (i.e. from disadvantaged backgrounds); these schools have been twice as likely to withdraw art-related subjects.³⁸ The government has also recently excluded arts subjects from the English Baccalaureate, further reducing opportunities for those whose participation in cultural activities is limited to the classroom.

The role of background and family

Acquiring cultural capital is also influenced by one's participation in the arts outside the education system, and how one's interaction with the arts shapes interest in working in the sector:



I think going to places when I was young was important for me, especially going to the free museums... neither of my parents worked in the creative and cultural industries... they were really keen to accompany school trips and take us to places where we could benefit from public learning, so I feel really at home in the British Museum because every summer holiday we went because they were free, easy to get to, and again the facilities are amazing and world class. I mean how lucky to have that in London.

Female working class, employed in the museums, galleries and libraries sector

Even where universities and colleges have been trying to select students using their portfolio of works and other characteristics such as passion, commitment, ambition, industry awareness and team skills³⁹ rather than formal academic attainment, parental involvement and support makes a difference:



I think this also has difficulties because the quality of the portfolio always depends on what school they've come from. So, some schools would be very supportive of the creative arts, some would be more difficult. One of the things we have found is that when we are interviewing for instance for film courses [...] the students won't know who was nominated for an Oscar when they were on two days before. So there's that lack of support from the schools and families and colleges when it comes to looking at cultural capital [...] it's a very limited education which they have. They don't get past that stage when trying to get onto creative courses.

University representative

Even once in further education, accumulating cultural capital seems to depend on background:



We do find our role to be much more about taking them to places because their parents won't be taking them. You are taking them to all the events in their college time, but we are spending an awful lot of time trying to bring them out into more places they're not going to – it's not that they are frightened; it is an unknown place and they need that introduction [...] it's our job to embrace that and encourage them.

FE college representative

Interactions outside of the cultural sector – for example with parents and career advisors – will also have an impact on the decision to embark on a creative career. However, working in the creative and cultural industries is seen (not unjustifiably) by parents as risky and unconventional. This has consequently led to focus group participants describing situations in the home where support for a creative career ranged from limited to absent.



My family weren't that supportive. Whereas [with] my older sister who went into law, my mum really bragged about it [...] she never said anything about me because I did a film degree and I wanted to work in the film and TV industry.

Female BAME, employed in the film, TV, radio and photography sector

Private school

Unsurprisingly, research has shown that former private school students are overrepresented in the creative and cultural industries.⁴⁰ One employer argued that this, as much as higher education, should be the focus for action:



The tendency in this industry is that we've been too obsessed with the elite universities [...] a certain percentage of the population go to private school and [they form] the majority of the people [who] get the positions... although [we] are better than other broadcasters, we still have a high percentage of people that went to private school that work here.

**Employer in the film, TV, radio
and photography sector**

Getting to arts school is not the main factor in getting a cultural job

Aside from going to private school, some commentators recognise the importance of mentoring and networks, but argue that arts education is the biggest factor in promoting social mobility.⁴¹ However, research has found that one of the key differences between the creative and cultural industries and other sectors of the economy is the relative unimportance of having formal educational qualifications.⁴² Although research on art school graduates in particular suggests that they do try to pursue careers within the arts, learning on the job and cultural pastimes are just as important. Employers rely on demonstrated experience, and the quality of people that entrants to the sector have worked with, rather than just formal qualifications alone.

Focus group participants suggested that the formal structure of a higher education creative degree was deterring them from the practicalities – the “doing” of creative arts.



I think that sometimes it's a bit too theoretical [...] some students struggle a lot with the theoretical art side of things because as an artist I don't think you necessarily have to be able to eloquently talk about your practices or write thousands of words about it. But you do now.

Male, self-employed artist



From the skills perspective I feel like I can write an essay on anything now if I had to go and research something for an exhibition or a project or just admin... I feel quite comfortable doing that but I do think it was very academically focused. From the perspective of practical skills, communication skills and networking, not really...

Male BAME, employed in the crafts and design sector

University experience helps equip students with the skills needed to enter the workforce. Nonetheless, an arts education is not simply about skills acquisition – not every artist will have studied art, nor will every art graduate work in the arts. Educational institutions can, however, help students to understand the technicalities of a creative career and can support them in acquiring both social and cultural capital. Nonetheless, in order to tackle underrepresentation, other measures will also need to be taken by employers in the cultural and creative industries (see Chapter 6).

Knowing how to progress

Career paths in cultural industries are notoriously murky:



If you came here to work as a lawyer or [in] finance, there is a very clear structure [...] they tend to be more diverse and inclusive oddly. I think in the creative industries and the more creative roles, the more desirable roles... it is less clear how you progress.

Employer in the film, TV, radio and photography sector

Many young people don't have the capital to get ahead, or don't know how to start:



My friend worked as a runner for a TV production company [...] I've seen her in the times between that she's also desperate to find work and she doesn't know where to find it. More recently she's finding that when she does get the work she's not able

to move up, she's stuck in the lower realm... she's getting sick of getting everyone's coffees, that's kind of the extent of the runner role.

Female, unemployed, seeking employment in theatre



Most people I know who are doing drama facilitator work are freelance... and that's hard... setting up your own business... I don't have a business background. I would need a lot of help on how to set up something like that. You either hope that there's an established role that pays, which is so unlikely, or you create your own role which is also really hard.

Female, unemployed, seeking employment in theatre

Research has shown that the process of hiring talent across sectors often goes beyond assessing the skills needed and unconsciously selects employees on the basis of their cultural fit.⁴³ Ultimately, this could lead to the risk of losing creative talent and diversity, as this employer reflected:



People believe that they have a staff shortage... there's not enough writers, producer[s], directors. And I think that's slightly not true [...] what I think it means is people are saying that there's not enough of the exact director they want. What people are saying is that there's not enough of the person I want; and I think that we need to broaden the pool of people, who people want, and I think it's quite a difficult thing to do because television is so risky.

**Employer in the film, TV, radio
and photography sector**

What can be done?

In light of these findings, the next chapter will consider what actions can realistically be taken by policymakers, employers and educators to rebalance access to the creative and cultural industries.



Roundhouse Choir
Credit: Ellie Pinney

6.

Broadening access

The previous chapters have used interviews with young people, employers and educators to consider the role of economic, social and cultural capital in securing access to and progression through the creative and cultural industries, as well as the extent to which social background determines accumulation of these forms of capital. This is not just an issue of fairness and equity, but also a challenge for London in the long term, as it could result in loss of talent and poor creative output.

In light of these findings, what can be done to remedy unbalanced representation within London's creative and cultural industries? Although there is likely to be no silver bullet, this chapter outlines further research and case studies of positive change, before outlining our recommendations.

Changing perceptions

The role of economic, social and cultural capital in accessing and developing creative careers - as outlined in the preceding chapters - may seem self-evident. But new research has suggested it is not self-evident to the cultural elite - the very group who hold the most influential positions in the cultural and creative industries.

The *Panic! Social Class, Taste and Inequalities in the Creative Industries*⁴⁴ report published in early 2018 undertook a survey of employers in order to understand their perception of fairness in the sector. The majority of respondents were in the most influential positions in the cultural and creative industries, and were asked about the importance of several factors in getting ahead. Responses were collated by researchers into three groups (see Table 2).

The results from the study indicate that senior managers are most likely to believe that it is meritocracy (the idea that success is contingent on talent and ability) – rather than education or social reproduction – that determines success. This suggests a lack of awareness of social class, ethnicity and gender exclusions in the workforce, and may inhibit a change in practices.

Yet, employers' attitudes are crucial in tackling underrepresentation in the creative and cultural

Table 2. Participants' grouped responses from the Panic! Survey

Meritocracy	Social reproduction	Education
Talent	Networks	Having well-educated parents
Ambition	Family background and wealth	Being well-educated
Hard work	Gender and ethnicity	

Source: Panic! Report, 2018

industries, and some employers have started to change their recruitment practices with education and social reproduction factors in mind, in order to improve access for all.

Changing recruitment

In a bid to attract a more diverse workforce, some employers have been trying to change their recruitment approach:



One of the things we're trying to push is recruiting more openly, so we're not so obsessed with university graduates anymore; we just want people to come in and learn the job.

Employer in the film, TV, radio and photography sector

One of the first steps has been to attempt to measure social class, which unlike gender and ethnicity is not a protected characteristic that is legally required to be monitored:



We've just started to measure socioeconomic background. The question we're using to measure this accurately is: 'When you were 14, what did the main breadwinner do in your household?' And these are categorised into seven different groups that go into different social classes [...] we've also asked people if they've been to a private or state school. We're measuring that now because we want our workforce to be reflective. We are a national broadcaster and so we want to reflect the nation.

**Employer in the film, TV, radio
and photography sector**

Some employers have been going further by taking active measures to tackle inequalities of social and economic capital. One example is Penguin Random House UK. As outlined in the most recent Social Mobility Employer Index report,⁴⁵ the company offers 450 two-week placements every year across its editorial, sales, marketing and publicity teams. The placements are all paid the National Living Wage, and places are offered through random selection. Personal referrals are banned, and the company offers a subsidised flat to those on work experience who live outside London and have difficulty affording accommodation in the capital. The London Transport Museum (see Case Study 1) is another example of trying to diversify the routes which people can use to get into the sector.

Although it is difficult to get a full picture of the recruitment practices of both large and small organisations, some smaller organisations in the pool of employers we have spoken to have stopped offering unpaid internships, instead offering paid traineeship routes.

Apprenticeships are also an increasingly popular way to recruit workers: an employer we spoke to in the film, TV and production sector outlined that the main entry point for their company was apprenticeships rather than graduate recruitment. However, apprenticeships sometimes present difficulties for small and medium-sized employers, and London still lags behind the rest

of England in terms of uptake.⁴⁶ Pay is one issue: the current apprenticeship minimum wage for workers under 19 and/or in the first year of an apprenticeship is very low (£3.70 per hour), and wouldn't cover living costs in much of London, though higher rates are available for older or more experienced apprentices, and it should be noted that employers can set pay rates above these levels.

Furthermore, creative apprenticeships rarely run above Level 3/Advanced apprenticeships, which are equivalent to an A Level. Unlike other sectors, there are no creative degree courses at Higher and Degree apprenticeship levels, which are respectively equivalent to a foundation degree and a bachelor's or master's degree.⁴⁷ Further, a London search for cultural apprenticeships (as defined in this report) on the government's apprenticeship portal returned only one apprenticeship at Advanced Level in cultural production for a cultural organisation.

Other organisations such as Creative Access and Create Jobs have been looking to support young people to access jobs in the sector, especially those from underrepresented backgrounds. One of these is the STEP programme, which is a localised cultural employability programme in London (see Case Study 2).

Outreach

Programmes to support young people in entering the creative and cultural industries are most effective when supported by outreach programmes for people aged 11-25. The Roundhouse (see Case Study 3) combines both. Other outreach initiatives include the National Saturday Club, which offers free programmes of expert tuition with London universities and colleges in subject areas including Arts and Design to 13-16 year olds. The National Collaborative Outreach Programme (NCOP) targets students aged 13-18 who have potential at GCSE level to go into higher education but stop at further education, bringing together universities, colleges and other local partners.

These are just some examples of programmes

intended to tackle the differences in cultural capital acquisition outlined in Chapter 5.

Case Study 1: London Transport Museum

The London Transport Museum (LTM) has transformed its recruitment practices to diversify ways into the sector, and to support applicants from non-traditional backgrounds.

Traditional application forms have been replaced with short statements, as a way to emphasise potential and passion rather than credentials. The museum conducts task-based assessment days rather than one-to-one interviews. If participants are not offered a role, alternative opportunities are presented either within the organisation or through partner organisations. The museum also offers to welcome participants back for pre-employment support.

LTM has four established programmes providing multiple routes into the sector:

- Its apprenticeship programme recruits those without a degree to provide training in the museum environment.
- The Young Freelance Programme – for degree holders – supports people to set up a freelance career in the industry by working on ad hoc projects and briefs in conjunction with other organisations (helping to broaden networks).
- The Route into Work scheme, a three-day pre-employment course for 16-25 year-olds, aims to prepare young people for meeting employers and applying to transport and infrastructure jobs using LTM's collection as a creative resource.
- The Young Volunteers Programme provides short-term and meaningful work experience projects, resulting in a public display of the completed outcome.

Case Study 2: STEP

STEP (Shared Training and Employment Programme) is a 12-month programme that offers young people from east London training, mentoring and work experience in the creative and cultural industries. It helps them to develop networks and accumulate social and cultural capital, and also offers support to smaller employers.

It is funded by the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC), shaped and developed in partnership with founding members Bow Arts, Sadler's Wells and London College of Fashion, and supported and delivered by Create Jobs, part of A

New Direction.

STEP participants work across two different areas of the creative industries in order to develop key cross-disciplinary skills and gain a further insight into the variety of roles across the sector. Alongside their placement, participants are paired with a mentor and peer network, taking part in a series of twilight training sessions and industry-led masterclasses across the year.

The programme provides a pathway for those underrepresented in the creative sector, and supports organisations to recruit from a diverse talent pool. In line with the Mayor of London’s Good Work Standard, it challenges traditional recruitment practices across the sector that can act as a barrier to young people without the “right” connections, know-how or financial backing. It provides a bursary to support small organisations in paying the London Living Wage, removing a key barrier for those from low socio-economic backgrounds.

STEP is part of the LLDC’s “East Works” programme – a flexible demand-led employment, skills and enterprise programme for people living in Hackney, Tower Hamlets, Newham and Waltham Forest.

Case Study 3: The Roundhouse

The Roundhouse, located in the London Borough of Camden, seeks both to broaden young people’s access to cultural participation and production, and to enable young people from underrepresented backgrounds to pursue careers in the arts.

The Roundhouse has been a cultural hub since 1966 when it was first launched as an arts centre. Following a £30 million refurbishment, the Roundhouse reopened in 2006 with the objectives of providing a safe space for young people aged 11-25 to be creative, and being a springboard to the cultural industries. Its focus is on providing access and opportunity to young people classed as marginalised and at a social disadvantage. Each year the Roundhouse works with 6,000 young people, with over half of these from lower socio-economic backgrounds.

The Roundhouse has opened the door to a series of creative projects through their “Open Access Programme” in music, media and performing arts. These projects have led to the development of the required hard and soft skills needed for a creative career, giving young people the confidence to embark on further opportunities beyond the Roundhouse.

The Roundhouse encourages in-house career development with opportunities for upward progression. In 2016, 13 young people were employed at the Roundhouse through the traineeship and apprenticeship scheme run in collaboration with Sadler’s Wells Theatre.

In spite of this, the Roundhouse has highlighted the difficulty that the apprenticeship levy has posed for cultural organisations, and this year halted the

programme to undertake a review. They are also currently developing an entry-level workforce strategy to find to bring people from all levels of experience into the creative and cultural industries, and are looking to design entry-level careers in the future.

Outreach is also part of the work at the Roundhouse, particularly in local secondary schools and colleges. Learning resources, creative projects and career insight tours are provided, all run by professional artists with experience in the cultural industries. Additionally, the Roundhouse runs a Community Engagement programme that provides an entry-level access point to the arts, particularly for young people with fewer opportunities. In order to do so, it has established a Community Network comprising 70 local organisations including housing associations, youth services, mental health specialists, youth and community centres, and homelessness organisations. The Network comes together to share experiences, work towards shared goals and provide referrals for young people to the Roundhouse (or externally when they need additional support).



Participants of the Young Creatives project run by the Roundhouse

Credit: Ellie Pinney

Recommendations

This report has outlined the barriers to accessing creative and cultural production for some young people. Many of these barriers have their roots in structural socio-economic inequalities that are difficult to address (and in the case of social and economic capital, would likely apply to other sectors too). However, Chapter 6 has shown emerging measures taken by employers and educational/cultural institutions to address this, focusing on areas where they can have an impact. The following recommendations follow this trajectory.

Some cultural businesses and institutions are leading change in recruitment practices, but these measures need to be scaled up for both small and large organisations for them to become more representative.

Recommendation 1: The creative and cultural industries should amend recruitment practices to focus on creative talent, potential, and measurable skills such as team playing, rather than focusing on academic achievement. This applies to both employers and universities/colleges. Employers should also avoid giving preference to overqualified candidates.

Recommendation 2: Unpaid internships create a gap between those that can afford to do them and those that can't. All internships in the creative and cultural industries should be paid at least the National Minimum Wage, and subject to The Mayor's "Good Work Standard"; larger cultural employers should offer at least the London Living Wage for internships and entry-level roles.

Recommendation 3: Employers, especially larger employers, should take part in the Social Mobility Foundation Index and encourage their employees to take a voluntary employee survey. The Top 50 employers receive recognition: however, all participating employers receive a report with recommendations of areas for improvement, which could be valuable in a sector where social class plays an important role.

Recommendation 4: Educational institutions and employers should work together to develop and implement a formal mentoring programme, with specific targets for take-up from young people belonging to underrepresented groups. Though some initiatives currently exist in different pockets of the city, these need to be met London-wide. Additionally, employers should engage more systematically with educational institutions, charities and networks that seek to improve representation.

Recommendation 5: In light of the recent government funding announcement for apprenticeships, the creative and cultural industries should work with the Institute for Apprenticeships and National Apprenticeship Service to address gaps in provision and standards, as well as increasing the diversity and number of adult learners in the sector.

Recommendation 6: The Mayor has committed to supporting culture and creativity outside of the school curriculum in order to grow new talent and provide a window of opportunity for young people to explore options in the creative sector. The Mayor should outline success stories and champion the creative and cultural industries as a place of opportunity, as many parents are sceptical about their children's chances of success in this sector. The London Curriculum should have an explicit aim of increasing cultural participation, with regular surveys to monitor this.

Recommendation 7: The Mayor should use his convening role to encourage creative businesses in London to take a long-term view of the creative workforce pipeline needed to keep London's creative economy thriving. Better representation is fairer, but also allows for a more diverse cultural offer, broadening the nature of cultural knowledge (and therefore cultural capital) in line with London's global city status.

These measures are important to ensure that young people from all backgrounds can benefit from the opportunities in London's creative and cultural industries. As a focus group participant put it: "*There need to be opportunities for young people to get in, get good experience, [get] paid work.*"

On the other side of the Atlantic, Beyoncé Knowles recently wrote that "*if people in powerful positions continue to hire and cast only people who look like them, sound like them, come from the same neighbourhoods they grew up in, they will never have a greater understanding of experiences different from their own. They will hire the same models, curate the same art, cast the same actors over and over again, and we will all lose.*"⁴⁸ If London's creative and cultural industries are to keep thriving, those in power in the sector should heed this advice.



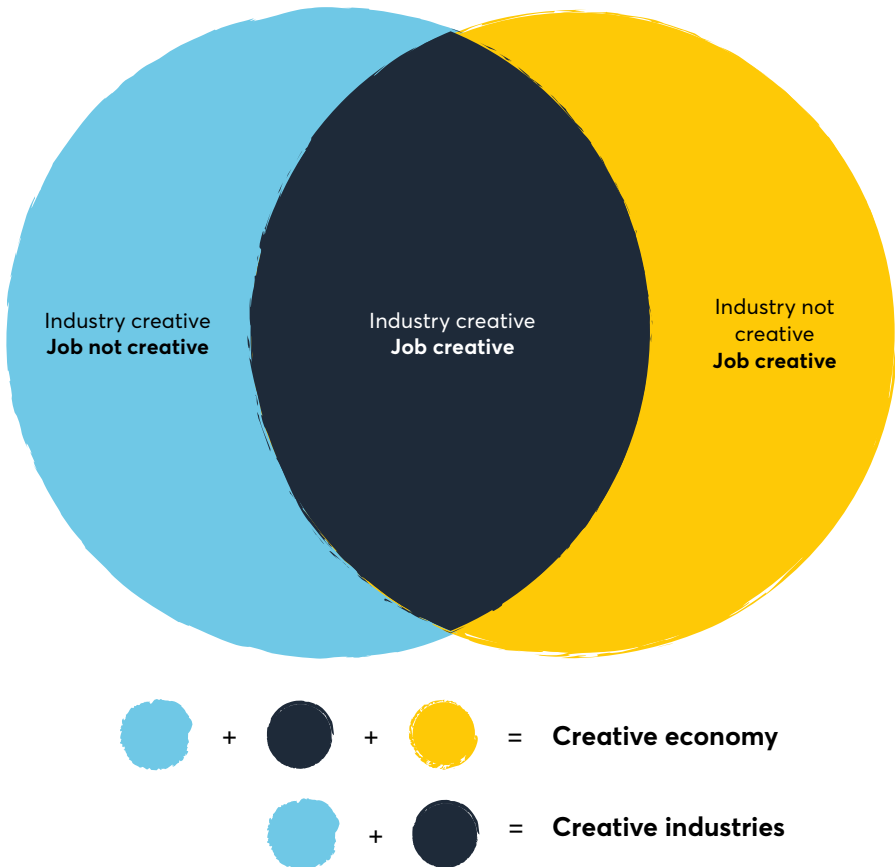
Participants from digital content production, visual storytelling and creative media campaigning immersion courses: Create Jobs
Credit: Ketishia Vaughan

Appendix 1.

Defining the creative economy, the creative industries, and the cultural sector

The creative economy encompasses people with creative occupations working in the creative industries, as well as workers with creative occupations working in any other industry, and people in a non-creative job working in a creative industry.⁴⁹ In particular, the creative industries have been defined as originating from “individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property”.⁵⁰

Figure 5: Definition of Creative Economy and Creative Industries according to Department of Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) definition



The GLA has adopted the definitions of the creative industries and the creative economy from the Department of Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS).

The cultural sector is a more loosely defined term as there is currently no internationally agreed definition. DCMS have defined this sector as obtaining a “cultural product at the centre of the industry”⁵¹ as best reflecting the availability of data on the standard industrial classifications (SIC). Table 3 below displays the industry classifications by sub-sector.

Table 3. DCMS Standard Industrial Classifications for the Creative Industry and Cultural Sector

DCMS Creative Industry sub-sectors SIC (2007)	DCMS Cultural Sector sub-sectors SIC (2007)
Advertising and marketing	Arts (performing arts, artistic creation)
Architecture	Film, TV and music
Design: product, graphic and fashion	Radio
Music, performing and visual arts	Photography
Film, TV, radio and photography	Crafts
IT, software and computer services	Museums and galleries
Publishing	Library and archives
Museums, galleries and libraries	Cultural education
	Heritage

Source: DCMS sector economic estimates methodology, 2016

The creative and cultural industries encompass different sub-sectors and occupations, often aggregated under the term “cultural and creative industries” (CCI).

Other definitions define cultural industries as those whose major outputs have some symbolic value – such as fine arts, film and craft – but also possibly including jewellery, design and fashion.⁵² To narrow the scope and focus on occupations that have marked

underrepresentation in the workforce, this report focuses on the following sub-sectors, which also match the Office for National Statistics (ONS) Annual Population Survey categories:

- Crafts and design: product, graphic and fashion.
- Music, performing and visual arts.
- Film, TV, radio and photography.
- Museums, galleries and libraries.

However, we sometimes refer to data on the creative and/or cultural industries as a whole in the absence of more granular data.



Participants from digital content production, visual storytelling and creative media campaigning immersion courses: Create Jobs
Credit: Ketishia Vaughan

Appendix 2.

Research methodology

Focus groups with young people

We conducted focus groups in July 2018 in order to gain first person accounts of the experiences that young individuals face upon entering and progressing in the creative and cultural industries. Prior to each discussion, an overview of the project was given and written consent was obtained. Additionally, names have been removed for confidentiality purposes.

Table 4 shows a demographic summary of the focus group participants:

Table 4: Gender, ethnicity and social class representation among focus group participants

Demographics	%
Male	32
Female	68
White	28
BAME	72
Free school meal recipients / living in council housing / receiving housing benefit	40

To measure class, we asked participants whether they had received free school meals, whether their family lived in council housing and if they are receiving any housing benefits (or their parents if living at home). This is just one way to measure social class (and probably conservative), along with for instance the UK's Labour Force Survey National Statistics Socioeconomic Classification (NS-SEC).

Our first group of participants were recruited through a call issued on Centre for London's social media accounts. We were looking for young people aged 16-34 who are from BAME and/or working class backgrounds, and/or women who were already employed in the cultural industries, those who were unemployed, and those still studying. Five participants took part in the focus group (Table 5).

Table 5: Centre for London focus group demographic information

Gender	Ethnicity	Working Class? (Y/N)	Age	Subject studied	Current sector of employment
Female	White	N	27	Photography and Video	Museums, galleries and libraries
Male	BAME	N	30	Film and Media Studies	Crafts and design
Female	BAME	Y	24	Fine art and drawing	Crafts and design
Female	White	Y	30	History	Museums, galleries and libraries
Female	White	N	24	Classics	Film, TV, radio and photography

Our second round of group discussion involved former members of the Whitechapel Gallery youth forum Duchamp & Sons, located in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. This is a collaborative programme for 15-21 year-olds that offers the opportunity for participants to engage with creative professionals and open up the prospect of embarking on a creative career. Five young people took part in the focus group (Table 6).

Table 6: Whitechapel Gallery focus group demographic information

Gender	Ethnicity	Working Class? (Y/N)	Age	Subject studied	Current sector of employment
Male	White	N	22	Fine Art	Employed outside the cultural sector
Female	White	N	20	Scenic Art	Student
Female	BAME	Y	22	English Literature and History of Art	Employed outside the cultural sector
Male	BAME	Y	22	Architecture	Student
Female	BAME	N	24	Fine Art and English Literature	Music, performing and visual arts

Table 7: A New Direction focus group demographic information

Gender	Ethnicity	Working Class? (Y/N)	Age	Subject studied	Current sector of employment
Female	BAME	Y	28	Digital Film Production	Film, TV, radio and photography
Female	BAME	N	23	ACT Studio	Museums, galleries and libraries
Female	BAME	Y	23	Photography and Video	Unemployed
Male	BAME	Y	25	English	Unemployed
Male	BAME	-	26	-	Employed outside the cultural sector
Female	BAME	Y	21	Health and Social Care	Unemployed
Male	BAME	-	28	Graphic Design	Unemployed
Female	BAME	N	22	International Relations	Unemployed
Female	White	N	24	Photography	Unemployed
Female	BAME	Y	26	BA Fine Art, MA in Art Criticism and Curation	Unemployed
Male	BAME	N	22	Media and Communications	Unemployed
Female	BAME	Y	22	Animation	Unemployed
Male	BAME	Y	26	Politics and International Studies	Unemployed
Female	BAME	Y	24	-	Unemployed

Our third round of group discussions involved Creative Opportunity Programme participants, a London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) programme designed and delivered in partnership with Sadler's Wells and A New Direction. This is a two-week workshop that enables members to gain first-hand exposure to London's creative industries. 14 participants were in attendance, ranging from ages 18-30 and were un- or under-employed (i.e. not currently working in the creative sector) residents of Hackney, Tower Hamlets, Waltham Forest, and Newham boroughs (Table 7).

Focus group content

The aim of the focus groups was to explore the importance of various forms of capital in accessing education, getting a job or progressing in the sector. They lasted between 60 and 90 minutes, beginning with introductions and then divided into four sections. The first section looked at participants' experiences within the further and higher education system in pursuit of a creative career and the extent to which it facilitated entry into the cultural industries. This was followed by a discussion about the job search post-education, their experiences in applying for creative jobs, and the uptake of internships. The next section focused on the barriers to entry that participants have experienced and consequently highlighted, while the final section allowed them to offer solutions to the Mayor of London on how representation in the cultural industries can be met.

The questionnaire was structured in order to understand the barriers at different life stages, namely:

- Getting into cultural courses at higher education level.
- Getting a first job in the cultural sector.
- Progressing in the cultural sector.

We recognise that the possibility of choosing cultural subjects at GCSE or A Levels influences opportunities; however, engagement with schools was difficult to achieve within the scope of this research. Nevertheless, we included a reference to this in the focus group questionnaire, and outline in more detail the impact of the lack of arts funding on the cultural capital of young people (see Chapter 5).

Interviews with employers

We spoke to employers in different sub-sectors of the cultural industries, ranging from broadcasters, museums and galleries to theatre companies and music venues. Our aim was to gain a general understanding of the actions currently taken to enhance representation in their organisations. Questions focused on recruitment practices, ways of identifying new talent and the obstacles faced in doing so, as well as engagement with educational institutions. This followed questions about barriers to ensuring a workforce representative of London, and proposed solutions to the problem. For the purposes of confidentiality, the names of employers have been removed.

Roundtable with educational institutions

A roundtable was held at Centre for London with representatives from several further and higher education institutions in culture and the arts, including Ravensbourne, Goldsmiths, University of the Arts London, University College London, and New City College Tower Hamlets.

Preliminary findings were presented initially, and in the first half of the session we discussed current outreach initiatives to widen participation in the arts as well as post-education support mechanisms. The second half of the session focused on the successes and challenges of engagement with employers in the cultural industries, as well as evidence of barriers to progression through the industry for students.



Participants from digital content production, visual storytelling and creative media campaigning immersion courses: Create Jobs
Credit: Ketishia Vaughan

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London is hub for culture and creativity, and a global leader in sectors including visual arts, theatre, film and fashion. But careers in the sector are not as accessible as they could and should be. *Culture Club* looks at the barriers to entry and progression faced by people from minority and disadvantaged backgrounds, and identifies ways in which one of London's leading sectors can offer opportunity to all Londoners, and benefit fully from the city's diversity of talent.

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