Inc Arts

Hold on.

# Diversity and Managing in the Arts.

Full report: November 2020

Preface

This research is a collaboration between Inc Arts UK and the Bridge Group, made possible by support from Arts Council England.

The study includes over half a million quantitative data-points and 60 hours of qualitative interviews. Thank you to everyone who has participated and shared their views generously and openly.

Thanks also to the following partners for their support:
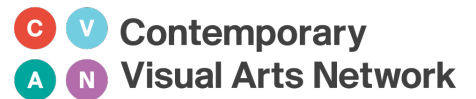
"A global pandemic, economic and social shutdown and ongoing uncertainty have taken a huge toll on many industries. But many cultural organisations have a special level of difficulty to overcome. We all still have hard times ahead, and difficult decisions to make."

(Arts Council)

"During Covid-19, I was thinking about who are the big advocates for the arts, who has been writing in The Guardian or appeared on the BBC for the arts? Mostly it is privileged White, middle-class people who are not representative of the population but have a platform to do this. It's not wrong that they use their platform to support the arts, but it is wrong that they are the ones chosen to do it … We need more voices … We need best value for everyone."

(Interviewee)

"I think the long-term impact of Covid-19 will be harmful to all sorts of diversity. Freelancers are losing work and there are redundancies in the arts already, which is affecting people disproportionately. It is a tough sector to get into."

(Interviewee)

"There is still a bit of a culture of patronage in the UK. A lot still goes on personal recommendation, with people pushing their candidates forward for jobs."

(Interviewee)

"The people who get ahead are those who are able to walk out of university and who can afford to work for free as a volunteer or an intern for 10 hours a week or more. This gives them the experience to take the next step. People who don't have this privilege have to take on other jobs to try to do the work they want to do in the arts because they can't afford to volunteer."

(Interviewee)

"I think online provision during the pandemic has been positive. The arts needed a push to become more digital in their provision. I've noticed my friends have been discussing what they've seen, there are a lot more conversations online about theatre productions, so that's been quite a positive outcome."

(Interviewee)

"You have to consider who will be excluded from online work, it's an economic and a class issue. Not all of our staff have access to a spare room or a desk, some are working on the kitchen table … and if you have children and are home schooling, the demands on your time are even greater. Digital exclusion is a major issue in the pandemic."

(Interviewee)

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Foreword

We began this research, led by the Bridge Group, in March 2020 during the week that the pandemic triggered the initial lockdown in the UK. Through analysis of survey responses from over 500 people and sixty hours of interviews, we capture the experiences of those in the arts management workforce at a time when many organisations face existential challenges. We place these in the context of a review of relevant published work.

Management in the arts sector has received little attention, and these roles can often be conflated with the more creative and craft roles in the sector. From the management community across the UK, we hear wide-ranging opinions – from optimism to despair. The stark findings from the quantitative data, and the experiences of interviewees, demand urgent action.

The survey and interview findings highlight many familiar themes. The arts management workforce is deeply unrepresentative of the wider population and where greater diversity exists, it is concentrated in public-facing roles - which often serves to makes the sector seem more diverse than it actually is. Entry-level, casual, front of house and public-facing roles have been the first major casualties of CV-19; and for many organisations these are roles where much of their diverse workforce are found.

In the UK we have a long tradition of maintaining structural inequalities, while simultaneously wringing our hands about it. What is stopping systemic change from happening, and for incremental change to be embedded? Overwhelmingly it is the widespread and sustained adherence to established hierarchies and structures. The persistent retention of power is driven by fear, and a lack of imagination: a fear of losing relevance, status, incomes – considerations that all can relate to. Imagination takes courage: and right now, imagination is what is required of all global citizens.

Clarity can be found in many of the practical recommendations outlined here. We recommend that the sector lobby for changes to the Equality Act and its enforcement; and that all organisations improve their practices in relation to recruitment and progression. More robust data collection will contribute to the latter and will also deliver better understanding, challenge and accountability in the sector. These actions require minimal resource at most.

The sector is at an important point of inflexion. It is the perfect time to experiment with radically different strategies for employment, progression and retention in the sector. Our recommendations are inclusive: it's vital that the knowledge held by those within the existing hierarchy is retained, and that the legacy of current leaders is recognised and valued.

Amanda Parker
Director, Inc Arts

Key findings

1. This study explores the workforce in arts management: who gets in, who gets ahead and how, and what needs to happen to advance greater diversity (with a focus on ethnicity, socio-economic background and gender). A key finding is that the level of diversity addressed in performances and presentations in the arts is not reflected in the workforces of arts organisations. In summary, we observe that arts management is often defined by irregular income and high employment insecurity, low or unwaged entry-level jobs, network-based recruitment practices, and above-average requirements regarding workers' temporal availability and geographical mobility. Entering, and maintaining a career in, arts management typically requires economic and social capital, which is most readily available to workers with affluent parents.

2. To help us answer the questions above, over 500 people working in a range of arts management responded to a survey. They provided demographic information and occupational data, and shared their perceptions of opportunity, progression, diversity and inclusion across the arts sector.

3. Those who responded to the survey were more diverse in terms of ethnic and gender identity compared to national averages. 16% of respondents identify as ethnically diverse, Black and Asian, compared to 14% of the UK population. 77% of respondents identify as female (compared to 51% of UK population), while 17% of respondents belong to LGBTQ communities (compared to 4% of UK population). This diversity is to be celebrated.

4. However, respondents were generally less diverse in terms of socio-economic background (SEB): 34% have a parent in a higher managerial or professional occupation, compared to 10% of the UK population; and 17% of respondents have attended an independent or fee-paying school, compared to the national average of 7%.

5. Respondents told us about the form of their employment. A much higher proportion of respondents are, or have been, freelance or on self-employed contracts (46%), than the UK labour market in general (15%). These temporary contracts are more likely to be over shorter periods (3 months or less), than for longer periods (more than 9 months). Those from ethnically diverse, Black and Asian communities are more likely to have been freelance and self-employed than those identifying as White. Those from lower SEB are more likely to be in freelance positions than those from higher SEB. We observe that the precarity associated with freelance and short-term contracts represents an additional barrier to entry and progression for people from less privileged backgrounds.

6. We found variations in the areas in which respondents worked. Those that identify as ethnically diverse, Black and Asian are more likely to be in programme creation (40%). Looking at socio-economic background, those from higher SEB are more likely to be in the professional back-office functions (fundraising and business development, communications and marketing, finance HR and business operations). Those from lower SEB are more likely to be in 'Other' roles (36%).

7.   In exploring who 'gets ahead' in arts management, we note that arts management is less likely to have formally defined levels of seniority, consistent across the sector. It may be more appropriate to see getting ahead in terms of having had a longer career (10 years plus) and having greater management responsibilities (managing 10 or more people). The survey found that those identifying as male are more likely to get ahead in this way. SEB has less impact on getting ahead than factors such as ethnic identity, gender identity, and sexual orientation.

8.   We also asked in the survey whether people's current role matched their ambitions and reflected their training and skills. Those from lower SEBs and those that identify as ethnically diverse, Black and Asian are less likely to agree. Taken together with our findings about getting ahead, this suggests that there is a problem around progression for these groups. The free text responses highlight problems around the lack of structured training and progression within the arts sector. Many respondents reflected on the unpredictable and improvised routes they have had to take to build their career.

9.   There was widespread concern about how the sector would respond to the Covid-19 crisis. Many are worried about the reduction in opportunities, and what this would mean in terms of reduced funding for programmes focused on diversity and inclusion. The pandemic has amplified respondents' concerns about not being able to reliably and securely plot a route to progression in the sector.

10.   Finally, when asked about how to improve diversity in arts management, respondents highlight the need for representative staff and clear, transparent recruitment/progression processes. There needs to be investment in reducing barriers. Respondents recommend that diverse voices should be involved at every stage in project delivery.

11.   In investigating further why people from lower socio-economically diverse backgrounds are underrepresented in arts management, we interviewed sixty people working in such roles. The interviews reveal a wide range of factors that contribute to this lack of diversity.

12.   There is a pipeline issue: interviewees believe that many young people from more diverse backgrounds are not attracted to arts management because they do not feel their voice is heard in the arts, or that the arts are relevant to them. They also suspect that young people are unaware of the range of career opportunities in arts management - and conversely that some may be put off by being aware of the lack of employment security.

13.   Interviewees echo survey respondents' comments about the lack of clear pathways for progression. Patronage (*who you know, and who knows you*) and personal connection play an important role in determining who gets opportunities. They perceive senior positions to be dominated by White men from higher SEB. Funding and sponsorship tend to favour more elitist forms of art rather than grassroots initiatives, and there is a rural-urban split in the level of funding available.

14.   It emerged during interviews that, despite existing government and Arts Council England guidelines, many people building a career in the sector are still required to work for free, either during unpaid internships (many of which are also unadvertised), or in other relatively informal arrangements ostensibly aimed at building experience and exposure. We observe that this is deeply excluding for those who do not have independent financial support.

15.   Interviewees noted that geography matters. There is a rural/urban split in terms of, for example, diversity initiatives and the funding available for arts activities. Creative businesses are disproportionately clustered in the South East of England, and especially London, where the cost of living is higher than in the rest of the UK. This Is likely to make it more difficult for people who grow up outside of London and/or from lower-income backgrounds to break into the sector.

16.   Given these barriers, it is perhaps unsurprising that interviewees expressed scepticism about diversity and inclusion initiatives, which some describe as a "tick box exercise" and/or leading to tokenism. Interviewees want diversity to be embedded throughout teams, volunteers and audiences; and in structures and processes. They generally support data collection to monitor inclusivity and diversity, though some express misgivings about some aspects, such as the terms used.

17.   Diversity in the arts matters. Interviewees noted that local participation in the arts promotes cultural democracy and increases societal benefits, while cultural tourism can attract arts participants and improve place image, regional competitiveness and differentiation. Diverse teams create diverse audiences. A lack of diversity amongst arts managers and administrators may result in narrower or more homogenous approaches, cultural tastes and perspectives; and may make it harder to realise the wider benefits above. Interviewees suggest a range of measures to improve diversity in arts management, from institutional processes to reforming funding mechanisms and developing a national body to drive change.

18.   Like survey respondents, interviewees were deeply concerned about the possible impact of Covid-19 on the arts sector and their future careers. We note that creative industries are predicted to be hit twice as hard as the UK economy overall by the Covid-19 pandemic, risking a "cultural catastrophe."

19.   The UK's creative sector was previously growing at five times the rate of the wider economy, employing over two million people and contributing £111.7 billion annually to the economy. Revenues are forecast to drop by £74 billion in 2020, representing a 30% fall, and job losses are predicted to hit more than 400,000. The loss in gross value will be £29 billion in 2020. The introduction of the JSS[1] and changes to SEISS[2] will have

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[1] Job Support Scheme: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-job-support-scheme/the-job-support-scheme
[2] Self-Employment Income Support Scheme: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/self-employment-income-support-scheme-grant-extension

further impact on redundancies and employment within the sector. It seems likely that arts managers without independent financial support are most likely to be forced to leave the arts sector for alternative employment, further reducing its socio-economic diversity.

20.   To help address these issues, we make practicable recommendations for the arts sector, as listed in the following section. These relate to, for example, embedding ethnic and socio-economic diversity as a condition of funding, and ensuring that those making decisions are themselves diverse. We also support the development of a national action plan for diversity in the arts.

Scope and methodology

21.   This study explores the following questions:

> Who gets into arts management in the UK, and how; and who gets ahead?

> Is there any relationship between these matters and diversity (with particular reference to ethnicity, socio-economic background and gender)?

> If so, what are the factors that contribute to this?

> What are the implications of these findings?

> What practical recommendations can be implemented in response to these findings?

22.   To approach these questions, we have undertaken:

> an extensive review of existing literature, policy and practice from across a wide range of sources in the UK and further afield;

> an analysis of over 500 responses to an online survey of those working in arts management, exploring their background characteristics and how these correlate with experiences of getting in and getting ahead (the survey gathered quantitative datapoints and data from over 70,000 words of open text responses); and.

> 60 interviews with a diverse range of people working in arts management, selected purposively from a bank of over 220 volunteers via the survey.

23.   We outline the methodology we used for each of these tasks in the relevant section.

Recommendations

The advice here is for a range of stakeholders, including arts organisations, government, education and audiences. Their successful execution will require collaboration between some, or all, of these stakeholders.

R1. **Embed ethnic and socio-economic diversity as a condition of funding and government support – contextualised regionally.** Recession disproportionately affects the ethnically diverse workforce and those from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Prioritising funding to organisations that can actively demonstrate a minimum of 15% diversity across each type of role (arts management separately from creatives)[3] will boost recovery in a way that is equitable and allows the sector to build on the valuable equity, diversity and inclusion gains made in recent years.

R2. **Embed diversity in the decision-making and evaluation underlying artistic and cultural funding and production.** A robust monitoring and evaluation system will support the UK government's ambitions for regional and socio-economic equity. Those who make decisions about the distribution of arts funding are disproportionately from the majority group. Diverse arts and cultural practitioners are routinely assessed by non-diverse evaluation teams and managers. Stronger representation of diversity in the systems and processes of cultural production will support equitable outcomes for diverse creatives. And as the Arts Council outsources funding decisions, accountability needs to be carefully considered here.

R3. **Individual arts organisations should support Inc Arts in the development and implementation of a National Action Plan for diversity in the arts and cultural sector.** The embedding of diversity in the UK's cultural recovery will help the country rebuild and recover in a way that is inclusive and equitable. The creation of a National Diversity Action Plan for Culture will provide a framework for arts organisations to meet diversity requirements through independently created terms of reference and guidance, identifying best practice through a set of national criteria. A robust, independent evaluation process will ensure that the data gathered also includes the freelance sector workforce, which comprises up to 77% of the sector's workforce.

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[3] This might mean, for example, at least 15% of roles meeting one of the following criteria: ethnically diverse, parental background NS-SEC 6-7, non-binary gender.

R4. All arts organisations should pay people undertaking work experience and internships lasting more than two weeks, and openly advertise all internships wherever possible.[4] In order that these opportunities are not financially excluding, we recommend that organisations set aside a discretionary budget to fund associated costs such as travel and accommodation expenses.

R5. All organisations should access and adopt best practice in advertising and recruiting roles and opportunities – and evidence where possible why a university degree is essential criteria. This includes preparing inclusive job packs, marketing opportunities beyond traditional networks, focusing on skills and competencies over experience and qualifications, and offering feedback to all interviewed candidates wherever possible. Practical guidance on this is available from the Bridge Group, published with Jerwood Arts.[5]

R6. All organisations should consider making senior appointments fixed term. For example, in appointments to advisory and/or governance boards, and other senior and influential positions, fixed term appointments will enable new representative and new ideas to emerge on a regular basis (conditional on following best practice In advertising and recruitment practices).

R7. Engage your colleagues in this research. The findings here should provoke open conversations across the sector – and include an opportunity for those at all levels to contribute. This includes involving, for example, staff at all levels and in all areas of arts organisations, as well as those engaged on a freelance basis and on short-term contracts. There should be safe platforms for people to share their lived experiences and for discussions about how to apply our recommendations to individual organisations.

R8. The arts management community should lead by example by using language that is progressive, specific yet accessible, appropriate, and inclusive. This relates mainly to ethnic group and socio-economic background. Sensitive use of language, and specificity within it, is critical in considering and talking about employees from different backgrounds based on these characteristics – as is working with grassroots groups that work with specific communities to inform themselves. We recommend that all colleagues refer to the appendix in this regard.

R9. Lobby for socio-economic background to be a protected characteristic, enacting Section One of the Equality Act. This would ensure that socio-economic diversity is a key mission across the whole of society. Access to opportunities should not be dependent on the social class you grew up in, and socio-economic background should be considered similarly to ethnicity and gender.

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[4] Unpaid internships are a growing problem in the UK. The total number of internships offered have consistently risen each year since 2010 (by as much as 50 per cent in total – see IPPR research). Each year, there are up to 70,000 interns in the UK, with up to half unpaid. Nearly half of employers report that candidates who have not gained work experience through an internship will 'have little or no chance of receiving a job offer' for their organisations, regardless of qualifications.
[5] https://jerwoodarts.org/projects/weston-jerwood-creative-bursaries-2017-19/toolkit/

> Enacting Section One of the Equality Act, obligating public bodies to give due regard to how they can reduce the impact of socio-economic disadvantage, would send a signal that opportunities should be for everyone. This would clearly require an agreed definition of socio-economic background, which is addressed in this report.

R10. **Amend section 159 of the Equality Act to retain inclusion in redundancy decisions.** Section 159 of the Equality Act (2010) allows employers to take active steps to increase the diversity of their workforce. The Act does not explicitly refer to considerations of diversity in redundancy decisions, nor dismissals. The Equality Act should be amended to provide a clear and supportive message to employers wishing to ensure their organisations remain diverse; and be amended to include regard and attention to protected characteristics in redundancy and dismissals, as well as in recruitment and promotion.

Terms we use

24. Since one of the recommendations in this report relates to the use of appropriate language (relating specifically to ethnicity and socio-economic background), we are diligent in demonstrating this throughout.

25. In September 2020, Inc Arts published[6] a statement for the UK on the use of language when referring to different ethnic groups.

26. The Bridge Group has published guidance on preferred terms relating to social equality more widely, and with specific reference to people's socio-economic background.[7] Many of the same principles apply here as are outlined above: we do not use vague terms such as 'class' and 'privilege', and are as specific as possible when representing those of different socio-economic background (and in exploring, for example, how this relates to those people from different ethnic backgrounds).

27. In summary, wherever possible, we are specific about the backgrounds of the people who we are representing, through interviews, survey findings and through quantitative data.

28. The desirable level of specificity is not always possible, especially where we are presenting findings from others' research where they have adopted particular terms of categories. We do not want to misrepresent others' research, so where we use terms that deviate from current best practice, this is to be clear about how earlier studies have collected, analysed and presented their evidence.

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[6] https://incarts.uk
[7] https://www.thebridgegroup.org.uk/news/employers-toolkit

Findings from our survey

Summary

29.   Over 500 people submitted demographic information, occupational data, and shared their perceptions of opportunity, progression, diversity and inclusion across the arts sector through the survey – including 70,000 words of open text response.

30.   Respondents came from a wide range of backgrounds, and are more diverse in terms of ethnic and gender identity compared to national averages. 16% of respondents identified as having ethnically diverse backgrounds (including e.g. from African and Asian diasporas , compared to 14% of the UK population. 77% of respondents identify as female (compared to 51% of UK population). Moreover 17% of respondents identify as being from LGBT+ communities (compared to 4% of UK population).

31.   The survey found that there is a higher prevalence of freelance and self-employed contracts for respondents (46%), than for the UK labour market in general (15%). These temporary contracts are more likely to be over shorter periods (3 months or less), than for longer periods (more than 9 months). Those from ethnically diverse, Black and Asian communities are more likely to have experience with freelance and self-employed contracts than respondents identifying as White. And those from lower SEB are more likely to be in freelance positions than those from higher SEB.

32.   The factors that lead people to take PAYE jobs are mainly related to the need for financial security and stability. Whilst the factors that lead people to take freelance roles are associated with valuing flexibility, and creative autonomy. The open responses highlight the fact that pursuit of contract type is rarely solely about the work itself, but also about how people understand their work fitting into the rest of their lives in terms of finance, security, and flexibility.

33.   The survey found that those that identify as male are more likely to have had a longer career (10 years plus) and have greater management responsibilities (managing 10 or more people). In terms of length of career and management responsibilities, the survey Indicates that demographic factors (ethnic identity, gender identity, and sexual orientation) show more variation than socio-economic background. This suggests that at the most senior levels demographic factors have more of an effect than socio-economic factors.

34.   Those from lower SEB and those that identify as ethnically diverse, Black and Asian are less likely to feel as if their ambitions when they entered the sector match their current role, or that their training and skills align with their current role. Taken together these findings suggest that there is a problem around progression for these groups. The free text response section highlights problems around lack of structured training and progression within the arts sector. Many respondents described the routes they had to

take to build their career as 'unpredictable' and 'improvised' and reflected on the need to be adaptable in order to sustain their careers.

35.   There was widespread concern expressed about how the sector would respond to the Covid-19 crisis. Many are worried about the reduction in opportunities, and what this will mean in terms of reduced funding for programmes focused on diversity and inclusion. The pandemic has amplified respondents' concerns about not being able to reliably and securely plot a route to progression in the sector.

36.   Although this survey has focused on ethnic identity, gender identity, sexual orientation and socio-economic background, a number of other issues have been highlighted by respondents for consideration. Respondents raised concerns about how issues of disability are dealt with in the sector, along with learning difficulties and neurodiversity. Problems of ageism were raised by a number of respondents. These are aspects of diversity and inclusion that could be incorporated into future research.

37.   Finally, there is an uneven distribution of experiences of best practice; some respondents are forthcoming with good examples, whilst others feel there are no examples of best practice in the arts sector. In order to achieve best practice, respondents highlight the need for representative staff, with clear transparent recruitment/progression processes, and that diverse voices should be involved at every stage in project delivery.

Background

38.   This survey, created by people working in the arts, has been designed to explore issues of diversity and inclusion in arts management roles – with a particular focus on mid- to senior career progression.

39.   503 respondents completed the survey about diversity and inclusion in the arts management workforce. Although this is not a comprehensive overview of the arts management workforce, this is a compelling sample to provide relevant and robust insights.

40.   The survey explores career progression, experiences of self-employment and freelance careers, as well as attitudes to ambition, skills and training. The survey includes comprehensive demographic information to help explore how careers, experiences and perception vary by ethnic and gender identity, and Socio-Economic Background (SEB).[8] The final section of the survey asked respondents to highlight examples of best practice.

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[8] SEB is a composite measure based on parental occupation from when the respondent was aged 14, and whether or not the respondent qualified for FSM (Free School Meals).

41.   Considering the range of background characteristics explored here, recent research has shown that those from lower SEB earn on average £6,800 less than their colleagues from higher SEB in elite professions.[9] There is a growing realisation that background characteristics can play an important role in how people access and progress in careers in the arts and creative industries. The Panic! report (2018), for example, shows that those from higher SEB are currently overrepresented in the arts and creative industries – particularly in leadership roles.[10]

42.   There are four substantive open-ended questions where respondents were able to explain in more detail how they feel about their careers, and how issues of diversity and inclusion are dealt with in the arts sector.

43.   For the purposes of statistical comparison in some instances those identifying as Black, Asian, and 'other' (including mixed or dual heritage) are combined as 'ethnically diverse, Black and Asian' – this is due to the low numbers of respondents represented by each individual ethnic identity. Similarly, those identifying as gay, lesbian, bisexual, queer, and transgender are grouped under the recognised LGBTQ category.

Demographic information

44.   A key part of the survey asked demographic questions. These questions help build a picture of how respondents identify, and can be used to show how responses to questions vary depending on these identifiers.

45.   77% (n = 381) of respondents identify as female, and 23% (n = 115) as male.[11] 1% of respondents identify as queer, gender non-conforming, or non-binary (n = 5), and 1% of respondents' gender identity is different to the sex they were assigned at birth (n = 6).

46.   In terms of sexual orientation 84% of respondents identify as heterosexual (n = 383). 9% identify as gay or lesbian (n = 40), 7% as bisexual (n = 32), and 1% as queer (n = 4).[12] This is above the national averages of the working age population (16-64) for the UK, where in 2018, 94% identified as heterosexual, 2% as gay or lesbian, 1% as bisexual, and 1% as 'other'.[13]

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[9] Friedman and Laurison (2016), The Class Pay gap in professional and managerial occupations.

[10] Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor (2018), Panic! Social class, taste and inequalities in the creative industries.

[11] Those that selected 'Prefer not to say' are excluded from this calculation.

[12] It is worth highlighting that one survey respondent objected that such a question was included as part of the survey.

[13] ONS (2018) Sexual orientation, UK. https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/sexuality/bulletins/sexualidentityuk/2018

47.   In terms of ethnic identity 84% of respondents identify as White (n = 416), 7% as 'other' (including 'mixed', n = 35), 5% as Black (n = 25), and 4% as Asian (n = 21). Again, the survey respondents are generally more diverse than the national average. According to the 2011 census,[14] in England and Wales 86% of the working age population identify as White, 3% as Mixed (including 'other'), 3% as Black, and 8% as Asian.[15]

48.   The survey also asked a set of questions that aimed to identify respondents' socio-economic background (SEB). The majority of respondents attended a state school (83%, n = 387),[16] with 61% attending a non-selective state school (n = 283), and 22% attending a selective state school (n = 104).[17] 17% of respondents attended an independent or fee paying school (n = 78), this is 10 percentage points higher than the national average of 7%. Further, 23% of respondents were eligible for Free School Meals (FSM) (n = 106), which is 6 percentage points higher than the national average of 17%.[18]

49.   In terms of parental background, 55% of respondents stated that their parents or guardians had not attended university (n = 272), with 45% that had parents that had been to university (n = 227). Also, on parental background, the table below summarises the occupation of the main household earner for respondents at age 14.

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[14] https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/uk-population-by-ethnicity/national-and-regional-populations/population-of-england-and-wales/latest;

[15] Those identifying as Asian were the only minority group with less representation amongst the survey respondents than the national averages.

[16] Those that attended school outside the UK, and those that selected 'prefer not to say' are excluded from these calculations.

[17] This could be selective along academic, faith, or other grounds.

[18] https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/find-statistics/school-pupils-and-their-characteristics

Table 1. Occupation of main household earner at age 14

Occupation	%
Modern professional occupations such as: *teacher, nurse, physiotherapist, social worker, musician, police officer (sergeant or above), software designer, IT consultant.*	25.5
Senior managers or administrators (usually responsible for planning, organising and co-ordinating work, and for finance) such as: *finance manager, chief executive.*	18
Traditional professional occupations such as: *accountant, solicitor, medical practitioner, scientist, civil / mechanical engineer.*	16
Technical and craft occupations such as: *motor mechanic, plumber, printer, electrician, gardener, train driver.*	14
Middle or junior managers such as: *office manager, retail manager, bank manager, restaurant manager, warehouse manager.*	8.5
Semi-routine manual and service occupations such as: *postal worker, machine operative, security guard, caretaker, farm worker, catering assistant, sales assistant.*	7
Clerical and intermediate occupations such as: *secretary, personal assistant, clerical worker, call centre agent, nursery nurse.*	6
Routine manual and service occupations such as: *HGV driver, cleaner, porter, packer, labourer, waiter/waitress, bar staff.*	5

50.   For additional context, these occupational categories can be compared with National Statistics Socio-economic Classifications (NS-SEC). This is a recommended method for analysing SEB in a range of different industries, including the arts.[19] The figure below compares survey respondents NS-SEC with data included in the 2011 census. This is an imperfect comparison – as the national census is a static point in time, whereas the timepoint for main household earner at 14 will of course vary with the age of the respondent. Nonetheless it is a useful tool for understanding the socio-economic background of respondents. The figure breaks down the responses into four categories: NS-SEC 1 (higher managerial and professional occupations), NS-SEC 2 (lower managerial and professional occupations), NS-SEC 3-5 (intermediate, small employers and technical occupations), and NS-SEC 6-7 (semi-routine and routine occupations).[20]

51.   The figure shows that amongst respondents there is an over-representation of what can be understood as 'upper middle-class' backgrounds,[21] with 34% coming from households classified as NS-SEC 1, compared to 10% of the UK population in 2011. Furthermore, there is an under-representation of those coming from 'working-class

[19] See: Brook, O'Brien, Taylor (2018) Panic! Social class, taste and inequalities in the creative industries; Jerwood Arts (2019) Socio-economic diversity and inclusion in the arts: A toolkit for employers.

[20] This is the same breakdown as used by Brook, et al. (2018) in Panic! Social class, taste and inequalities in the creative industries. However, this survey did not ask about those that were long-term unemployed (NS-SEC 8) so have not been included in these statistics.

[21] Ibid. p. 13

social origins',[22] with 12% of respondents coming from NS-SEC 6-7 compared to 25% of the UK population. The figure also highlights the fact that respondents from ethnically diverse, Black and Asian backgrounds are much more likely to have come from 'working-class social origins'. The way SEB and ethnic identity intersect, is explored further in the final section of the survey analysis 'Socio-economic background and intersectionality'.

Figure 1. National statistics socio-economic classification (NS-SEC) of respondents

	NS-SEC 6-7	NS-SEC 3-5	NS-SEC 2	NS-SEC 1
2011 Census	25%	29%	21%	10%
All respondents	12%	21%	33%	34%
Ethnically diverse, Black and Asian respondents	28%	18%	28%	26%
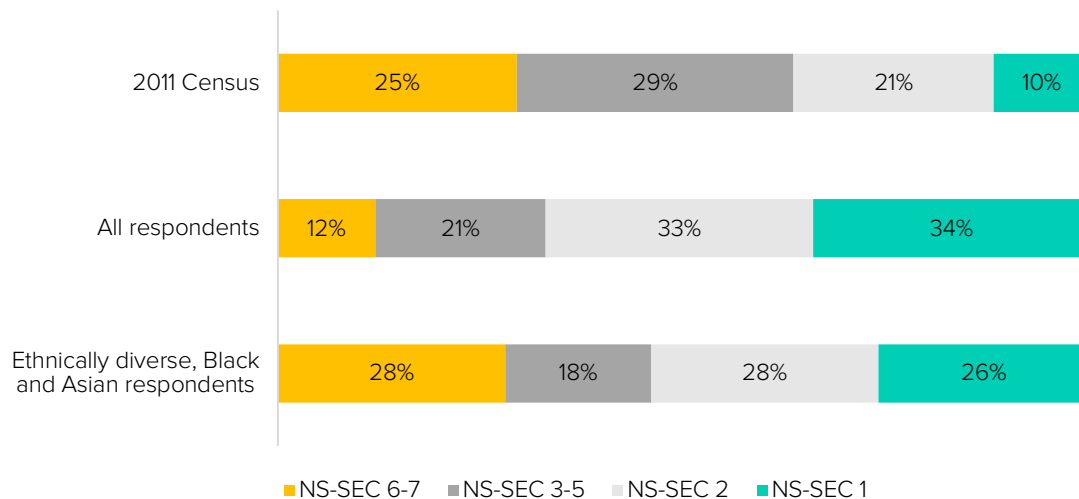
52.   For the purposes of comparison in the rest of the report, a composite measure is used as a proxy for those that come from a lower socio-economic background. This includes respondents for whom: the main household earner at 14 was in a 'semi-routine', or 'routine manual and service occupation'; and / or they attended a state school *and* were eligible for FSM. 26% of respondents fit this category (n = 129).

53.   The rest of the report categorises those from higher socio-economic background as respondents for whom: the main household earner at 14 was in a 'professional', a 'senior manager', or 'middle and junior manager' role; and/or they attended an independent or fee paying school. 56% of respondents fit this category (n = 282).[23]

54.   The section at the end of the survey analysis looks in more detail at how the respondents that can be categorised as coming from a lower-socio-economic background and higher socio-economic background compare to total respondents in terms of gender and ethnic identity. It is worth highlighting here that those from lower SEB are more diverse in terms of ethnic identity than those from higher SEB. 26% of lower SEB respondents identify as Black, Asian, or 'other' (including mixed), compared to 12% of higher SEB respondents.

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[22] Ibid. p. 14

[23] The only exception to this is those for whom their main household earner was in NS-SEC 1-2, but they still attended a state school and were eligible for FSM. In this instance, eligibility for FSM is taken as the defining factor.

55.   Overall in terms of demographic information, those responding to the survey are more diverse in terms of gender, sexual orientation, and ethnic identity than the national average. However, those responding tend to be from less socio-economically diverse backgrounds, with an overrepresentation of those that come from higher socio-economic backgrounds. The data on disability is minimal and we are therefore unable to comment on this here.

Occupation and career

56.   **Who's making the decisions?**

        This section looks at how respondents relate to their occupation and career. The figure below shows how people responded to the question: 'What best describes your area of work?'. The most common choice being 'programme creation' (31%),[24] and the least common being 'premises management' (2%). Comparing responses by ethnic identity, those that identify as ethnically diverse, Black and Asian are more likely to be in programme creation (40%). Whilst looking at socio-economic background, **those from higher SEB are more likely to be in the professional back-office functions** (fundraising and business development, communications and marketing, finance HR and business operations).

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[24] Aside from 'Other', which 34% of respondents selected.

Figure 2: What best describes your area of work?

Other
- All respondents: 34%
- Ethnically diverse, Black and Asian: 30%
- White: 35%
- Lower SEB: 36%
- Higher SEB: 31%

Programme creation
- All respondents: 31%
- Ethnically diverse, Black and Asian: 40%
- White: 29%
- Lower SEB: 33%
- Higher SEB: 29%

Learning & audience development
- All respondents: 11%
- Ethnically diverse, Black and Asian: 11%
- White: 10%
- Lower SEB: 12%
- Higher SEB: 10%

Fundraising & business development
- All respondents: 9%
- Ethnically diverse, Black and Asian: 7%
- White: 9%
- Lower SEB: 5%
- Higher SEB: 11%

Communications marketing
- All respondents: 9%
- Ethnically diverse, Black and Asian: 6%
- White: 9%
- Lower SEB: 7%
- Higher SEB: 10%

Finance HR & business operations
- All respondents: 5%
- Ethnically diverse, Black and Asian: 5%
- White: 5%
- Lower SEB: 5%
- Higher SEB: 6%

Premises management
- All respondents: 2%
- Ethnically diverse, Black and Asian: 1%
- White: 3%
- Lower SEB: 2%
- Higher SEB: 2%

Legend:
- All respondents
- Ethnically diverse, Black and Asian
- White
- Lower SEB
- Higher SEB

57. **How do you describe your work?**

The most common response Is 'performance art – theatre' (22%), followed by 'combined arts' and 'visual art' (15%). The least common area worked in by respondents is 'publishing / literature' (2%). Comparing by ethnic identity, **those that identify as ethnically diverse, Black and Asian are more likely to be working in the visual arts (20%).**

Figure 3. What best describes the area that you work in?
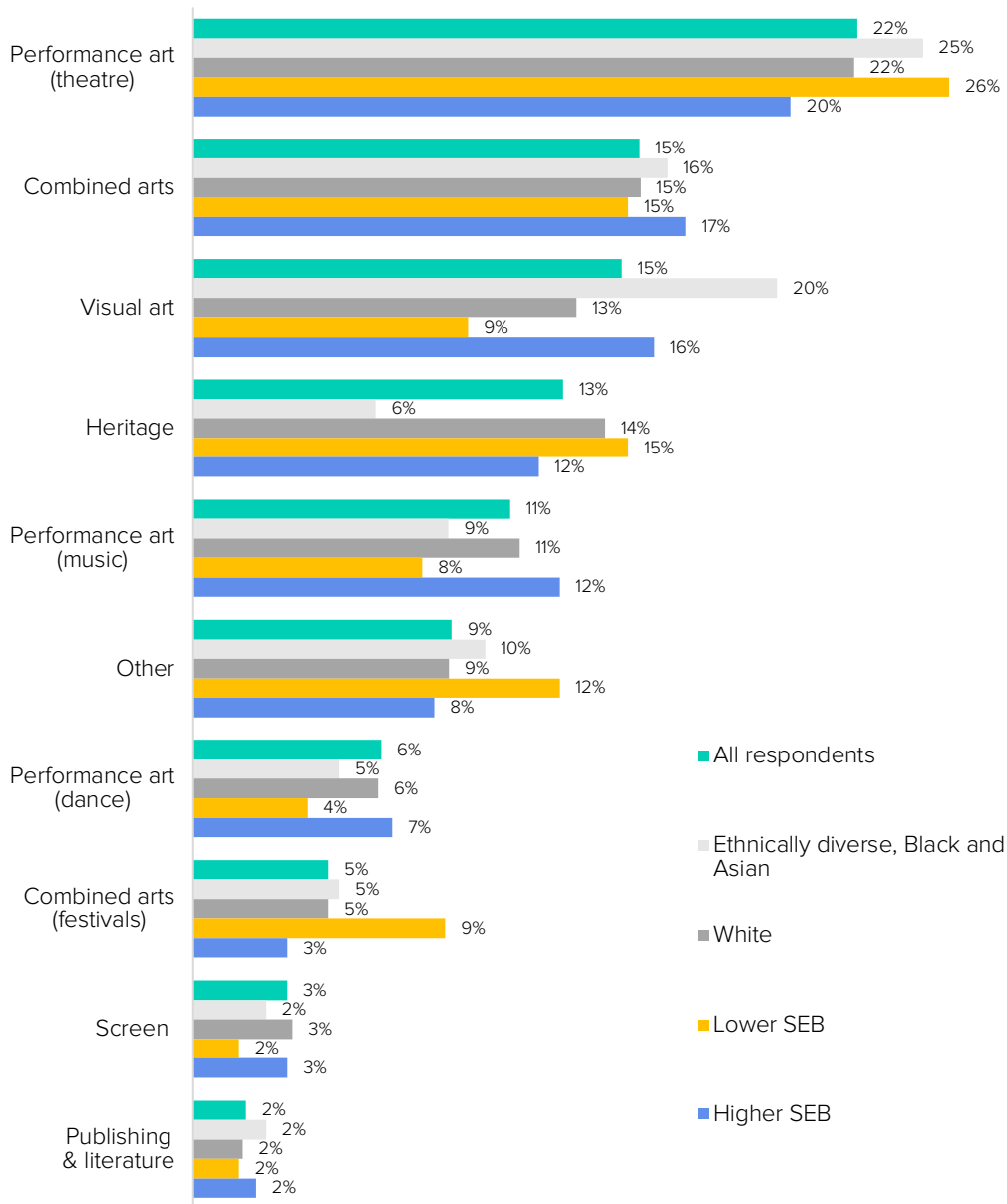
58. **Who's been here longest?**

The following two figures highlight how long respondents have been working in the arts. The first figure considers demographic characteristics (ethnic and gender identity, and sexual orientation), and the second figure socio-economic characteristics (higher or lower SEB).

59. Most respondents have been working in the arts for longer than 10 years (72%). Breaking down the data by demographic characteristics, we can see that respondents who identify as male are more likely to have been working in the arts for 10 years or more (80%). Conversely, those who identify as ethnically diverse, Black and Asian, are

less likely to have had careers in the arts of 10 years or more (65%). Those from LGBTQ communities are the least likely to have had a career in the arts for 10 years or more (56%).

Figure 4. Length of career in the arts by demographic characteristics

	0 - 5 years	5 - 10 years	10 years plus
All respondents	12%	16%	72%
Female	13%	17%	70%
Male	9%	11%	80%
Ethnically diverse, Black and Asian	14%	21%	65%
White	12%	15%	73%
LGBTQ	21%	23%	56%
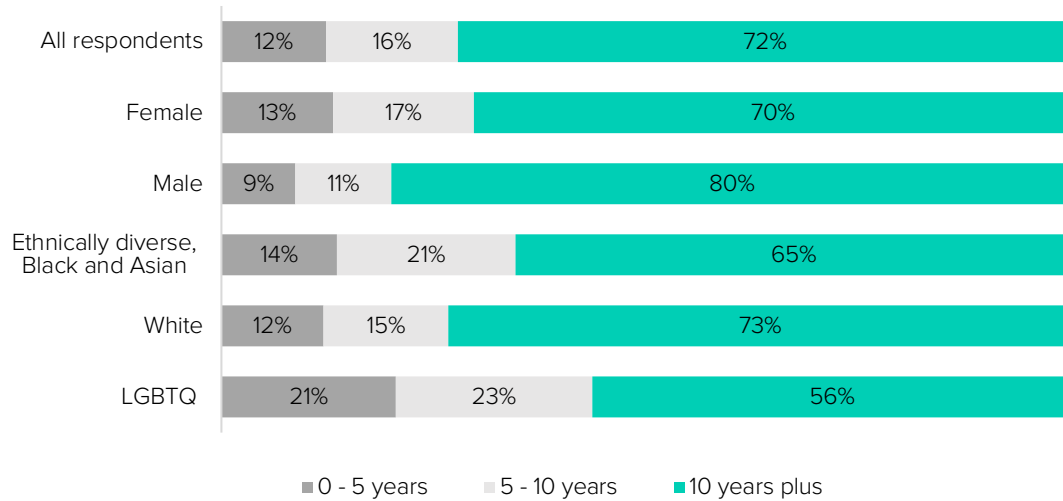
Figure 5. Length of career in the arts by socio-economic background

	0 - 5 years	5 - 10 years	10 years plus
All respondents	12%	16%	72%
Lower SEB	13%	17%	70%
Higher SEB	11%	17%	72%
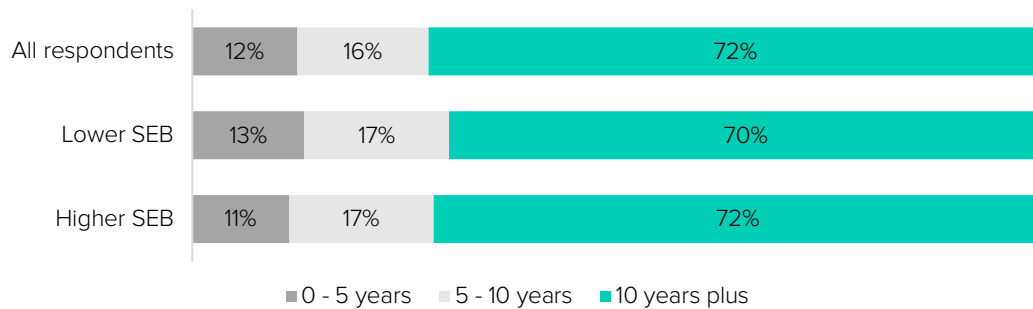
60.   Unlike with the demographic characteristics, **length of career showed very little variation by socio-economic background**. There is only a two percentage point difference between those from higher SEB compared to lower SEB for having a career of 10 years or more (72% vs 70%).

61.   **Who's managing whom?**

61% of respondents reported that they have management responsibilities, with 37% managing fewer than five people (followed by 13% managing between five and ten, and 11% managing more than ten). 39% of respondents reported that they have no management responsibilities.

62.   The figure below compares how management responsibilities breaks down by demographic characteristics. The figure highlights that respondents who identify as male

are more likely to have management responsibilities for more than ten people.[25] The figure also highlights that respondents who identify as ethnically diverse, Black and Asian are more likely to have management responsibilities for fewer than five people.[26]

Figure 6. Management responsibilities by demographic characteristics

	No	Yes, fewer than five	Yes, between five and ten	Yes, more than ten
All respondents	39%	37%	13%	11%
Female	40%	37%	14%	9%
Male	37%	35%	12%	16%
Ethnically diverse, Black and Asian	33%	44%	12%	10%
White	40%	36%	13%	11%
LGBTQ	41%	31%	15%	13%

■ No   ■ Yes, fewer than five   ■ Yes, between five and ten   ■ Yes, more than ten
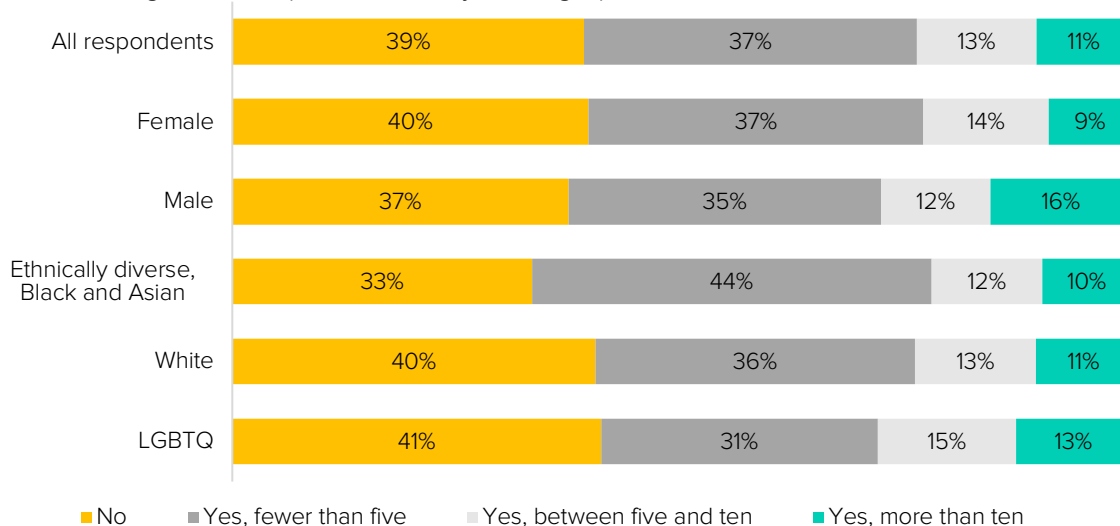
63.   As with length of time in the industry, the figure below shows that there **is very little variation in terms of management responsibilities by socio-economic background.** There is only a one percentage point difference in terms of not having management responsibilities (39%, higher SEB vs 40% lower SEB). The figure suggests that those from lower SEB are more likely to have management responsibilities for five or more people (26% lower SEB vs 21% higher SEB) with those from higher SEB likely to manage fewer than five people (40% vs 34%).

Figure 7. Management responsibilities by socio-economic background

	No	Yes, fewer than five	Yes, between five and ten	Yes, more than ten
All respondents	39%	37%	13%	11%
Lower SEB	40%	34%	16%	10%
Higher SEB	39%	40%	12%	9%

■ No   ■ Yes, fewer than five   ■ Yes, between five and ten   ■ Yes, more than ten

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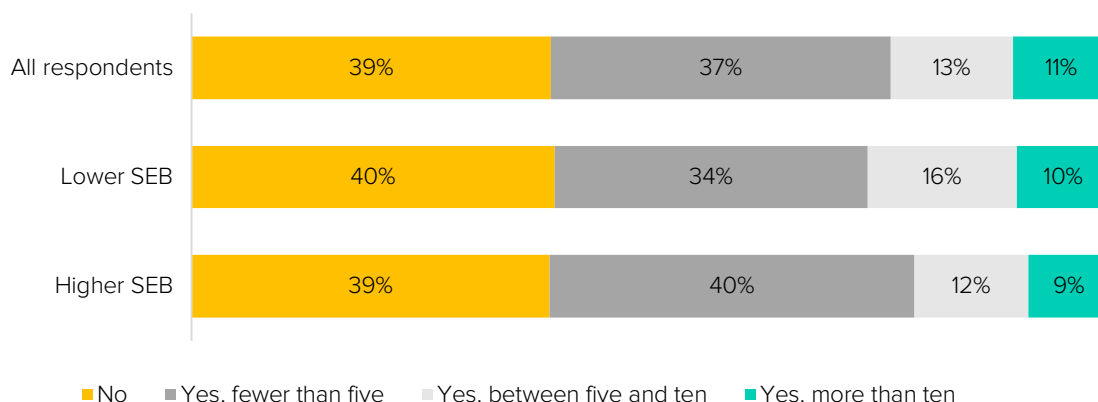
[25] 16% compared to 11% of all respondents.

[26] 44% compared to 37% of all respondents.

64.   In summary, this section has highlighted the wide range of career types that respondents to the survey have experience with. In terms of length of career and management responsibilities, the survey shows that demographic factors (ethnic identity, gender identity, and sexual orientation), show more variation than socio-economic background.

Experience of freelance contracts and self-employment

65.   Respondents were asked about their experience with freelance contracts and being self-employed. 46% of respondents said that they are currently either freelance or self-employed. This is higher than the general population in the UK; the self-employed represented 15% of employment in 2019.[27] The figure below looks at the proportion of those working freelance contracts versus standard contracts broken down by demographic criteria.

Figure 8. Respondents working freelance or as self-employed by demographic characteristics
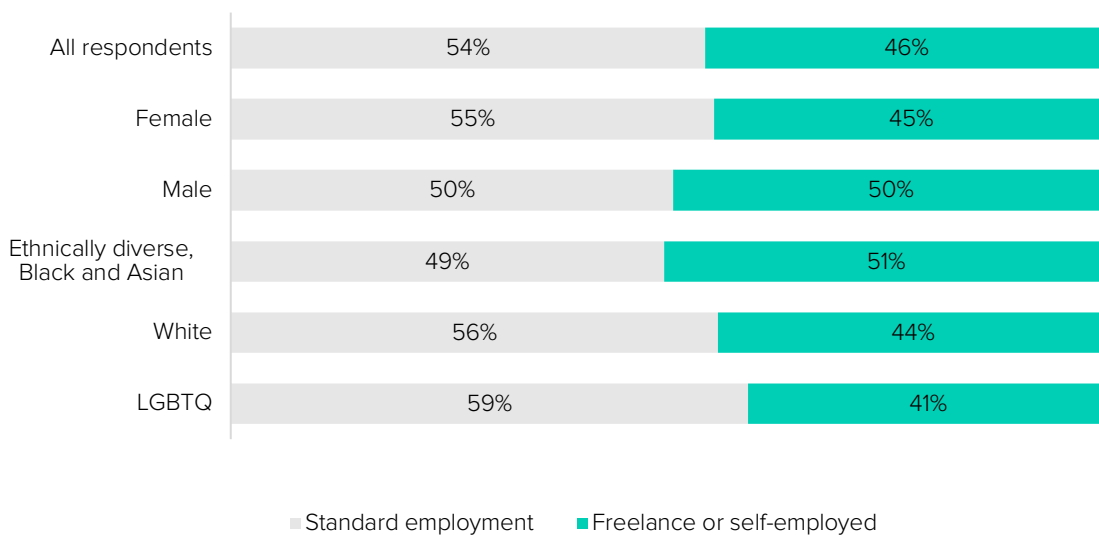
66.   The figure above shows that **those identifying as ethnically diverse, Black and Asian are more likely than all respondents to be on freelance or self-employed contracts (51% vs 46%).** Respondents from LGBTQ communities are the most likely to be in standard employment contracts (59% vs 54% of all respondents). Looking at socio-economic background below shows that **those from lower SEB are more likely to be on freelance or self-employed contracts** compared to those from higher SEB (48% vs 44%).

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[27] ONS (2020) Coronavirus and self-employment in the UK.

Figure 9. Respondents working freelance or as self-employed by socio-economic background

	Standard employment	Freelance or self-employed
All respondents	54%	46%
Lower SEB	52%	48%
Higher SEB	56%	44%

■ Standard employment   ■ Freelance or self-employed
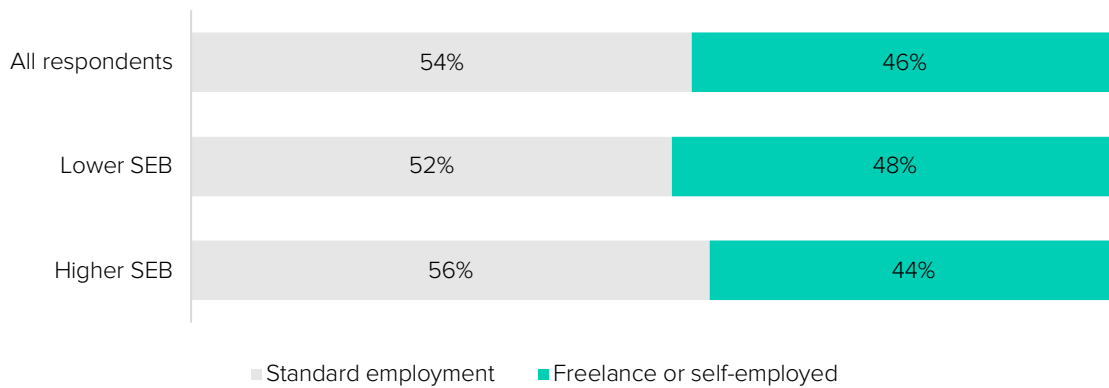
67.   A follow up question asked about the duration of people's freelance contracts. The figure below shows the proportion of respondents who feel that each contract duration made up the majority of their work – this question is designed to give an impression of how those on freelance contracts perceive the duration of those contracts.[28] Across all demographics, contracts of 3 months or less are more likely to make up a majority of respondents work. 60% of respondents with experience of contracts of three months or less feel this duration made up the majority of their work. This was higher for men (65%) and those from LGBTQ communities (66%), suggesting a greater reliance on shorter term contracts in the industry.

Figure 10. "The majority of my freelance or self-employed contracts in the last five years have been…" by demographic characteristics

■ For periods of 3 months or less
■ For periods of between 3 and 9 months
■ For more than 9 months

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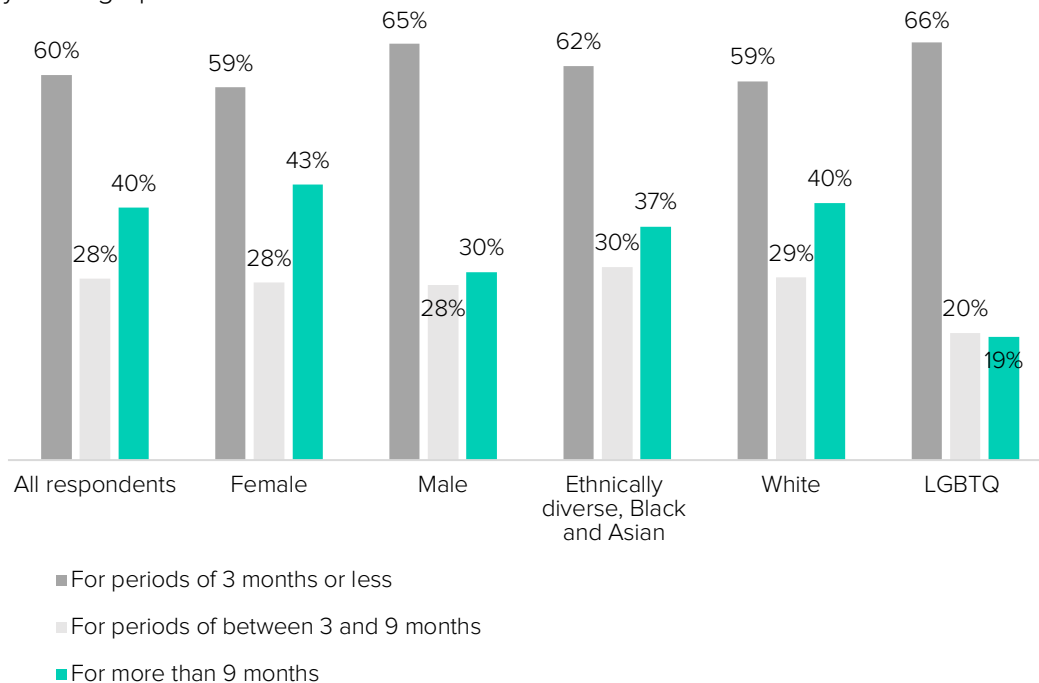
[28] Respondents were asked to rate each timescale independently for how much of their work it represented (less than 25%, between 25% and 50%, between 50% and 75%, and more than 75%), that is why the percentages do not sum to 100%.

Figure 11. "The majority of my freelance or self-employed contracts in the last five years have been…" by socio-economic background
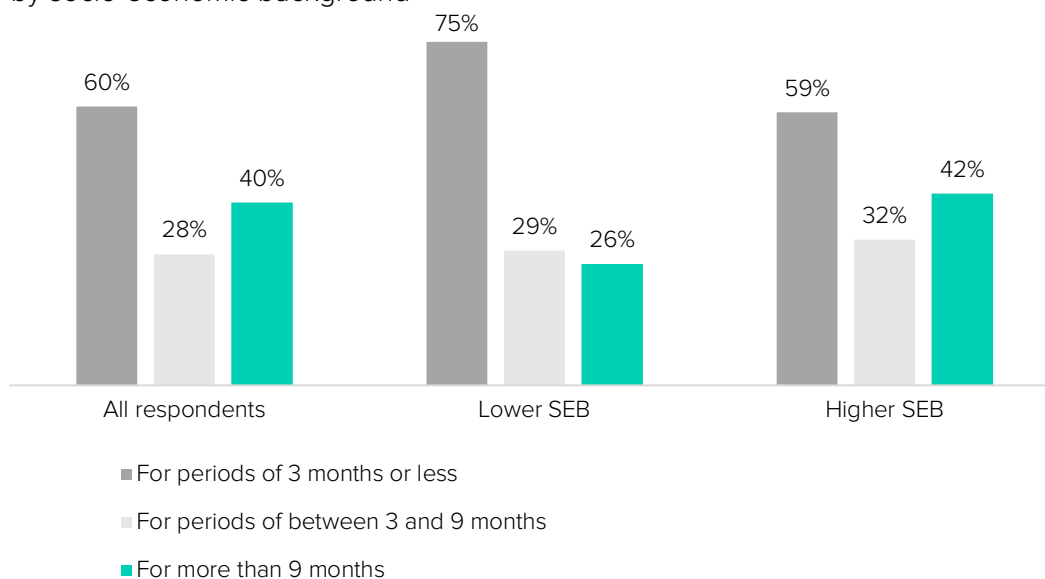
68.   The figure above shows that **75% of respondents from lower SEB have freelance contracts periods of three months or less making up the majority of their work,** compared to only 59% of those from higher SEB. Those from higher SEB are more likely to report that freelance contracts for periods of more than nine months make up the majority of their work (42% vs 26% for lower SEB). This suggests that **those from higher SEB are more likely to earn longer term contractual work.**

69.   Taken together these findings suggest that close to half of respondents have experience with freelance or self-employed work, and that this work tends to be over relatively short timescales.

70.   Respondents were given a free response to explain the factors that affect whether they take a staff job, or pursure freelance work. The survey received over 70,000 words of free text response to four open ended questions. This is a huge amount of data. To fairly engage with this material a structured sample of 120 responses was split between three researchers to code and analyse. These findings were then discussed as a group and final themes were agreed. Factors incorporated into the structured sample included: ethnic identity; gender identity; sexual orientation; and socio-economic background. The 120 respondent sample has the same structure along these characteristics as the total 503 respondent pool. An additional search was undertaken to highlight responses from those that identified as having a disability. This method was repeated for all of the remaining open response questions discussed in this report. All 503 respondents gave answers to this question.

71.   There Is a consistent set of themes about the factors that led people to take staff jobs or freelancing jobs. For those that chose to pursue freelance work, there is a clear appreciation for the opportunity to work flexibly, the chance to focus on creative projects, and have personal autonomy in terms of focus and output. For those that

opted for staff jobs, there is a clearly articulated need for financial stability and job security.

"I like freelancing as it allows a diversity of work and across sectors and types of role. I would only take a staff job if it was fixed term or part time so allowed other freelance work to slot in alongside it."

"I've been in a staff job for 10 years after 10 years freelancing. I wanted job security and financial stability."

72.   These are not always positive choices. Respondents often framed their response in the negative, outlining why they feel they had to pursue particular options. For those who feel they must take staff jobs, care responsibilities, financial commitments (including debt), and providing for families are front and centre. This need for financial security is expressed most clearly by those from ethnically diverse, Black and Asian backgrounds, as well as those from lower socio-economic backgrounds.

"I started my career coming from a low-income, ethnic minority background. I've had to earn money to be able to pay off student debts, survive and build a career."

"I prefer the stability and security offered by being a member of staff in an organisation, as I also have carer duties at home… The ability to take paid leave is valuable."

73.   Whilst for those that feel they have to take freelance contracts, this is often explained as a result of lack of opportunities for more structured and secure positions; key factors here include few opportunities in terms of kinds of work available, but also the geographic location of work.

"There aren't enough staff jobs at my level. Those that exist, usually go to internal candidates."

"Most jobs are either down south or in big cities which is not near me."

74.   What is clear in the responses to this question is that people's choice of contract is full of trade-offs and compromises, and is rarely a free decision about what kind of career to pursue. Those who are able to actively pursue precisely the kind of career in the arts that they want are in a comparatively advantaged position, and it is much easier for those without additional responsibilities. This is particularly acute for respondents that identify as having a disability:

"I need the security of steady guaranteed income. Also, my disability means I would be limited in doing freelance work which includes travel and long hours."

"I'm a parent and a carer so I need to remain flexible. I also have a disability that stops me from applying for some opportunities."

75.   In summary, this section has highlighted the prevalence of freelance and self-employed contracts in the arts sector. It Indicates that **staff jobs are not evenly distributed, and are more concentrated amongst respondents who identify as White, female, LGBTQ,**

or come from higher socio-economic backgrounds. It has also shows that **most people's experience of freelance contracts is over shorter durations (less than 3 months).** The open-response has highlighted the fact that pursuit of contract type is rarely solely about the work itself, but also about how people understand their work fitting into the rest of their lives in terms of finance, security, and flexibility.

Ambition and progression

76.　　Respondents were asked to rate how well their current role aligns with their ambitions when they entered the sector. Responses are on a scale of 0 'Not at all' to 10 'Completely'. The figure below looks at responses from those who have worked in the arts for 10+ years, as this foregrounds the perspective of those who have had time to develop in the industry. It shows that the majority of respondents (55%) feel their ambitions broadly aligned with their current role. However, only 12% of respondents feel their current role 'Completely' aligned with their ambitions.[29]

77.　　Respondents who identify as male, and those from LGBTQ communities are the most likely to broadly agree that their current role aligns with their ambitions (59% and 73% respectively). Whilst those who identify as ethnically diverse, Black and Asian are the most likely to broadly disagree that their current role aligns with their initial ambitions (21%).

Figure 12. How does your current role align with your ambitions when you entered the sector? Respondents that have worked in the arts for 10+ years by demographic characteristics

	0 (Not at all) to 3	4 to 6	7 to 10 (Completely)
Respondents working in the arts for 10+ years	17%	27%	55%
Female	17%	28%	54%
Male	17%	24%	59%
Ethnically diverse, Black and Asian	21%	25%	55%
White	17%	28%	56%
LGBTQ	14%	14%	73%

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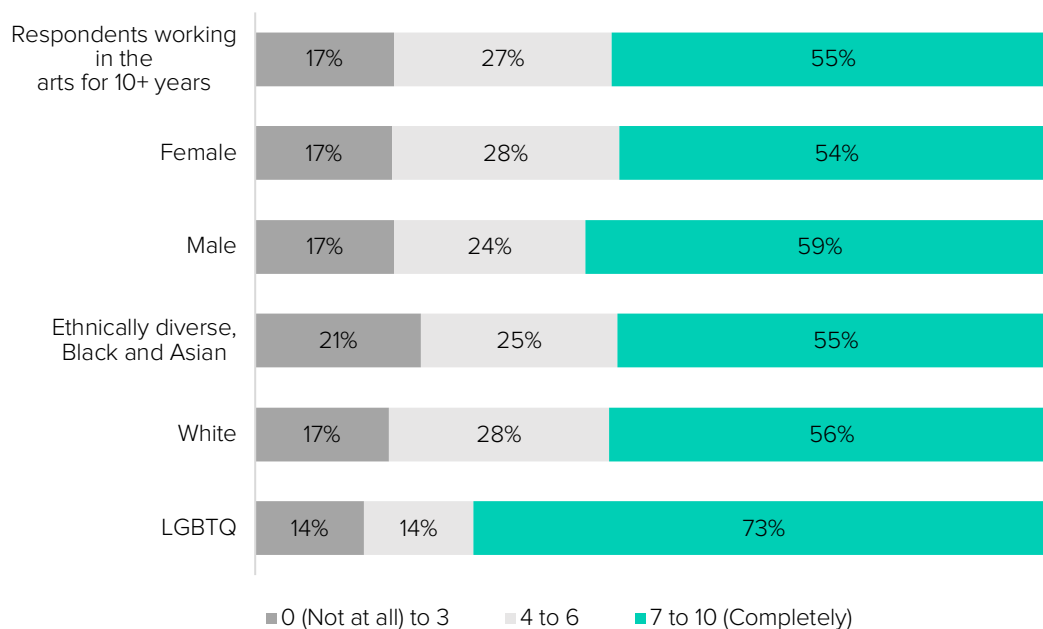
[29] Selecting '10 (Completely)'

78. The next figure looks at the same question but considers socio-economic background. It shows that those from higher SEB are more likely than those from lower SEB to feel like their current role broadly aligns with their ambitions from the start of their career (58% vs 51%).

79. These findings suggest that **those from lower SEB, and those who identify as ethnically diverse, Black and Asian are the most likely to feel that their ambitions have not been fulfilled.**

Figure 13. How does your current role align with your ambitions when you entered the sector? Respondents that have worked in the arts for 10+ years by socio-economic background

Legend: ■ 0 (Not at all) to 3   ■ 4 to 6   ■ 7 to 10 (Completely)
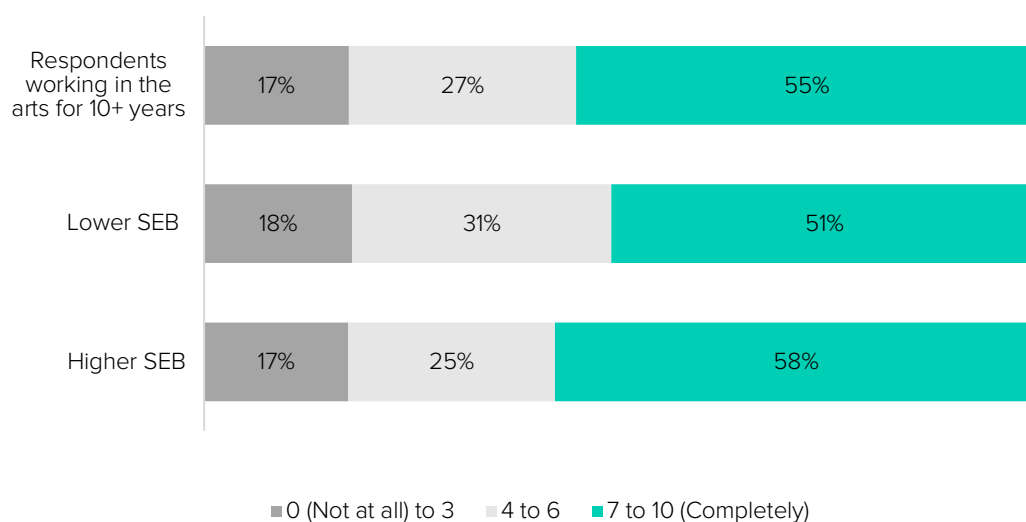
80. On the same scale (0 'Not at all' to 10 'Completely'), respondents were asked how well their current role aligns with their skills and training. The figure below shows that the majority of respondents (71%) feel their skills and training broadly aligns with their current role. Only 10% of respondents feel that their skills and training did not correspond to their current role.

81. As shown in the figure below, respondents who identify as male are more likely than all respondents to feel like their current role aligns with their skills and training.[30] Whilst **those who identify as ethnically diverse, Black and Asian are more likely to feel that their skills and training do not align with their current role** than all respondents.[31] Respondents from LGBTQ communities are also more likely to feel their skills and training aligns with their current role (77%).

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[30] 79% and 71% selecting 7 to 10 for male and all respondents respectively.

[31] 15%, and 10% selecting 0 to 3 for ethnically diverse, Black and Asian, and all respondents respectively.

Figure 14. How does your current role align with your skills and training? By demographic characteristics

Legend: ■ 0 (Not at all) to 3 ■ 4 to 6 ■ 7 to 10 (Completely)

	0 (Not at all) to 3	4 to 6	7 to 10 (Completely)
All respondents	10%	18%	71%
Female	11%	20%	70%
Male	8%	13%	79%
Ethnically diverse, Black and Asian	15%	17%	68%
White	9%	19%	72%
LGBTQ	8%	15%	77%
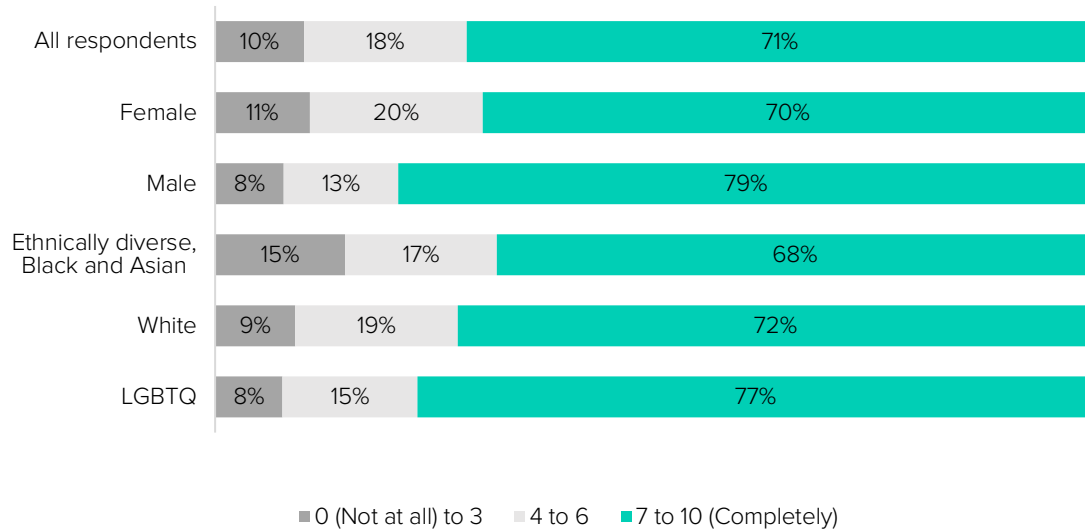
82. The figure below looks at the same question, but isolates socio-economic background. It shows that those from higher SEB are more likely to feel that their current role aligns with the skills and training they have received compared to those from lower SEB (74% vs 70%).

Figure 15. How does your current role align with your skills and training? By socio-economic background

	0 (Not at all) to 3	4 to 6	7 to 10 (Completely)
All respondents	10%	18%	71%
Lower SEB	12%	18%	70%
Higher SEB	9%	17%	74%

■ 0 (Not at all) to 3   ■ 4 to 6   ■ 7 to 10 (Completely)
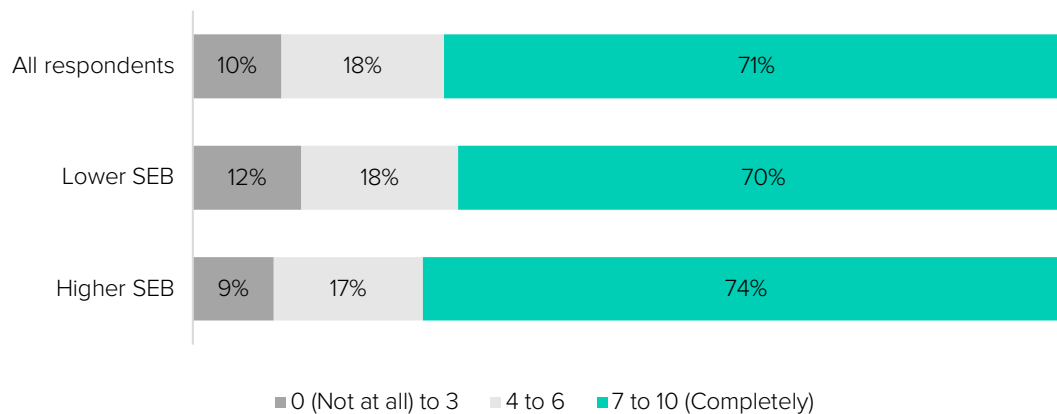
83. Taking the questions on ambition and training together, there is a progression issue for those from lower SEB and ethnically diverse, Black and Asian backgrounds – as both groups are the most likely to reflect negatively on their current role compared to their ambitions and training.

84. Respondents were given a free response to comment further about their ambitions, skills, training and career choices. 73% of respondents gave further comment.

85. A theme that came through for many respondents is that there are **few structured training opportunities** within the sector. Many respondents commented on the lack of training available in different organisations, and that they often have to look externally to develop their professional skills (through academic qualifications, or work experience in non-arts sectors). Many respondents also feel that the skills they have developed in the arts sector are often difficult to translate into other roles, or even to similar roles in other organisations.

"There is a common story of lack of funding for staff training, and then there's the hardships of going through personal education."

"There is very little external training or support around careers across the arts. Especially as a freelancer you are often not treated as relevant or important in that regards to the organisations you work for."

86. At the same time, it is clear that many respondents are very well qualified, and that people feel there is a skills mismatch in their current roles. Many respondents express that they do not feel fully valued or utilised in their roles, and that their **experience is often overlooked**.

"It cost a lot to have trained at drama school, which is still being paid back, the amount of work in the field is low and very competitive. School did not provide a realistic view of the market, but why would they, they just want students."

"I feel overqualified for most entry level jobs, but they are the ones I must take to progress in the industry and I'm okay with that."

87.   An emerging theme that cuts across all of the open response questions is a perceived problem of **ageism within the sector**. Respondents that identify as older, feel they are being overlooked in favour of younger individuals.

"I am 62, still trying to work, alas the arts sector I find discriminates against people of my age group. Less opportunities."

"I have 30+ years of professional experience, and I find that the heritage sector doesn't tend to use 'experience', but rather marginalises older people in favour of those younger who I watch mess up constantly, wasting resources and money."

88.   Other specific challenges in this area include **women feeling they are at a disadvantage due to expectation and allocation of specific kinds of tasks**. They also feel as if they are more likely to be taken less seriously by their male colleagues. This misogyny and sexism is amplified by the concerns raised by those who mention the challenges of resuming a career after returning from maternity leave, and the additional responsibilities that often entails.

"I have compromised choices over the last 10 years due to being a solo parent, and other caring responsibilities. I am now gearing up with training and looking for new opportunities to move further towards longer-term career goals."

"As a female choreographer I feel I am taken less seriously by venues, and I am expected to do more education and community outreach work than male artists."

"I was just about to start my employer-funded teacher training when I went on maternity leave … I have been fortunate enough to get back into a career in the arts sector but in a very different capacity. With a lower wage and a slower career progression."

89.   Several respondents reflected directly on the issues of racism, sexism, ableism and classism, which they feel has hampered their career progression.

"I set out on my career 30 years ago. Without any question, my disability has impacted and limited my career choices and I have frequently experienced discrimination as a consequence."

"I'm simply fed up with all the racism and sexism I have to deal with."

"The sector is full of a fake professionalism that breeds prejudice. People sit in all white/ able bodied meetings and can't see a problem or won't speak up. Everyone is complicit."

"I feel consistently at a disadvantage due to me being working-class and I see very little evidence of this being a concern in the arts, both professionally and artistically."

90.   A theme that comes through is that, as people reflect on their careers to date, many have improvised their routes and professional development.

"The career and progression were fairly unplanned and continue to be as such. I find the arts alone can't provide a sustainable income, so I have to combine this with other work that is more reliable."

"Nothing turned out to be the way I was told at university."

91.   These free responses emphasise how difficult it can be to make a career in the arts. Underlying many of the responses is the limited assistance and guidance in progressing in the sector, and that success often relies on personal ambition, interest in the work, and opportune roles coming up at the right time.

92.   Nonetheless it is also clear that many people derive pleasure and satisfaction in being able to make a career in the arts – and work on the projects and in the areas in which they are most interested.

"Being able to help with the creative programme, work closely with participants and with the director and producers in order to learn from them is 100% in line with my goals."

"I've been happy with my career roles this last three years since reducing my employed curator hours to find more time to work in the creative learning and arts in health sector – both of which inspire my own arts practice."

"Always wanted to work in the arts. Being creative, sharing creativity by bringing people together with resources working to a set timeline."

93.   In summary, this section has looked at how respondents relate to their career paths to date. Although most respondents reflect positively on their training, progression and ambitions, those who identify as male, LGBTQ, or come from higher SEB are the most likely to reflect positively. The free responses highlight the frustrations that people feel as their careers may not have progressed as quickly or clearly as otherwise hoped, and that there are few defined, transparent, structured ways to develop within the sector.

Looking ahead

94.   One of the free response questions asked how respondents saw opportunities for progression over the next 5 years. Prompting respondents to elaborate on their role, the arts sectors role, and their organisations role. 90% of respondents answered this question.

95.   **Covid-19**
        The issue that is at the forefront of respondents' minds when responding to this question is the Covid-19 pandemic. Many respondents are worried about their futures in relation to the crisis, reflecting on the fact that there will be fewer opportunities going forward.

"I have limited expectations for the next 5 years, I anticipate major cuts to the arts, tax rises, and even more limited access to arts funding. I see limited opportunities for career progression for myself."

"Covid-19 has made everything unknown. Funding availability will be key to any progression."

"I see opportunities slimming as a result of the current crisis. As a woman of colour, I hope the rebuilding makes space for more diverse leadership and workspaces, but fear work in creating career options for more diverse employees will backtrack due to financial constraints."

96. **Progression**
   This pessimism is not only related to the pandemic. There are many negative comments about future opportunities for progression, and many factors contributing to this pessimism. One is around the uneven geographic distribution of opportunities:

"It's challenging, largely because of the availability of appropriate level roles in the geographic area where I'm based and my desire to not move to a new house in order to be close to my job, because I have caring/schooling duties that I want to prioritise."

"I live in a rural county with few prospects of progression. I would need to consider moving elsewhere."

97. Another factor is related to the paucity of appropriate senior roles within the sector.

"There aren't any roles more senior than mine available in my department so I would have to wait for either my manager to leave or look for opportunities outside of my organisation if I want to progress."

"I feel there are very few opportunities for progression within the sector. Those in a secure position tend to stay there for a number of years and thus it rains static."

"There is no room for progression in my current organisation. I will need to leave if I want to progress into senior management or leadership roles."

98. **Recruitment**
   Some highlight the need for transparent recruitment and suggested that there is still a culture of 'who you know' – i.e. that senior roles are achieved as a result of prior networks.

"I think it will largely be determined by the environment of the sector – whether or not jobs are available at all and, if so, with clear, transparent recruitment processes."

"I feel there is an 'upper circle' of prestigious organisations which is hard to break into if you don't know the right people, despite skills and experience."

"No matter what level of excellence and experience, how stellar my feedback, evaluations & reviews, it's very limited. It's honestly just who you know, not what you know, and I'd see my progression as piecemeal, unpredictable and only a little bit possible."

99.   Despite this pessimism around opportunities for progression over the next five years, there are respondents committed to using the rest of their careers to help and support others.

"I am not certain that there will be enough roles for progression for people that are Black or Mixed Black … My role will be to start an initiative that is solely to help people of African and Caribbean heritage develop their work and skills sets within the creative industries."

"I would like to transfer my skills to younger people, to increasingly assume a mentoring role and, at the same time, to work more on interdisciplinary projects, which allow to integrate artistic-cultural skills with scientific skills."

"I plan to make a success of my new inclusive dance company to create opportunities for people with disabilities in the south east. By doing this, opportunities will open for me to work a job that I love. I will need to make this opportunity myself."

100.   Overall, this section complements the findings from the previous section, where respondents reflected on the unpredictable routes their careers had taken to date. Especially at this time it is hard for respondents to reliably predict a career or path to progression that would be available to them. There is a clear sense of contingency – that progression is dependent on available funding, and available opportunities.

Best practice

101.   The final question prompted respondents to consider what best practice in inclusion looks like; asking for when and where respondents have seen best practice. 82% of respondents answered this question.

102.   There are mixed responses to this question. On the positive side, many respondents are forthcoming with what they feel have been positive experiences with diversity and inclusion in the sector. On the negative side, many respondents could not think of a positive example to share. This suggests that there is some way to go in terms of diversity and inclusion practices, but that there are pockets of exemplary work.

103.   Initiatives that were highly spoken of included:

"[A theatre and arts venue in Manchester] which has redefined what inclusion looks like by literally putting young people at the heart of everything it does and involving them as decision-makers, producers, creators and deliverers at every level and in every element of the organisation. They also empower them to become leaders in their own communities, create social enterprises and develop a range of skills that can be used within and outside the arts and creative industries sector."

"One of my favourite experiences has been assisting to a workshop open to "all" with a scheme for paying for different incomes, description of seats, and a given non advertised BSL interpreter. It was a bliss to see a true wide range of people."

104. Beyond these specific examples there are factors mentioned by multiple respondents that are important for achieving best practice. A key idea is the need **for personnel to be representative** (representative across the organisation, and across all aspects of project management – from inception to delivery). However, some note that this representation is easier to achieve in some locations than in others, due to the uneven geographic distribution of people from ethnically diverse, Black and Asian backgrounds.

"Best practice means no single voices in rooms to represent budgets – otherwise the risk of conformity bias is very high. Best practice understanding that business models need to adapt to welcome a diversity of thought and be inclusive of communities who do not have a critical mass in your area."

"Most organisations seem to look outwards first, focusing on how they might produce programmes that are seen to be more diverse/inclusive. My view is that the starting point needs to be the other way round; that if an organisation isn't itself diverse in terms of staff, then any other 'external' actions are likely to be problematic."

"We are still hitting up against certain barriers within recruitment where, for example, the applicant pool is overwhelmingly not at all diverse."

105. In order to achieve a diverse and representative staff, respondents highlight the need for a **transparent and reflexive recruitment process.** The responses suggest that recruitment can often feel opaque and that some potential recruits start at a disadvantage.

"For career roles/positions: transparency in application and recruitment processes; reducing opportunity for bias; recognising individual strengths and approaches to work (rather than the loudest voice in the room); opportunity for professional development across all levels; equal pay."

"I now find it alarming to see how other organisations approach things like recruitment. We do blind shortlisting and also remove school names from applications to avoid any presumptions or bias. We've also sought to promote our opportunities through different networks rather than relying on the tried and tested 'arts sector' listings like ACE, Guardian, etc. that tend to only reach those people who already see themselves as part of the arts world."

106. It is also clear that there must be **greater investment in diversity and inclusion.** Some of the best practice mentioned includes investing in programming, removing barriers to access (accommodation, transport, tickets etc.), and that staff time needs to be used for training, reflection and engagement. These costs cause many respondents to reflect that because of the financial toll of Covid-19, that the diversity and inclusion agenda will be at risk.

"They also gave travel and digs bursaries and the whole event was pay what you can. It's about imagination, diligence in planning and care. It's about having a diverse range of voices and experiences involved at EVERY stage of an idea."

"We were on the cusp of approaching best practise when Covid hit. The Arts Council's Let's Create strategy offered a road map to a more equal sector by 2030. It's difficult to see how the ambitions of that strategy will be fully delivered against the grim reality of saving the sector. Nevertheless, it must not be lost as we approach recovery and reconstruction."

107.   **Access and advocacy**

For those who identified as disabled, accessibility to space was important, but so was having disabled voices representing them at senior levels, in programming, and through consultancy.

"A recent experience at work was frustrating for me: the venue for an exhibition didn't receive as much funding as they hoped and had to scrap the plan for an accessible ramp. I feel that, had there been a disabled Trustee on the Board, this would not have been allowed to happen."

"This includes making work specifically for people with various types of disabilities using extensive creative consultation, constant research, and crucially, having one member of staff whose full-time job it is to focus on inclusion."

108.   Many respondents feel there is a long way to go in terms of achieving best practice.

"There are wonderful pockets of inclusion, increasingly so, but there are still too many 'too big to fail' orgs/systems/people who are able to carry on unaffected by the change in what is and isn't acceptable to the vast majority of our society now."

"Very few arts institutions and organisations practise best practice in inclusion. There is an obvious conscious and subconscious bias in most – especially major arts companies."

109.   Finally, it is worth highlighting a tone of weariness and frustration from some respondents. Some respondents feel quite strongly that focusing on diversity and inclusion is counterproductive. Concerns are highlighted around the need for the sector to be meritocratic, and not have any kind of positive discrimination – with some feeling as if they are already at a disadvantage because of the focus on diversity.

"Inclusion should be about having the best people for the job: it would be wrong in the music industry to have this any other way. It should not just be a tokenist numbers game."

"My parents are working-class. The doors were closed to me and people like me. I fought for my place only to find that people with privilege are pretending to be minorities just to gain space and place. Sick of it. Totally sick of it."

110.   In summary, this section shows that the level of diversity and inclusion practices is uneven across the sector – with some having very positive experiences to share, while others feel there is a long way to go. Consistent themes for improvement include increasing diversity in staffing – and in project management, ensuring diverse voices are involved at every step of project delivery. **Best practice also involves investing time and money to ensure that everybody can be involved.**

Socio-economic background and intersectionality

111.   The main text highlights that 26% of respondents come from a lower socio-economic background, and that 56% come from a higher socio-economic background. This section looks at how these groups of respondents compare to all respondents.

112.   The figure below unpacks the composite lower SEB background into the individual metrics. The most common lower SEB characteristic met by respondents are those that attended a state school and were eligible for FSM (19%). The most common higher SEB characteristic met are respondents for whom the main household earner at 14 was in an occupation categorised as NS-SEC 1-2 (managerial and professional occupations, 62%). The reason 62% met this criteria, but only 56% are categorised as higher SEB is because 41 respondents who met the NS-SEC 1-2 criteria, were also at a state school and on FSM, in these cases FSM is a better predictor of socio-economic background, and the respondents are categorised as lower SEB.

Figure 16. Proportion of respondents meeting criteria for lower SEB (green) and higher SEB (dark grey)
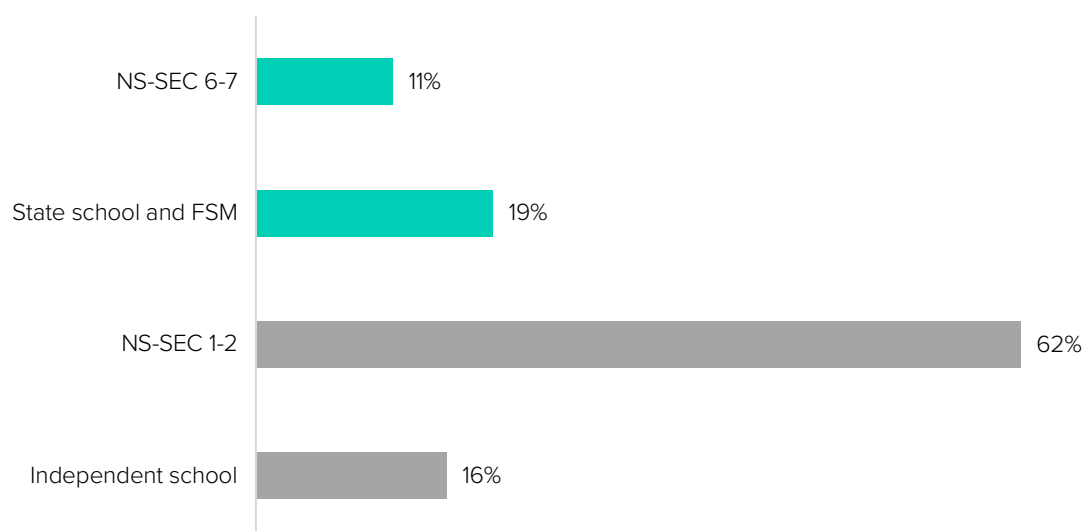
113.   In terms of gender there is minor variation when broken down by SEB background. 77% of all respondents identified as female, compared to 73% of those who can be characterised as coming from lower SEB and 79% of those from higher SEB.

114.   There is no difference in terms of LGBTQ identity either, with 17% of respondents from lower SEB and higher SEB indicating they are from LGBTQ communities.

115.   The figure below looks at how the group of respondents coming from lower and higher SEB, varies in terms of ethnic identity compared to all respondents. It shows that those coming from lower SEB, are more likely be ethnically diverse, Black and Asian,

compared to the total respondent pool.[32] 84% of all respondents identified as White, compared to 73% of lower SEB group of respondents.

116.   In comparison, those from higher SEB are less likely to be from an ethnic minority with 89% identifying as White, and 12% as identifying as Black, Asian or mixed (including other). This suggests that there is an intersectional issue when thinking about diversity and inclusion in the arts sector – it is important to think about how ethnic identity and socio-economic background overlap and interact.

Figure 17. Ethnic identity of all respondents, compared with socio-economic background

■White   ■Mixed (inc. other)   ■Black   ■Asian

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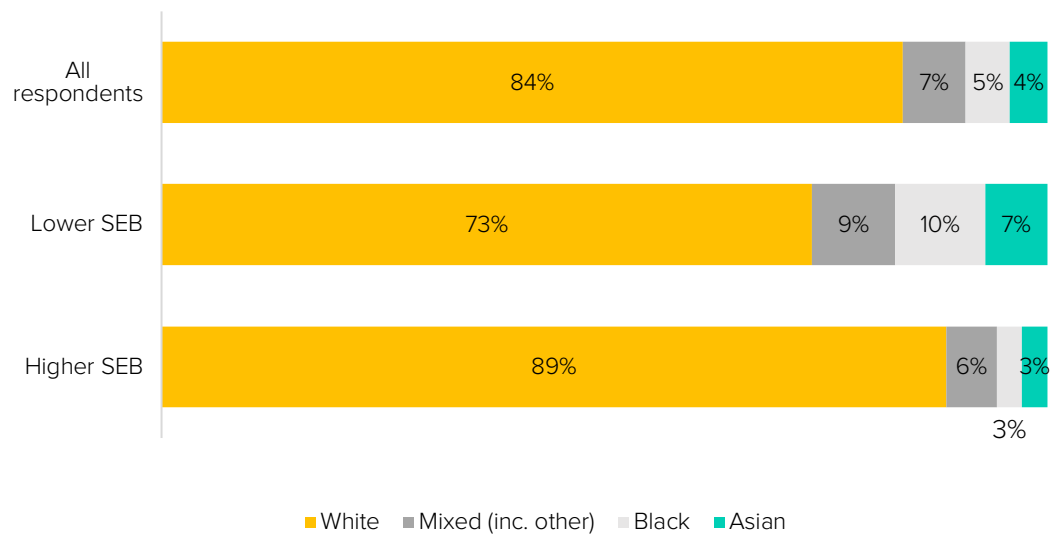
[32] 26% of Lower SEB, compared to 16% of all respondents, identifying as Black, Asian, and 'other' (including 'mixed').

Findings from our interviews

Overview

117.   The following findings are based on a total of 60 interviews with people in or aspring to management roles in arts organisations. Those who shared their views with us were identified through a purposive sample from those who offered their time via the survey.

118.   All interviews lasted approximately one hour each. The interview protocol and topic guide are available in the appendix.

119.   Through our qualitative interviews we have identified a series of key themes. Nothing detailed here should be regarded as an 'outlier'. We identify key themes by coding and analysing interviewees' comments. We present these key themes in sequence below, whilst recognising that there is significant interplay between each discrete area.

120.   We provide indicative, anonymised quotations throughout, which have been taken directly from our qualitative analysis. This allows interviewees' own voices to be represented directly. The quotes are representative of the recurring themes identified in our analysis. Where necessary, quotes have been adjusted to maintain interviewee anonymity without making any change to the inherent meaning.

Key themes

Regional differences

121.   A **rural/urban split** emerges from the interviews, in terms of the funding available for arts activities, the range of diversity initiatives and the degree of diversity that is possible in rural areas.

"Where you are based is a big barrier. I live in a rural area and there is not heaps of diversity here. We should be encouraging people with diverse backgrounds and it shouldn't be tokenism, minority groups do live in this area and their input is equally valid."

"There are minority groups who live [in rural areas] but they often live in disadvantaged areas and it's about giving them the quality of access to the arts through education."

122.   **London versus regions**
         Interviewees indicate an even greater divergence between London and the regions in terms of recruitment opportunities and the range of diversity achieved.

"We are seeing wider representation now due to societal change. For example, the director of the Young Vic is a young, Black director and he is working with the theatre to broaden the scope of the audience and we are seeing the effects across London and it's great to feel represented."

"As much as you try to recruit people from specific backgrounds, we just don't have that diverse population to draw on, so you bring people from further afield who are from certain minority groups, but you never build diversity in the region."

123. **Rural exclusion**
Some interviewees explain how rural arts organisations are excluded from some funding initiatives that require representation of diversity because they do not have the same level of diversity as urban areas.

"We are restricted in what funding we can apply for because the [rural] area is not diverse enough, we don't have enough numbers from diverse backgrounds and we get ignored for funding as a result."

"Recruitment from diverse backgrounds is an Arts Council requirement but they are not providing any assistance in making this happen [in rural areas]. We need the Arts Council to acknowledge this situation in the context of rural settings."

124. Interviewees describe how networking is more difficult in the regions and how social networks are **geographically dispersed**.

"Location is an issue in terms of networking. Your network is spread out, so if you need to confer with someone in a similar job you have to travel ... the only exception is London."

"I feel secure and supported because of our national peer network. It's important because there aren't many arts organisations here in Northampton. There is not much of a local network or community organisations. I would feel vulnerable without that national support. How do you find networks otherwise?"

125. **Regional economies**
Interviewees Identify how regional arts organisations have to respond to the primary needs of their community. These needs will differ by region and are defined by the state of the regional economy.

"The arts sector is different according to the region you are working in. There is multiple deprivation here and if it is public-funded money that is going into an arts project, the audience will hold you to that, they will look at it in the context of money that could have gone to pay for bin collections or to feed hungry children."

126. **Diversity and context**
Interviewees discuss the need to **think about diversity contextually**, that is to rethink what diversity means in different geographical locations.

"There is terrible inequality in London but there are jobs in the creative industry there. Even if you are from a deprived background, a minority ethnic background living in Tower Hamlets you have hugely less opportunity to get a job in the creative industry than someone who lives in Richmond who is from a White upper-class background but you still have far more opportunity than

someone who lives in Doncaster, who has more opportunity than someone who lives Barnsley. So it gets worse and worse."

"In Hull diversity means something very different to even Sheffield. You need to take that into account."

Barriers to progression

127.   According to interviewees, progress in arts management is largely **dependent on certified qualifications** (as well as the **financial security** of individuals to be able to volunteer in the sector to gain work experience). The majority of those in arts management roles are likely to have degrees. This raises the more general question of who has the means to access educational opportunities.

"We are very much a degree-oriented sector, at last count it was 70% or higher of people entering arts management would have a degree of some kind. That has been adopted accidentally, I would suggest, by people putting out job descriptions. A lot of job descriptions would say 'degree necessary' but no one has really thought about why they say that. What difference it makes. That creates an entry barrier."

"I'm 38, and I didn't get a degree and I feel that is the biggest stumbling block. You can have lots and lots of experience but if you haven't got that qualification you don't even get beyond the application stage."

128.   Interviewees also identify the **need to be flexible, geographically mobile and the ability to work for free** as key for gaining access to the sector and getting ahead. These conditions are widely accepted and not challenged. Some interviewees describe how having to be geographically mobile can be personally and mentally damaging (in terms of friendships and relationships). Some suggest it is easier for younger people to be flexible and geographically mobile.

"Because the starting salaries are so low, you're only able to do it if you're young, and you live with your parents etc. It is much harder for people of my age [respondent is 49] who have responsibilities, especially single parents. It's just not enough to live on."

129.   Interviewees discuss how young people are often forced to take voluntary or low-paid positions, which favours those who have the financial means to be able to do so.

"The people who get ahead are those who are able to walk out of university and who can afford to work for free as a volunteer or an intern for 10 hours a week or more. This gives them the experience to take the next step. People who don't have this privilege have to take on other jobs to try to do the work they want to do in the arts because they can't afford to volunteer."

130.   **Age discrimination** is mentioned with regards to training opportunities within the arts.

"Age discrimination is another factor. Many of the opportunities to train for the sector are restricted to 16-25 year olds and if you are older than that, you are no longer seen as 'emerging'

but if you are changing your career and want to get into the arts, it is very restrictive. It's also very difficult to have to accept unpaid or voluntary work to get experience in the sector when you are older because by then you have commitments and you can't afford to work for free."

131. Some interviewees worry that **those who choose to remain local are not valued** in the same way as those who have moved around.

"It's become very apparent to me that local people do not get to be directors and senior managers, almost never. I just think you aren't respected if you haven't moved around."

132. Interviewees feel that in arts management there is a tendency to recruit people with **"good contacts"**, which makes breaking into the sector difficult for those with limited social networks.

133. Interviewees talk about how **lower socio-economic groups have been excluded from some roles** and how this prevents them from considering a career in the arts sector.

"Early access to the arts and support from home is critical and without these things it makes the pursuit of a career in the arts less likely and people do not consider that a career in the arts would be for them. White and middle-class sectors of society are the most likely to be able to pursue a career in arts management."

134. The **structure** of many arts organisations remains **rigidly structured with limited flexibility, and an unwillingness to make radical change** and there are **few opportunities to progress**. Interviewees explained how it is often necessary to move to another organisation to gain promotion.

"There is quite a traditional work structure which is quite siloed before you can reach the next level. It is quite difficult, and I don't feel progression is accounted for in the organisational structure."

"There is one thing which I found extremely difficult which is to make the transition in arts management to the top jobs. Once you are in a small organisation it is difficult to work your way up, you ask yourself, should I have done things differently? Is there something else I should be doing?"

135. **Limited roles, limited consultation**
Senior positions in arts management are often held by individuals for many years, making change harder as opportunities for employees with fresh ideas to move into these roles are limited. Additionally, decisions are often made by people occupying the top positions without adequate consultation with others working within the sector.

136. Lateral hiring (i.e. appointing from other companies) can act as a barrier to diversity. Interviewees shared stories of how certain people move into more senior roles without the necessary knowledge of the sector (thanks to their social network). However, one interviewee sees lateral hiring as an opportunity to improve diversity. Recruiting people who have not previously worked in the sector is seen as a way of getting more people from 'non-traditional' backgrounds into arts management.

"The sector as a whole has been guilty of taking named people from outside the sector and expecting them to absorb the culture and the understanding very quickly and sometimes that doesn't work."

137.   Interviewees feel that arts organisations are **not open about the job opportunities available** within the arts, which precludes people from diverse backgrounds from considering a career in the sector or being aware of certain opportunities.

"It's a lot to do with who you know. The opportunities are not publicised. People share the opportunities that come up with their key contacts via email or by word of mouth before the advert gets published."

"Many people are not aware that these types of jobs are even in existence because it is not very open. BAME people feel excluded. I am a great believer in if you can't see a job, then you won't do a job."

138.   **Shortcuts are often taken in recruitment processes,** leading to people who are known to the organisation gaining work at the expense of improving diversity and inclusion. Interviewees stress the fact that arts organisations need to commission more work from people with diverse backgrounds instead of choosing familiar works or commissioning their regular artists.

"It's a seemingly closed-door policy, there is a recruitment process, but the same person always gets the job. Theatre companies choose to work with a set of people they know rather than seek someone new and yet other freelancers need work. There is a degree of laziness and lack of investment in seeking these people and finding new talent."

"Art organisations are busy and don't have the time to recruit people properly, they make judgements based on characteristics, in many cases jobs are being filled by someone asking if they know of someone who could fill the job. It's a huge disadvantage for diversity. They are not looking at the whole field of available people."

"Artistic directors use the same actors because they know they will do a good job, they are safe and easy to work with and as a result, XYZ down the road won't stand a chance, even if they would do a good job too. The power relationship is wrong, managers should be more proactive, they should be engaging with people beyond their usual choices."

139.   The language used in job descriptions is seen to be problematic. The **use of industry jargon can be intimidating** and excluding.

140.   Interviewees feel that more unconscious bias training is needed, as well as more awareness raising around **affinity bias** to make employees realise that they are recruiting people who look like them.

"Unconscious bias training helps. If you don't know you're doing it, it is very hard to change it. It's understanding that psychologically we're wired to find things we're familiar with and to be wary of things we're not. It's important to acknowledge that you might be bias in many ways just because of the experiences you've had in the world even if you don't mean to be."

"Lots of people tend to employ mirrors of themselves and it's rife in the theatre industry and the arts industry. Senior management teams all look the same. Unless you have diversity at the top that filters down through the organisation, the senior management are just replicating themselves."

141. **'Fitting in'**

    Interviewees explain that in arts management being good at your job is not enough to progress. They mention issues around "fitting in", exclusive working cultures and the need to be "visible". They describe how one needs to be able to: "talk the talk and walk the walk", be a good "performer" and figure out the "hidden codes". Although organisations encourage their employees to 'bring their whole selves to work' interviewees tend to agree that, in practice, only a particular type of person is likely to progress. These unspoken rules and understanding of who gets in and stays in are problematic as people are often unclear as to what they should be doing.

142. These notions of 'fitting in' are important because they are intrinsically linked to SEB. An individual's ability to fit in is boosted where their own cultural experience and background matches the dominant cultural background of an organisation. In such cases, where there is already a lack of diversity, it will be disproportionately harder for someone from a different background to 'fit in'. It will take additional effort and emotional energy to learn these 'hidden codes' that other individuals will already possess through cultural and experiential similarity. Confidence, which is an embedded element of 'fitting in', is contextual and situational. The ability to 'bring your whole self to work' is really only possible for individuals where their 'whole self' is aligned to the organisational norm.

"How you dress does matter but it's hard to know how to dress working in the theatre sector. If you are from a working-class background and you get a job in a law firm you kind of know what you are expected to wear. If you're a guy you wear a blue or grey suit. You can assimilate more easily. Whereas in the culture sector there are so many hidden codes."

"It's not so much as 'who you know', but 'who knows you'! I keep hearing the phrase 'find your tribe' which I feel is very London centric. If you don't know anybody it is really difficult … The truth is you have to be really popular."

143. Some interviewees describe having to change the way they dress or speak in order to "fit in" and not be seen as "different". Some discuss how regional differences and accents affect progression opportunities in the arts. Those who feel "different" describe experiencing feelings of **imposter syndrome**.

"When I got a job in a museum, I remember walking up the stairs of a neo-classical Victorian building and thinking 'God, they are going to find me out'. I had huge imposter syndrome."

"Regional differences can affect who progresses. Having an accent is the first hurdle. People just assume things about you, a barrier goes up in the first few minutes and then you have to work hard to overcome this."

144.   Furthermore, interviewees identify how **micro-aggressions** particularly hinder progression for ethnically diverse, Black and Asian talent. Interviewees feel that organisations and managers are not equipped and trained to deal with micro-aggressions and racism. There are several examples of interviewees being gaslighted by senior staff members when speaking about their experience.

"There are lots of people of colour who just start their own organisations or go freelance because they don't fit in and that is indicative of a working culture that needs to change."

145.   Ethnically diverse, Black and Asian interviewees tell us how they are often expected to represent their race, to act as role models yet there is no support in place which ends up putting additional pressure on diverse employees.

"Arts management has been traditionally White and there is this sense that you have to be representative of your whole race and you can't go in as yourself. There is that added pressure that you can't afford to fail. It means it takes more confidence to go for roles."

146.   Some interviewees describe how the lack of ethnic diversity makes them feel excluded, and this impacts their sense of belonging. Ethnically diverse interviewees describe being "the only person of colour" in an organisation (aside from the security guards).

147.   Interviewees also discuss the damaging effects of social events which are exclusive. For instance, one interviewee described how decisions were often made outside the workplace and during socialising activities (which often took place at the pub). The interviewee is Muslim and does not got to pubs. They described feeling constantly side-lined.

Lack of diversity

148.   Interviewees describe how senior level management tends to be dominated by White men of higher socio-economic backgrounds. According to them, there is a **severe lack of diversity at senior management/board level.**

"White, middle-class people are much more likely to be in arts management roles. Higher level jobs are not filled by people from a working-class background. BAME are not likely to move into these positions. It remains very focused on middle-class White males."

"It is still strictly dominated by White, middle-class people. Classical music is dominated by White, middle-class men and the boards of organisations are also White and middle-class, it is getting better but it's slow progress."

"Being White, being male is a huge advantage. The majority of directors and board members are White and male. There is an Instagram account that I'm following 'Show the Boardroom[33] and it

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[33] *https://www.instagram.com/explore/tags/showtheboardroom/*

shows all the high profile gallery directors and board members and they are all White. There is the token Black or brown person but in general they select people who will not be challenging to the institution."

149.   Interviewees argue there is a **lack of role models** and that Black, Asian and ethnically diverse people and those from lower SEB are more likely to be working in lower paid roles. The lack of role models is seen to be a major barrier to achieving greater diversity.

"One barrier to diversity is the 'that's not for me' type feeling if you are different from the White male leader figure. Too many organisations are still headed up by these people … If you don't see yourself or anyone like you in these positions, you never think you could do that role. There is a lack of role models in the arts."

"Larger organisations do have more working-class staff, but they are almost always in the most operational and poorly paid roles like cleaning. Aside from the cleaners there were like three of us and we knew who we were. I think some of the managers were aware of this and felt uncomfortable, but they didn't really want to deal with it. In general, I find it to be a deeply elitist sector and so heavily dependent on people who have independent financial means and security."

150.   Some interviewees feel that progress is being made (mostly in terms of gender diversity and improving ethnic diversity at entry level) but that it is too slow.

151.   **Onstage – but not offstage diversity**
Interviewees discuss how **the level of diversity addressed in performances and presentations in the arts is not reflected in the workforces of the institutions themselves.**

152.   Interviewees talk about how senior management worry that greater diversity will change the status quo. Interviewees argue that in order to achieve greater diversity, arts organisations need to truly embrace change and challenge the existing order and traditions of the organisation.

"Those in arts management think that diverse people may push against existing structures and so they choose someone who will continue the brand, who won't change the status quo, who will keep it as it is. Someone who won't be challenging to turn the art gallery into a community centre."

153.   **Some art forms are less diverse than others**
Some areas of the arts are seen as more difficult to access than others: for example, modern arts is seen as "hard to break through" and "full of rich young White curators".

"Diversity needs to happen. There are no people of colour in UK orchestras, we have to see someone come through and for others to see this as a job they can do."

Freelancing and being self-employed

154.   For some interviewees, freelancing and/or being on short-term contracts is extremely stressful mostly because of the financial insecurity and lack of stability. Being freelance has its advantages in terms of taking ownership and getting a broad experience, but can be quite an isolating experience with a tendency to be overworked especially at the beginning.

155.   Freelancers often need salaried roles alongside their self-employed work for job security. They have to have contacts and a network in place to ensure they can secure work. Creatives who do not feel represented by arts organisations are producing their own work and establishing their own digital platforms online.

"I am not seeing myself represented in the theatre or these organisations, so I have had to make my own stuff and especially with digital and online. You can do your own writing, you don't have to ask anyone's permission, just go ahead."

"People will create art whether or not an organisation exists. Black communities will produce art anyways. It's intrinsic to do this, they don't need the permission of a white institution to do this. This is the problem of higher art organisations. The infrastructure of art needs to become multi-faceted, not specialist, and to become inclusive, where everybody gets to be an artist."

Scepticism about diversity and inclusion initiatives

156.   Some interviewees express scepticism around D&I initiatives and often describe initiatives as a "**tick box exercise**". Although senior managers appear to support D&I initiatives, some interviewees note how no one in their organisation calls out micro-aggressions or racist comments. Furthermore, interviewees describe how there is often no established support systems, with the onus placed on the individual rather than the firm.

"The sector is not mainstreaming diversity. By marginalising the issue, they ensure that there is still no progress in 12 months' time, and everyone asks what is being done about diversity issues all over again."

"I have no faith in the Arts Council. They have a diversity plan but many NPOs[34] haven't programmed work by Black people."

157.   Moving beyond **tokenism**: interviewees from diverse ethnic groups explain how they do not want to be seen as token representatives. They argue that D&I initiatives are often tokenistic.

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[34] National Portfolio Organisations

"There is a bias in the arts towards higher socio-economic backgrounds, White people, not disabled and it's very London and South East-centric too. I've definitely experienced it personally. When I was accepted on to training schemes, I was the only person of colour, it felt very tokenistic."

"At my institution they have a policy that 40-50% of the artists they employ must be from minority backgrounds or people of colour. It's on the surface but it does help. But there is the question of what is tokenistic and what is actually having an impact?"

"If you are the only Black person in an organisation it feels very tokenistic. It has to start at the very top and values have to work through as much as possible. Diversity needs to go throughout the team, the volunteers and the audiences."

158.   Some interviewees argue that **uncomfortable conversations around race need to take place** and that racial inequality can no longer be ignored.

159.   Interviewees feel that D&I initiatives will not work if people are fearful and nervous of talking about race. One interviewee, who was not from the UK, noted how people in the UK struggle to openly talk about race. They felt more direct and open conversations needed to be had in order to address racial inequality.

"It is about safe spaces and allowing people to be themselves. Is there casual racism/classism/sexism for example? People need to feel comfortable enough to fully be themselves. It is a problem from application right through to whether they then fit and progress in the organisation. Management need to make sure there are safe spaces and they have an inclusive organisation."

160.   Some interviewees argue there will be no true diversity until jobs in the arts became more financially stable.

It's who you know, and who knows you

161.   **Advocacy and networking skills** are seen as key to access and progression in arts management. It is increasingly difficult to get a role simply through advertised positions and opportunities. A key element in career progression is having someone fight on your behalf. Ethnically diverse, Black and Asian interviewees explain how they are made aware of roles and opportunities via other ethnically diverse colleagues or through White co-workers or managers who are advocating for them. Having to rely on advocates and sponsors is disheartening especially for ethnically, Black and Asian interviewees who feel they cannot progress on merit alone and need the confirmation of their White counterparts.

"In my own experience it has been important to keep constantly networking and building relationships. It's hard to make a living in the arts. As an Arts Manager you are dependent on the network you build and how that develops."

"Networking absolutely determines who gets ahead. If I had to put a figure on it, I would say 90% of the time networking is key in getting ahead in the arts. It's very cliquey, it's all on word of mouth recommendations, and so it's very hard for anyone outside to get into, to be able to penetrate the circle, but once you're in, you're in."

"You can't get forward in a company unless you have someone batting for you. It's very hard to find that person. I've got ahead because there is someone batting for me and the difference is extraordinary."

162.   Leadership courses have been effective in developing advocacy skills and have given some interviewees the confidence to speak out about the value of their work and to gain support for new initiatives.

"Since I completed my training course on leadership, I have come to realise that advocacy in this sector is really key. You need to shout about what you are doing and back it up with statistics and results. Others must see the value of what you are doing and you need to input into this when it comes to budget decisions, for example, to have the money to deliver what you want to achieve."

163.   There are many stories of how entryway has been aided by someone either referring a candidate or advocating for them. Interviewees also describe how **personal recommendations are key for promotion and progression**. Working-class and ethnically diverse, Black and Asian interviewees feel it is **difficult to break into these social circles.**

"There is still a bit of a culture of patronage in the UK. A lot still goes on personal recommendation, with people pushing their candidates forward for jobs."

"I have always been aware that there is the dark art of political manoeuvring behind the scenes in arts management. The type of person who networks with Board members can be very effective and when you get to the interview that person seems to know half the interview panel already, it makes a difference."

"It is who you know, in a job interview, you have to be known to an organisation, you have to play the game."

"Advocacy plays a big role and we must make sure that People of Colour are aware of the networks that exist and that where opportunity does arrive it's made available."

164.   Opportunities to network in the arts can be restricted for those on lower incomes and for those without supportive management structures.

"Networking is so important in this industry but if you don't have the money to join networking events, or join professional membership organisations that hold conferences, then it's a barrier. It's who you know not what you know. People from working-class backgrounds don't have the time or the money to join these things."

The pipeline: young people and arts management

165.   Interviewees believe **young people feel their voice is not heard** in the arts. They suspect that young people don't see the arts as a potential career path.

"I think young people feel they are not heard and do not have a voice. They feel they are told what to do and think about the arts and they are not allowed to be creative themselves."

"The first struggle is getting young people who come from non-traditional backgrounds to see that the arts offers something for them. The system is not set up to accept a diverse range of young people but it doesn't have to be like this, structural change is needed."

"A lot of young people think that the arts sector is not for them. If you are from a diverse background or if you are working-class, you think it's for rich people."

166.   Interviewees think young people see the arts sector as an **insecure profession** with low pay and few progression opportunities. There is also much discussion around parental expectations and how parents (especially those from lower SEB) want financial security for their children. This means they are unlikely to direct them towards a career in the arts.

167.   Interviewees argue that young people are often **unaware of all the career options in arts management** (which can draw on a range of administrative and creative skills).

"I think young people need to have opportunities to see what the arts can be and what arts management is about. The arts industry is changing, it's much more diverse now, it goes beyond the four walls of a museum, it can be an exciting career, taking you all over the world."

"I think there isn't a real understanding from young people of the different roles that are out there in arts management. Young people are not taught that these jobs are out there. I think galleries should be investing in activities that would bring in young people to the gallery space. Showing what goes on behind the scenes … Curators should go into schools and make more effort to bring people in. I don't mean activities for 5-year olds and yummy mummies. It's not about being paternalistic to get people in. It's about looking at how do you get people involved."

"I think there is a need for education about arts management. A lot of roles in the arts are just not known to young people. The progression routes are unknown. Young people don't have existing role models in these jobs and they would not know them anyway because if it's not in your circle or what you do, you wouldn't know. The arts are exclusive anyway. If you are from an affluent background you can afford to volunteer or take an internship scheme but people from lower socio-economic backgrounds can't maintain a part-time or full-time job and take on voluntary work as well, it's not always possible."

168.   Interviewees feel contact with the arts needs to occur from a young age to engage young people to look at arts management as a potential career.

"Engagement with schools has declined. If you are over 30, then you will remember the day that a dance group or a theatre group came into your school and gave a workshop. Now the lack of

funding in education means that education and the arts don't meet as much as they used to. The schools are focused on exams and Ofsted targets and they are not willing or able to bring in the arts to classrooms."

"It's crucial that arts engagement is instilled from an early age and is carried out in everyday life. Creativity is key in this society. The focus needs to change at Government level and in support of young people and access to the arts."

169.   Interviewees suggest that arts organisations should open up to young people and reach out to them beyond the walls of the institution to inspire them and encourage their creativity.

"You need to invite young people into the arts space, have young people on the board, we need young voices to have their participation in the department, they are very intelligent and often overlooked."

"I think the profession could engage more actively with young people by providing professional hands-on experience. We got students to organise a concert and they had to think about marketing, selling tickets, lighting, stage production, it was much more engaging for them, they didn't realise they would enjoy that side of the theatre. It gave them a greater appreciation of what it takes to put on a production and to speak to professionals and to see what they do."

170.   Interviewees worry that young people will be put off by the fact the arts is often associated with White middle-class people and that work created by people of diverse backgrounds is not accorded the same value as art forms which have benefitted from a reputation of prestige.

"Young people think the arts are about white people where I'm from. Community organisations do arrange events for people of colour but these events are seen as being of their own culture, not in the same category as art, and the audiences and the organisations are seen at the same level. The classification of art is racially motivated."

171.   Some interviewees provide anecdotes of young people who have succeeded in the arts sector (through contact with an arts organisation, youth theatre, film etc.).

"A teenage girl said to me: 'We're just plebs, we couldn't get a job in the film industry'. So I started a film club in the summer holidays with 12 students and after six years we got 360 kids. The girl who said she could never get a job in the film industry has just won the BFI's One to Watch Award for camera work. Most working-class kids think that the arts are not for them and are out of their sphere. But if you can get them involved at grass roots level in the arts, they have a lot to offer."

Funding

172. **Funding and sponsorship tend to favour long-established art forms with a reputation of prestige or elitism** rather than grassroots initiatives, and there is a rural-urban split in the level of funding available.

"In other sectors, public funding for music, for example, it is favouritism for one form of art over another in that sense. Corporate sponsorship is easier to obtain for some arts organisations such as the Royal Opera House than for smaller shows. It is understandable but many creatives do not get the chance to express themselves as a result. There is elitism at some level."

"I live in a rural area and we all know each other in the arts sector here. There is a lack of funding across the board. A lot of people are scrabbling for what is falling off the table. We need a better understanding of both city and rural needs, it's not all about statistics, you have to serve the community you have got."

173. There is still a tendency to favour certain areas of the country (particularly London) and specific art forms such as ballet and opera, which receive what some interviewees consider to be an unfair amount of funding at the expense of other artforms or locations. However, one interviewee did point out that ballet and opera by their very nature do require more funding.

174. Most interviewees discuss how central and local government funding for the arts has been reduced and how creativity is not given as much credence by government.

"Successive governments have got rid of the arts in education. There is a lack of understanding about the arts. There is no understanding of creativity or of creative thinking and of what it can help to achieve. And creativity can give a voice to marginalised communities."

"No-one in central or local government takes the arts seriously."

"I get the feeling at the moment that support for the arts is all about the economy, it's symptomatic of this government, they are concentrating on the theatre and the Royal Opera House, for example, which is alienating to most people."

175. Finally, interviewees Identify how these more established traditional arts will need to encompass new audiences if they are to remain relevant. They also feel that continuing to fund elitist forms of art over and above community-led projects will become increasingly difficult.

"I think institutions will become obsolete if they aren't relevant to people anymore. Why should they get public funding? It's about what brings in an audience. I think if you don't care now, you won't be backed up in the future."

Covid-19 and Black Lives Matter

176.   All interviewees report that their work had been directly impacted by Covid-19. However, interviewees feel that the situation had **hit freelance workers particularly hard** as their work has almost completely disappeared.

"In arts management, we are waiting it out and seeing how the sector re-emerges but right now it is like living in a vacuum."

"I am currently furloughed. It is very tricky because we don't have a concrete picture of what things will be like in the future. I had a discussion with my line manager about my promotion before the lockdown started and now it is very unlikely to go ahead. There are no incremental pay rises and they won't hire staff unless they are externally funded. It puts a lot of doubts and questions in your mind about the potential development for arts organisation in the future."

177.   Covid-19 Is having **very negative consequences for diversity** and the sector as a whole as projects have been cancelled and artists become less mobile. This situation is particularly hard for art forms that rely on physical interaction (such as dance and some theatre).

"How do we accommodate physical dance [in a pandemic], do we abandon dancing together? It's the art of assembly, the work is a physical connection".

178.   Some interviewees feel that it is too early to predict the full long-term impact of Covid-19 but fear that diversity could be put on hold as organisations struggled to re-establish themselves.

"Sadly, it's going to have a negative impact on diversity and because of the financial losses and the fact that loads of places are closing down and sinking. The first thing that goes is the diversity goes. In terms of socio-economic diversity even before the pandemic there was more of a divide it's only going to get worse and when you think of young people there's less opportunity for work."

179.   Many worry that Covid-19 would be particularly **damaging for socio-economic diversity**. Interviewees observe how the pandemic has drastically reduced work experience opportunities which means that young people with little experience and who have no connections are disproportionately disadvantaged. Interviewees Identify a likely experience gap developing.

"During Covid-19, I was thinking about who are the big advocates for the arts, who has been writing in The Guardian or appeared on the BBC for the arts? Mostly it is privileged white, middle-class people who are not representative of the population but have a platform to do this. It's not wrong that they use their platform to support the arts but it is wrong that they are the ones chosen to do it. We need more voices … We need best value for everyone."

"I think the long-term impact of Covid-19 will be harmful to all sorts of diversity. Ultimately it is about socio-economic diversity. Freelancers are losing work and there are redundancies in the

arts already, which is affecting people disproportionately because it is those on low salaries who are most affected. And where employment is concerned, it is a tough sector to get into. We have been recruiting in lockdown, but we are getting many over-qualified applicants. So those from diverse backgrounds and those without financial security, like younger people, women and those from ethnic minorities won't have much opportunity."

"In the long-term I think there will be fewer jobs and more competition for jobs. The pressure on those from diverse backgrounds to find work of any sort will be even greater because the economic impact will be so severe … People will also want a job that can weather the pandemic."

180.   However, there are also some more positive stories and hopeful messages. Interviewees talk about how some creative work has come out of the pandemic and how **digital and online provision** means wider groups in society are being reached.

"There are positives, we have developed an online group for young writers and now those who live in the regions, and couldn't attend events because of travel difficulties or cost of travel, have the same access as those in cities. We are making this a permanent online group and we will be offering better provision from September as a result."

"I think online provision during the pandemic has been positive. The arts needed a push to become more digital in their provision. I've noticed my friends have been discussing what they've seen, there are a lot more conversations online about theatre productions, so that's been quite a positive outcome."

181.   At the same time, some interviewees noted the risk of **digital exclusion** for some groups (those without computers or WiFi access for example).

"You have to consider who will be excluded from online work, it's an economic and a class issue. Not all of our staff have access to a spare room or a desk, some are working on the kitchen table and if you have children and are home schooling, the demands on your time are even greater. Digital exclusion is a major issue in the pandemic."

"The pandemic has allowed us to develop more digital content and this also helps to level the field, although there is the issue of who has access to broadband in the first place and the limits that this places on certain sectors of society. But the digital content gives us more chances to tell more diverse stories and to be more radical."

182.   Interviewees also discuss the Black Lives Matter movement within the context of the pandemic and how it has highlighted the lack of diversity in the arts sector. Some are hopeful that meaningful change will happen once the Covid-19 restrictions are lifted.

"If Black Lives Matter hadn't happened, I would have said that Covid-19 would have put us back so many years but I am hopeful that there has to be a reassessment, that theatres will need to make space for diversity. As staff are re-employed it will have to be a more diverse workforce that gets hired."

"I think Black Lives Matter will have an effect, but I want to see that the concern is genuine not reactive or formative. I want to see responses beyond sending a Tweet in support of BLM. I want

183. Interviewees with disabilities find that the pandemic has created online work and training opportunities in the arts, which in some sense gives them a greater sense of access, entitlement, security and safety. Conversely, some interviewees worry that online activities will disproportionately exclude older communities and people with certain disabilities.

"Access to training and mentoring has opened up quickly for me during Covid-19 due to on-line provision. I am working more nationally now. This has been a huge access opportunity. If you are under 30 with disabilities the world has opened up so it's an interesting impact."

"I have retreated into the house and do my work from here and it has re-instilled my sense of safety, it's my work that is being judged, not me."

Data collection

184. The vast majority of interviewees are happy to share their data anonymously. Some interviewees acknowledge there is always a risk that collected data could be misused but ultimately think **data collection is essential to monitor inclusivity and diversity.**

"I am personally happy with data collection. I do have some issues with the wording sometimes, it can be offensive, I mean, Black, White or Other – really? But things have started to change. If we don't monitor, how do we know the situation in order to make a fuss about it? If it's a publicly funded organisation as well, it is a good thing."

"Data collection is crucial, the industry won't change if this is not done, we need to see the reality of the picture. All management decisions should be based on actual facts and data, it's got to be done."

185. Although the vast majority support the collection and collation of anonymised personal data for monitoring diversity and inclusion, there are those who are wary. One interviewee describes how they worry that data collection would encourage positive discrimination and how this could in turn go against them. They worry that people will see their skin colour rather than focus on the quality of their work. Another interviewee thinks that workforce diversity data collection is not sufficient and worries that data often "does not tell the story" and "does not scratch the surface". They stress the importance of collecting lived experience to give meaning to quantitative data.

186. And this view is reinforced by an interviewee, who identifies as Black, arguing that data collection "reminds you of your difference, you feel like you have to choose a box, it's not nice". They describe how "it reminds you that you are on the margins, it feels diminishing, reductive, you are reduced to a box". A final thought countering the majority view comes from another interviewee who identifies as disabled, who is fearful of data collection as they think it may go against them and create barriers.

Job (in)security

187.   Most interviewees feel there is **less job security and support** than in the past in the arts sector. They also note how freelance and temporary work contracts are on the rise, how pay in the arts sector is low, and how people have to be prepared to do jobs outside the arts sector to fund their work in the arts.

"Due to austerity and local government budget cuts increasing, people in the arts are the first to get cut. In the long-term, I can't say I will be in a job in ten years' time. The security of the job is not what it was 20 years ago in the council, it is not a job for life anymore. I am supported by my senior managers in my job but when it comes down to the financial cuts, it is out of their control."

188.   Interviewees give us examples of how they have set up their own informal support networks (e.g. Facebook groups and other social media) to help with wellbeing and feelings of insecurity.

"I don't think people feel very supported, it is too dog eat dog, which creates tension as people don't feel valued as they're paid so little. It makes a big difference to people's wellbeing if they just feel valued."

189.   There appears to be less security for staff working in smaller organisations. As a result, there is a tendency for people to target opportunities in established institutions as these are perceived to be more stable. Furthermore, working in well-known establishments is seen as helping secure roles.

"I work for the council and I feel relatively secure even though I am on a temporary contract as I have been assured it will be renewed. It is more worrying for freelance workers and people in smaller companies who won't be able to provide that level of security."

"There's a certain currency to saying that you've worked in certain places, those very well recognised organisations. I can say I've worked at the Arts Council and people know what I'm talking about. Similarly, to Battersea Arts Centre when I say that people have a sense of what I do and what kind of working culture I come from."

190.   Senior management in the arts can remain in their roles for up to twenty years and feel an entitlement to those positions and have a greater sense of security.

"I asked the directors of my institution whether they would be prepared to step down from their jobs in the light of Black Lives Matter because they have not addressed the issue. They haven't hired full-time Black staff. They all said no. So, I think that the management do feel comfortable. They feel an entitlement to their position, they feel they have helped the institution to get to where it is, that they have made a contribution, perhaps contributed money and it makes them feel entitled to that position. Curators and directors view these appointments as long-term, they are in their jobs for 15-20 years, it's very unusual now, most people would be in jobs for about 5 years, so with this much security, they do feel comfortable."

Actions identified by interviewees to improve diversity

191.	More engagement with schools and universities is needed. Arts organisations need to open up more and enable young people to understand what jobs are available in this sector so that they can be inspired and train to take on these roles.

"I think there needs to be more proper industry connection with universities and media students. There should be better communication between educators and broadcasters and between educators and events management too. Students need that practical experience. Education and the real world – this needs addressing."

"It's about building relations with educational institutions to understand what we do in the community. Business does this and goes out to schools. Land Rover wants diverse talent because they recognise that it brings different views and an innovative atmosphere, and they go out to schools to inspire the next generation. The arts should learn more from this approach."

192.	Organisations need to invest in people's skills and offer different pathways into the organisation for people from diverse backgrounds.

"Organisations have to lower their [entry] standards and provide training. Organisations should offer opportunities for shadowing and trial working opportunities. They need to start from the bottom. People can't just step up into management, they need a route up. The arts remain very traditional in this respect."

193.	Interviewees emphasise the importance of getting young people involved in the arts from an early age and the importance of parents taking part in the arts to encourage their children.

"Parents have to have experienced and valued the art form and to have participated as children themselves to encourage their own children to take up the arts. So I would say that finance and the life experience of the parents are critical."

194.	Recruitment processes need to become more open and transparent utilising a range of recruitment methods to encourage a wider base of applicants to apply, e.g.: using Twitter to advertise posts; talking to diverse ethnic groups; and being prepared to put less emphasis on certified qualifications to encourage a range of candidates.

"We are looking beyond traditional means of recruiting and looking at building a team through other channels. We have to consider how the word is being spread. e do a lot of work with BAME communities and through their key workers we share postings with them. We use Twitter a lot, talking about positions that are going so that we reach a wide range of recruits."

"We recruit from more diverse backgrounds and if those people don't have as many qualifications it doesn't matter because it may simply mean that they haven't had the same opportunities."

195.	Better management and appraisals are needed in arts management and a better understanding by management of dealing with issues such as racism and inequality.

"In terms of support there is quite poor management techniques, there is little constructive support or a regular appraisal system for employees. No one talks to you about how you are getting on or asks how well things are going. The system of review of our work is poor."

196.   Paid internships with potential for progression in an organisation would allow people from all backgrounds to gain experience of working in the arts sector.

"The profession could engage more actively by offering paid internships which bridge the gap for graduates leaving university and securing good positions. I think it's also important that there are pathways for successful interns to move on in their careers and move up through an organisation."

197.   Recruitment of people from diverse backgrounds is needed at senior management level and amongst board members to enable diversity to filter through organisations. These appointments should be fixed term to enable new representatives and new ideas to emerge on a regular basis.

"Artistic directors should not be in their jobs for 20 years, it should be 4 years at the most and make it a policy of rolling change, otherwise it's just the same voices. On my board there were three board members who had been on the board for 18 years, but this has changed now. We need to reflect the world, let's not be afraid about that. Why only have one person at the helm, why not two or three? Diversifying the board is critical, you must change it and it will filter down. There are too many men, we need to open up to other voices."

"To improve diversity and inclusion we should start at the top and at the bottom. You need to diversify the Board and have that conversation. Black Lives Matter has led to action in our programme to diversify our Advisory Group and change our Consortium Board because that's easier to do. With staff, it's much more difficult. It's a slower process because you have to wait for people to leave but it is not difficult to diversify a board, it just needs some extra work and effort."

198.   Training and apprenticeships could be offered to encourage diversity in technical roles in the arts and to open pathways into arts management.

"There is a lack of Black designers, lighting technicians and producers in the theatre, they need to be encouraged to do the training. Apprenticeships could be offered to 18-year olds, mentoring could be given at not a great cost."

199.   Ringfence money for diverse communities.

"I would like to see quotas which are not arbitrarily introduced for diversity and inclusion at Board and management level. I'd like to see ring-fenced money for CPD and development opportunities for diverse communities and I'd like to see new routes into the arts being developed for minorities."

200.   Research and development within the arts sector could help to broaden diversity in arts provision and recruitment, and could develop new audiences.

"Orchestras don't usually have an R&D level to their work. If I was chief executive in industry, I would be investing in research to find new products and new markets, but arts sectors don't have this and it would be beneficial."

201.   Changing to a language of equality in arts organisations would help to avoid racial discrimination and reflect all sectors of society.

"As a Black woman, I have done a lot in my organisation to change the language, so we no longer use the term BAME. I talked to my CEO and described how limiting the use of language was and he listened and we have got a positive response."

202.   The establishment of a central database or national network that acts as a UK-wide movement for creating diversity in the arts would be welcomed.

"If I could make one recommendation, it would be for some sort of central database or network [for diversity in the arts]. There is no national movement for this, which it warrants due to the degree of diversity needed in the arts. If there could be a National Association for Diverse Arts Managers, then I would be the first signing up with my email address."

"How do you access communities with no infrastructure and make connections? It needs someone to reach out and join the dots. It needs a network to create a resource of people to contact to make a difference in all of society."

203.   A Government commitment to a recovery package for the arts to support freelance workers in the arts.

"This needs government and organisations to commit to putting forward a recovery package to support the self-employed. A universal basic income could be very helpful, even if it was timed for a certain time, a year, or 6 months, it would make a significant difference and allow freelancers to stick with the industry."

204.   The Arts Council, sponsors, trust funds and the BBC should act together to provide a mandate for diversity and inclusion within the arts and to provide the financial security for arts organisations to embrace diversity. The budgets of arts organisations themselves, particularly in the wake of Covid-19, are seen as being too precarious to allow organisations to attempt to develop new strategies for diversity and inclusion by themselves.

"There is an overwhelming feeling that those that hold power to change anything, such as the Arts Council and DCMS, need to become places to rely on for change to happen and lobby government to support this."

"Broadly the Arts Council and people are the ones who demand change. The sector is willing to change but the financial risk is an issue. If the Arts Council mandates funds in this way, for example, to support those with disabilities, it happens faster."

"I think the Arts Council should make a response by making sure diversity and inclusion are imperative. When theatres open up, diversity and inclusion might be pushed to the back. The Arts Council and others need to make sure that other types of voices can be heard."

"The BBC has committed to play and commission music by women composers. This approach could work for those with disabilities or from a BAME background. The BBC has a vast responsibility to lead the sector in this way."

205.   Leadership training courses appear beneficial to employees in making the transition to more senior positions.

"I have attended a training course on leadership in my current role, which has been very helpful to me. It's had a positive impact on my work. Now I am an advocate for young people and young writers and I really push for this in Board meetings."

"I have taken two leadership programmes, and both have been really useful to me. I've met some really inspiring people through these courses, and it has raised my profile and encouraged me to just go for it."

206.   A redistribution of power in the arts to ensure institutions are more democratic and decisions are not limited to senior management. Staff would feel more motivated if they could equally contribute to decisions on proposals for programming and events, for example.

"I think a redistribution of power is needed to achieve diversity. We need to re-look at arts institutions and ask who is art for? What is art for? Because at the moment art is for rich, White, middle-class people. Why is art so intertwined with the commercial art world and what money dictates to be art? It's the money that pulls the strings. he board of directors have the final say, it's not always the artists or curators, it's the people at the top who decide. Galleries need to be more democratic about who gets exhibited, who gets paid, who decides what is going to be put on. It would make a massive difference to the staff if the public learning teams, the programming teams, the exhibition teams, the whole gallery, had a say in what was going to be put on, people would feel like they had a real input."

Context: review of existing literature and evidence

Introduction

207. To put these findings and recommendations in context, we have explored the literature and evidence that exists across the sector.

208. Definitions of the creative and cultural sector vary, but usually include advertising and marketing; architecture; crafts; design and designer fashion; film, TV, video, radio and photography; IT, software and computer services; publishing; museums, galleries and libraries; music, performing and visual arts, which maps on to the government's definition of 'creative industries', and is based on the levels of creative activity and creative occupations within that industry. This report focuses particularly on diversity in the cultural sector, which implies a particular focus on performance and visual arts, crafts and heritage, and is especially interested in areas of this work that are publicly funded.

209. However, while maintaining this core focus, it is important to note that similar factors influence diversity across the entire creative and cultural sector and therefore, where relevant, a wider range of literature is cited here.

210. When measuring the diversity of the creative workforce there are a number of approaches that can be adopted, which emphasise industry, occupation or workforce. These differences were set out by Stuart Cunningham in 2011[1], who underlined that the creative sector can be seen as the total of creative occupations within the 'core creative' industries (specialists), plus the creative occupations employed in other industries (embedded), plus the business and support occupations employed in creative industries who are often responsible for managing, accounting for and technically supporting creative activity (support). The current study focuses especially on the latter, and therefore in terms of job role, it is particularly interested in workers who are in functions such as business development and fundraising, communications and marketing, finance and HR, business operations and administration, although it does also extend to people working for example in programme creation and management.

211. In terms of social identity characteristics, the focus is on ethnicity, gender and socio-economic background (SEB) or social class, though other diversity characteristics naturally feature in the literature and intersect with this main focus. In particular, literature relating to disability in the cultural sector were searched for but this is a relatively neglected area in diversity research and a lack of information in this literature review relates to a lack of extant studies on this topic.

212. Historically, the term 'Black and Minority Ethnic' or BAME has been used when reporting on ethnic diversity within specific sectors but this term has always been controversial

not least because it implies a certain homogeneity across a highly heterogenous population. Recently, a number of preferred terms are emerging, and the one we use in this report is 'ethnically diverse.' However, when citing other research which has used the term BAME, for the purposes of clarity we may do the same.

213. The review starts by providing facts and figures about the entire creative and cultural sector in terms of revenue, employment and diversity, including the impact of the global pandemic. It then provides additional context for the current study by summarising previous literature which has described the barriers to diversity in the cultural sector and related areas, including the creative arts; considered why diversity (or its absence) matters for the sector and for society at large; and explored how a lack of diversity and inclusion might be addressed, along with associated challenges. Finally, the review includes a brief overview of relevant interventions and initiatives and a consideration of 'what works,' while noting that evidence here is patchy.

214. It should be noted that notwithstanding the definitions provided above the cultural sector does not have clear boundaries. Researchers and organisations define it in different ways, often using alternative or broader definitions than the one used in the current report. Where appropriate, as different studies are summarised here, the definitions used to describe the sector are provided. To reiterate, where these definitions or scope of research differ from our own, the studies included in this review have been selected because they are deemed to provide useful background and context.

215. This review has been constructed following a comprehensive search across policy, practitioner and academic literature, using key search terms related to the study. There is a substantial body of work covering these areas and the scope of what could be included in this review is potentially significant. To ensure relevance, topicality and brevity, the review therefore focuses on key themes which are evident across the literature, and for the most part (though not exclusively) the search has focused on outputs and research published in the last ten years, and on literature which relates to the UK.

216. The review was completed in September 2020, and at a point when the global pandemic is having a serious and ongoing negative impact on organisations in the cultural sector in the UK and worldwide. It should be underlined that much of the literature summarised here was published before the pandemic took hold but these previous studies nevertheless provide useful context to understand recent relevant activities and trends.

Why does diversity in the arts matter?

217. In the wider conversation on diversity in the workplace, diversity is often considered important for two main reasons. First, diversity matters for its own sake, and as a matter of fairness and social justice[2]. Second, over the past twenty years or so, an explicit

'business case' has increasingly been articulated for diversity, which suggests that recognising and rewarding difference will contribute to better organisational outcomes, including performance. These arguments are sometimes considered especially meaningful in profit-driven organisations but are potentially controversial in most contexts, as explained below.

218.   Nevertheless, a business case has been made in relation to diversity in the arts, especially in relation to cultural outputs and relative creativity. It is useful to start here by thinking back to the New Labour administration, which believed that local participation in the arts promotes cultural democracy and increases societal benefits,[3] while cultural tourism can attract arts participants and improve place image, regional competitiveness and differentiation (Lee & Gilmore, [33]). Another argument is that in performance or visual arts, in museums, theatres or on screens, it is essential to produce outputs which appeal to the widest range of people with many different social identities, in order to maximise their appeal. This may be considerably less likely when arts managers and administrators are not diverse, and who have relatively narrow cultural tastes. As Leung put it[4]: "lack of diversity in the workforce equates to a lack of different ideas, practices, cultures, and processes entering an organization: the critical ingredients necessary for creativity and innovation."

219.   Also during the New Labour era, the Film Council adopted policies, including a new code of practice and access schemes, aimed at removing barriers to entry to the industry and broadening the social composition of the workforce. This was based on a commitment to social equity and a business case, given the changing social character of the workforce across the UK. However, Hill (2004)[5] pointed out at the time that it was probably "unrealistic to expect a major restructuring of the workforce within the film industry without government attention to the more fundamental economic and educational factors affecting the differential achievements of minority ethnic groups and other disadvantaged social groups not just in the film industry but also the labour market more generally." This fundamental restructuring has arguably not occurred and again, while the current study focuses more specifically on the cultural sector, these findings may be relevant here.

220.   More recently, the Warwick Commission produced a report[6] in 2015, '*Enriching Britain: Culture, Creativity and Growth*.' This conceptualised the creative and cultural sector as an "ecosystem" to recognise its dynamism and the relationships between individual industries. The commission suggest that diversity in the creative workforce, leadership and consumers is critical to enrich the creative industries ecosystem. They also argued that production and consumption of culture should be accessible and enjoyable for all.

221.   More recently, the Arts Council England's (ACE) Equality, Diversity and the Creative Case[7] argued that diversity is central to the connection between the arts and society because "it represents a commitment to the wider world, and forms a two-way channel along which people can travel and find a platform to tell their stories." ACE also argue that "more power should be in the hands of those who understand the need for change" and that individuals in leadership positions help to determine which types of cultural offerings are valued, and it is essential that everyone should feel able to participate in

and produce culture (ACE 2018; cited in: Patel and Naudin, 2018[8]). This report sets out a 'creative case' for diversity as a "a source of cultural inspiration that also makes a demonstrable contribution to the long-term health of the arts" (p2).

222.   In their 2018 paper study, Hutchison and Cartmell[9] point out that in the museum sector there is general agreement that diversity is crucial for future sustainability—and this can be explained in part because museums are responsible for collection, care and interpretation of material and non-material manifestations of society. They cite ICOM's Cultural Diversity Charter[10] from 2010 which sets out "to recognise and affirm all forms of cultural diversity" and frames diversity within the context of responding to transformation and change in societies across the world. They also cite research by Davies[11] published in 2007 which suggests that UK museums actively want higher proportions of male workers, people from minority-ethnic backgrounds, poorer backgrounds and more employees with disabilities.

223.   Returning to the Panic! report, this also demonstrated that the cultural tastes of people working in the arts are on average quite different to those of the population at large. People working in the arts are also much more likely to attend cultural events. These differences are evident even in relation to those in other occupations classified as NS-SEC 1, in other words the upper middle-class of professional and managerial occupations, such as doctors, engineers and lawyers. Increasing the diversity of those working in the arts has been situated as an important way to broaden the appeal of museums, theatres and other organisations, by better recognising the needs, expectations and experiences of diverse communities. However, also important here is that people working in the cultural sector, especially in more influential positions, are disproportionately White and middle-class, and tend predominantly to know other people working in the sector, who may also be White and middle-class.

224.   As Pinnock[12] put it in his 2019 discussion on the "menace of meritocracy" in the creative and cultural industries: "If the social and professional networks to which cultural and creative workers belong are disproportionately white and disproportionately middle class . . . then this . . . perhaps explains the difficulty they have reaching out to the rest of the population."

225.   It should though be underlined that the current study looks beyond individuals working in programme production towards those working in professional support, who are typically less engaged in determining the outputs of the organisations in which they work. It is notable that not only has there been very limited research on the specific composition of this workforce but equally there has been almost no consideration of the benefits or otherwise of diversity here, and one role of the current study is to help define what this case might be.

Facts and figures: revenue and employment

226.   According to figures reported by the Arts Council[13] in 2019, the arts and culture industry in the UK had grown £390 million in a year and contributes £10.8 billion a year to the UK

economy. The sector contributes £2.8 billion a year to the Treasury via taxation and generates a further £23 billion a year and 363,700 jobs. Productivity in the arts and culture industry between 2009 and 2016 was greater than that of the economy as a whole, with gross value added (GVA) per worker at £62,000 for arts and culture, compared to £46,800 for the wider UK economy. For the purposes of the Arts Council report, which was produced by the Centre for Business Research (CEBR), the arts and culture industry includes book publishing; sound recording and music publishing; performing arts; support activities to performing arts; artistic creation; operation of arts facilities including the operation of concert and theatre halls. It does not include museums.

227. The same report found that employment in arts and culture has followed a quite volatile trend. The industry experienced a peak in employment in the UK in 2014 with about 138,000 in employment, following which employment decreased by 5 per cent in 2015 to 131,400 before increasing again by 4 per cent, to 137,250 jobs, in 2016. The majority of employment in the arts and culture is in England, where employment trends have followed those cited above, peaking at 126,000 in 2014, decreasing by 4 per cent in 2015 to 120,825 jobs before increasing to 124,575 jobs in 2016. Employment in the arts and culture in England increased by 12 per cent between 2009 and 2016, from around 110,900 jobs in 2009 to 124,575 jobs in 2016. For the UK as a whole, arts and culture employment increased by 11 per cent over the same period, from approximately 123,300 jobs in 2009 to 137,200 jobs in 2016.

228. Again, according to the same report, firms employing one or no employees made up 92 percent of the sector, while firms employing 250 or more employees accounted for less than 0.1 per cent. This compares to the wider economy, where the share of firms with one or no employees is much lower, accounting for 76 per cent of businesses.

229. Government figures suggest that while the creative sector prior to Covid-19 was thriving, crafts was an exception. One report[14] suggested that in the creative industries, employment rose by 25.4 per cent between 2011 and 2016. Over the same time period, UK employment increased by just 7.6 per cent. However, during this period, the craft industry saw a steep decline in workers, with figures dropping by 25.5 per cent (2000 fewer workers).

Covid-19

230. The impact on the arts sector of the current global pandemic is likely to be significant, both in terms of employment and revenue. The government has announced a £1.57 billion arts recovery package. However, the Bectu Union which represents workers in the entertainment industries said for example that job losses in the theatre sector amount to 5,000 and include both permanent employees and casual staff. About 2,700 of these losses were in London. In September, the Ambassador Theatre Group (ATG), one of the biggest employers in British theatre, announced it would lay off 1,200 casual staff.[15]

231. A report commissioned by the Creative Industries Federation and completed by Oxford Economics[16] found that creative industries will be hit twice as hard by the pandemic as

the UK economy overall, risking a "cultural catastrophe." The UK's creative sector was previously growing at five times the rate of the wider economy, employing over 2 million people and contributing £111.7 billion to the economy. Revenues are forecast to drop by £74 billion in 2020 representing a 30% fall and job losses are predicted to hit more than 400,000. The loss in gross value will be 25% in 2020 or £29 billion.

232. Job losses are expected to disproportionately hit freelancers who are commonly employed in the sector, with more than two-thirds of the terminated jobs in self-employed roles. Creative businesses in London are projected to be hit hardest in terms of output, with a £14.6bn fall in gross value added, a 25 per cent reduction. However, the biggest relative losses are expected in Scotland and the North East, with GVA falls of 39 per cent and 35 per cent respectively.[17] This report defined the creative sector in the terms outlined at the start of this review, and thus more broadly than the specific focus of the current study.

233. It is not yet clear how these job losses will impact the diversity of the sector though it is very likely that as they particularly affect freelance and casual staff who are already more likely to be in precarious positions, the effect will be extremely negative. The current study offers important insight here by providing qualitative commentary from those working in the sector on the effects of the pandemic.

Demographic composition of the sector

234. A number of previous studies have considered the demographic composition of the creative and cultural arts. Perhaps the most comprehensive recent study on diversity and the creative arts was the Panic! report,[18] conducted by a team of academics from the Universities of Edinburgh and Sheffield, who undertook research funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), as part of a scheme to create public impact with academic research on the creative economy, and led by Create London.

235. According to the authors, this comprised the first analysis of cultural and creative workers' values and attitudes, using data from the British Social Attitudes Survey; the first analysis of cultural and creative workers' cultural attendance, using data from the Department for Culture, Media and Sport's (now the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport) Taking Part Survey; the first analysis of social mobility into cultural occupations using data from the Office for National Statistics' Longitudinal Study; and an analysis of the demographics of the cultural and creative workforce using the Office for National Statistics' Labour Force Survey.

236. This study used the same definition of creative industries as in point 1, above. However, the analysis focuses on creative occupations rather than just industries – so, for example, graphic designers who work for accountancy firms are included, but accountants who work for a theatre are not. This does distinguish the Panic! report from the current study which takes a different approach, to consider the demographic

composition of 'back office' functions including for example finance and marketing, and thus is focused on the industry rather than occupation. Nevertheless, its core findings are likely to be relevant more specifically to the cultural sector and therefore are provided as a useful framework here.

237. This report found that working-class people are under-represented across the arts. For example, in publishing, they represent 12.6% of the workforce, in film, TV and radio, 12.4% and in music, performance and visual arts, 18.2%[19].

238. In relation to gender, almost every occupational sector has an underrepresentation of women in its workforce, with Publishing (52.9%) and Museums, galleries and libraries (64.8%) the only two sectors where women are not under-represented compared to the workforce overall.

239. In relation to ethnicity, the arts are also not diverse and sectors which have particularly low numbers of what reports refer to as Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) workers include museums, galleries and libraries (2.7%); film, TV, video, radio and photography (4.2%); and music, performing and visual arts (4.8%).

240. The Panic! report also noted a significant pay gaps in the arts. With respect to gender, across all creative industries women are estimated to earn £5,800 less per year than otherwise similarly employed men. In Film, TV, video, radio and photography, the estimated gender pay gap is £15,000 per year. There are also clear pay gaps between those from upper-middle class origins and those from working class backgrounds. For example, in Publishing there is evidence of a class pay gap of up to £23,000 a year. Much of the class pay gap can be explained in relation to individuals' education levels, but this does not account for the gender pay gap.

241. The Panic! report also makes important points about social mobility and the arts. It shows that the proportion of young cultural workers from upper-middle class backgrounds more than doubled between 1981 and 2011, from 15% to 33%. The proportion of working-class origin dropped by about a third, from 22% to 13% over the same period. This can be explained as a result of changes in Britain's class structure, as there has been a corresponding growth in the number of people from middle and upper-class backgrounds. The chances of different groups getting into jobs in culture and the arts has on the other hand not changed. Young people from upper-middle class origins were disproportionately represented in creative jobs compared to their numbers in the economy overall in both the 1981 and 2011 census, by a factor of 2 to 1, while young people from working class origins were under-represented.

242. A range of other studies have considered the demographic diversity of the creative industry and/or specific sectors. One study examining the ethnicity profile of the museum sector notes challenges finding data but found that the proportion of people who are ethnically diverse in the UK museum sector increased from 2.5% in 1993 to about 7% in 2006-2008, varying between 1.3% and 10.4% depending on the type of museum and the type of job. This compares to an overall working age population that is ethnically diverse of 12.6% in England in 2008. There is a significant under-

representation of most (but probably not all) ethnic diversity in most areas of museum work.[20]

243.   The study also found that ethnic diversity is relatively more evident in audience/education/communications jobs than in collections/curatorial and management jobs. In total, 7.7%– 10.4% of audience/education/communications jobs are occupied by people who are ethnically diverse. In contrast, 4.2% – 6.1% of collections jobs are held by people who are ethnically diverse. Due to differences in definition the range for management jobs is wider at 1.3%– 5.2%.

244.   Though outside the scope of this study, research published in 2004,[21] noted the demographic composition of the film industry based on Film Council Figures,[22] which remained at this point dominated by white able-bodied men. While minority ethnic groups accounted for around 9% of the UK population (and nearly 30% of the population of London where the film industry is concentrated), they accounted for only 1.6% of the film and video production workforce. Women account for only 32.6% of the production workforce and considerably less in specific occupational areas (eg: only 8% of lighting technicians). Women and what this report called ethnic minority groups were though over-represented in the least well-rewarded occupations, making up 77% of cinema cleaners, while minority ethnic groups account for 22% of cleaning staff and 18.4% of box-office attendants.

245.   More recently, Arts Council England[23] (ACE) released data demonstrating that in 2016/2017 there remains significant underrepresentation of people who are ethnically diverse, persons with disabilities and in some roles, women, both at the Arts Council and its funded organisations. In further detail:

    >   *Ethnicity*: In the working age population, 16% of people are what ACE refers to as a minority ethnic background, compared to only 11% of staff at National Portfolio Organisations (NPOs), 4% of staff at Major Partner Museums (MPMs) and 9% of staff at the Arts Council. NPOs are defined as leaders in their areas, with a collective responsibility to protect and develop national arts and cultural ecology.

    >   *Gender*: There appear to be far more women working at NPOs and MPMs than men. The difference is greater in MPMs, where 51% of staff are women and 32% are men; in NPOs 46% of staff are women and 39% are men. In addition, 191 people across both NPOs and MPMs identify as non-binary.

    >   *Sexual Orientation*: In the working age population, 2% of people identify as lesbian, gay or bisexual. In contrast, 4% identify as LGBT at NPOs and 1% at MPM, and so this group appears to be well represented in the NPO workforce, but slightly under-represented in the MPM workforce.

    >   *Disability*: Disabled people are significantly under-represented in the workforce of the ACE's funded organisations. While 20% of working age adults in England identify as having a work-limiting disability, only 4% of staff at NPOs and MPMs identified as disabled, which represents no change on the previous year.

246.   ACE do underline that there is considerable missing data, including with respect to disability, which makes it difficult to draw accurate conclusions on the composition of the workforce, as ACE cannot know whether the individuals for whom they have data are representative of the whole workforce. With respect to sexual orientation, a much larger proportion of NPO staff answered 'prefer not to say' in relation to LGBT than for other questions – 15% of staff chose this option, in comparison to 4% when asked about their ethnicity and 6% when asked if they consider themselves disabled. ACE suggests this may be due to this being a relatively new question, or individuals may be less willing to disclose because of potential sensitivities.

247.   In terms of seniority, ACE report that overall people who are ethnically diverse are under-represented across all three leadership roles – they make up 11% of the workforce, but only 8% of Chief Executives, 10% of Artistic Directors and 10% of Chairs. The proportion of women in key leadership positions has increased since 2015/16, but women in leadership are still under-represented in the roles of Artistic Director and Chair. Women make up 46% of the workforce, but only 35% of these positions. The representation of disabled people is in line with the overall workforce – they make up 4% of the workforce and 6% of Chief Executives, Artistic Directors and Chairs. However, ACE point out that these figures are both very low when compared to the number of adults in the larger working age population who identify as disabled.

248.   In theatre, a report in The Stage[24] reported on a research comparing the gender and ethnicity of artistic and executive directors in 2019 with two previous years over the past decade – 2014 and 2009 –at the 50 national portfolio organisations that receive the most funding from Arts Council England (ACE). These include venues such as the National Theatre, the Royal Shakespeare Company, the Royal Exchange, the Young Vic and Sheffield Theatres. They stretch the length and breadth of the country, from Newcastle, Leeds and Bristol, to the Lake District, Cornwall and Leicester. The study found that nearly all leaders of the country's 50 highest-funded theatres are White while people who are ethnically diverse make up just 8% of leaders. In more detail, among the leadership of the 50 venues in this study all but one executive director was White, and there were only two more female artistic directors in 2019 than there were in 2009. People who are ethnically diverse made up just seven of the total 51 individuals in artistic director roles in 2019, up from three in 2014 and one in 2009. Overall, the report shows slow progress in terms of diversifying theatres.

249.   Some studies have focused on diversity in the museum sector. For example, in 2018 Hutchison and Cartmell[25] reported that data held by central government does not include characteristics of museum employees sub-categorised by their area of work or level of seniority within museums. However, the proportion of jobs filled by women in museums, galleries and libraries in 2014 was over two-thirds (65.1%) (DCMS 2015). In addition, they write that nearly three-quarters of people working in museums, galleries and libraries in the UK are categorised as from 'more advantaged groups' (73%) and over a quarter as 'low advantaged groups' (27%). A 50:50 split between these categories would more accurately reflect the general UK population.

250. The data reported here is only a brief snapshot of the total available but is illuminating nevertheless. It has tended to look at industry sectors or groups as a whole rather than narrowing the focus to specific job types, as is the case in the current study, which has a particular focus on 'back office' functions. The demographic composition of these functions has often been relatively overlooked in research to date and as such the current study offers important new insights by showing the degree to which these job roles are characterised by a lack of diversity and by patterns of exclusion.

Barriers to diversity in the arts and the 'myth of merit'

251. In their 2013 paper,[26] Eikhof and Warhurst point out that there are four key characteristics of creative jobs which make inequalities systemic, especially focusing on social class and gender.

> One is that production is often based around fixed-term projects, where teams are brought together for specific purposes and then disband. Employment is therefore temporary and unstable, with unpredictable wages, and a requirement for workers to bear the costs and risks of insurance, social security, sick pay, maternity leave, etc.[27]

> Second is that the temporary nature of projects also offers fewer incentives for employers to finance apprenticeships or other industry-wide training schemes. Entry-level workers are often low paid and effectively pay for their own training through forfeited earnings. Even at later career stages it is workers, not employers, who bear the costs of and risks associated with formal training and development.

> Third, projects also impact recruitment practices, as producer and directors or commissioning editors for example have limited room for error and therefore prefer to work with trusted colleagues, who are appointed via personal networks.

> Fourth, work in the creative industries is often characterised by long and unsocial working hours. In sum, the creative industries are defined by: irregular income and high-employment insecurity, low or unwaged entry-level jobs, network-based recruitment practices and above-average requirements regarding workers' temporal availability and geographical mobility.

252. While again, the scope of this study was a little different to our own, the findings are almost certainly relevant nevertheless. These characteristics have a number of impacts on inequality in the creative sector, again as applied to both social class and gender:

> First, gaining entry into and maintaining a career in the creative industries requires economic capital, which is most available to workers with affluent parents.

> Second, once in, work is precarious, meaning that many workers need additional income at least for parts of their careers to sustain working in the creative industries. Again, having financial support from parents is of clear benefit here.

> Third, recruitment practices rely on social networks, which is more readily available to children from wealthier families. O-Brien and Oakley[28] also point to the value of being 'in the know' in order to secure opportunities[29], so that networks reproduce inequalities in the sector. They argue that: "When work, particularly project-based work is often won through a combination of reputation and membership of social networks, participation in such networks – in themselves the product of structural social inequalities, often based on education – becomes vital" (p15). Banks[30] suggests that selection processes for arts education programmes take place on the basis of homophily, as hiring managers select in their own image. As a result: "the cultural and creative industries, and the education systems that serve them, are becoming enclaves of privilege – that dispense favour to the favoured and give grace to the graceful" (p85).

> Fourth, unsocial working hours and a requirement for geographical flexibility in many sectors represent constraints for workers with childcare responsibilities, and such workers are predominantly female.

253. Again, research collated in the Panic! report and published in academic outlets since then has built on these and other findings, and demonstrated that the cultural and creative sector continues to be characterised by significant exclusions for those from working-class origins, while also acknowledging the intersections with other characteristics including gender and ethnicity, as women and people who are ethnically diverse also experience significant challenges and barriers to career progression. According to this report and a range of additional research, the following factors help to explain these inequalities:

> *Regional Inequalities*: Creative businesses are disproportionately clustered in the South East of England, and especially London, where the cost of living is higher than in the rest of the UK. This may make it more difficult for people who grew up outside of London to break into the sector while the precarity associated with freelance and short-term contracts represents an additional barrier to entry for people from less privileged backgrounds who cannot for example live at home.

> *Unpaid Labour and Short-Term Contracts*: As noted above, many people working within the creative arts or hoping to build a career are required to work for free, either during unpaid internships for example, or in other relatively informal arrangements ostensibly aimed at building experience and exposure. This is deeply problematic for most people who do not have independent financial support, including wealthy parents. Around 87% of the Panic! respondents reported having worked for free in some way, irrespective of creative occupation or demographics, demonstrating that this is not a new trend. Other research has also underlined that entering the arts industry comes with significant risks,

including of precarity.[31] As Oakley,[32] pointed out in 2009, the employment of those "without relevant social contracts or unable to support unpaid work" is problematic (p34).

> *Exclusive Cultures*: The Panic! report pointed out that the arts workplace is exclusive in other ways too, as for example the taste patterns of cultural workers are substantially different from the rest of the population, while their political values and attitudes are the most liberal and left-wing of any set of occupations. This has implications for diversity including as recruitment often takes place as a form of 'cultural matching' so that current workers are more likely to employ people who are like them. The relative homogeneity of the sector and current workers cultural tastes may also make creative work an uncomfortable place for those whose values differ. A study by Brooks et al. (2018) also underlined a significant lack of demographic diversity amongst the creative arts workforce, which is associated with feelings of exclusion for those who are outside the current 'norm.'

254.   A deep understanding of these trends has sometimes been hampered by lack of data. As noted, many organisations in the arts are small and many jobs are freelance or short-term. O'Brien and Oakley point out that while it is possible to understand changing demographic trends in higher profile commercial and cultural industries, data on microenterprises and the self-employed is typically much less available.

255.   Despite evident inequalities and exclusivity, the Panic! report also revealed a dominant 'myth of merit' in the creative sector as respondents who were best paid, were also most likely to think that the sector rewards talent and hard work, and were least likely to see exclusions of class, ethnicity and gender in the workforce.

256.   The Panic! report is of course not the only study to have examined diversity in the creative arts and barriers to access and career progression, or to have identified a misplaced emphasis on merit within the sector. As just one example, a 2008 paper by Gill and Pratt[33] described how they myth of the 'cool, creative and egalitarian' cultural sector hides the extent of precarity. However, a stream of research by one of its co-authors, Dave O-Brien, along with colleagues has been especially important in developing and building on these findings.

257.   In a paper published in 2018,[34] O'Brien points out that while previously it had been the norm to deny inequalities within the sector, more recently senior figures, many of whom are White men from middle-class backgrounds, have been more likely to acknowledge that they exist. This might be considered a progressive change though it is also one which should be treated with caution, since recognition of structural inequalities is not the same as solving them and may even be a strategy to ensure the dominance of already powerful social groups. This is explained in part because talk does not equal action and in part in relation to a disconnect between 'inequality talk', and a tendency for senior figures to explain their own careers in relation to gentlemanly discourses such as 'luck.' In reality, while it is true that senior figures in the sector are likely to have benefited from luck, this is likely to originate in the good fortune afforded by structural

advantages available to White, middle-class men. This represents a paradox as senior figures recognise structural inequalities in other people's careers but play down the extent to which these same structures have benefited them. Further progress may require that this paradox is recognised and addressed.

258.   In another paper,[35] an earlier version of which was reported in the Panic! report, O-Brien and colleagues investigate the role of unpaid labour in limiting diversity in the Cultural and Creative Sectors, in relation to precariousness and insecurity. They particularly show that experiences of unpaid labour differ according to people's social class, age, and career stage. Based on a questionnaire survey (n: 2540) and follow-up interviews (n: 237), they found that most respondents had worked for free at some point. However, there were systematic differences in whether respondents had ever done unpaid internships. For example, by age, 47% of under-30s had completed an unpaid internship, compared with 6% of over-50s. By gender, far more women had done unpaid internships than men. Another significant difference which is particularly relevant to the current study is that the majority of respondents working in film, television, and radio have done unpaid internships, while only a small fraction of respondents working in visual arts had done so. Why this might be the case perhaps would benefit from further exploration and research.

259.   These findings are also significant including because they reveal different attitudes to unpaid work. The analysis underlined that for middle-class and older workers in the sector, working for free was generally considered less problematic. Older and more established workers have more perceived autonomy and choice in whether they take on unpaid work and often felt that they could leverage this to their advantage. In contrast, however, younger respondents from working-class origins felt they had very little autonomy or choice. Further, since unpaid work is accepted within the sector as not only inevitable but in some sense legitimate, younger workers from less privileged backgrounds have very limited opportunity to resist and this is likely to contribute to their precarious position, and thus to exclusivity in the sector.

260.   The importance of role models has been raised elsewhere. For example, Gorman's[36] 2017 study explored the importance of BAME role models for developing a more diverse workforce. Focusing on the theatre workforce, Gorman defines a role model as exemplifying "values, attitudes and behaviour in ways that others perceive as positive and worthy of imitation" (p9). She found that for participants in her study who were ethnically diverse, role models in leadership and modelling leadership functions were often White.

261.   Research has also suggested that the type of culture which is valued within societies relates in some ways to who is able to participate and lead in cultural sectors. Again, O'Brien and Oakley[37] have made important contributions here, including to suggest that there is a relationship between cultural value and social inequality, which should not be considered separately. They argue that "specific types of cultural consumption are intertwined with who is able to succeed in cultural production" (p3), and that "unequal value afforded to BAME cultures" (p8) contributes to the reproduction of social

inequalities. Enabling and encouraging a range of cultural symbolic forms is then a critical part of addressing problems of inequality in the sector.

262.   Recruitment practices may have problematic effects additional to those already outlined. In the museum sector one suggestion is that historically, museums have been over-reliant on academic qualifications in order to determine entry and that this has a negative impact for people from less privileged backgrounds, but could be addressed with more vocational training and alternative entry routes.[38] This was supported by work by Guile in 2006 which suggests that the conventional wisdom in UK government has been that qualifications are the 'magic bullet' for securing employment in the creative and cultural sector, as elsewhere. Guile argues that if policy-makers are serious about wanting to diversify the occupational profile of the creative and cultural sector to reflect both the multicultural composition of the UK's population and the rising demand for broader creative and cultural products and services, then it will be necessary to develop a less qualification-driven approach to facilitating access and supporting learning and development in that sector, and that a shift towards a strategy that supports people to 'be apprenticed' in a variety of ways in the creative and cultural sector.

263.   Milestone[39] advances an interesting thesis to suggest that in the North of England, a version of 'northernness' has been mobilised within the creative industries which is strongly linked with masculinity. She suggests that this has had the effect of 'gendering' creative industries in Manchester, around a paradigm of 'laddishness' which is amplified by a media-fuelled, cultural identity attached to the city and its popular culture. It is argued that this has contributed to the ascendency of closed, male-dominated networks in the creative sector, which stand in the way of women's full access to, and participation in, the city's creative industries.

264.   In the US, an important and influential commentator on the creative industries has been Richard Florida, who has argued that the creative industries appeal to economic policy makers is based in the promise to provide "new avenues of advancement" and "full opportunity and unfettered social mobility for all" (Florida, 2004, pp. 79, 321). As summarised by Eikhof and Warhust,[40] this is based on the assumption that the creative industries' key resources are individual talent and creativity, which are seen as "everyone's natural asset to exploit" (Ross, 2009, p. 40), and on the basis that creative workers mistrust "rigid caste systems" (Florida, 2004, p. 78) and have a self-interest and moral imperative to overcome old social divides by "tapping the creativity of the many and thus ensuring that all are integrated into the Creative Economy" (p. 321; also Mellander *et al.*, 2012).

265.   In sum, Florida (2004) argues that the creative sector is a meritocratic economy in which participation and advancement depend on talent, and are thus no longer affected by sex, race or class. Again, as Eikhof and Warhust point out, while Florida has perhaps been the most influential commentator on these topics, a number of other writers and scholars have also underlined the sector's progressive tendencies.[41] The cultural and structural factors summarised in this literature review so far mean that this vision has arguably not in fact been realised.

266. An additional explanation for why this is the case includes problems defining and identifying talent, which is often closely aligned with meritocracy. Kelly and Champion[42] underline that in the screen industries policy and industry are primarily focused on barriers to entry yet socio-economic factors can continue to present challenges over the lifetime of a career, and may be exacerbated by problems defining and identifying talent. They suggest a common understanding that raw, natural or innate talent is necessary to achieve success in many fields, which one is or is not born with. However, a range of literature has demonstrated that more important than 'innate' talent is the quantity and quality of purposeful practice that particular individuals engage in, along with environmental factors ranging from place and date of birth and having access to instructional resources and family support. As a result, they suggest that it is questionable whether the use of the term "talent" in creative industries policy is helpful given that "it must be combined with a focus on skills development through formal training, not to mention access to opportunity, if high levels of success are to be achieved." While these findings apply especially to the screen industries, it is likely that they are also relevant elsewhere although again, this is a topic worthy of further research.

267. In 2018, ACE published 'Making a Shift' which aimed to improve their understanding of disabled people's experiences of the arts and culture workforce and identifying actions to reduce barriers. As noted, disability has been under-researched in relation to diversity and organisational structures. The findings and recommendations were based on a review of existing literature and data; primary research with disabled people in the sector and/or people representing organisations, including an online survey (which 188 people completed); 27 one-to-one interviews and an open space event attended by seven people. This broke barriers into three themes, relating to entry and progression; cultures; and awareness and understanding, with appropriate recommendations.

268. Under the first heading were factors including physical and communication access; attitudes to disabled people; the benefits 'trap' and lack of support; inaccessible training provision; working culture in arts and museums; recruitment practices; the working culture; and lack of role models. Respondents felt that self-employment was the best route into the sector including to help manage periods of ill-health and that the many smaller organisations in the sector may be reluctant to hire somebody with a visible or declared disability for fear of additional cost.

269. Under the second heading were factors attitudes to disabled people; working culture: long hours, unpredictability, travel – lack of part-time senior roles; narrow view of reasonable adjustments; barriers in relation to networking and accessing critical feedback; lack of (visible) disabled people in senior roles; disabled people under-represented (or under-heard) within boards; impact of changes to support funding and benefits for disabled people including proving you meet criteria; process and bureaucracy; lack of understanding of sector – especially freelance work; and changes in policy.

270. Under the third heading the report emphasised that capturing data to reflect the experiences of disabled people in the cultural workforce is difficult, and confirmed

issues with the effectiveness of some organisations' disability monitoring processes and the confidence of (potential) employees in declaring themselves to be disabled.

271.   The report provided a number of recommendations to address the issues outlined above, though it is unclear what effect this has had to date.

What works: advancing diversity in the arts

272.   Improving representation in the arts tends nowadays to be situated in the diversity agenda, which is the terminology also used throughout this report. A number of commentators have pointed out that this is problematic since the diversity agenda itself is controversial including because it only has a limited effect. A key concern in a much broader literature which extends beyond the arts is that diversity has moved the focus from structural inequalities and redistribution towards a focus on identity and recognition. While the latter is important, this movement is said to have depoliticised the equality agenda and encouraged relatively cosmetic and superficial changes. The sociologist Sara Ahmed has been particularly influential here, having theorised diversity as an institutional speech act which pays 'lip service' to change largely because everyone is doing it. This means that the language of diversity is limited in its potential to destabilise dominant power structures.[43]

273.   Particularly important in these debates is the so-called business case. As noted, the business case is considered controversial by many academics, and this is the case for several reasons, one of which is that it reduces human flourishing to commercial concerns. Another is that the busines case is ineffective in driving change since it wrongly assumes that when hiring and promoting, managers respond to 'rational' economic drivers in order to limit unfair discrimination when in fact a very wide body of research shows that many managers make decisions on the basis of for example 'irrational' biases according to gender or ethnicity. More generally, labour markets are understood to be driven by concerns with power and interests, as much as concerns with efficiency and profit.

274.   In the arts, the business case typically translates into a 'creative case', as outlined above. However, with respect to ethnicity, Malik[44] argued in 2013 for example, that in UK broadcasting, discourses and policies of 'creative diversity' in cultural work depoliticise the issue, because "ideas of quality and creativity are foregrounded over (structural) questions of (in)equality or the positive recognition of social or cultural difference." Examining film and TV, Anamik Saha's[45] 2017 publication suggests that diversity initiatives serve ideological functions as: "a way of managing the demands for equality while keeping racial hierarchies intact." Saha suggests that to counter this, diversity initiatives should not focus on employment and participation quotas but should instead concentrate on opening up production, allowing diverse voices to be a part of creative practice at all levels, and transform its practice and culture to become more inclusive.

275.   In terms of concrete interventions, Patel and Naudin suggest that Channel 4's Diversity 10 Charter is an attempt to change practice in a more transformative fashion; this

includes diversity quotas and guidelines for commissioning and employment, but there is also a social mobility programme to help 1000 socially disadvantaged people per year to get into the industry. While this may be progressive they also note that this type of approach is more available to a large media organisation and could help to drive change, but micro-enterprise and freelance jobs remain the core of cultural industries, and in these contexts a similar approach might not be suitable or feasible.

276. As noted by O'Brien and many others, forms of unpaid or 'free' labour across the cultural and creative industries are well-established as a subject of concern. High-profile interventions include those in visual arts (A-N, 2016) and acting (Equity, 2016), though the latter is not of direct relevance to the current study. There are also various policy frameworks designed to address the prevalence of unpaid work in these sectors.

277. In their 2018 report, ACE argue that initiatives to address a lack of diversity in the sector are having a positive impact, including as they have contributed to higher proportions of NPOs led by people who are ethnically diverse or who are disabled people than ever before. Nevertheless, ACE's Chair, Nicholas Serota, acknowledges that "aspirations are not always translating into meaningful actions or significant appointments" (p2). He suggested that this is explained in relation to a lack of diverse leadership in the cultural sector. [46]

278. Davies and Shaw[47] investigated positive action training schemes in museums, in particular the Museums Association's Diversify scheme which ran between 1998 and 2011, looking at its cost and effectiveness in securing employment. The Diversify scheme was designed to improve participation in the museum sector, initially focusing on excluded and under-represented ethnic minority groups and later, on people with disabilities and people from low income backgrounds. It also included management level traineeships. Their 2013 study was longitudinal and reported on the experiences and career progression of people who participated in the scheme as trainees, focusing on those from minority-ethnic backgrounds. It found that well over 80% of participants secured initial employment in museums and 60% of participants responding to a survey were working in museum management or on track to work in museum management. However, the authors report that a quarter to a third of participants who gained work in museums will have left the sector within a decade, sometimes because there are better opportunities elsewhere or because the pay is not sufficient. The authors concluded that this programme (in common with others) takes an individualistic approach which cannot drive major change. They reported a number of other schemes introduced around the same time:

279. For example in 2010, the Heritage Lottery Fund[48] announced Skills for the Future, a £17m investment in entry-level training, including a programme to 'offer 15 people, at least half of them from Black, Asian and minority-ethnic backgrounds, an 18-month traineeship with six months based at the British Museum and 12 months at a partner museum.'

280. Skills for the Future also includes a programme called Strengthening Our Common Life, run by Cultural Co-operation[49] that 'aims to increase workforce diversity by offering opportunities to individuals in sections of the population currently under-represented in the heritage sector.'

281. Museums Galleries Scotland used Skills for the Future funding to support 20 paid interns in museums, giving preference to people from lower socio-economic backgrounds.[50] Hutchison and Cartmell[51] report on an evaluation of this programme and found that overall the Interns Programme demonstrated that 'supporting on-work training can form a strong base for new entrants to the museums sector and extends opportunities for the mutual benefit of new entrants and the museums where they work.' They made a number of observations for those developing any similar initiatives, including that the quality of experience for interns was found to depend upon: quality of supervision and mentoring, relating partially to getting on with and respecting each other on a personal and professional level; a well-prepared induction; experience of a wide range of opportunities during placement, e.g. activities of different departments within larger museums and activities of other museums for smaller ones; shadowing and informal training so interns learnt from other museum staff besides their supervisors; access to additional formal training; responsibility for discrete projects, e.g. planning an exhibition or event, developing new partnerships with schools rather than giving 'an extra pair of hands'; flexibility in learning plans so the internship could adapt as it progressed in relation to emerging needs and developing interests.

282. Davies and Shaw suggest that such interventions are encouraging but as they were writing there was no overall museum sector strategy for workforce diversity. They claim that this: "is a cause for concern if real change is to be made in the future, especially in the context of the current economic climate with increased competition for funding."

283. A study examining gender inequalities in the music industry[52] found that there is a lack of central government response in the UK has encouraged more market-oriented solutions. This has required different grassroots organisational strategies, which the author suggest are unlikely to be sufficient to drive change in the long term.

284. In 2019, The London Screen Academy (LSA), opened to applicants providing a two-year course preparing students for a career in the film and TV industry,[53] which will concentrate on teaching all the behind-the-camera roles, ranging from costume design and production management to distribution and marketing. At the launch, LSA co-founder David Heyman, said: "It is a legitimate problem that the screen industries don't in any way reflect modern Britain. The number of sets we have been on that lack social, ethnic and economic diversity – it's very clear." Heyman said the school would help end the "haphazard" nature of entry into the industry. "Many young people don't believe it's a possibility that they can work in film and TV," he said. "They may not understand that being involved in film and TV is not just in front of the camera or as director. The screen industries are among the fastest growing sectors in the country, the amount of jobs are substantial. It makes so much sense to educate students and make them set-ready by the time they graduate." However, it is perhaps notable that this is a scheme aimed more obviously at the commercial sector rather than at diversifying jobs in the cultural sector which are more likely to be publicly funded.

285. Arts industries also are changing alongside internet-based platforms which enable artists to function as solo 'cultural entrepreneurs'. There are strong arguments for arts

entrepreneurship education[54] and platforms like Spotify and Youtube are changing the role of tastemakers[55].

Appendix: Interview protocol and topic guide

Background

The Bridge Group is collaborating with Inc Arts to explore diversity and inclusion in arts management, with a particular focus on mid to senior career progression. We are inviting a wide range of people to volunteer to share their lived experiences and perceptions of the sector more generally as part of this research.

The purpose of the research is to:

- How do people get in and get ahead in arts management, and how do background characteristics affect this?
- What can therefore be practically done to create a more diverse and inclusive sector?

The benefits associated with the research include: much improved understanding of workforce diversity and inclusion by different background characteristics; insights into factors affecting progression and performance, and stakeholder perceptions; and practicable recommendations for action.

The Bridge Group is wholly independent and has undertaken similar research projects with the Civil Service, KPMG, the Jerwood Charitable Foundation, the BBC, and with a consortium of leading law firms.

Interview Protocol

Interviews with employees at the mid-stage in their career are a critical part of the research, alongside data investigation and exploring previously published research and reports. The interviews will steer clear of standardised questions, to accommodate personal reflections and narratives. Each interview will use the interview topics listed below as a framework on which to build the discussion.

All interviews will be run by experienced Bridge Group researchers. Your involvement in the research is confidential, no comments will be attributed, and any shared data will be anonymised (and suppressed where appropriate). The Bridge Group has extensive data security protocols in place, which form part of our contractual agreement with your organisation.

Collated data from the interviews will be coded to identify themes and patterns, and combined with our quantitative analysis.

Topic Guide

- Please describe your role at your organisation. Have you been engaged recently in any projects relating to diversity and inclusion?

- Who gets ahead in arts management and how? Are there specific things that people typically do to boost their progress the sector?

- Can you describe the dominant working culture in the sector? Has this changed over time? How do you feel this compares to other sectors? Who sets this dominant culture?

- To what extent do those in arts management feel secure and supported? How might this vary by artform and job role?

- How does freelancing contribute to this?

- Can you broadly characterise what skills and attributes the sector will have with regards to talent in five years?

- How is performance assessed and how does this relate to career progression? How is talent defined and identified?

- What are the most significant barriers that prevent diversity and inclusion in arts management?

- What role does advocacy play in the sector in determining who gets ahead? How is this typically sought, and made available? How might you have identified people within the organisation to offer support and encouragement?

- Are there particular actions that you have experienced, or are aware of, that the sector is taking to advance diversity and inclusion? What impact are these actions having? Can you identify anything more that needs to be done?

- Moving to consider hiring, can you describe the way in which mid-level and senior level talent is attracted and hired? What competences and qualities are sought?

- What do you think about young people's perceptions of arts management? How could the profession engage more actively in helping shape this?

- Overall, do you feel that background characteristics affect hiring and progression in arts management? – perhaps with reference to, for example, gender, disability, ethnicity and socio-economic background. Where relevant, can you identify any specific examples? What is your personal experience?

- Considering data collection on diversity, how do you feel about disclosing your background characteristics anonymously to help understand the sector-wide picture?

- Reflect on the case for a national database: testing the appetite for this. Explore appetite for sharing data – with employers (current situation), a third party/other (Inc Arts) whether people would like to have a means to measure their career progression against a more normative pathway. Explore view on attitudes to having a collective voice, having a third party to promote people to the wider sector,

- Is there anything additional that we haven't discussed that you would like to cover?

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