



**Career Management in the
Creative and Cultural Industries:**

An exploratory study of individual practices and strategies

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Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Declaration

This thesis is submitted in fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Stirling Management School at the University of Stirling, Scotland.

I declare that this thesis is based on my own original work, except for quotations and citations, which I have duly acknowledged. I also declare that this thesis has not been previously or concurrently submitted, either in whole or in part, for any other qualification at the University of Stirling or other institutions.

I am responsible for any errors and omissions present in this thesis.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Fiona Alison Millar', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Fiona Alison Millar

August 2016

Abstract

This study presents insights on career management in the creative and cultural industries in Scotland with detailed exploration into practices and strategies employed by cultural workers. Following a phenomenological approach, the study has used subjective data of individual career experiences and interpreted them into objective patterns of career management. Using qualitative research interviews and thematic analysis, the doctoral study explored the career management experiences of thirty six cultural workers and identified particular strategies adopted in the self-management of precarious and unpredictable careers.

Employment in the creative and cultural industries is with precarious which constitutes a specific environment for career management and career progression. Not enough is known about the ways in which cultural workers manage their careers in these circumstances. The aim of this study was to understand the realities of contemporary career management in the creative and cultural industries and to identify particular practices and strategies in which creative careers might be managed. Beyond the scholars in this field, this research is of interest to cultural workers, policy makers in the creative and cultural industries more broadly and higher education institutions preparing graduates for work in the creative and cultural industries. The empirical evidence gathered can better inform cultural workers of effective career management strategies and propose policy interventions that would facilitate effective career management and career management education.

Key findings focus on the use of online / social media within creative careers and how such activity takes place; the development of a new harmony between art and economic logics and the application of development based career strategies in creative careers, with cultural workers being more managerial than they even recognise themselves.

The findings from this study offers confirmation to what is already known about careers in the creative and cultural industries, greater depth and detail to what is already known and extend understanding about the relationship disconnect between individual career

management strategies and the policies designed to support cultural workers – policies which focus on growth and development of the industry but not those individuals who make up the industry.

Exploration of the phenomenon of career management in the creative and cultural industries requires further research, which could include: alternative methodologies to elicit perceptions based on the findings from this study, deeper exploration into both the difference in career management within the creative and cultural industries and the emerging relationship between art and economic logic.

Thanks and dedication to the friends and family who have supported the process and completion of this PhD.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This doctoral study explores career management in the creative and cultural industries (CCI) based on empirical fieldwork undertaken in Scotland. This thesis presents an enquiry into the experiences of cultural worker's career management in order to identify the extent (if any) to which career management exists within a creative career and if practices and strategies are employed by cultural workers in the management of a creative career.

This thesis comprises of six chapters, with chapter one: Introduction, orienting the reader through the thesis by setting the scene of the phenomenon being studied. Chapter one outlines the context in which the study took place, its rationale, aims and objectives before detailing the structure of the thesis.

1.1. Context of the Study

It should be noted that the context of this study, as presented in this section, is referred to as the creative industries. The use of the term 'creative industries' is due to the current context in which such industries are referred to. Following section 1.3., the study will refer to these industries and the context in which the study is set as the creative and cultural industries (see section 2.1.1., for explanation).

The creative industries¹ are defined by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS, 1998) as "those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property". Made up of 13 sub sectors,² the term creative industries is deemed more inclusive than its counterpart³ cultural industries, but is also regarded as an 'economic buzzword' (British Council, 2010: 18).

¹ There is not a collective definition for the Creative and Cultural Industries and the researcher is considerate of the terminology used by the source.

² Advertising, Architecture, Arts & Antiques Market, Craft, Design, Designer Fashion, Film & Video, Interactive Leisure Software, Music, Performing Arts, Publishing, Software & Computer Services and TV & Radio.

³ O'Brien & Feist, 1995; Throsby, 2000; Garnham, 2005; Rae, 2008; UNCTAD, 2008; Oakley, 2009; Flew, 2012

The landscape in which the creative industries exist is believed to have been politically motivated (DCMS, 1998; O'Connor, 2000; Flew, 2002; Pratt, 2004; Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005; Garnham, 2005; Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). The creative industries were introduced in the 1990s as a glossy, new inclusive concept that would positively support the UK economy through its growths and gains. An imagery that continues in the literature, in which Gill (2010) paints the creative industries as 'cool, egalitarian, bohemian and free'; an industry in which individuals are free to express, free to choose and living the dream. Creative careers are seen as a 'way of life'; a hobby turned into work and pleasure, with individuals perceived to be living autonomous lives doing what they love, but in reality creative careers can be the opposite of such descriptions (Abrams, 1953; McRobbie, 1998; Ball et al., 2010). Such a glamorous impression of the creative industries was a likely catalyst for the rebranding in 1990s of the creative industries as 'Cool Britannia'. With soaring growth levels both in employment and GDP, the creative industries were fast becoming the solution to all of New Labour's problems. Oakley (2004) recognised that the government was pinning the creative industries as a single weapon that would turn around economic discomfort and inequality which the previous Conservative Government was believed to have left. Figure 1, demonstrates the perception of the creative industries from Government by graphing MP perceptions of the Creative industries, in which nearly 100% agreed or strongly agreed that the UK Creative industries were vitally important to the future economic growth.

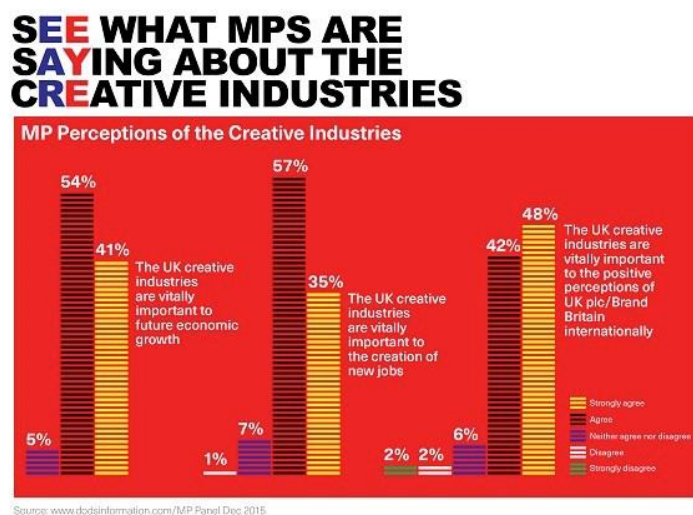


Figure 1: 'See what the MPs are saying about the Creative Industries' (TheCreativeIndustries.co.uk, 2015)

The creative industries are an attractive concept. With a growing and eager workforce, the creative industries boasts more graduate employment than the UK working population (Creative Skillset, 2014; DCMS, 2016) and with a high number of autonomous individuals (Becker, 1982; McRobbie, 2002 / 2008; Cunningham, 2011; Taylor & Littleton, 2012; Siebert & Wilson, 2013), it is often hard not to see the creative industries as the glamorous industry that it is painted as. However, the reality of work and employment in the creative industries is precarious, fickle, under paid and poorly represented (Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Kalleberg, 2009; Taylor, 2012). The creative industries presents “promise of career opportunities for all” pointing out the skills and attributes of an individual with which “you can make it here... allegedly”, Eikhof (2016) goes on to recognise that unfortunately “talent is not the only prerequisite for a creative career”. While little is known about the practicalities of navigating a creative career, knowledge regarding labour inequalities, barriers facing creative careers with relation to entry and staying in, and characteristics (such as unpaid labour, precarious labour and informal networks) that face creative careers is rife.

With the war on talent (Warhurst, 2010) and intentions of Government to continue to grow the creative and cultural industries, it is imperative that the management of the creative career is understood in order to support the individuals facing career obstacles, barriers and other related issues.

1.2. Rationale for the Study

This doctoral study addresses a gap in knowledge by providing valuable insight into career management in the creative and cultural industries and how it exists. As an exploratory study, the purpose is to gather empirical evidence that begins a conversation on an unexplored phenomenon in the creative and cultural industries, namely career management. The study was motivated by the gap in knowledge surrounding careers in the creative and cultural industries and wider discussions in the sociology of work, which fail to recognise the role of career management and the individual’s role within their career management in the creative and cultural industries. The study intends to provide experience of career management in practice in the creative and cultural industries that can be learnt from and built upon. While the terminology in which this study follows is

determined and justified in 2.1.2., it is important to set the scene: The creative and cultural industries (CCI) is the term used to describe the industry in which the individuals being studied work; the work that those individuals do is referred to as creative work and the individuals being studied will be referred to as cultural workers following Cunningham's (2001) definition of the specialist who is in on the front line of creativity.

With over 2.8 million jobs in the creative and cultural industries, understanding career management is necessary if the creative and cultural industries are to continue with the same levels of growth and sustainably survive. Cunningham (2013) quoted NESTA's (2013) declaration in their report, *A manifesto for the creative economy*, that the UK's creative economy was "one of its great national strengths, historically deeply rooted and accounting for around one-tenth of the whole economy". Recent statistics released by DCMS (2016) demonstrate that the creative and cultural industries are worth £84.1 billion, generating £9.6 million per hour⁴, to which the Minister for Culture Edward Vaizey committed support to mature and continue the success of the creative and cultural industries on the UK economy⁵.

Such declarations of importance signal the timely appropriateness of this doctoral research. As the creative and cultural industries are recognised for their role within the UK economy, it is important to understand creative careers in order to identify areas for support and policy. The findings from this study contribute to knowledge as the study addresses the gap in understanding the difficulties and distractions of a creative career to those within (and beyond) the creative and cultural industries. Through the recognition of career management within the creative and cultural industries, this doctoral study will provide valuable understanding to support the creative and cultural industries in both practice, through the provision of informed approaches to career management to the workforce, and informed approaches to support and policy to policy makers.

⁴ See also figure 2 in section 2.1.

⁵ "Growing at almost twice the rate of the wider economy and worth a staggering £84 billion a year, our Creative Industries are well and truly thriving and we are determined to ensure its continued growth and success." <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/creative-industries-worth-almost-10-million-an-hour-to-economy>

As flagged in the earlier section (1.1), creative careers are self-navigated, self-managed and precarious in their very nature. A substantial body of research focuses on the context and trajectories of creative careers – the prevalence of unpaid labour, the lack of diversity in the workforce and the harsh realities of getting in and getting on in the creative and cultural industries (Marcella et al., 2005; Gill, 2007; Randle et al., 2007; Randle & Culkin, 2009; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013; Kennedy, 2010; Taylor & Littleton, 2011; Coughlan, 2012). While far less evidence regarding the mechanisms and strategies that cultural workers employ in order to maintain and cope with the challenges in their career exists. Bridgstock (2014) provocatively questions the sustainability of creative careers, emphasising that it can take a creative graduate nearly two years to establish themselves in their creative career, which adds to Eikhof's (2016) critical opinion regarding the alleged ease of entry for creatively minded individuals. Opinions from Bridgstock, Eikhof and others lead to the following questions: what navigation, steps and interventions are individuals employing during the lag time between graduation and work, and what support can be provided to promote navigation from graduation to fully fledged creative career? In order to answer these questions, explorations like this doctoral study are required. Providing in-depth insight into the career management practices that cultural workers have made in their own creative careers, in time this doctoral study, could inform the career management practices of other cultural workers.

The study explores career management in the Scottish creative and cultural industries by drilling into career experiences, practices and strategies using qualitative interviewing and Flanagan's (1954) critical incident technique. The study follows a subjective ontology and phenomenological approach to gather individual experience that can be interpreted into patterns that represent a larger population. Thirty-six interviews conducted with cultural workers based in Scotland gathered micro level detail of career management and the practices and strategies employed by the cultural workers sampled. The sample of 36 participants comprised of 18 digital media workers and 18 fine artists in order to provide comparable data of career management in the creative and cultural industries. The digital media workers represent the new and inclusive creative industries, while the fine artists represent the cultural industries in which inclusion is based on use value (see section 2.1.1.). From the comparisons, whether or not career management is universal will be determined,

which will support the influence that the findings have on policy discussions and further research in this field.

The study's focus on individual's reflections of particular career management experiences generated comparable situations that were then analysed; from which trends and occurrences of career management were identified within the sample. When applied to the literature, the results confirmed what is already known about the creative and cultural industries and their careers, therefore providing further rigor and validation to the vast body of work within this field. The study then built on this body of work through the provision of granulated knowledge of specific career management practices and further detail of already known practices. For example, previous studies appreciate the role of online/social media in creative careers (Taylor & Littleton, 2012), but fails to recognise how such tools are used by cultural workers. Therefore, this study sheds light on how and why cultural workers use online/social media and what broader career strategies that use is embedded in, thus building on the existing body of work. Hesmondhalgh and Pratt (2005: 15) stated that "We simply need to know more about the cultural industries and how they operate, and what people do and think about and during the creation and use of their products", therefore, this doctoral study does just that. The study provides more knowledge about the creative and cultural industries, it looks into how they operate, what people do and the thought processes surrounding creative careers. This could be argued as being one of the strongest academic contributions of this study – the deeper knowledge of the creative and cultural industries.

This study provides further academic contribution through the advancements it makes to current knowledge. By conducting this exploratory study, a number of questions have been answered: mainly that career management does exist in the creative and cultural industries, with a surface view to its existence, while a number of questions have been raised that indicate the need for further research being conducted in this area. Through the future avenues for research, this doctoral study contributes to academic knowledge by widening the scope of knowledge and generating a clear path for future research to take. Furthermore, this doctoral study is not limited to advancing knowledge in the creative and cultural industries but to any career that faces unconventional working structures and

precarity – features that are becoming more common in the changing landscape of the career and have been growing since 1970s (Kalleberg, 2009). This study is applicable not only to individuals employed in the creative and cultural industries, but beyond to individuals who are self-employed or experience similar work and employment structures as those in the creative and cultural industries, such as academia. Furthermore, amidst the growing precarity across work in the UK as austerity continues, insights generated by this study will have further reach than just the creative and cultural industries. The research is also appropriate to individuals who wish to be more proactive and influential within their career.

Although both career management and creative industries are well researched, the two subjects have never been explored together. The career management literature is overwhelmingly limited to organisational career management, and traditional work and employment environments, while the creative and cultural industries' literature is hampered by a focus on the management of the cultural workers and the work/employment realities existing in the creative and cultural industries rather than an individual's attempt to manage their career. Therefore, this study stakes a claim in the career management literature as well as the creative and cultural industries' literature, which is a further academic contribution as the study provides up-to-date research that has responded to changes in the career environment.

The final academic contribution of this study is the application of the individual perspective, which is a component of how this study advances current knowledge. Largely literature is from the bird's eye perspective of the creative and cultural industries, the management of cultural workers or focused more broadly on creative and cultural industries as a whole. Therefore, the application of an individual perspective to the data collection and to career management itself, the study has gathered original, firsthand data and provides a new platform from which creative careers can be explored. This contribution is particularly strong as it gives the cultural workers a voice and develops a greater understanding of the phenomenon explored.

From the data gathered, and with particular consideration of the individual perspective, the findings from this study also have potential for impact on society, policy and practice.

The study could lead to responses in policy from Creative Industries Council and other agencies such as NESTA, Creative Scotland, Creative Skillset, Business Innovation and Skills (BIS) and Department for Media, Culture and Sport (DCMS), who attempt to provide career support for individuals. Through the findings and the individual perspective, the study will be of interest to cultural workers and could lead to changes in behaviour as a result of the findings and conclusions. During data collection a number of the participants exhibited a response to the discussions and mentioned that they would take such considerations into their career. The practical impact and response is not limited to the creative and cultural industries. Again, with greater understanding of career management in 'non-textbook' work and employment environments, such as portfolio careers and academia, lessons for other industries and similar styles of work and employment can be learnt.

With the implications for both academic knowledge and policy, it is important that this area of research is not stifled and that work continues in order to gather answers to the questions arising from this study and to gather a narrower concentration on the practices, strategies and considerations for creative career management, as identified in this study.

1.3. Study's Aims and Objectives

The purpose of this doctoral study was to explore the micro level detail of career management in the creative and cultural industries through analysis of empirical data concerning individual career management experience. Achievement of this objective is based on two aims:

1. To bring together two separate research subjects, career management and creative and cultural industries, and explore the relationship between the two.
2. To identify practices, strategies and the detail of individual career management in the creative and cultural industries.

As this study is exploratory, it is not intended to make conclusive confirmations of how career management manifests in the creative and cultural industries, rather that the conversation of career management in the creative and cultural industries is established as a result of this study, and continued as avenues for future research are identified.

To achieve the aims of this doctoral study, the following objectives must be met:

- Review the literature surrounding the creative and cultural industries to understand the context of work and employment in which the individuals are attempting to manage.
- Review the literature surrounding career management, which can then be applied to the creative and cultural industries, to enable identification of practices and strategies of career management in existence within creative careers by cultural workers.
- Explore the reality of career management in the creative and cultural industries through empirical data to identify any practices and strategies emerging from the career management experiences of the cultural workers.
- Explore how career management manifests in the career of cultural workers by delving beyond the career management into the micro level detail of such career management existence.
- Understand whether and how career management exists within the creative and cultural industries
- Determine whether or not traditional approaches of career management are applicable to the creative and cultural industries and cultural workers.

In pursuing these aims and objectives, this doctoral study into career management in the creative and cultural industries will answer four research questions⁶:

1. Which practices, if any, do cultural workers employ in their attempt to deal with the precarious nature of creative work?
2. Do cultural workers employ career management practices in their creative careers and, if so, which practices can be identified?
3. Do cultural workers display patterns of career management practices that can be interpreted as career strategies?
4. Are there any differences between the career management practices of digital media workers and fine artists?

⁶ See section 2.3. for more on the origin of the research questions

To answer these four research questions, valuable insight and exploration of career management in the creative and cultural industries (CCI) will be gathered. From both question one and two, an understanding of the reality of career management in the CCI will be provided as the data explores the actions and behaviours that cultural workers themselves enact within their creative career. Question three will enable understanding of whether traditional career management is interpretable in an industry which prides itself on being bohemian and unconventional. From these three questions, a picture of career management in CCI can be generated from the data gathered. The final research question, regarding the comparison of the two creative groups, provides an exploratory representation of career management across the creative and cultural industries, which as reviewed in 2.1.1., are often deemed very much to be separate entities with different foundations. By comparing two typical groups from either industry, this study provides an opportunity to determine the universality of career management in the creative and cultural industries, from which support can be improved and appropriate.

1.4. Study Methodology

Methodology underpins research and the methodological decisions for this study were made in consideration of the data required to answer the research questions outlined above (See chapter 3 for more detail).

The study was based on a subjective ontology and interpretative epistemology, which allowed themes to emerge that could be usefully abstracted beyond the individual. By delving deeper into the individuals' experience of career management in the creative and cultural industries, the data uncovered the motives behind such experience, which allowed for appreciation of the reality's construction.

To gather data appropriate to the research perspective and to satisfy the study's aims and objectives, the research followed abduction and employed qualitative methods of data collection. The research questions were answered using data gathered by semi-structured interviews, which enabled the collection of firsthand, in-depth information in order to explore the subjective matter of career management appropriately. In total, thirty six interviews were conducted with cultural workers across Scotland, generating a strong

dataset for exploring the phenomenon of career management in the creative and cultural industries. Supported by Flanagan's (1954) critical incident technique, the data from the interviews yielded a number of analytical themes that provided insight into the career management experiences of cultural workers. The interviews were analysed using thematic analysis, during which the data was categorised and screened for themes which allowed for the study's conclusions to be drawn.

1.5. Thesis Outline

This thesis comprises six chapters. This first chapter provides an introduction to the study, its aims, objectives, background and methodology. Following this introduction, chapter two reviews the relevant literature and sets the context in which the research will be conducted. Chapter two firstly offers the background to the creative and cultural industries and secondly explores traditional approaches to career management in the human resource management literature. Linking the areas of research, creative and cultural industries and career management, allows the study to have a focused and developed understanding of both concepts in isolation of each other, before bringing the concepts together, in which the content (career management) is applied to the context (creative and cultural industries). From the review of the literature, chapter two details the research questions that this study endeavours to answer through its empirical research.

Chapter three addresses the study's methodology, by detailing the methodological underpinning of the study, the research methods considered and employed and how the study was designed. Chapter three explicates the philosophical assumptions underlying the study and justifies why a qualitative approach to research was employed and interviews were used as the research method.

Chapter four presents the results from the study to tell the story of the participants' career management before chapter five discusses the key findings in relation to the literature pointing out the key contributions and controversies from the study. Both chapter four and five are structured by the research questions. The final chapter of this thesis, chapter six, summarises the study, with relation to the empirical findings, policy implications and theoretical implications, before providing the study's limitations and recommendations of future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Chapter two provides the theoretical background to the study. The first sub-chapter 2.1., 'Cultural Industries Knowledge', will review literature surrounding the creative and cultural industries in order to provide a background to the industries being studied (the context), while the second sub chapter, 2.2. 'Career Management', will review Human Resources literature on career management and the elements of traditional career management (the phenomenon).

2.1. Creative and Cultural Industries

Research regarding the creative and cultural industries has expanded in the past two decades, as the industry gathers momentum and appreciation in society, economy and governmental opinion (Hartley, 2005; Galloway & Dunlop, 2006; Ross, 2007).

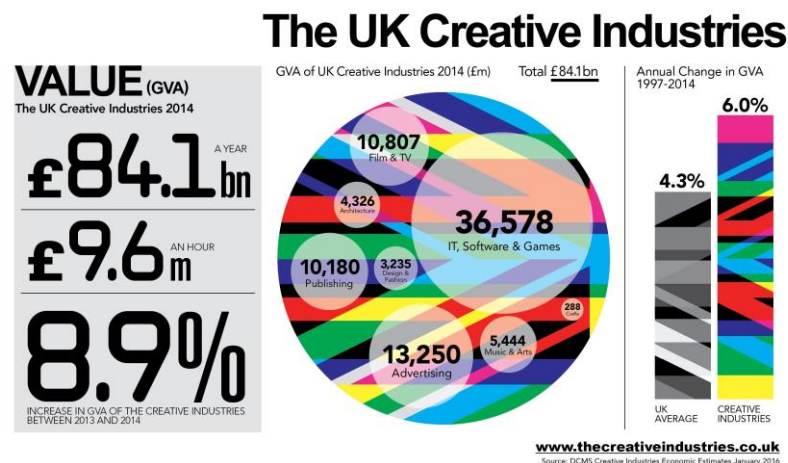


Figure 2: 'The UK Creative Industries' (TheCreativeIndustries.co.uk, 2016)

As illustrated in Figure 2, economic statistics⁷ from the Department of Media Culture and Sport (DCMS, January 2016) illustrate strong Gross Value Added (GVA) returns from the creative and cultural industries during a time of economic decline, evidencing the need to conduct creative and cultural industries research as it is a key sector.

⁷ Compared with the UK economy as a whole, the creative and cultural industries Gross Value Added (GVA) accounted for 5.2% of the total GVA in 2014 and saw an 8.9% increase in GVA between 2013 & 2014 compared with a 4.6% increase of the UK economy's (Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), January 2016).

2.1.1. Terminology: From the Creative Industries to the Cultural Industries

Despite, clear differences in definition and description, two terminologies exist and are used interchangeably, leading to individuals and even theorists, taking the two terms as one. The two terms, cultural industries and creative industries, are founded on similar bases with popular opinion recognising a deliberate and direct shift from the former to the latter. While in this section, literature is reviewed between the two terminologies as distinct entities, a growing trend is to consider both terminologies in one - the creative and cultural industries - to best represent the two camps. Therefore, in order to be best representative of the creative population, this study will refer to creative and cultural industries (CCI) encompassing individuals regardless of the industry (creative or cultural) in which they associate with.

The term cultural industries is defined by O'Connor (2000: 19) as "those activities which deal primarily in symbolic goods, whose primary economic benefit is derived from their cultural value" and was developed in the 1930s and 40s by theorists Adorno and Horkheimer (1947). Classically viewed as including, fine art, film, recorded music, broadcasting and publishing, the cultural industries were often split into core and peripheral sub-sectors⁸ (Hesmondhalgh, 2007), in which the focus was on the communication of texts. In Adorno and Horkheimer's development of the cultural industries⁹ concept, Adorno and Horkheimer, wished to develop a relationship between culture and industry, with the aim to metamorph the two opposing worlds into one (Hartley, 2005; Garnham, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; O'Connor, 2010). Hartley (2005: 10) identified the merge between culture and industry as being motivated by Adorno and Horkheimer's desire to decommodify art, with intentions to move away from "mechanical reproduction" and mass media produced opinions [and consumption] of art and culture. Adorno and Horkheimer wanted to develop a relationship between consumers and culture, whereby the consumption of culture was motivated by social and personal benefit rather

⁸ The core cultural industries were referred to as a result of their industrial production and circulation of texts in order to communicate to an audience, while the peripheral cultural industries although still concerned with the creation and circulation of texts, were defined by the lack of industrial methods, such as theatre and fine art (Markusen et al., 2008).

⁹ which began life as a singular concept and was pluralised as the concept took off and more sociologists became interested in it (Hesmondhalgh, 2002)

than the consumption of popular and economically valuable products (Hirsch, 1990; Hesmondhalgh, 2007). In this relationship, the economic value of culture would be felt by the individual who consumed it as culture became an “expression of the deepest shared values of a social group” (Garnham, 2005: 17) or a “whole way of life of distinct people or other social group” (Williams, 1981: 11). Williams (1981) noted that the criteria for inclusion in the cultural industries concept was use value and a product’s ability to communicate or evoke social meaning with its individual in exchange for money (Williams, 1981). Therefore, if a product’s first use was functionality then the said product was not included in the cultural industries concept (Bilton & Leary, 2004; Martin, 2004; Galloway & Dunlop, 2006). For example, despite their symbolic and cultural nature, fashion, advertising and architecture were not included in the concept of cultural industries due to their primary use value being function. Although the use value criterion of inclusion within the cultural industries concept is restrictive it does minimize complications of identity construction and branded products, such as *Coca-Cola*, being mistaken for a cultural product (Flew, 2002; Hesmondhalgh, 2007).

From the term cultural industries, was the shift to creative industries, which gained considerable traction in the 1990s and is defined as those industries “supplying goods and services that we broadly associate with cultural, artistic or simply entertainment value” (Caves, 2000: 1; Cunningham, 2001; Howkins, 2002; Garnham, 2005; Hartley, 2005; Galloway & Dunlop, 2006). Although, founded on the same principles as its predecessor, the creative industries is deemed a more inclusive terminology as the criteria for inclusion is determined by design, content and economic value rather than symbolic value over use (Garnham, 2005). Under the creative industries terminology, the Department for Media, Culture and Sport (1998: 10) identified 13 sub sectors¹⁰, which saw the shift in terminology include industries, such as fashion, architecture and advertising, which were previously restricted under the cultural industries terminology. The “rebranding of culture” (Galloway & Dunlop, 2006: 2) that occurred after the shift from cultural to creative industries is regarded as ‘politically motivated’ as the shift coincided with Labour’s 1997

¹⁰ 13 Sub sectors of the creative industries: Advertising, architecture, the arts and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure, software, music, performing arts, publishing, software and TV & Radio.

election victory (DCMS, 1998; O'Connor, 2000; Flew, 2002; Pratt, 2004; Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005; Garnham, 2005; Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). The literature recognises that the Labour Government attempted to exploit intellectual property in pursuit of economic gain (Flew, 2002; Caust, 2003; Pratt, 2004), through a more inclusive terminology that encompassed new and thriving sectors as the new government attempted to rebrand themselves away from the efforts of the previous government¹¹ (Labour Government, 1997 as cited in Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005; Cunningham, 2001/2002; Redhead, 2004; Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005; Garnham, 2005; Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). The new and inclusive terminology was recognised as “purely pragmatic¹²” as the inclusion of new and emerging knowledge economies enabled the Labour Government to report increased economic returns and develop greater spending past the treasury (O'Connor, 2009: 56)

In summary, while the two terminologies differ in terms of inclusion, it is evident that the two terminologies are embedded on similar foundations in which building a relationship with culture is the objective. However, the partners of such relationship differ between the two terminologies. For the cultural industries terminology, the relationship is between the consumer and culture, while for the creative industries terminology, the relationship is between culture and economic benefit.

This review of creative and cultural industries (CCI) literature will now understand work and employment within the CCI.

2.1.2. Creative Work and Employment

Creative and cultural work and employment lacks definition, which leads to individuals failing to recognise creative work as employment due to an the inherent feeling that creative work is simply a ‘way of life’ or a pleasure (Abrams, 1953; McRobbie, 1998; Ball et al., 2010) or not their main source of income (Taylor & Littleton, 2012). Creative labour was a

¹¹Hesmondhalgh and Pratt (2005: 5) discussed the moves that the New Labour Government in 1997 made in order to “distance themselves from the activities of left-wing metropolitan councils”. Changes included changing the names of departments responsible for handling cultural industries (The Dept. of national heritage: Dept. of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), the creation of the Creative Industries task Force (CITF) and the rebranding that led to the imagery of ‘Cool Britannia’ and the glossy publication made by DCMS in 1998 to concrete the creative industries as a legitimate object in Government policy.

¹² By Chris Smith, the newly appointed Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport,

relatively untouched research area within the mass of creative and cultural industries literature. Since the beginning of this study, literature has emerged that explores creative labour in the creative industries further, with offerings from Lingo and Tepper (2013); Markusen (2013) and Eikhof and York (2015). However, such literature has a different focus, confined to the labour market itself and fails to explore the intricate workings of creative labour and creative careers, particularly without the individual perspective (Pratt, 2008; Eikhof, 2013). In order to support this doctoral study, it is important to understand the workforce and landscape of creative work and employment.

2.1.2.1. Creative and Cultural Workforce

The creative workforce is described as an “occupational group, [who] are on average, younger than the general workforce, are better educated, tend to be more concentrated in a few metropolitan areas, show higher rates of self-employment and higher rates of unemployment” (Menger, 1999: 545). Skillset (2014) reiterated this picture of the creative workforce in their report¹³ which identified 48% of the creative and cultural industries as under 35 years of age (compared with 35% in the UK workforce) and 78% of the workforce being educated to degree level 4 equivalent (compared to 32% of UK working population). Furthermore, statistics demonstrate that creative employment¹⁴ has seen a number of increases over the past two decades, with Higgs et al., (2008) reporting a 3.2% increase between 1981 and 2006 and DCMS (2015) reporting a 15.8% increase since 2011. In 2014, creative employment accounted for one in every 11 jobs in the UK, with 2.8 million people employed in the creative economy¹⁵ and 1.8 million people¹⁶ in creative industries jobs (DCMS, 2016; see also Shorthouse, 2010) as represented in figure 3 below. Such employment growth is outstripping that of the UK total economy employment growth, which in 2013/2014 only grew by 2.1% (DCMS, 2016).

¹³ Findings based on 5000 responses across the UK creative industries

¹⁴ It must be noted though, that in economic statistics provided by DCMS, that employment is reported in two veins, either jobs in the creative industries or employment in the creative economy, which must be considered when reporting statistics as the ambiguity can cause confusion and skewed results.

¹⁵ Creative economy is total of creative industries jobs + creative occupations in non-creative sectors.

¹⁶ A 1.68million rise from 2012 (DCMS, 2016)

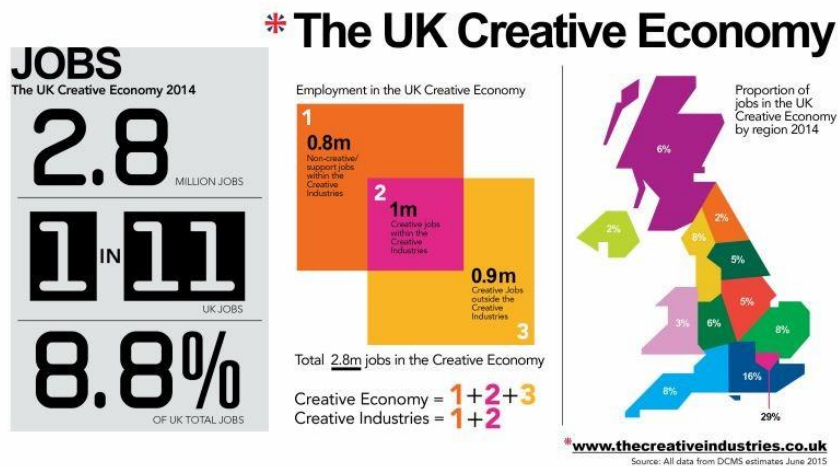


Figure 3: 'The UK Creative Economy' (TheCreativeIndustries.co.uk, 2015a)

Following the decision to refer to the creative and cultural industries (CCI) throughout this study (see 2.1.1), the individuals working and employed in the CCI will be referred to as cultural workers. This decision follows the opinion of Banks (2014) in his Cultural Value report for AHRC, as the term cultural worker encompasses both the creative industries and the cultural industries. The inclusion of both industries is not intended to devalue one industry or the other or exclude those who are not front line cultural workers but follows the cultural-political critique that the researcher wishes to attribute. However, the work conducted by the cultural workers will be referred to as creative work as is consistent with the language used during the data collection and sits familiarly with the language used in policy.

Despite significant growth in the creative workforce, the landscape in which the workforce is defined is confusing as a result of the debate surrounding the inclusion of four features: (1) whether or not cultural workers engaged in unpaid labour are to be included (Oakley, 2008; Siebert & Wilson, 2013); (2) the difference of opinion as per inclusion of workers in the creative economy or the creative industries¹⁷; (3) whether support staff should be included in the workforce definition (see O'Brien & Feist, 1995; Throsby, 2000 pro inclusion and Reeves, 2002; Oakley, 2009 for con inclusion) and (4) the inclusion of cultural workers in traditionally non-creative occupations, such as art therapists in the health sector (Pratt, 2004; Higgs et al., 2008; Svarcova & Harantova, 2012). In order to understand the

¹⁷ Higgs et al., (2008: 6) found that "more creative people work outside the creative industries than inside them", finding that thirty-five percent of the total creative workforce is employed in non-creative sectors (see also Henry, 2009)

components of creative employment, Cunningham's (2001: 27) creative trident (see figure 4) demonstrates the three styles of employment that comprise creative employment: (1) Individuals with a creative job and working in the creative industries [specialists]; (2) Individuals with a non-creative job working in the creative industries (typically support employees) [support] and (3) Individuals with a creative job and not working in the creative industries [embedded].

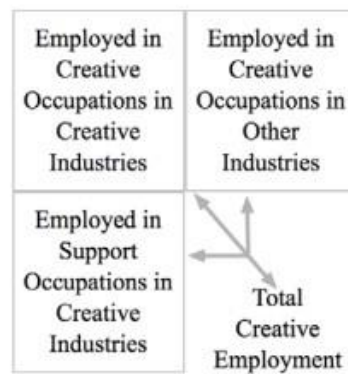


Figure 4: The Creative Trident (Higgs, Cunningham & Bakhshi, 2008: 21)

For the purposes of this study, the creative workforce is considered as individuals who are 'specialists' and working directly in a creative job in the creative and cultural industries, with the inclusion of cultural workers engaged in unpaid labour¹⁸.

Despite the lack of a universal definition, five typical characteristics of a cultural worker are identified. According to Freakly and Neelands (2003: 53), cultural workers¹⁹ are known to be (1) predominately freelance and self-employed; (2) multiple job holders with primary and secondary occupations; (3) without a linear career structure from which they are dependent on active job-search strategies and work in an over-supplied labour market with consequent unemployment and under employment; (4) subject to unpredictable changes in the demand for their work which leaves them facing high levels of risk and uncertainty; and (5) a self-investor, favouring work offering opportunities for learning and / or reputation building, over immediate financial reward (see also: O'Brien & Feist, 1995;

¹⁸ While cultural workers engaged in unpaid labour was included in the definition of the cultural worker that this study followed, the study's sample does not include any cultural workers engaged in unpaid labour.

¹⁹ In order to keep consistency throughout this study, it should be noted that the term cultural worker is referred to in chapter 2 regardless of the term used by the source

Throsby, 1995; Towse, 1996; Menger, 1999; Galloway, 2001; Oakley 2007; Skillset, 2008, 2010; Gill & Pratt, 2008; Taylor, 2012).

Additionally, cultural workers are regarded as a highly motivated group of individuals who display high levels of passion for their work and their field and a strong intrinsic motivation (Guerard, 1936; Jones, 1996; Menger, 1999; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Howkins, 2001). Such passion and commitment is recognised in the creative and cultural industries as 'Art for Art's Sake' (Caves, 2000) an attribute which is deemed to be a "distinctive, if not unique feature of cultural labour markets" (Oakley, 2009: 49, see also: Menger, 1999; Gill, 2007). The art for art's sake ideology holds a strong influence on the creative and cultural industries, with opinion that without it state patronage would not be as readily available (Becker, 1982) and that the precarious nature of creative work would not be tolerated, thus making the cost of creative commodities far higher (Caves, 2000; Eikhof, 2010). The art for art's sake concept exists when non pecuniary benefits outweigh financial benefits (Caves, 2000; Davis & Scase, 2000; Fillis, 2006; Gill, 2007; Bennett, 2009; Oakley, 2009; Eikhof, 2010; Ball et al., 2010; Donnelly, 2012), such as creative ownership, peer recognition, reputation and "importance and Kudos" (Donnelly, 2012: 37). Instead of "traditional rewards such as career advancement or salary", cultural workers seek alternative rewards (typically artistic identity) and measure career success in terms of "creative output and personal development" (Bennett, 2009: 311, see also Luxford (2010)²⁰. The art for art's sake concept is a strong force within creative and cultural industries (CCI) employment that is recognised as a direct opposite to market orientation which is "independent from utilitarian, religious or political purpose" (Fillis, 2006: 33). From the art for art's sake concept, a clash with commercialism is recognised as cultural workers are known to shy away from business logic in value of "non-conformist ways" (Davis & Scase, 2000: Viii, see also: Withers, 1985; Luxford, 2010) to adopt a bohemian lifestyle²¹ (McRobbie, 2002; Taylor & Littleton (2008). Fillis (2006: 31) noted that "for some working in the art sector, recognition and reputation are more important than selling the artwork, leading to clashes between idealism and

²⁰ The avoidance of traditional career benefits is particularly important to note as cultural workers do not identify themselves as having "a standard career with formal promotions and demotions" (Nooy, 2002: 147).

²¹ Which further encourages the concept of art for art's sake

commercialisation” (see also Caves, 2000; Davis & Scase, 2000; Gill, 2007; Bennett, 2009; Oakley, 2009; Ball et al., 2010; Eikhof, 2010).

The clash with commercialism sees money and art as two opposed entities (Taylor & Littleton, 2008) with the strong opinion amongst cultural workers that poverty or uncertain income is symbolic of creative identity – “failure to make money can be taken as a marker of artistic success” (McRobbie, 1998: 6, see also: Bourdieu, 1983; Brooks, 2000; Florida, 2002; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006; Fillis, 2006; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007). Being poverty stricken is often perceived as a badge of honour amongst cultural workers’ as they contend with the notion that commercial success means they are ‘selling out’ - “the more well-established the commercial value of a piece of art or an artistic practice, the less its reputation within the cultural field and the less likely a ‘true’ artist’s motivation to produce it” (Bourdieu, 1983, 1993, as cited in Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007: 533). However, it is increasingly found that the conflict between art and money is diminishing within the next generation of cultural workers (McRobbie, 2002; Faulkner et al., 2008; Taylor & Littleton, 2008) as “most students still think they need to enjoy the job, it’s not all about the money” (Donnelly, 2012: 23, see also: Fillis, 2006; McRobbie, 2008). The literature is moving towards a “break with past anti-commercial notions” (McRobbie, 2002a: 521) as cultural workers see the need for greater employability provision within creative education (Ball et al., 2010) and begin to appreciate a coexistence between art and money with consideration for a new complementary nature between the two (Donnelly, 2012).

2.1.2.2. The Employment Environment of Creative Work

Since 1981, the creative and cultural industries have suffered from an oversupply of labour as demand for work outstrips supply of jobs available (Spence, 1999; Kretschmer et al., 1999; Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Oakley, 2009; Creative & Cultural Skills, 2011). Creative work is believed to offer greater levels of flexibility, employee autonomy and the ability to satisfy personal desires through work which encourages the strong appeal (Becker, 1982; Jones, 1996; McRobbie, 2002/2008; Cunningham, 2011; Taylor & Littleton, 2012; Siebert & Wilson, 2013). As a consequence, creative work is presented as “the possibility of fulfilment or self-actualisation through work and also an independent career outside the contexts of conventional workplaces” (Taylor & Littleton, 2012: 134) conveying

a sense of employment of dreams, hope and flexibility. Despite being regarded as 'cool, creative and egalitarian' (Gill, 2002) and famously 'open, diverse and bohemian' (Florida, 2002), the reality is rather different.

Creative work is commonly made up of characteristics that are collectively referred to as the 'precarious nature of creative work' (McRobbie, 2002; Gill, 2007; Oakley, 2007; Gill & Pratt, 2008), from which "cultural workers [are] becoming the poster children of precarity" (Conor, Gill & Taylor, 2015: 9). Characteristics of the precarious nature include, uncertainty, poor working conditions, instability, unequal earnings and little to no job protection (Menger, 1999; Oakley, 2007; Gill & Pratt, 2008; Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Kalleberg, 2009; Skillset, 2010; Taylor, 2012). From the precarious nature, cultural workers are required to 'follow the job' by being available at short term for imminent employment; geographically and socially mobile and unable to distinguish work and personal life, as socialization and social networking is imperative to the future of their creative career (McRobbie, 2002; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013). Conor et al., (2015: 4) referred to the consequences of precarious work in that cultural workers "dream of sick pay never mind maternity pay" (Skillset, 2010) and find themselves unable to say no to a job, which leads to a 'bulimic' style of working (Pratt, 2002). The precarity of creative work is exacerbated by the art for art's sake concept as cultural workers face "large and almost unlimited time commitment[s]" from which they work 16-17 hour days, often without pay (Taylor, 2012: 49; McRobbie, 2002; Hesmondhalgh, 2010).

An imagery of the harsh reality of creative work and employment is depicted in the following, two popular phrases: 'Nice work if you can get it' (Ross, 2007) and 'getting in and getting on' (Randle & Culkin, 2009). The latter phrase offered by Randle and Culkin (2009) forms the framework of the following section.

2.1.2.2.i. *Getting In & Getting On in the CCI*

Recruitment into the CCI requires “hard work and an ability to get your foot in the door” (Jones, 1996: 61), as individuals are rated on their interpersonal skills, on “performance or content-based auditions” (McKinlay & Smith, 2009: 12) and who they know²² (Carr, 2009). Imageries of the creative workforce based on “artists are often dominated by hip young people in either fancy or slummy big city neighbourhoods” (Markusen, 2013: 481) or concentrated in London and other creative hubs (Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009) encourage the glamorous appeal of the creative and cultural industries but lead to further workforce inequalities. As touched on in section 2.1.2.1., the cultural workforce is predominantly filled with young people (with 42% of the industry being under 35 years old and 52% under 40 years) (Skillset, 2014); features strong gender inequality²³ (less than 42% of the working population are women²⁴(McRobbie 1998; Gill, 2002; Taylor, 2012; Conor et al., 2015) and along with under-representation, women face gender pay gaps (Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013; Siebert & Wilson, 2013; Conor, Gill & Taylor, 2015) and the industry as a whole suffers from poor diversity, with Skillset (2010) reporting that only six percent of cultural workers were reported to be of BAME origin, a figure which is reported to be in decline (see also: Randle et al., 2007; Thanki & Jeffreys, 2007; Creative & Cultural Skills, 2008; Lee, 2013; Oakley, 2013; Saha, 2013; Ashton, 2015). Such exclusions exacerbate the recruitment issues already facing creative and cultural industries and go a long way in creating the harsh barriers to entry. It should be noted that Skillset (2012) recognised an increase in representation of women in the creative industries with growth from 27% in 2009 to 36% in 2012, thus demonstrating that times are perhaps changing.

The popularity and glamorous appeal²⁵ of employment in the creative and cultural industries (CCI) leads to fierce recruitment - only 5-10% of 26,000 film school graduates

²² Commonly recruitment in the creative industries is informal, based on the connections the individual has, and what names they can drop or be supported by.

²³ The most reported diversity issue is the gender inequalities that exist in the creative industries, which sees women being under-represented, under-paid and continually discriminated. Evidence of gender discrimination is found by Marcella et al. (2005) who found in their study that sixty percent of women had experienced gender discrimination; Henry (2008: 144) who found that “men are still better paid, hold more senior positions are more likely to be recognised for their achievements” than women and Skillset (2010)’s find that the average difference in pay between men and women was £5000

²⁴ Compared with 46% of the UK total working population being women

²⁵ Studies of young individuals demonstrate a strong appeal towards creative employment: (1) Howard et al., (2001) found in their study of 22,000 8th and 10th grade school-goers that three of the top five career aspirations

from a study by Hubbell (1991) were expected to gain employment in the creative industries (see also: Jones, 1996; Taylor & Littleton, 2012) - and barriers to entry based on the 'who you know' ideology. As such cultural workers experience three barriers to entry (informal recruitment; workforce exclusions and engagement with unpaid labour). The first being the existence of informal recruitment in the CCI, which leads to the majority of vacancies not being formally advertised, with reliance on networks spreading the news or people being invited into apply as a result of who they know (Kretschmer et al., 1999; Blair, 2001; Gill, 2002; McRobbie, 2002; Witz et al., 2003; Oakley, 2006; Currid, 2007; DCMS, 2008; Taylor & Littleton, 2008; Carr, 2009). Skillset's (2014: 4) workforce census report found that 56% of respondents were recruited through informal methods (up 10% since the previous census in 2010), of which 40% cited the role of other people on their recruitment, thus demonstrating the importance and influence of 'who you know' on CCI recruitment (see also: Thanki & Jefferys, 2006; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013).

The informality of recruitment and reliance of 'who you know' has led to a number of "old social divisions of labour and inequalities" (Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013: 09) as the 'contacts culture' (Thanki & Jefferys, 2007) leaves a number of cultural workers disadvantaged. As a result, the creative workforce is painted as "white, middle-classed and mono-cultured" (Randle et al., 2007: 93, see also Skillset, 2010; Warhurst, 2010), leading to the opinion that recruitment in the creative industries is skewed in the favour of the middle classes, with workforce exclusions based on class, gender, ethnicity and disability surrounding the cultural worker (Reis, 2001; Witz et al, 2003; Dean, 2005; Henry, 2009). Such exclusions and lack of diversity is recognised as the second barrier to entry that cultural workers face.

'Getting in' is made harder as a consequence of the expectation that cultural workers will engage in unpaid labour in the CCI (see also: Gill, 2007; Kennedy, 2010; Taylor & Littleton, 2011; Coughlan, 2012). The third barrier to entry is unpaid labour. Engagement with unpaid labour as part of a career in the CCI has been growing since the 1980s, with Skillset reporting in their 2010 workforce census that more than two fifths of the creative workforce engaged in unpaid labour in pursuit of entry to the industry and in 2014 this figure was 48%.

were creative; (2) Svarcova and Harantova (2012) study found that 38% of their 1628 high school students aspired to a creative occupation

Unpaid labour is recognised as beneficial²⁶ to a cultural worker as the engagement(s) are believed to equip them with skills, experience and networks that develop into employment opportunities, with particular attention to the creation of social capital (Hesmondhalgh, 2010; Carrot Workers Collective, 2011; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013; Siebert & Wilson, 2013). However, such a pre-requisite for employment leaves a number of social classes excluded from entering the creative workforce, as “those who cannot afford to work for free are excluded from work experience” (Siebert & Wilson, 2013: 3).

The barriers facing cultural workers in their attempts to ‘get in’ to the CCI, do not stop after recruitment as the latter part of Randle and Culkin’s (2009) phrase ‘getting on’ recognises. After navigating their way into the CCI, cultural workers find themselves coordinating “their own non-linear pathways” (Bridgstock, 2009 as cited in Haukka, 2011: 43) as they attempt to work around the structural barriers that surround creative work and affect an individual’s ability to develop their own career (Gill, 2002).

Two influential structures exist that cultural workers must navigate once in the creative and cultural industries. The first is the project ecology environment, whereby cultural workers are employed on short term projects which leaves them engaging in employment that is irregular, inconsistent and constantly looking for the next job (Caves, 2000; Windeler & Sydow, 2001; Grabher, 2002; Blair 2003; Taylor, 2012). Described by Eikhof and Warhurst (2013) as a ‘model of production’, project based employment allows creative industries organizations’ to minimise fixed costs as personnel are only employed as and when necessary (See also: De Fillippi & Arthur, 1998). Following the project ecologies, cultural workers must deal with the dependency of a “multiple job-holding strategy” (Haukka, 2011: 43) whereby cultural workers commonly engage in portfolio careers (Throsby & Zednik, 2011; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012; Pollard, 2013; Ashton, 2015). The portfolio career provides a level of security in defense of the precarious nature of work as cultural workers are “forced to take [a] second job to supplement their income or [act] as a form of ‘bridging’ finance” (Guile, 2006: 436).

²⁶ It is perceived that engaging in unpaid labour will advance one’s career through the experience gained, therefore, work experiences that are not financially remunerated are deemed acceptable within the creative industries.

Within the project ecology, teams are based on tried and tested relationships, which leads to cultural workers regrouping for projects, a scenario that Caves (2000) referred to as 'motley crew's (see also: DeFillippi & Arthur, 1998). Caves (2000: 5) defines the motley crew as "the diverse skilled and specialized workers, each bringing personal tastes with regards to the quality or configuration of the product" who come together to form a crew which opportunity, information and employment is shared amongst. The project ecologies coupled with the motley crews creates barriers to getting on in the CCI and can exacerbate the inequalities as both features can limit opportunities available to cultural workers. Following the 'who you know' ideology and playing into a number of the getting in and getting on barriers to work and employment in the CCI is social capital, the second structure of creative work and employment that cultural workers must deal with.

A "key feature of the labour market" and the second influential structure is social capital (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012: 1312; see also: Uzzi, 1997; Dex et al., 2000; Paterson, 2001; Baumann, 2002; Haunschild, 2003; Spiro, 2008; Skilton, 2008) which holds a number of relationships with the structures of creative work and employment (Baumann, 2002; Oakley, 2006; Siebert & Wilson, 2013). Siebert and Wilson (2013) imply that social capital often gets the blame for the lack of diversity in the CCI as a result of the reliance on networks and 'social mechanisms' (Baumann, 2002) that can lead to advantage for some and exclusion for others (Oakley, 2006). Due to the prominence and influence of social capital on creative careers, the concept will be explored in greater detail in the following section.

2.1.2.2.ii. Social Capital

Social Capital is also a prominent concept within the literature and despite being regarded as a "buzzword among political and academic elites" (Halpern, 2005: 1 see also, Field, 2003), the concept lacks definitive definition (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Keeley, 2007). Two stronghold figures are associated with the concept of social capital: Putnam and Bourdieu, for whom the concept of social capital differs. For Putnam (1993), social capital is about moral obligations; social values and social networks, from which the economic system is positively influenced, while for Bourdieu, an older concept (1970/80s) social capital is one

of three capitals related to class and provides resources to individuals which can be used to exert power and change in circumstances (Siisiainen, 2000).

Despite the lack of definition and difference in opinion by Putnam and Bourdieu, the premise of social capital is shared. Social capital is described as the connections and links that individuals share from which resources are generated as individuals work together (Burt, 1992; Adler & Kwon, 2002; Halpern, 2005; Keeley, 2007; Hau et al., 2013; Leung et al., 2013) - most simply put "social capital can be summed up in two words: relationships matter" (Field, 2003: 1). Defined by Paxton (1999: 89) as "the idea that individuals and groups can gain resources from their connections to one another (and the type of connections)" social capital is founded on a reciprocal arrangement and "everyday networks" (Halpern, 2005: 2) from which shared objectives and advantages are met.

The networks and connections that make up a person's social capital can be sourced from a variety of settings such as, families, where social capital is built on the family bond; friends and like-minded communities, of which shared experiences and /or values create social capital and environmental bonds, in which the social capital exists as a result of the environment which is shared between the individuals, such as school, work or neighbourhood (Halpern, 2005). From these communities Coleman (1988) suggests three properties of social capital: (1) trust and obligations; (2) information channels and (3) norms and sanctions. The first form of social capital, trust is based on the shared belief and understanding amongst the group in that from their social capital, individuals are obliged to provide resources and can trust their networks when resources are shared. A famous example offered by Halpern (2005) is that of the diamond merchants in New York, whose export and trade is based solely on the trust of the arrangement and trust that is upheld amongst the traders. The second form of social capital is information channels, given that with access to people, access to resources increases as Coleman (1988) denotes that information channels can be accessed either through social relationships (and latterly through social networking mechanisms (Ellinson et al., 2007; Zuniga et al., 2012; Ellison et al., 2014)) and civic engagements (see also: Putnam, 2000). The third and final form of social capital is the norms and sanctions that promote cooperative behaviour, such as ideologies toward crime and expectations of general behaviours (Leung et al., 2013) in which opinions and values bring people together and create a platform of sharing.

With Field's (2003: 1) "relationships matter", it is important to recognise the role that social capital has on the career. Through their networks, individuals find career success as a result of the access to information that their network derives, from which they can "accumulate knowledge about task-related problems and workable solutions" (Lin & Haung, 2005: 193). The individual then becomes central to the network as a result of this information and from this their social capital grows, which enables greater career outcomes to be generated (Lin & Haung, 2005), such as: (1) promotion opportunities (Burt, 2002; Field, 2003; Halpern, 2005), (2) increased productivity at work (Wayne et al., 1999), (3) access to information (Roos & Roos, 1997) and (4) career success and satisfaction (Siebert et al., 2001). With the rise in knowledge based work, networks are increasingly important as knowledge is power and access to resources that generate power (Roos & Roos, 1997; Lin & Huang, 2005). With consideration for the influence social capital has on careers, it is important to recognise if there is a relationship or influence on creative careers.

Social capital is prevalent and prominent in creative careers, with acknowledgment of the 'who you know' ideology in section 2.1.2.2.i. The creative and cultural industries (CCI) are a highly socialized industry, in which section 2.1.2.2., recognised the environment in which cultural workers find themselves. The creative and cultural workforce find themselves working long hours, in close (and often constant) contact with other people and engaged in project based employment which is often erected at short notice (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012; see also: Jones, 1996; DeFillippi & Arthur, 1998) leading to "bulimic styles of working" (Gill & Pratt, 2008: 14) and difficulty to maintain relationships with individuals external to the CCI. Therefore, a number of cultural workers begin to depend on their social networks within their creative careers. Siebert and Wilson (2013: 713) found social capital as "being crucial in recruitment and selection in the creative industries, but also important in career development and knowledge sharing for individuals already in the sector" (see also: Daskalaki, 2010). Therefore, in order to understand the management of creative careers, this study must understand how social capital manifest itself in the creative career.

A number of "material gains" are derived by social capital (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012: 1313) synonymous with those reviewed earlier. Recognition for instances when social capital led to higher salary (Jones, 2002), larger budgets and access to resources (Sorenson & Waguespack, 2006) and the complementary nature that the social capital concept had

with many of the structures of creative work and employment (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012) further demonstrate the role that social capital has in the creative career. Grugulis and Stoyanova (2012: 1316) in their study of social capital in film and TV found that “there were sound, structural reasons why social capital was so widely used in this sector” and recognise “three major roles” that social capital plays in the creative career (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012: 1315): (1) to help professionals get a job; (2) to act as cheer leaders by providing recommendation and nomination for work and employment; (3) through the relationships people had, it made working in the creative industries more manageable. Evidence for the coexistence of social capital in creative work and employment is found in the complementary nature of the concept on a number of structures that exist within the CCI and creative work and employment. A particular outcome of social capital is its ability to overcome labor market uncertainties that the creative and cultural industries breeds (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012). The features of the social capital concept, in that resources are accessed through connections and networks coexist alongside the informal recruitment channels of the CCI (Blair et al., 2001; Blair, 2003; Blair et al., 2003; Tempest et al., 2004; Storey et al., 2005; Coulson, 2012); importance and influence of reputation (Barley & Kunda, 2004; O’Mahoney & Bechky, 2006; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012) and the project ecology environment (Storey et al., 2005; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012). Through their social capital as noted previously with respect to the ‘who you know’ ideology, cultural workers positively influence their creative career and can deal with the barriers facing creative work. As such, the coexistence can have a positive effect on the creative career in that behavioural norms are established as individuals share social capital and therefore, follow the same expectations and standards (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012; see also: Barley & Kunda, 2004; Bechky, 2006). However, such norms that are often denoted in CCI literature as employment structures, such as the informality of recruitment and unpaid labour, can lead to exacerbation of inequality and what is referred to as ‘middle class advantage’ (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012; see also: Lee, 2011; Warhurst & Eikhof, 2011; Tilly, 1998), as “non-members are excluded from such benefits” (Portes, 1998 in Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012: 131; see also Oakley, 2006; Siebert & Wilson, 2013). The middle class advantage is based on the shared norms and connections that such individuals share as a result of their demographic. It is recognised that the CCI is dominated by middle-class, males (Warhurst, 2010; Skillset, 2010), who have the necessary connections, relations or means to enter the

industry than their working class counterparts do not have, also referred to as 'nepotism'. Furthermore, if they do not have such access, then the creation of networks is easier to facilitate due to cultural capital (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012), an ability to engage in unpaid labour (Siebert & Wilson, 2013) and a perception from Tilly (1998) that suggests the 'reputational' expectation that they are "synonymous with professionalism" (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012: 1322).

It seems that while social capital hosts a number of benefits and works in coexistence to a number of the employment structures in the CCI, the concept equally exacerbates the inequalities and lack of diversity that exists within the CCI. Thus, leading to the impression that the concept of social capital itself is not the problem, but rather the exclusionary nature that such networks generate towards the availability and access of resources (Holgate & McKay, 2007; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012).

While social capital is readily accepted as a concept that is significant not only in film and TV (Cattani & Ferriani, 2008) but to the wider scope of the CCI and is influential upon creative careers, it is important to recognise two further concepts that are recognised as having influence on creative careers. First, employability with consideration for the increasing desire amongst creative students and graduates to have greater employability provision embedded within their creative education (Ball et al., 2010; Donnelly, 2012) and secondly, the employment of a portfolio career within a creative career (Taylor & Littleton, 2012).

2.1.2.2.iii. Employability

The concept of employability goes beyond getting a job and is "about developing attributes, techniques, or experience for life" in order to maintain employment (Harvey, 2005: 13, see also: HM treasury, 1997; Hillage & Pollard, 1998; Confederation of British Industry, 1999; Maher & Graves, 2007). The concept of employability has experienced growth in its importance in the past decade and is recognised as playing a "crucial role in informing labour market policy in the UK, the EU and beyond" (McQuaid & Lindsay, 2005: 197, see also: Peck & Theodore, 2000). Post Dearing Report in 1997 it became apparent that a degree qualification was no longer a passport to graduate employment (Sheckley et al, 1993; Fallows & Steven, 2000; Schoor, 2000; Blackstone, 2001; Hager et al, 2002; Harvey et al., 2002;

Mason et al., 2002; Reich, 2002; Ball, 2003; Barrie, 2004; Bowers-Brown & Harvey, 2005; ; Smith & Kruger, 2005; Yorke & Knight, 2007; Maher & Graves, 2007; Franz, 2008). There are a number of occasions in which the employability agenda is present in the CCI literature, demonstrating its importance in the exploration of career management in the creative and cultural industries. A poignant resource in this motivation was Ball et al's., (2010) 'Creative Graduates, Creative Future Study'²⁷, which found that employability provision was strongly desired by cultural workers in order to equip and prepare them for the reality of creative work post degree and employability rose up the agenda to counteract the current insufficient employability provision within creative degree programmes (DCMS, 2008; Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Bennett, 2009; Ball et al., 2010). However, Haukka (2011: 46) equally found that the perception of 'graduate readiness' differs between employers and creative graduates with the former being of the opinion that creative graduates are not "industry ready". Employability within the HEI landscape, including creative degree programmes, involved the "embodiment of employability related courses" (Mason et al., 2003: 18, in Brown, 2007: 31) that would "actively prepare students for the world of work" (Brown, 2007: 31). Specific employability provision within the CCI included "transition into work" activities (Ball et al., 2010: xii) such as, showcase opportunities and work placements²⁸, part time work, internships or placements during their studies and the sharing of tacit knowledge that supported the graduates in their search for work and employment (Harvey & Blackwell, 1999; Purcell, Pitcher & Simm, 1999; De la Harpe et al., 2000; Medhat, 2003; Harvey, 2005).

Driven by employers urging HEIs to create 'work-ready graduates' (Singerman, 1999; Fallows & Steven, 2000; Barrie, 2006; Smith & Kruger, 2005) as recruitment was becoming increasingly weighted on skills and competences, such as communication, project and time management and commitment, rather than degree subject, (Hager et al., 2002; Brown & Hesketh, 2004), embedded employability in the CCI led to the increasing notion that business acumen and skill were required to make it work as a cultural worker (McRobbie,

²⁷ a longitudinal study of early career patterns of art, design and craft graduates from 26 higher institutions

²⁸ For employers, work experience, provides sound evidence of an individual's ability to work, interact and fit into the working culture, which positively encourages the graduates adjustment into the world of work and has led to many employers citing "work placements and industry experience [as] important pre-requisites for careers" (Ball et al., 2010: ix).

2008; Taylor & Littleton, 2008; Ball et al., 2010; Donnelly, 2012). The need and desire from cultural workers to learn about “the business side of things”, such as hourly charges and business operations (Donnelly, 2012: 28) led to a “break with past anti-commercial notions of being creative” (McRobbie, 2002: 521) being identified in the CCI. Another aspect of employability provision that is championed by Ashton (2013/ 2015: 400) is the idea that creative graduates should be prepared for the chance of “not becoming creative workers” (see also: Gill & Pratt, 2008). It is important that cultural workers understand the challenges of creative work and are somewhat prepared for “an entry tournament (Stoyanova & Grugulis, 2012), prolonged work as an intern (Carrot Workers Collective, 2011)” (Ashton, 2015: 400) or securing a main income elsewhere, perhaps within an embedded creative occupation or outwith the CCI (see also: Bennett, 2009). This need to be prepared for alternatives within a creative career leads this review onto the second concept commonly associated with creative work and employment, the portfolio career.

2.1.2.2.iii. Portfolio Career

The portfolio career concept was coined by Charles Handy in 1989 in response to individuals seeking flexibility and choice over career decisions in an attempt a successful work-life balance (Totterdel et al., 2006²⁹ see also: Gray, 1987; Laurance, 1988; Kanter, 1989; Golzen and Garner, 1990; Handy, 1994; Bridges, 1995; Waterman et al 1994; Herriot & Pemberton, 1995; Holbreche 1995; Marriott & Jacobs, 1995; Pahl 1995; Hall et al, 1996; Sonneberg, 1997; Comfort, 1997; Kerka, 1997; Beckstead & Gellatly, 2003; Eby et al, 2003; Barley & Kunda, 2004; Platman, 2004; Fenwick, 2006). Portrayed as “a liberation from organisational employment” (Cohen & Mallon, 1999: 346), the portfolio career offers individuals “security of employability” as they accept “personal responsibility for the development and exercise of skills” (Mallon 1999: 358; see also: Kanter, 1989; Golzen & Garner, 1990; Bridges, 1995; Mirvis & Hall, 1996; Arnold & Jackson, 1997; Comfort, 1997) and the opportunity to create an alternative identity through their work (Sennett, 1998;

²⁹ Totterdell et al., (2006) in their study of 65 portfolio workers, discovered that the majority of participants favoured being a portfolio worker over their previous permanent employment as a result of the increased levels of flexibility and autonomy that they experienced.

Arthur et al., 1999; Ibarra, 2003). Beyond the individuals, it is claimed that employing the portfolio career also benefits policy³⁰, society³¹ and organisations³².

The features of portfolio working are recognised as complementary to the structures that exist in creative and cultural industries (CCI) work and employment (Hyde, 1928; Aldrich, 1935; Woolf & Holly, 1994; Granger et al., 1995; Skillset, 2000; Platman 2004; Ball et al., 2010), such as the project ecology environment where cultural workers “organise themselves around projects rather than careers” (Gill, 2002: 75) and the personal relationships established within portfolio working, which secures the cultural workers position in Cave’s (2001) motley crew (Fenwick, 2006). Another feature of the portfolio career which complements the typical characteristics of creative work and employment is the predominant recognition of portfolio working as freelancing, whereby individuals “tailor their own careers” (Platman, 2003: 28) through the sale of their skills and attributes in exchange for employment (Handy, 1994; Mallon, 1999; Fenwick, 2006). Further relation of the portfolio career in the creative industries is that individuals can “rely on multiple income streams” (Ball et al, 2010: 21/3; see also Freakley & Neelands, 2003; Bennett, 2009), which supports the management of the precarious nature of creative work and enables them to combine work with additional activities such as volunteering, study, professional development and/ or family life.

While portfolio working in the CCI complements a number of creative work characteristics, the complementary nature can also exacerbate a number of the more damaging characteristics of creative work as Cohen and Mallon (1999: 346) noted that “each merit of portfolio working constructed a draw back and vice versa” (see also Fenwick, 2009). The first potential drawback of portfolio working is that with the increased ownership and

³⁰ “For policy makers, portfolio careers create a reduction in welfare spending, increased revenue from income tax and harnesses the talents of an ageing workforce” (Platman, 2003: 283)

³¹ The portfolio career creates an ideology of social inclusion that generates positive societal views and impressions, for example, for the older individual, a portfolio career is a “promising option for older people”, who wish to stay employed or engaged in paid employment as the concept gives them an injection of choice, control and independence, where they are able to “continue to do as much or as little paid work as they choose, for as long as they want” (Platman, 2003: 581/ 576)

³² “For organisations, through the portfolio career they are able to maintain their older workforce, from which they can continue to and harness their skills and knowledge within the business, whilst removing the ‘dead weight’ workforce” (Platman, 2003: 283)

autonomy (Kanter, 1989; Mirvis & Hall, 1994; Bridges, 1995; Mallon, 1998), individuals face greater job insecurity, irregularity of income and irregular working hours (Scase & Goffe, 1980; Cohen & Mallon, 1999; Platman, 2004; Fenwick, 2006), which in the CCI will exacerbate the precarious nature of creative work. The second drawback is that the increased autonomy over working structures allows for a “greater integration of work and life” (Cohen & Mallon, 1999: 342; see also, Handy, 1990; Platman, 2003; Fenwick, 2006) transpires into a “feast or famine” scenario (Fenwick, 2006: 72) as individuals feel inclined to take work when it is available due to the instability and unpredictability of their employment environment. Similarly as in the creative and cultural industries, portfolio workers find engaging in ongoing training a struggle as time and financial insecurities leave them faced with the fear and reality of out-dated skills (Handy, 1994; Cohen & Mallon, 1999).

From portfolio working individuals develop personal relationships with their clients, from which the individuals feel high levels of job satisfaction (Fenwick, 2006). However, such personal relationships create issues for the portfolio worker as parameters of the relationship are loose and can lead to self-exploitation³³ (Fenwick, 2006). Such self-exploitation is felt in the CCI as cultural workers find themselves working long hours out of their commitment to their work and a “double life” as they balance their time between their creative work and paid work (Taylor & Littleton, 2008: 282; Donnelly, 2012).

All in all, cultural workers face a number of harsh realities in their careers, both at the beginning and throughout that must be overcome or dealt with in order to enable career succession and sustainment as identified in 2.2.2.i. Such career challenges demonstrate a need to understand career management in the creative and cultural industries (CCI) and the subsequent sections 2.1.2.2.ii and iii., demonstrate the appropriateness of career management concepts within the CCI environment.

³³ Platman (2004) recognised self-exploitation in her study whereby participants recalled times they had worked tirelessly despite illness, postponed holidays and even worked dangerously unhealthy hours in order to please their client.

2.1.3. Creative Work and Employment Summary

Chapter 2.1., provided a contextual background to the study's phenomenon through review of the extensive creative and cultural industries (CCI) literature and provided important clarification of terminology used within the study. It was deemed important to review the background to the phenomenon and make clarifications as failure to determine terminologies and concepts can have serious implication for the results, policy and / or understanding, (Galloway & Dunlop, 2006: 11 see also: Drake, 2003; Galloway & Dunlop, 2007).

In section 2.1.1., both terms, creative industries and cultural industries were reviewed, in which the political shift and rebranding from cultural industries to creative industries was highlighted. While both terminologies are still in operation, it is important to recognise the difference in the two terms with consideration for the cultural industries being concerned with the commodification of texts and symbolic value, while the term creative industries is founded on the exploitation of intellectual property and the inclusivity of the knowledge economies that are economically beneficial. From the review of the terminologies, it was determined that the study will use the term creative and cultural industries (CCI) in order to encompass both aspects of the two terms and in order to fit in with amalgamation of existing literature. It is also believed that the terminology creative and cultural industries is favoured by policy makers and therefore, when this study is disseminated after its conclusion, that it will be picked up by more outlets and have a greater potential for policy implementation.

Section 2.1.1., was followed by 2.1.2., in which the creative work and employment environment was reviewed with exploration of the creative workforce (section 2.1.2.1.) and creative work realities (section 2.1.2.2.). The creative workforce was denoted as strong in comparison with the UK total workforce, with consideration strengths noted, however, was also recognised as being extremely exclusionary, with inequalities in the workforce faced as a result of gender, class and ethnicity. Within section 2.1.2.1., it was determined that the study would refer to the individuals being studied as cultural workers and yet the work that they conduct as creative work. For purposes of participant recruitment, the definition

of a cultural worker would follow Cunningham (2001) specialist, in that the cultural workers were in a creative job in the creative and cultural industries. Following 2.1.2.1., was section 2.1.2.2., in which the realities of creative work and employment were presented and reviewed. The creative work and employment environment faces a number of structural and unique characteristics, such as the informality of recruitment, project ecologies and art for art's sake. Features of creative work and employment were then reviewed under four career concepts relevant to the CCI. First, getting in and getting on, the reality of recruitment and advancement within a creative career was reviewed, with consideration for the barriers to entry that cultural workers face and the ongoing struggles in maintaining a creative career, such as the focus on reputation and continual engagement with unpaid labour. Then three career concepts evident within the CCI were reviewed: Social Capital; Employability and Portfolio Careers. Each career concept was found to play a role within the creative career, in both an advantageous and disadvantaging fashion.

Through its review of literature, section 2.1., has broken down the knowledge surrounding the creative industries and identified the areas in which career management may manifest itself. With an understanding of careers in the creative industries, the researcher is better prepared for data collection. In conclusion to section 2.1., it is evident that creative careers face a number of constraining factors, which creative individuals' must learn to deal with, manage and adapt to overcome. With consideration of these factors and how they are dealt with in a creative career and also the clear recognition of two career management concepts (employability and portfolio working), chapter 2 moves onto section 2.2., which will review the literature surrounding traditional Human Resource Management approaches to careers. Section 2.2., will review the career management environment and career strategies.

2.2. Traditional Career Management Approaches in HRM

Career management is the second phenomenon of this study and while little is known about how creative individuals manage their careers, volumes of literature exists on the concept of career management which will be reviewed in the following sections. In order to explore career management in the creative industries, career management itself and the various approaches must be understood. In doing so, the researcher will understand the means by which individuals could influence their career and the career concepts that could be applicable to creative individuals.

First, the term 'career' must be understood. Traditionally, the career was associated with hierarchy and the upwards movement within an organisation (Jones & DeFillippi, 1996; Baruch, 2006). However, such hierarchical association led to careers being considered elitist (Baruch & Rosenstein, 1992; Wrzesniewsk et al., 1997). Over time, it was no longer common for individuals to stay with one organisation and move up the 'ladder' but to have a career made up of experience from a variety of organisations as individuals searched for career development and advancement rather than linear progression (Baruch & Rosenstein, 1992; Wrzesniewsk et al., 1997; Baruch & Peiperl, 2000; Arnold, 2011). The career is highly personal (Baruch & Rosenstein, 1992³⁴) and not a one off experience, rather taking place over a particular period, with a number of actors involved in the process (Hughes, 1958). Leading to the common description of the career as a journey made up of experience, activities and jobs³⁵ related to the individuals work (Hughes, 1937; Hall, 1986; Baruch & Rosenstein, 1992; Arthur & Rosseau, 1996; Wrzesniewsk et al., 1997; Baruch, 2006). Becoming increasingly fluid, career experiences are generated from other organisations and even sectors (Gowler & Legge, 1989; Kanter, 1989; Inkson, 1995; Pahl, 1995; Mallon, 1999; Rose, 1999). Arthur and Rosseau (1996: 08) define a career as "an evolving sequence of a person's work experience over time". With consideration for the cultural workers sporadic and somewhat unconventional ways of working, which mean that they have multiple work

³⁴ Recognising the career as socially constructed, as time, environment and relationships change and develop across the individual's career and interplay into their interpretation of their career at that time.

³⁵ While the term career derives from working, Wrzesniewsk et al., (1997) explains that a career is different from a job, which is where an individual works for financial reward or out of necessity.

experiences (often at one given time, see section 2.1.2.), this study will follow Arthur and Rosseau's (1996) definition of a career.

With consideration for the evolution of experiences in which the career is made up, and the study's aims, how such experiences & an individual's career journey is managed will now be reviewed, with a review of the literature surrounding career management.

Career management is regarded as a three step process from which individuals can advance and develop their career (Greenhaus, Callanan & Godschalk, 2010). The three step process involves exploring and understanding ones career, building goals and employing career strategies, from which individuals can build their career and intentionally manage the interaction of work and learning with other aspects of their lives (Noe, 1996; Bridgstock, 2009; Greenhaus et al., 2010). Stage one of career management is commonly referred to as career planning, in which the individual identifies goals and ambitions and the necessary steps to achieve the goals (Orpen, 1994). Orpen (1994: 29) reflects that career planning is "the process of identifying what one wants from one's career, assessing one's strengths and weaknesses in relation to these goals and deciding what steps need to be taken to get there". In career planning, individuals (and/ or organisations) collate information regarding their career in order to identify their options and development needs, from which they then a plan of activities that they hope will enable them to achieve the career goals they have set for themselves.

The second stage of the career management process involves building goals from which to develop the options and needs identified in the first stage. More commonly known as career tactics, the goals act as informers on which individuals base career decisions on (Pazy, 1988). Career tactics (also referred to as career management practices) are typically implemented to support the success of career planning as they provide the individual with the strengths, ability and positivity to enact their career. Through their career tactics, individuals can manipulate "the situation in which they find themselves to their own advantage" (Orpen, 1994: 29). Both stages of career management are recognised to be influential upon an individual's career effectiveness (Orpen, 1994), however, users must be cautious of the criticism that the two stages, particularly career planning, can often be

inhibitive to a career as a result of its rigid and stagnant structure (Inkson, 2007). Furthermore, the employment of career planning and tactics suggests that individuals are in a position to enact change upon their career, which may or may not be an appropriate assumption.

The third stage is the employment of career strategies, which is reviewed in 2.2.1. In advance of the career strategies, it is important to develop an understanding of the environment in which career strategies may exist and the factors facing individuals which may affect their employment of career strategies.

Over time, “profound changes [have taken] place which affects all aspects of the way work is structured and organized” (Arnold & Jackson, 1997: 427). A result of such profound changes has seen career management shift from being organizationally driven to individually driven (Gutteridge, 1976; Super & Hall, 1978; Orpen, 1994; Alfred et al, 1996; Brousseau et al, 1996; Nicholson, 1996; Baruch & Peiper, 2000; Thite, 2000; Baruch, 2003). With individual career management (ICM) arising out of increasing employment competition and longer working lives, leading to the need for individuals to employ strategies, goals and tactics to sustain and manage their career (Judge et al., 1995). Organisational career management, which in essence was in effect when the career was still deemed to be hierarchical, involves policies and practices being developed by the organisation to encourage career effectiveness (Orpen, 1994). From this career management shifted to be individually driven, where individuals are responsible for the future of their career and take a more active role within the management of their career regardless of the goals that their “organisation may have for them” (Orpen, 1994: 28). With the individual in control of their career goals and strategies, no longer is career management prescribed in relation to the goals and missions of an organization. This new position of power and management, has led to individuals employing behaviours and actions that exert influence upon their career and its subsequent management (see 2.2.i. for more). The resurgence of individual power and control has established an appetite and consideration for human agency within the career.

2.2.i. Agency and Careers in Action

Introduced by Marshall (1989) as a strategy for dealing with the world through independent self-assertion and control, (see also: Thatcher & McQueen, 1981). Typical traits of agentic behaviour include: being in control; making things happen, self-protection and self-assertion as individuals make “attempts to make progress through personal action” (Inkson, 2007: 79; see also: Lent & Hackett, 1987; Lent et al 1996; Cochran, 1997; Bandura 2001; Betz, 2001; Pringle & Dixon, 2003). In relation to the typical traits, Betz and Hackett (1987) recognise that agentic behaviour is associated with characteristics of proactivity, initiative, assertiveness and persistence, making entirely appropriate to be considered in careers. With consideration for one’s career, agency leads to individuals applying “assertively for new jobs, seek[ing] progression and attempt[ing] to take charge of his or her own career” (Inkson, 2007: 79).

A strong advocate for agency in career management is Inkson (2007) who through his career metaphor ‘Careers in Action’, demonstrates the ways in which individuals can control and direct their career through behaviours and actions (see also: Cochran & Laub, 1994; Cochran, 1997; Bandura, 2006; Chen, 2006). In his career metaphor, Inkson (2007) references Madonna³⁶ to demonstrate a career in action and agency being brought on that career - “Madonna is a prime example of the career in action. Her career did not just happen to her. By her own actions, she made her career happen. She produced it, directed it and starred in it. It was her creation” (Inkson, 2007: 78). Throughout her career, Madonna has exerted undivided power and attention in order to ensure that she attained the goals she dreamed of. In his example, Inkson (2007) explains that Madonna was proactive, seeking opportunities and taking responsibility for her career by not accepting constraints and responding to changes in her career and the environment around her. Madonna’s high levels of agency and ability to enact change through her intention and determination to achieve, could arguably be the ingredient for her career longevity.

Individuals who display agentic behaviour are typically considered to have high levels of “confidence and self-determination” as they are more inclined (and in a stronger position)

³⁶ Madonna is an international entertainer with over 30 years’ experience in the pop business

to “bring about desirable change” (Kush & Cochran, 1993: 434; see also Boyatzis, McKee & Godman, 2002; Inkson, 2007). A correlation is recognised between levels of agentic behaviour exerted by an individual and an individual’s self-efficacy. Established by Bandura (2006), self-efficacy is a concept that describes an individual’s judgement of their own ability and the subsequent impact such judgements have on the individual’s choice of activities and environmental settings (Bandura, 1977; Chen, 2006). Lent and Hackett (1987) lucidly demonstrated this judgement as ‘Can I do this?’ and if the individual thought they could not, then they did not engage with the activity as they deemed the activity to exceed their capabilities. Furthermore, the individual’s level of self-efficacy influenced the level of effort and persistence that they ensued on the task/activity (Brown & Inouye, 1978; Weinberg, Gould, & Jackson, 1979; Bandura & Schunk, 1981; Schunk, 1981). Originally considered for career entry, self-efficacy is increasingly being applied to career development and the understanding of what facilitates career adjustment (Lent & Hackett, 1987), with an individual’s self-efficacy influencing their pursuit of agentic behaviour and the career opportunities they engage with.

In terms of career management, self-efficacy influences an individual’s perceived belief that they can perform the necessary career strategies, exert power over their career advancement and achieve career success, thus influencing the opportunities they take and their confidence in their career (Bandura, 2001; Betz, 2001; Chen, 2006). Therefore, individuals with low levels of self-efficacy are unlikely to exhibit agentic behaviour on their career due to their low judgement of their ability, influence and applied effort to career related tasks. It is therefore, important to consider an individual’s self-efficacy and opportunity for agency when exploring or considering their career management and how that individual may or may not manage their career.

A further influence on career management is that of an individual’s personality.

2.2.ii. Personality

Guthrie et al., (1998: 372) recognise that “a person’s personality (i.e. a set of psychological traits) is a relatively stable precursor of behaviour as it underlies an enduring style of thinking, feeling and acting” (see also Hogan, 1991; McCrae & Costa, 1997). Personality is

deemed to influence career strategies and career management (Gould & Penley, 1984) as personality traits influence an individual's engagement with a career strategy, their self-efficacy and their career success (Jung, 1990; Barrick & Mount, 1991; Siebert et al, 1999; Judge & Kammeyer-Mueller, 2007). Judge and Kammeyer-Mueller (2007: 59) argue that "personality is probably a significant determinant of how people will do in their careers" as they illustrate that personality traits influence a person's reaction, pro-action, behaviour and recognition to career opportunities (see also Buss & Craik, 1983; Epstein, 1979). Judge and Kammeyer-Mueller (2007: 60) believe personality influences career success in three ways: (1) The jobs individuals are attracted to and also to the selection of individuals for jobs (see also: Vuust et al., 2010); (2) Job performance which leads to career advancement; (3) Individual engagement in social interactions at work.

Figure 5 illustrates the 'Big Five'³⁷ personality traits and the typical behaviours of each trait.

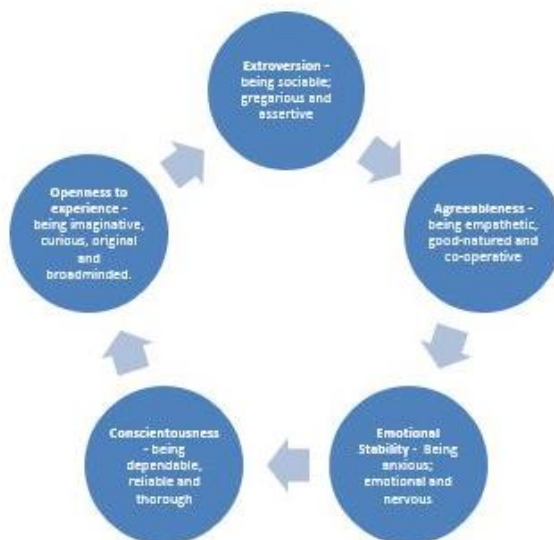


Figure 5: Career Management Strategies: The Role of Personality,

Adapted from Guthrie et al (1998: 372)

The Big Five behavioural traits are influential on the career strategies employed by individuals in the following ways: conscientiousness leads to the assumption that the

³⁷ The 'Big Five' include: *extroversion; agreeableness; emotional stability; conscientiousness and openness to experience* (see figure 6).

individual will perform better in the job as they have a higher propensity for extended work strategies and are likelier to use strategies that involve increased work effort, while openness to experience means that the individual is more likely to engage in career enhancing behaviours such as self-development (Barrick & Mount, 1991; Guthrie et al., 1998). The literature recognises that a proactive and (or) extroverted personality is more likely to gain career success (Guthrie et al, 1998; Siebert et al., 1999; Boudreau et al, 2001; Siebert & Kaimer, 2001; Judge & Kammeyer-Mueller, 2007) due to the traits links to agency (see section 2.2.i). Although “relationships [between personality and career success are] proving difficult to prove” (Guthrie et al., 1998: 372).

With appreciation for the shift in career management, the consideration of Inkson’s career metaphor, careers in action, and how an individual’s personality plays its role in career management, chapter 2.2., will now review the literature surrounding career strategies.

2.2.1. Career Strategies

As referred to in 2.2., career strategies are a fundamental part of the career and career management. Gould and Penley (1984) recognise a career strategy as a formula from which individuals work towards the achievement of goals through choice, behavior and input to promote a particular output. In line with the definition of a career as a journey and sequence of events, career strategies play into that definition by defining the experiences of a career through their development and achievement. Defined by Greenhaus et al., (2010: 131) a career strategy is “any behaviour, activity or experience designed to help a person meet career goals”. Career strategies lead to effects on careers, usually positive changes, such as job or salary progression and heightened job satisfaction (Gould & Penley, 1984) and make individuals better equipped to respond to changes in the environment surrounding their career (Thite, 2000). For the purposes of this study, Greenhau et al’s., (2010) definition of a career strategy will be followed.

Baruch and Peiperl (2000: 348) recognise that “very few theoretical career models exist”, with the majority of the theory founded on career development rather than management. A popular career management theorist is Jeffrey Greenhaus, whose career management literature is well read and widely applicable. Furthermore, as Baruch (2000: 70) recognise,

Greenhaus' model of career management "focusses on the individual as the one who needs to make the decision", a characteristic that is favourable to this study in which the focus is on the individual perspective. It is this individual perspective for which Greenhaus' career strategies was chosen as the framework for this study to explore career management in the creative and cultural industries.

Greenhaus et al., (2010) offer seven career strategies in career management, which will be reviewed in the following section (2.2.1.1). Before reviewing the seven career strategies offered by Greenhaus et al., (2010) it is important to recognise that career strategies are "divided into two groups" (Apospori, 2008: 579). Guthrie et al., (1998: 372) denoted that career strategies typically involve "seeking guidance or mentoring, networking, self-nomination or presentation, creating opportunities, extended work involvement and ingratiating behaviors (e.g. flattering the boss)". The first of the groups proposed by Guthrie et al (1998: 374) is relationship orientated strategies in which the strategy or goals involve "working through or with other people". Relationship-orientated strategies involve "building a network of contacts and relationships, using self-nomination or presentation (e.g. making supervisors aware of accomplishments, communicating a desire for increased responsibility) and/or developing more intimate mentoring types of relationships" (Guthrie et al, 1998: 372). The second grouping is self or work orientated in which "enhancing activities [is] focused on either job tasks or [the] development of career related skills", typically outwith work hours (Guthrie et al., 1998: 374). Such strategies involve the individual ensuring they are constantly developing themselves and illustrating their commitment to their employment by staying late, creating opportunities or undertaking further training or expansion of skills base (Gould & Penley, 1984).

2.2.1.1. Greenhaus et al (2010) Seven Career Strategies

Greenhaus et al., (2010: 132) seven career strategies are illustrated in figure 6 and discussed in table 1. While the strategies are illustrated in a cyclical fashion, there is not an established starting point and it is also noted that the career strategies are not expected to be used in separation of one another but employed in partnership in order to generate the greatest benefit (Greenhaus et al., 2012).

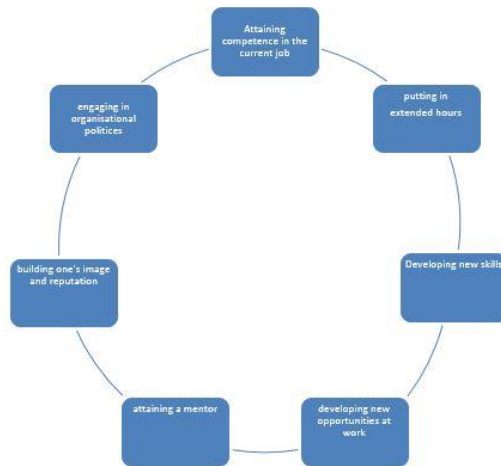


Figure 6: Seven Career Strategies - Greenhaus et al., (2010: 132)

Table 1: Summary of Grenhaus et al’s (2010) seven career strategies: Adapted from Greenhaus et al., 2010: 131-135

Career Strategy	Description
Attaining competence in the current job	Involves employee promotion on the basis of performance; particularly important to protean careers, the strategy involves an individual focusing on their ability within a role and improving their employability in order to encourage career success.
Putting in extended hours	A popular career strategy, which involves an individual working extra hours in order to improve their performance or signify their commitment to the organization.
Developing new skills	Involves the acquisition or enhancement of work abilities in order to improve performance. Skill development can be achieved through participation in training seminars, attaining qualifications, attending development workshops, gaining extra work responsibilities or joining occupational associations.
Developing new opportunities	Designed to increase one’s career options, this strategy involves self-nomination and networking in order to enhance one’s visibility and communication with relevant contacts that will support an individual’s career opportunities and development.
Attaining a mentor	Defined as relationships between junior and senior employees, where the senior employee acts as a mentor, providing support, friendship, advice and often sponsorship to the junior employee.
Building one’s image and reputation	Individuals focus on their attention on building a positive imagery of themselves in order to positively support their employability by conveying an appearance of success and suitability. Individuals employing this strategy attempt to influence how they are viewed by other people.
Engaging in organisational policies	Strategy involves flattery, forming alliances and advocating organisational policies, which can be deemed a necessary criteria for promotion.

While appropriateness of using Greenhaus et al's., (2010) career strategies was presented above, the researcher was mindful that the strategies are particularly mainstream, with a concise focus on career advancement and promotional opportunities within one's career, characteristics which may not apply to the creative industries. Furthermore, the researcher was wary that the career strategies suggested by Greenhaus et al., (2010) appear to be sanitized and fairly prescriptive, which in the reality of a creative career which faces uncertainty, income insecurity and often informal barriers, prescriptive and sanitized solutions may not be particularly appropriate. As this study is an exploratory study and has no prior knowledge on what to expect from creative career management, the researcher added three further career strategies to the framework, which she felt were more akin with the characteristics of creative work. With consideration for the informality of employment in the creative industries, the reliance on who you know and existence of motley crews, it is important to appreciate career strategies that provide response to these characteristics. A further career strategies will be reviewed: Impression Management (section 2.2.1.2.). Deemed appropriate to careers in the creative and cultural industries (CCI) the researcher felt that inclusion of impression management would strengthen the study's exploration into career management in the CCI.

2.2.1.2. Impression Management

An additional career strategy that is somewhat expected to reflect the characteristics of creative work is Impression Management. Pearce and Vitak (2015: 4) describe impression management as "goal directed behaviours with the purpose of controlling or manipulating the attributions and impressions that others form". Impression Management involves the purposeful employment of behaviours to control attributes or impressions formed by others refers and / or influence how you are perceived by others (Tedeschi, 1981; Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Rosenfeld, Giacalone & Riordan, 1995; Bozeman & Kacmar, 1997; Bolino & Turnley, 2003).

Bolino & Turnley (2003) recognise that individuals employing impression management as a career strategy use tactics to influence the image held of themselves by their peers (See also: Kipmis & Schmidt, 1988), an act that Tedeschi (1981: 269) earlier referred to as "intentional manipulation". It is recognised that impression management manifests itself

in the individual highlighting particular characteristics, through both verbal and non-verbal means (Bromley, 1993), that they believe will positively benefit them through the impressions others have of them (Bolino & Turnley, 2003; Pearce & Vitak, 2015).

A study by Pearce and Vitak (2015) explores impression management in Azerbaijan with the context of the strong honor culture that is present. The honor culture as Pearce and Vitak (2015) discuss is a power structure, which individuals cannot create themselves, however, through their impression management, individuals can make inroads to shape and influence the honor bestowed on them. Pearce and Vitak (2015) recognise that the loss of honor can have devastating effects on an individual's ability and identity, hence the need to employ impression management. The loss of honor that the Azerbaijan study refers to is synonymous with that of artistic prestige and identity within the creative and cultural industries. Cultural workers refer to artistic identity with reference to selling out, the imagery of the poverty stricken artist (section 2.1.2.1.) and the influence of 'who you know' on creative careers. Thus suggesting the appropriateness and applicability of impression management as a career strategy in creative and cultural careers.

A recurring platform for impression management is social media. Social media is a well-known platform on which individuals can promote themselves and are able to widen their broadcast (Pearce & Vitak, 2010). Pearce and Vitak (2010: 4) in their study of honor in Azerbaijan cite Carr and Hayes (2015: 50) description of social media as "Internet-based channels that allow users to opportunistically interact and selective self-present, either in real-time or asynchronously, with both broad and narrow audiences who derive value from user-generated content and the perception of interaction with others". Here Carr and Hayes (2015) demonstrate the opportunity that social media presents in how individuals build and promote a particular impression, an opinion which is shared by O'Connor et al (2015) in their consideration of self-presentation. Through their social media, impressions are established as the public facing platform provides a full picture of the individual through the content they provide, their connections and the interpretations that can be made (Walther et al., 2008; Hogan, 2010; Trottier, 2012; Pearce & Vitak, 2015). Through the impression that can be built, individuals are expected to engage in a level of pre-meditated planning in which they are conscious of the role that their activity and outward facing

profile has on their impression, which leads to just as it is offline, a behavioural code (Pearce & Vitak, 2015).

In all, impression management involves the conscious and often manipulative management of how an individual is presented to and viewed by others. From which, the impression plays a role within their career, through the presentation of opportunities and connections that one has access to. As a career strategy, impression management is a tactical yet not often controllable goal due to the structure of power recognised by Pearce and Vitak (2015). The correlation with the honor culture in the CCI goes towards the suggestion that impression management would be an appropriate career strategy in the management of a creative career.

2.3. Researching Career Management in the Creative Industries (Chapter Two summary)

Chapter two began with a review of the literature surrounding the context of this study: the creative and cultural industries. The origins and meaning behind the two terminologies was explored first before the cultural worker and then creative work. From the review of the context, chapter two moved onto the review the phenomenon of the study: career management. Chapter 2.2., first explored career management and the environment in which it exists before reviewing the literature regarding career strategies, with particular attention to Greenhaus et al's., (2010) seven career strategies and other career management related concepts.

With no prior knowledge of career management in creative careers, there is no expectation as to whether or not career management exists and how (career management practices and career strategies). Hence the exploratory nature of this study (see section 3.1. and 3.2.). However, the literature reviewed in 2.1., and 2.2., has generated a number of thoughts, which in turn have led to the establishment of the study's research questions. The research questions will allow the study to satisfy its aim to explore the micro level detail of career management in the creative industries through analysis of empirical data concerning individual career management experience (see section 1.3.). The questions have arisen out

of the gaps identified in the literature (see section 1.2.) and will enable the study to make a strong contribution to theory, policy and practice (as discussed in 6.2., and 6.3.).

Research Question One: Which practices, if any, do cultural workers employ in their attempt to deal with the precarious nature of creative work?

Research question one is concerned with exploring in greater depth the well-known characteristic of creative work – precarious nature – in order to identify if and how cultural workers make attempts to deal with the inherent characteristic. Therefore, in order to explore and understand career management in the creative and cultural industries, it is important to understand the mechanisms and means by which cultural workers deal with the most prominent characteristic. Research question one therefore, explores the why and how the precarity is dealt with by cultural workers. In 2.1.2.2., the precarious nature of creative work was recognised, and the literature contains a wealth of examples and understanding of the precarious nature. However, the literature fails to recognise the attempts made by cultural workers to deal with this characteristic, thus the literature leads to research question one through the need to appreciate the response to the acknowledged (and somewhat accepted) characteristic.

Research Question Two: Do cultural workers employ career management practices in their creative careers and, if so, which practices can be identified?

In section 2.1.2.2., particular characteristics of creative work were recognised, such as the harsh entry barriers, social capital and prevalence of portfolio careers. Another typical characteristic of creative work was to engage in unpaid labour which is recognised as an opportunity in which to develop skills, knowledge and relationships which subsequently have a positive effect on the creative career (Jones, 1996; Ursell, 2000; Gill, 2007; Kennedy, 2010; Taylor, 2012). Such knowledge, demonstrates the potential for particular practices to be employed within a career in pursuit of a particular outcome or in support of said outcome. Career management practices are a necessary element of the career management process and if particular practices are identified, the evidence will go towards identifying how career management exists within creative careers. Therefore, whether such career management practices are prevalent and if so, which, is question two.

Research Question Three:: Do cultural workers display patterns of career management practices that can be interpreted as career strategies?

While elements of career management are not expected, such as career planning³⁸, particular behaviours and characteristics recognised in creative work suggest that career strategies may be present in the data. With consideration for the importance of networking, mentoring and ‘who you know’ on the creative career, as presented in 2.2., ‘relationship-orientated’ career strategies may be present if career strategies are employed. Creative recruitment is “sorted out by two attributes: *good interpersonal skills and being highly motivated* (Jones, 1996: 62, see also: Oakley, Sperry & Pratt, 2008; Taylor & Littleton, 2012) while creative employment is founded on reputation, relationships and a person’s profile (Jones, 1996; Taylor & Littleton, 2012). Therefore how such characteristics of creative work and employment are handled and dealt with by cultural workers will demonstrate whether or not career strategies are employed. In answering question three, the study will be able to enhance understanding of creative careers and build a narrative surrounding career management in the creative and cultural industries.

Research Question Four: Are there any differences between the career management practices of digital media workers and fine artists?

The final research question, in which fine artists and digital media workers approaches to career management is compared arose out of the two terminologies as presented in 2.1.1. In 2.1.1., it was appreciated that the basis for the creative industries differs from that of the cultural industries, and the literature in 2.1.2.1., indicates differences in cultural workers. The information presented in both sections leaves the researcher questioning whether the approach to career management will differ between the two groups, one of which is typically associated with creative industries (Digital Media workers) and the other cultural industries (Fine Artists). The rationale for the split in the two samples and decisions behind it is presented in section 3.4.1.

³⁸ Despite being a well utilised career management tool, cultural workers are recognised as avoiding career planning due to the need to be mobile and flexible to any changes around them (Taylor & Littleton, 2012; see also 2.1.2.2.).

As denoted in section 1.5. (Thesis Outline), the study will now present the methodology of the study, covering the methodological decisions (Section 3.2.), methods (Section 3.3.) and design (Section 3.4.) that led to the data collection and answering of the research questions.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Chapter Three will explain the process of data collection, with exploration and consideration of the research gap and research aims (Section 3.1.), the methodological decisions concerning research philosophy, approach and purpose as appropriate to the study (Section 3.2.) and the decisions regarding research methods (Section 3.3.).

3.1. Research Gap and Questions

As identified in chapter one, the creative and cultural industries are a large contributor to the UK economy in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employment (NESTA, 2008; Creative Skillset, 2010; DCMS, 2011). However, despite the accumulative economic strength, many sectors in the creative industries suffer from an oversupply of labour and poor career structures, which makes the phenomenon of career management in the creative industries an important topic to research and understand. While Chapter Two reviewed the extensive literature on creative work and employment and career management in traditional human resource management, neither set of literature recognised the attempts by cultural workers³⁹ to manage or direct their creative career. The gap in recognition leaves the micro-level of career management under-researched and with a distinct lack of perspective from the individual. This doctoral study aimed to address the gap in knowledge pertaining to the micro-level of career management in the creative industries through an exploratory study that will provide an understanding of the phenomenon of career management in the creative industries from creative individuals. Kumar (2011: 10) describes an exploratory study as “a study undertaken with the objective either to explore an area where little is known or to investigate the possibilities of undertaking a particular research study”. Despite the study involving investigation of an area of prior knowledge (careers in the creative and cultural industries), little was known about the intricacies of such careers and from the perspective of the individual. Therefore, with consideration of Kumar’s (2011) description, an exploratory study was wholly appropriate.

³⁹ In terms of the career management literature, there was a failure to recognise career management amongst self-employed individuals who mirror a number of the employment characteristics/experiences of a cultural worker.

The overall aim of this doctoral study was to explore the phenomenon of career management in the creative and cultural industries, with identification of the practices and strategies employed by creative individuals in the management of their career (the micro-level of career management). Therefore, a phenomenological approach was deemed most appropriate and will be justified in section 3.2.1., and 3.2.2. Exploration of the phenomenon of career management from an individual perspective involved the collection of first-hand, personal data that pertained to an individual's own experience of the phenomenon. Therefore the study's methodology consisted of data collection regarding the actual experience of career management, what career management meant and the subsequent effect of career management, rather than how the participant recalled the experience or the language they used to describe that experience. With consideration for the data that was required to answer the research questions, interviews were deemed the most appropriate means to gather the necessary data (see section 3.3.). Through the collection of data, the four research questions that emerged from the review of literature in Chapter Two were able to be answered, which would satisfy the study's aim:

1. Which practices, if any, do cultural workers employ in their attempt to deal with the precarious nature of creative work?
2. Do cultural workers employ career management practices in their creative careers and, if so, which practices can be identified?
3. Do cultural workers display patterns of career management practices that can be interpreted as career strategies?
4. Are there any differences between the career management practices of digital media workers and fine artists?

The following sections detail the decisions taken with regards to the process in which data would be collected (section 3.2. methodological discussion) and the means by which data was collected (section 3.3. research methods).

3.2. Methodological Discussion

A research methodology is "the procedural framework within which the research is conducted [and] describes an approach to a problem that can be put into practice in a research programme or process" (Remenyi et al., 1998: 28). Section 3.2., sets out the

methodological decisions that underpinned the study and enabled, through data collection, the answering of the four research questions presented in 3.1.

3.2.1. Research Perspective

The first methodological decision regarded research perspective, which consists of two assumptions to make sense of the phenomenon being studied: Ontology⁴⁰ and Epistemology⁴¹ (Lee, 2008; Matthews & Ross, 2010).

Ontology is “the way the social world and the social phenomena or entities that make it up are viewed” (Matthews & Ross, 2010: 24) and typically questions what is used to understand the theory of what exists (Hughes, 1990). Traditionally, ontology is characterised as two polarised positions: subjectivism or objectivism, with the choices described as sitting at opposite ends of the spectrum. A subjective ontology believes that reality is socially constructed, i.e. influenced by factors that are not observable, but occur through personal meaning and interpretation. Influenced by individuals, who as a result of events in their lives shape their beliefs and impressions of reality, a subjective perspective is strongly associated and relevant to research that is interested in understanding the ‘why of a reality’ from an individual and the individual’s own impression of that reality. A subjective ontology would typically be used in studies wishing to explore and translate events from the perspective of the individual associated with the phenomenon being studied. Objectivism, at the other end of the ontological perspective, is where researchers attempt to understand the how of an individual’s reality, believing that the world is made up of laws that exist independent of the individual. An objective perspective is detached from reality, and through its methodology attempts to identify the causation of a social phenomenon and the absolute truth. By seeking the truth, an objective perspective aims to evaluate and explain, with consideration for relationships between variables that create realities. The reality is then backed up by theory or derived from tests, from which external forces are identifiable, unlike the subjective perspective.

⁴⁰ Referred to as the theory of what exists in a specific social world.

⁴¹ The theory of knowledge, which considers the where and how to study in order to find out how we know what we know.

The study's ontology was subjectivism, which in relation to the nature of reality told the why of any given reality, and enabled the study to explore career experiences from the perspective of the individual to determine the 'why' of the career management practices of the creative individuals studied. The extreme end of subjectivism research believes that reality is socially constructed, "with the view that there are multiple realities" and no absolute truth (Lee, 2008: 60). Reality is individual to each person and influenced by other subjective realities personal to them, therefore such realities may be constructed and may not actually exist (Schwandt, 1994). While this study is interested in individual experiences and how individuals interpret such career experiences (hence the subjective perspective) the study does not follow social construction as the interpretations gathered are used to visualise patterns across the realities of the sample (see section 3.2.4.).

Following ontology is epistemology, defined as a "view and justification for what can be regarded as knowledge – what can be known and what criteria such knowledge must satisfy in order to be called knowledge rather than beliefs" (Blaikie, 1993: 6-7); in short, it is the how do we know what we know. Not independent of ontology, a study's epistemology is often decided as a result of ontology. Again, traditionally there are two approaches of epistemology: positivism and interpretivism. The latter of the two, studies humans' experience and their interactions in their social world, from which rich data is provided and understanding is generated (Rubenstein, 1981; Schwandt, 1994; Lee, 2008; Andrade, 2009). Hudson and Ozanne (1988: 511) state that "interpretivists take a more historical, particularistic approach to research [opposed to the positivists' generalistic approach]; that is, they study a particular phenomenon in a particular time and place. Rather than seeking to determine law-like regularities, the interpretivist seeks to determine motives, meanings, reasons and other subjective experiences that are time and context based".

Literature on interpretivism recognises that epistemology is constructed as the realities to which individuals refer constantly evolve due to the subjective nature of the reality as per an individual's perception and interpretation, and that ideologies of that reality are based on the individual's experiences and social interactions they identify with that reality (Berger & Luckman, 1967; Hudson & Ozanne, 1988; Schwandt, 1994). The constant evolution and subjective nature of interpretivism means that research generated under this epistemology is not necessarily conclusive. The interpretivist approach to research, therefore, seeks to

understand the variances of realities by identifying the influence the individual has upon their construction (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Hudson & Ozanne, 1988)

The alternative epistemology is positivism, which tests theory through empirical observations in order to explain things by cause and effect relationships. Suited to an objective ontology, positivism involves theories being accepted or rejected as a result of their correlations with the observed facts from the objective world (Johnson & Duberley, 2000: 40). Johnson and Duberley (2000: 40) quote Pugh (1983) to describe the motive of positivism to develop “sophisticated, replicable data collection techniques and careful attention to sampling to ensure that we can develop generalizable propositions that give insight or have predictive powers”. Positivism was deemed inappropriate for this study due to the perspective’s narrowing focus and association with quantitative methods⁴². As a result, it was recognised that positivism would fail to recognise the bigger picture that a subjective ontology was striving to generate (career management across the creative and cultural industries) due to the perspective’s focus on the relationships and interjections that create the reality and statistics. Positivism would not be conducive to a study exploring subjective interpretations and non-quantifiable data as Johnson and Duberley (2000) believe that positivism desires to emulate the natural sciences, in which the perspective equates humans to animals.

Rather than attempting to pursue a new or test a theory, the study seeks to, from the individual experiences and perceptions, draw patterns. Underlying the approach to this study’s research is a belief that reality is constructed and, to understand reality, individuals’ perceptions of reality would need to be analysed (Schwandt, 1994). Therefore, the study is underpinned by a subjectivist ontology and an interpretivist epistemology, which enabled the research to uncover the behaviour, experience and insight regarding individual career management in the creative and cultural industries. Not expecting all individuals sampled to use the same career management practices and strategies, patterns across the data with respect to “the context or core” (the act of managing one’s career) were expected (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988: 511). Appreciative of the emerging nature of research, utilising an interpretivist approach in a study like this enables the participants to drive the research and

⁴² Quantitative methods will be discussed next in section 3.2.2., but their association to positivism is typically due to their appropriateness to larger studies.

is more complementary of themes emerging throughout the process (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988: 513).

3.2.2. Approach

Following perspective, there were two approaches to research for consideration, namely qualitative and quantitative, which should not be viewed “as rigid, distinct categories, polar opposites or dichotomies” (Creswell, 2013: 3), but as “alternative cultures” (Mahoney & Goertz, 2006: 227).

The first alternative culture of the two approaches lies in the data that was produced. A qualitative approach collects data in the natural setting to produce subjective, personal interpretations of the phenomenon from individual meaning with consideration for the language used by the participant (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Creswell, 1998; Fitzgerald et al., 2008)) and is concerned with understanding, identifying trends and insight. Conversely, a quantitative approach produces data in the form of counts or measurements that is comparable with relationships between two components being demonstrated visually (Hopkins, 2000; Creswell, 2013). Fast, economical, easily applied to a variety of scenarios and with statistical precision, a quantitative approach is typically used for “testing objective theories by examining the relationships among variables” (Creswell, 2013: 4). However, the static collection of data limits a quantitative approach to render it inflexible and rigid as it is unable to understand processes or human significances (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991).

Further difference lies in how the approaches are employed. A qualitative approach traditionally employs methods of “case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional and visual texts” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994: 2; Creswell, 2013), while a quantitative approach typically employs surveys, polls and systematic observations. Albeit different in their methods of collecting data, both qualitative and quantitative approaches strive to produce valid and high quality research based on a strong dataset. Whether a study takes a qualitative or quantitative approach to research is determined by: (1) the collection of data type (statistical vs. language) and (2) data collection method (static questions where measurement can be made vs. freer questions that generate a conversation) (Matthews & Ross, 2010). In addition, decisions regarding a study’s approach to research must not be made without consideration of the

study's philosophical assumptions. Walker (2005) recognises that philosophy drives method and assumes the following association: a positivist perspective to a quantitative approach and interpretivism with a qualitative approach to research. However, philosophical assumptions and approaches to research are not "equivalent and interchangeable terms" (Andrade, 2009: 43), as Klein and Myers (2001: 69) identified that "qualitative research may or may not be interpretive depending upon the philosophical assumptions of the researcher". Therefore, assumptions must not be made and the researcher must appreciate the effect their research philosophy has upon their approach to research.

A qualitative approach to research was deemed appropriate for this study as it supported the study's aim to understand the phenomenon of career management from the individual's perspective and enabled the collection of personal and subjective data. Justification for the use of a qualitative approach came from the complementary dynamics of the approach to the study's objectives. The first complementary dynamic was the ability of a qualitative approach to describe a person's behaviours, perceptions and attitudes which allowed exploration of the individual experiences creative individuals had within their career and their career management (Holloway, 1997). Secondly, the approach's exploration of language, individual meaning and focus on people's experiences and actions generated a personable nature and allowed for a degree of freedom within the data collection that was conducive to the aims and requirements of the study (Fitzgerald et al., 2008; Creswell, 2013). The third complementary dynamic of a qualitative approach was that as the study required the collection of personal, subjective data, the rigid structure and statistical nature of a quantitative approach would not have been supportive of the aims and objectives of this study as such data would not easily (or appropriately) be quantified. Furthermore, the combination of interpretivism with a qualitative approach was complementary to the pursuit of establishing a subjective meaning of the phenomenon of career management by individuals.

3.2.3. Nature of Inquiry

Nature of inquiry involves consideration of the relationship that the research has with theory, and traditionally follows two approaches. The first approach, deductive, involves

the collection and analysis of data determined by theory, whereby the researcher deduces a hypothesis from existing theory and subjects it to empirical scrutiny. While the second nature of inquiry, inductive, views theory as something that emerges from the data collection, with the researcher making observations from the data collected, which often leads on to theory. As with previous methodological decisions, there are claims of correlation between nature of inquiry, research philosophy and approach to research, which has led to the imagery that the nature of inquiry is married to a particular philosophical approach, i.e. deductive to positivism (and quantitative) and inductive to interpretivism (and qualitative) (Patton, 2002). With consideration of the marriage of philosophical assumptions and approaches to research with nature of inquiry, it would be assumed that the study would follow an inductive nature. However, while data analysis was indeed inductive - analysis involved observations to be made from the data that led on to theoretical discussions - the data analysed was gathered with tools⁴³ and methods designed as a result of the literature reviewed in Chapter Two, and therefore the study was not wholly inductive. As the study was not testing a hypothesis or determining new theory, the study was not deductive or inductive. The difference in nature between collection and analysis led the nature of inquiry relative to this study to be that of abduction.

Abduction is becoming increasingly prevalent in social science research and is championed by Peirce in Svennevig (2001: 1) as the only truly knowledge-extending means of inferencing which complements the traditional modes of inference, deduction and induction, but is “qualitatively different” from them. As a nature of inquiry, abduction moves between theory and data, whereby research is conducted in order to learn more in consideration with existing research. Taking its case from rule and result, abduction develops new knowledge as a result of observed fact and circumstance, which then allows researchers to interpret meaning and make interpretative constructions as a result of raw data (Lipscomb, 2012). Abduction allows for an iterative process, whereby a phenomenon can be studied in light of existing theory with new theory derived from data, as it involves “developing theoretical explanations based on emerging empirical observations” (Modell, 2009: 213). From the quasi-inductive nature of how the data will be collected and analysed, abduction was determined to be an appropriate nature of inquiry. Appropriateness of

⁴³ The research questions and interview schedule.

abduction to this study lies in the interpretation of data, which has been shaped by prior knowledge and the nature of inquiry's ability to determine causations and results of subjective meanings (Boutilier & Becher, 1995; Svennevig, 2001; Lipscomb, 2012). Further appropriateness was found in the fact that abduction is "essentially [a] pragmatic mode of reasoning" (Givon, 1989: 242), which "involves contextual judgments of relevance and significance" (Svennevig, 2001: 4).

From the nature of abduction, the study was able to categorise the subjective data logically into meaningful interpretations of individualistic experience and understanding, from which abstract patterns and comparisons with theory were made.

3.2.4. Research Strategies

With a qualitative approach to research and an abductive nature of inquiry, the study considered three strategies of research.

The first strategy, narrative research was considered for its ability to make generalisations of a phenomenon through the analysis of text and speech⁴⁴ as participants told stories of their lived experience (Sandelowski, 1991; Elbaz-Luwisch, 1997; Czarniawska, 2004; Chase, 2005; Moen, 2006; Polkinghorne, 2007; Reissman, 2008; Creswell, 2013). Considered initially, due to its powerful nature to understand the phenomenon of career management from the natural recount of the participant's story of career management, narrative research was later discounted as the researcher was more interested in the behaviours, actions and individual influences than the meaning that the individual attached to the phenomenon, although their interpretation was important.

The second strategy for consideration was grounded theory, which Creswell (2013: 14) defined as a "design of inquiry from sociology in which a researcher derives a general abstract theory of process, action or interaction grounded in the view of participants". Within a grounded theory strategy, a researcher would collect data with no theoretical background or prior knowledge, in order to "move beyond description and to generate or discover a theory" (Creswell, 2007: 63). As the researcher had already reviewed existing

⁴⁴ Both written and spoken

theory and knowledge, which informed the study's research questions, grounded theory was not applicable to the study and therefore no longer considered.

The third and final consideration was phenomenology. Phenomenological research is described by its founder Ulrich Sonnemann as a "descriptive recording of immediate subjective experience as reported" (Patton, 2002: 104). A phenomenological approach aims to develop a deeper understanding of the an individual lived experience by exploring and analysing "how they perceive it, describe it, feel about it, remember it, make sense of it and talk about it with others" (Patton, 2002: 104). Through such deeper explorations of the experience, a phenomenological approach ignores the statistical or factual natures of phenomenon but develops an interpretation of the experience with consideration for how that interpretation has been framed and how it sits in the wider context of the phenomenon. Concerned with digging deep into the experiences several individuals have had, with consideration of what they have experienced and how, phenomenology aims to understand the nature and make-up of that phenomenon (Van Maanen, 1990; Patton, 2002). Creswell (2013: 13) explains that phenomenology involves "the researcher describing the lived experience of individuals about a phenomenon as described by participants", from which the researcher looks for commonality, thus allowing for the generation of theories that may be applicable to a certain context (see also, Moustakas, 1994). With consideration for how phenomenology would enable a deep understanding of the subjective experience of individual behaviours and practices towards career management, phenomenology was determined as the research strategy most appropriate to this study.

A phenomenological approach provided the study with rich data that delved deep into the lived experience of the individual's career management in the creative and cultural industries to generate solid, subjective interpretations of career management experiences. From these individual interpretations, abstract patterns could be drawn to provide an understanding and insight of the phenomenon/ experience within a wider representation. From the data collected using a phenomenological approach, the study's research questions would be answered sufficiently, whilst complementing the study's interpretivist research philosophy. Therefore, a phenomenological approach was deemed appropriate for this study.

3.3. Research Methods

In advance of presenting the study's research methods and design to explain how the methodological decisions influenced the design of data collection, it is important to summarise the methodological decisions that were made.

To summarise, the following decisions were made:	
Ontology	Subjective
Epistemology	Interpretative
Nature of inquiry	Abduction
Research Strategy	A qualitative approach to research using a strategy of phenomenology

Following the methodological underpinning of a study, decisions regarding data collection must be made in order to satisfy the aims of the research and ensure the researcher's ability to answer the research questions. Therefore, Section 3.3., will explore the methods employed in this particular research study with consideration of how the research was designed and conducted.

Research design involves consideration of the "practicalities of doing research... and ultimately the purpose of your research design is to outline how you can generate empirical evidence to examine your research question" (Lee, 2008: 180). With an interpretivist philosophy, a qualitative approach and abductive nature of inquiry, a number of research methods were appropriate for employment in this doctoral study but such decisions must be based on the philosophical approach and the purpose for which the data was to be gathered⁴⁵. Therefore, the chosen research method should be conducive to the aims of the research through the effective capture of information that can be interpreted with such aims in mind. In support of the study's research strategy, the following research methods were considered: interviews; focus groups; gathering documents relative to research questions

⁴⁵ The choice of research method is determined by the type of data required to answer the research questions and appropriate sample size.

and asking questions of the documents; narrative and participant or non-participant observation (Patton, 2002; Lee, 2008; Matthews & Ross, 2010).

3.3.1. Research Methods - Interviews

As a research method, interviews are particularly popular in qualitative research due to their flexibility and adaptability (Lee, 2008). Interviews facilitate face-to-face conversations between the interviewer and interviewee, from which data is collected direct from the individual perspective that “elicit[s] information, feelings and opinions from the interviewee using questions and interactive dialogue” (Matthews & Ross, 2010: 219, see also: Patton, 2002; Taylor, 2005; Lee, 2008).

In order to facilitate the conversation, particular design decisions must be made. The driver of the interview must be considered and the level of structure that the questioning must be determined. In terms of driver of the interview, Matthews and Ross (2010) identify two options: (1) a participant interview, where the interviewer drives the interview and asks the questions, or (2) an informant interview, where the participant takes control of the interview by telling their story with no or little direction from the interviewer. Secondly, the level of structure given to the questioning is referred to as the interview style, of which there are three choices: unstructured; semi-structured and structured, each with their own merits in the collection of appropriate or required data.

The first of the three styles, the structured interview, follows a pre-determined set of questions (for which a number of options are provided) that are carried out in the same way and with the same prompts at each interview during data collection (Lee, 2008; Matthews & Ross, 2010). As there are no exceptions or alterations during the data collection, comparable data is collected, which led Lee (2008) to believe that the structured interview is more quantitative than qualitative. At the opposite end of the scale is the unstructured interview, where the interviewer has no questions arranged prior to the interview, and instead the level of questioning is structured around predetermined topics that enables the participant to talk about the area in their own way and drive the data that is collected (Matthews & Ross, 2010). Lee (2008: 218) suggests that unstructured interviews should be used when “the researcher feels that even a basic structure will ‘impose’ a particular worldwide view on interviewees and prejudice access to their internal views,

feelings and experiences". The final style is the semi-structured interview, which takes properties from both styles and amalgamates them (Merriam, 2002). The semi-structured interview follows a set of questions used for each interview, however, it allows for deviations and additional questioning when appropriate as per the answers provided by the interviewee (Matthews & Ross, 2010). Potentially, a best of both worlds style, the semi-structured interview combines the strengths of the unstructured interview, in terms of the participant's control of how they answer, and from the structured interview as it allows for the generation of comparable data as a result of the generic questions asked of all participants.

In summary, interviews as a research method enable conversations between two parties that gather first-hand information, from which meanings and interpretations can be made of the social phenomenon being studied.

3.3.2. Research Methods - Focus Groups

Focus groups involve "the simultaneous participation of a number (usually around five to eight) of respondents, along with a moderator or facilitator" (Lee, 2008: 221), where participants with a common interest⁴⁶ in the phenomenon being studied are brought together (Matthews & Ross, 2010). The moderator or facilitator focuses the group's discussion on one or a number of topics to generate interaction and conversation between the group participants, and therefore must be able to manage group dynamics and act as observer as well as interviewer. Often viewed as group interviews, focus groups must not be used as a money or time saving resource but because the researcher is interested in the social construction of the group and the contextual considerations regarding the phenomenon being studied (Lee, 2008).

Focus groups as a research method were not considered any further in this study due to concern that the focus group environment would stifle data collection. As recognised in the literature, traditionally career management is recognised as a taboo subject within the creative industries, which would not be appropriate within a focus group environment. Furthermore, the research is interested in the individual experience, rather than the way

⁴⁶ Common interests include employment in a particular organisation or department, or personal views.

that experience is socially constructed by the group and therefore, the group dynamic would not be conducive to the data required.

3.3.3. Research Methods - Participant and Non-Participant Observation

Observation involves data collection being conducted in a live experience of the phenomenon being studied, with Merriam (2002: 13) describing the data collected as a “first-hand encounter with a phenomenon of interest rather than a second-hand account obtained in an interview”. Matthews and Ross (2010: 257) state that “the main purpose of participant observation is to achieve intimate knowledge of a group of people who are the subjects of the research and for that knowledge to be gathered in the group’s natural setting”. Observation occurs as either participant or non-participant, with the difference lying in the level of involvement that a researcher has in the observations. In participant observation, the researcher actively engages and participates in the phenomenon being studied, typically becoming a participant themselves. In non-participant observation, the researcher has a lower level of involvement, studying the phenomenon without engagement or contact with the participants, often from behind a one way mirror or via camera recordings. Data is made up of observations such as “fieldwork descriptions of activities, behaviours, actions, conversations, interpersonal interactions, organisational or community process or any other aspects of observable human experience” (Taylor, 2005: 103) recorded⁴⁷ by the researcher in the form of field notes (see also, Patton, 2002).

Observation occurs in two ways: (1) overtly, where observational data is collected with the participants’ knowledge and awareness of the researcher in the setting or (2) covertly, when the participant is unaware that the researcher is observing them (Lee, 2008; Matthews & Ross, 2010). However, researchers must be aware of the potential implications of observation as a research method. Overt observation can lead to the Hawthorne effect, whereby the participant’s behaviour is affected by the observation (Matthews & Ross, 2010), and covert observation can create ethical issues and “paralyse” research if the researcher gains wrongful access or establishes negative bargains in the research setting (Lee, 2008: 224). In either instance of observation as a research method, the researcher must ensure that no harm is caused to the participants or themselves. With regards to this study, the

⁴⁷ Either during or shortly after the observation.

researcher would only be able to conduct covert observation as the results would be skewed if the participant was aware of the observations and the Hawthorne effect came into play.

Participant and non-participant observation was deemed inappropriate for this study on the basis of two facts. Firstly, career management is not an easily observable activity, therefore, the relevant data to answer the research questions would not be attainable. In addition to this, previously to this study, not enough was known about career management in the creative and cultural industries, therefore, identifying activities and setting in which to observe career management would not have been reliable. Secondly, the research is interested in the experience and individual perspective (reflection) of career management activity rather than the operation of career management activity. Therefore, observing individuals in the act of applying for jobs, or in their attempts to manage their career through expected practices, strategies and behaviours as the literature recognises would not generate the subjective data required to explore the phenomenon of career management in the creative and cultural industries.

3.3.4. Research Methods - Documents

Documents as a research method involves using “written, oral, visual or cultural artifacts” (Merriam, 2002: 13) that were previously produced, as data, in which the researcher analyses “excerpts, quotations or entire paragraphs” (Patton, 2002: 4, see also: Matthews & Ross, 2010). Formally known as secondary data, such as official government documents, white papers, private sources and individual data construction through letters, diaries and other forms of personal creations, and of course the mass media (Lee, 2008). Document data is increasingly available as a result of the internet, which encourages access and has decreased costs (Lee, 2008; Matthews & Ross, 2010).

While document data provides insight and clues into a phenomenon where the researcher is unobtrusive in the collection of the data, researchers must consider the practical implications of using documents generated by a secondary source and not for the purposes of their research. Before employing documents as a research method, four characteristics of documents presented by Scott (1990) must be considered: *authenticity* (who wrote it and is the document real?), *credibility* (is the document a private document created for a particular use, and therefore could contain bias and for what audience was the document

written?), *representation* (consideration of the idiosyncrasy) and *meaning* (is the document understandable?).

Documents as a research method was not considered for this study due to the lack of prior research; secondary data on the micro-level of career management from the individual perspective is non-existent.

3.3.5. Research Methods - Narrative

Narrative as data is defined as “the depiction of a sequence of past events as they appear in present time to the narrator, after they have been processed, analysed and constructed into stories” (Matthews & Ross, 2010: 265). Concerned with the collection of how participants tell a story, narrative data is “representations of series of events”, which attempt to recognise the significance of such events (Matthews & Ross, 2010: 265). Narrative as a research method was initially considered due to the subjective and interpretative nature of the data that is collected, i.e. an investigation of truth and fact within a certain context (Matthews & Ross, 2010: 267-8). The methods depiction of past events was considered with recognition of how the data generated would demonstrate the individual’s reality of career management in the creative industries. However, narrative was dismissed as a research method for this study, due to the process of storytelling, which could encourage the limitations associated with qualitative research methods and was not deemed appropriate for the gathering of data required to answer the research questions.

3.3.6. Research Method Decision

As mentioned, focus groups, participant and non-participant observation and documents were immediately disregarded as the methods were not conducive to the aim of the study and, after consideration, narrative data was deemed inappropriate.

Interviews were deemed the most appropriate research method as the provision of valuable first-hand data would enable the research study’s aims and questions to be satisfied. A semi-structured (participant) interview was employed to allow the interviewer to probe further into the career experiences of the participants, whilst ensuring that the relevant information to answer the research questions was gathered. Further appropriateness of the interview as the study’s research method is that “interviews are widely used in

phenomenological research” and semi-structured interviews in particular are suited to interpretive phenomenological research (King & Horrocks, 2010: 182). In order to complement the data gathered through the semi-structured interview, the critical incident technique (CIT) was embedded into the interview research method. Section 3.3.6.i., will now explain the use of the critical incident technique.

3.3.6.i. Critical Incident Technique

Critical incident technique (CIT) is “a set of procedures” in which participant’s direct observations can be “in such a way as to facilitate their potential usefulness in solving practical problems” (Flanagan, 1954: 327). Popularised by Flanagan (1954) in his study of an aviation programme in the United States in 1941, CIT was used to understand and explore the reasons behind why the eliminated pilot candidates failed to learn to fly (Gremler, 2004; Butterfield et al., 2005). Widely used by a number of scholars and in a number of scenarios, Sharoff (2008: 307) describes the critical incident technique as a “powerful methodological instrument that can foster reflection and promote personal expression”. However, like many qualitative research methods, the critical incident technique is time consuming, laborious, and data is dependent upon participant involvement⁴⁸ (Hettlage & Steinlin, 2006; Sharoff, 2008). Despite these issues, the critical incident technique remains a suitable technique appropriate to this study.

The objective of the critical incident technique “is to gain understanding of the incident from the perspective of the individual, taking into account cognitive, affective and behavioural elements” as anecdotal information (what happened but not why it happened) is turned into data (Chell, 1998: 56, see also: Woolsey, 1986; Hettlage & Stein, 1996; Fitzgerald et al., 2008). However, the critical incident technique is “less equipped to explore situations where there was no decision or act” (Sharoff, 2008: 306). Therefore, researchers must be prepared to glean little or no data from situations of indecision or that the participant has blocked from their subconscious. The researcher was mindful of the potential for no data to be gathered with respect to career management reflections, therefore using the semi-structured interview enabled the researcher to adapt to situations to positively support data collection by providing opportunities to go off script and encourage

⁴⁸ Which can lead to fabrication and/or failure to recall (Care, 1996; Urquhart et al., 2003).

(probe) experiences for detail. The objective and dynamic of the critical incident technique made it attractive and then appropriate to this doctoral study. Supportive of the interview as a research method, the critical incident technique enables exploration at greater depth, which is particularly appropriate to this exploratory study as it supports the collection of implicit data through further structure and focus (Flanagan, 1954; Chell, 1998; Gremler, 2004; Sharoff, 2008). Through the employment of the critical incident technique within the interviews, participant experience was more focused around the data that was required to answer the study's research questions. Additionally, as the critical incident technique collects retrospective data, the researcher would be able to understand the effect such career related events had on the participant and subsequently their career management (Sharoff, 2008). The critical incident technique also complemented the methodological underpinning⁴⁹ of this study and was expected to have a positive effect on the data that is collected (Chell, 1998; Creswell, 1998; Gremler, 2004; Butterfield et al., 2005; Sharoff, 2008).

The critical incident technique was applied to the doctoral study following Flanagan's (1954) five steps of utilisation, as below.

1. *Develop a general aim, which specifies the 'to do' and 'not to do' in the research:*

The interview schedule was constructed with the aim to gather exploratory data regarding the participants' career experiences, practices and strategies of career management. From the general aim, the use of the critical incident technique could be evaluated.

2. *Create a plan and specification:*

To ensure efficient collection of data, specific instructions should be given regarding the type of information intended to be gathered. Therefore, participants were told at the beginning of the interview that the researcher was interested in their personal recall of their career experiences and practices, with reflection on what the experience or practice meant to them, their career and subsequent career management. The participants were told that particular events and/or incidents that may or may not have occurred will be

⁴⁹ the critical incident technique complements an interpretivist perspective, phenomenological approach and qualitative approach to research

discussed during the interview, and that the participant should be as explicit in their recall of the incident and its effect on their career as possible.

3. *Be aware of your [researcher] involvement and influence in the participant's construction of data:*

To ensure that the researcher did not influence the data collected, terms and concepts from the literature or standard 'business speak' were avoided.

4. *Increased the usefulness of data with as little sacrifice as possible:*

The data was analysed using QSR's NVivo software and thematic analysis (See Section 3.4.3) was utilised to enable the data to be categorised into themes (nodes) that would allow detailed analysis and exploration of the generalisations and comparisons between participants.

Step five: interpreting and reporting the data involves consideration of how the findings are analysed to ensure there is no potential for bias⁵⁰ and through the presentation of the findings, the reader would be able to judge the conclusions that are made from the data. Therefore, as will be reported in section 3.4.3., the data was analysed and presented in a thematic nature and in a transparent and clearly described fashion.

The critical incident technique was applied within the qualitative semi-structured interview, with a ratio of four semi-structured interview questions to three critical incident technique questions. As a result of the literature review and findings from the pilot study, the following themes would be explored in the interview: about you; career management; brand management; reputation; reciprocity in the creative industries; relationship management; networking; and the future. Reputation, reciprocity and networking were explored as critical incidents, as the participants were asked about their experience of each and data was to be collected on how the experience occurred and its effect. The split between question styles, as demonstrated in the interview schedule (see appendix A.2),

⁵⁰ The researcher was conscious of their role within the data analysis, and therefore recognised any potential limitations upon the data and presented the findings by their association to answering the research questions.

responds appropriately to the type of questions being asked in order to enable the most effective data to be collected, as it was not always appropriate to use CIT.

3.3.7. Research Methods Summary

In summary, the interview method supported by the critical incident technique was employed in the study as means of data collection. With consideration of the methodological and methods decisions undertaken within this study, it was then important to consider the design of the study and how such data collection would take place.

3.4. Research Design

In conjunction with the methodological decisions, research must be designed prior to data collection to ensure purposeful and effective collection of reliable data. Section 3.4., will detail the design considerations for this study from sample (3.4.1.), through to analysis (3.4.3.), followed by the ethical considerations of the study.

Data was collected through 36 qualitative interviews conducted between November 2013 and January 2014; 34 were conducted face-to-face and two were conducted over the phone at the participants' request (for more, see section 3.4.1.). As illustrated in the previous section, the semi-structured interviews explored the individuals' career experiences using the critical incident technique in order to gather subjective data regarding their experience through focused incidents. A copy of the interview schedule used in the research interviews can be found in Appendix 2.

3.4.1. Sample

As mentioned earlier, the sample consisted of 36 cultural workers⁵¹ based in Scotland. Following the definition by Cunningham (2001) of the cultural worker being a specialist, the sample was recruited on the following criteria: to be actively working in the creative and cultural industries (CCI), based in Scotland and willing to engage in a discussion regarding their career management experiences. Within the sample of 36, it was intended to provide opportunity for which the data could be compared on the basis of creative

⁵¹ Further information on the participants whom make up the sample can be found in appendix A.5.

industries vs cultural industries. Therefore, a further criteria of working in the CCI was that the participant either had to be a fine artist or a digital media worker (see 2.1.2.1. for more information on the two cultural workers). Through the two sub samples, the study would be able to explore whether career management was universally engaged across the CCI or sectorial. As described in 2.1.2.1., the two sectors were chosen due to their representation of the two terminologies, with the fine artists typically aligned to the cultural industries and the digital media workers arising from the new inclusive, creative industries. The comparison of the sample was achieved through a 50:50 split⁵² of participants from either sector, with the researcher being aware of participant numbers once she reached 12 on either side and using sampling and recruitment techniques to maintain the split in participant numbers (see further on for more information). Further consistency in sample was achieved through active identification of participants from either group as an attraction mechanism to invite participants to the study (see figure 3.2. below) and through snowball techniques in recruitment that encouraged participants to pass on the opportunity to participate to peers, friends etc, in the same circle. To maintain anonymity of the participants as it is recognised that the creative and cultural industries is a small community, the information in appendix A.5., is limited to location, gender and employment status to ensure that participants cannot be formally identified.

The method of sampling was purposive convenience; a technique which is a combination of purposive sampling and convenience sampling and often regarded as a hybrid of purposive sampling. Primarily used in qualitative studies, purposive convenience sampling involved the collection of data from non-representative individuals of a large population, of which deliberate choices have been made based on participant qualities. In this case, the sampling technique was appreciative of the fact that the CCI hosts a large population (of which some 68,500 people are employed in Scotland alone⁵³) and that a study of this scale was not going to be representative of the whole population and the deliberate choices made included: the status of work within the CCI; the two sub sectors and the Scotland base. There were instances when the researcher had to decline participation due

⁵² The researcher was mindful that an even split was the only way to minimise bias between the two sub samples

⁵³ <https://www.myworldofwork.co.uk/my-career-options/creative> Accessed 31.07.16

to the individual's inaccurate fit to the participant criteria (examples include, an academic who is a fine artist part time and a managing director of a digital media and design company). The purposive convenience sampling technique draws on "samples that are both easily accessible and willing to participate in a study", in order to answer a study's research questions (Teddlie & Yu, 2007: 79).

Purposive convenience sampling was appropriate to this study as the technique is centered on the research identifying what it wants to know – in this study, the experience and application of career management - and then searching for individuals who can and are willing to provide such information (Bernard, 2002; Lewis & Sheppard, 2006; Tongco, 2007). The dynamics of the purposive convenience sampling technique supported the study to explore experiences from individuals with particular characteristics (they must be employed in either digital media or fine art within the creative industries and based in Scotland) without the employment of sampling restrictions based on participant sex, age or background. Further appropriateness is recognised in the technique's allowance for self-recruitment, which enhanced the representation of the research sample and the data to be collected.

Recruitment of the sample involved directing the research to individuals that the researcher picked out as meeting the sample criteria in a direct fashion, through online methods⁵⁴ or by self-recruitment, whereby the research and the chance to participate was advertised to individuals through advertisement on industry websites,⁵⁵ such as Creative Clyde,⁵⁶ Creative Scotland⁵⁷ and Ambition.⁵⁸ The dynamics of the sampling technique allowed the researcher to recruit particular individuals, while the self-recruitment element widened the scope of the study's sample. Self-recruitment was encouraged through the employment of recruitment techniques through Twitter, whereby particular individuals could be identified and subsequently recruited through directed tweets (see Figure 7). Figure 7 demonstrates the way in which the researcher recruited participants through Twitter by the function of a hashtag (#DigitalMediaWorkers and #FineArtists) and by tagging particular Twitter

⁵⁴ social media, email or website enquiry

⁵⁵ All advertisements via these channels can be found in Appendix 4.

⁵⁶ <http://www.creativeclyde.com/>

⁵⁷ <http://www.creativescotland.com/>

⁵⁸ [www.http://getambition.com/](http://getambition.com/)

accounts which may be followed by the type of participant the researcher is hoping to attract (e.g. @CreativeScots).



Figure 7: Open Recruitment - Tweet screenshots direct from researcher's Twitter account on 24.10.2013

The use of Twitter satisfied the application of purposive convenience sampling as a randomised selection of participants from clearly defined participant specifics were able to self-recruit from (Figure 8). Proving to be successful, Twitter recruited a quarter of the sample and the recruitment activity also generated an online presence for the doctoral study (#CMgtinCI).



Figure 8: Direct Recruitment - Tweet screenshots direct from researcher's Twitter account on 24.10.2013

Overall, the sample provided a strong dataset, from which reliable and valid data could be gathered and interesting analysis was made. How the data was analysed will be

discussed in 3.4.3. Before the sample of 36 cultural workers were interviewed, a pilot study was conducted in order to strength the reliability of data and test out the emerging themes from the literature.

3.4.2. Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted in July and August 2013 to test the proposed interview schedule as a result of the emerging themes from the literature. The researcher was conscious of the individual nature of the phenomenon studied and wanted to ensure ambiguity surrounding the questions was minimised in order to strengthen the data and allow patterns in the subjective data to emerge. A copy of the interview schedule used in the pilot study can be found in Appendix 3.

The pilot study consisted of a sample based on the same sampling decisions as presented in 3.4.1. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a sample of six: three fine artists and three digital media workers, which were analysed using NVivo (see 3.4.3. for more on NVivo). Although a smaller representation, the pilot study provided a valuable opportunity to test the questions on cultural workers. The pilot study provide the following influences on the final study interview schedule (see appendix 2 for the final study interview schedule).

One section of the interview schedule was removed as a result of the pilot study. Employability was expected to be of importance to cultural workers as a result of recent research reviewed in 2.1.2.2.iii., where it was found that cultural workers desire increased employability provision within creative education. However, the pilot study found that the questions on employability were stifling, confusing and of less relevance to the participant's career management experiences than first considered.

As a result of the pilot study, three additions were made. First, a timeline exercise was introduced at the beginning of the interview. The researcher found that the background questions regarding the participant's career, educational history and employment status stifled the flow of conversation and restricted the relationship that was built up between the researcher and participant. The act of illustrating their career over a timeline therefore

enabled the researcher to explore these areas in a more informal manner, providing opportunity for probing whilst the participant was at ease and led to the participant exploring details of their career that they may otherwise have not.

The pilot study was based on the literature reviewed in 2.1., and confirmed the existence the typical characteristics of a creative career that were reviewed in 2.1.2.2. However, enough detail on the experience and the effect of said experience was not derived from the pilot study. For example, the questioning on multiple employment⁵⁹ confirmed that the cultural workers engaged in multiple employment and found it beneficial, however, it did not provide detail on the why and how of the multiple employment. Therefore, the researcher was keen to engage in an alternative form questioning within the semi-structured interview method that would elicit greater detail of expected career experiences derived from both the literature and pilot study. The use of the critical incident technique as reviewed in 3.3.6.i., was introduced to explore incidents in a creative career in a detailed fashion and complemented the semi-structured interview questions.

The third addition to the final interview schedule as a result of the pilot study was the addition of questions regarding brand. Five of the pilot study participants referred to their reputation as a 'brand', citing the need to focus attention on first creating a brand and subsequently maintaining it, which the researcher wanted to explore further.

The pilot study was a useful exercise in which the fore mentioned influences played a supportive role on the data that is presented in chapter 4. The pilot study was also a useful opportunity in which to test out the analysis of data using the NVivo software, which will be explored in further detail in the following section.

3.4.3. Data Analysis

The data was analysed using QSR's NVivo software,⁶⁰ which allows researchers to interrogate data in a systematic manner using queries and tools that tease out detail from a bigger picture. NVivo is particularly beneficial for qualitative studies as it enables the

⁵⁹ Appendix A.2: "Do you currently engage in any other work?"

⁶⁰ <http://www.qsrinternational.com/>

researcher to systemically and mechanically decipher the data and categorise it into relevant themes that are decided pre- or during analysis (see appendix 6 for a copy of the study's coding scheme). As per the coding scheme (appendix 6), the codes were generated from two sources: (1) themes that emerged from the literature reviewed in 2.1.; (2) emerging themes arising from the data itself. As the researcher conducted and transcribed the data themselves, they had the advantage of knowing the data well before analysis and therefore, were able to record in advance any prevalent themes that would should be categorised. Although the coding scheme⁶¹ (categories the data was reduced into) was created in advance of analysis as a result of the themes explored or arisen in the interviews, the coding system was iterative with new codes included as they become apparent during analysis.

Thematic analysis was used, whereby the researcher reduced the data into the codes from which patterns were established and recorded. Thematic analysis was appropriate to this exploratory study as it enabled patterns relevant to the phenomenon to be identified, from which the study's research questions could be answered. The data was analysed by interview, which allowed the researcher to explore each interview in depth, across all of the codes and therefore minimised the opportunity for data to be coded twice. Analysis by interview rather than by code, allowed the researcher to immerse themselves again with the data and get to know the participant again, from which aspects of nuance and interpretation could be identified.

3.4.4. Research Ethics

The researcher sought clearance from the University of Stirling's Ethics⁶² Committee on 27th July 2013 and approval was given on 6th August 2013. The research upheld the University's stringent research ethics in its design, conduction and analysis. The participants were informed about the research, as the researcher explained its purpose, intentions and plans for dissemination; how the data was going to be used; possible future uses and how the data would be stored and transcribed, ahead of the interview. The participants were given ample opportunity to ask questions and were informed of their ability to withdraw at any

⁶¹ See Appendix 6 for a copy of the coding scheme.

⁶² A copy of the University of Stirling's Research Ethics can be found at: <http://www.goodresearchpractice.stir.ac.uk/ethics/index.php>

time during the research process. After being fully informed and confirming they were happy to continue, written consent for participation and for the interview to be recorded was sought from each participant, using a study-specific consent form (see appendix 1). The data was respected and the participants were informed of the levels of confidentiality surrounding the data that would be upheld. Safe data management was ensured throughout the study: the interviews were stored securely on the university server and on a password protected hard drive that was kept in a locked filing cabinet in a locked office. Anonymity was also important and to ensure that individuals were protected, they were given a unique identifier at time of interview of which they would be referred to as, such as FA01, and any information or references that could lead to their identification, such as job title, membership, or location were protected.

3.5. Chapter Three Summary

In chapter three, the research gap, study aims and research questions were presented in Section 3.1. Through the methodological decisions and design detailed in chapter three, this doctoral study explored the social phenomenon of career management in the creative and cultural industries, and generated data that uncovered the micro-level career management practices of cultural workers. The methodology of this doctoral study has been supportive in enabling the collection of strong and reliable data from which the study's research questions could be answered. From the methodology, this thesis moves onto chapter four which presents the results derived from data collection.

Chapter Four: Findings and Analysis

Chapter four presents the findings and analysis of the data collected from the 36 interviews. The data was collected in response to the identified gap in existing knowledge and research problems (chapter one). The data collection and analysis were driven by the pursuit to explore the micro level detail of career management in the creative and cultural industries (CCI). Chapter four begins with a brief presentation of the background to the participant's careers, followed by the findings and analysis. Data and analysis will be presented corresponding to the four research questions as identified in chapter 3.

4.1. The Participants' Careers

Data was collected from 36 participants⁶³ based in Scotland: 18 digital media workers and 18 fine artists and makers. In order to understand the career management practices and strategies of the participant's studied, the participants career backgrounds (Career length, education & entry) will be presented, followed by the key characteristics of the participant's careers, such as, freelance work, unpaid labour, who you know ideology and art for art's sake.

Career length

All 36 participants were actively engaged in creative work at time of interview and the average creative career was between seven and ten years.

Table 2: Participant Career Lengths

Career length (years)	0-3	3-5	5-10	10-15	15+
Number of Participants	5	3	10	5	13
DM: FA Split ⁶⁴	5 : 0	2 : 1	6 : 4	2 : 3	3 : 10

Participants with a creative career of less than five years, were deemed 'early careerists' by the sample themselves.

⁶³ A profile of each participant can be found in Appendix 5.

⁶⁴ DM= Digital Media and FA = Fine Artist

Education and Entry

All 36 participants had a first degree and there was recognition amongst the participants that their careers had started 'post university', of which four participants had completed a second degree, motivated by the prestige a postgraduate degree provided and the access to resources, expertise and time to think it allowed.

Despite the recognition that their careers had started 'post university', the participants recounted lacking a clear point of entry into the cultural and creative industries (CCI). The participants recognised important career events rather than their first job as to when they "really felt like they had a career" (FA10). The participants referred to these important career events as scenarios which had 'kick-started' their career, suggesting that one was always a cultural worker and you did not enter the creative industries as you would with other traditional careers. Examples of important career events included: DM18's first paid commission as "you know, the start of my career"; FA08's sale to a famous actor which generated considerable TV coverage, "two things that probably made my career" or scenarios whereby the participant gained career 'success' or recognition⁶⁵.

Career kick starting scenarios differed slightly for the two groups. Fine artists recounted the influence that participation in residencies, travelling scholarships, exhibitions and experience from previous employment had on their perception as to when their creative career began, while the Digital Media workers, recounted the influence that societal events (the growth in the internet and in particular, the Cool Britannia⁶⁶ campaign) had on the start of their creative career.

⁶⁵ Recognition included: DM06's success in two digital media competitions, one of which led to an opportunity to be mentored; when DM14 saw their product in public; DM15's exhibition at New Designers (an exhibition for emerging design <http://www.newdesigners.com/>) and FA08's trip to Europe where his career focus switched from Art Therapy to Fine Artistry.

⁶⁶ Cool Britannia Campaign was a political rebranding of the nation created by the New Labour government who wanted to create the image of the UK and particularly London as "modern, young and diverse" (Werther, 2011:3) <http://ojs.ub.gu.se/ojs/index.php/modernasprak/article/viewFile/664/616>

DM05 *“then I went to London and I saw a ...something called, oh I don’t know, something like “Cool Britannia” thing for Creative Industries and they had CD Roms, which was what it was called back then cos the internet wasn’t well not everybody had it ... and I just went in and I thought I want a job in this, I guess Creative Industries because it’s really cool. I guess that was the influence that made me want to get into an Agency”.*

With regards to career entry, the participants were asked if they had planned or managed their recruitment⁶⁷ into the creative industries. Thirty participants recounted that they had not planned or managed their recruitment and that their recruitment was derived by luck. DM20 for instance explained that he was not proactive in his career and that *“certainly at the start, there’s no way to get into [the creative industries] unless you’re really lucky”.*

DM01 *“I didn’t make particularly strategic decisions to do it [get into the industry]. They were kind of opportunities that just sounded like of interest”*

DM12 *“being in the creative industries is- you need a lot of who you know and luck and timing, rather than say, you know...”*

The participants referred to scenarios of luck as, friends who brought them work (DM15); the off chance that someone saw their work (FA08) or the fortunate timing of events (FA18).

However, six of the participants felt that by being proactive and ready to take opportunities, they had actively contributed to their recruitment into the creative industries.

FA11 *“I think if you say no to everything and you never put your nose out of the door, you’re not, people say, ‘oh you’re lucky, you always seem to land on your feet’ but I think lucky people who land on their feet actually make it happen a lot of the time. You know they’ve been in the right place at the right time, but if you don’t then capitalise on that, like you might be at a coffee party or a drinks do and there is somebody there that can really help you and if you don’t go and talk to that person then you’ve missed an opportunity”*

Planning involved taking a direct approach to their recruitment, as the participants explained that *“you have to just put yourself out there”* (DM07). Participants would attempt

⁶⁷ The term ‘Recruitment’ was used by the researcher but it was evident in analysis that the participants could have been referring to entry through unpaid work.

to get in front of people to encourage word of mouth and present their work for critique, awareness and review. Opportunities to present their work for critique included, networking; getting involved in conversations online or generating opportunities to showcase their work to others, such as, open studios or art collective groups (DM07 and FA02). Participants were proactive in two ways:

(1) Taking the lead and attempting to create opportunities for entry/recruitment, such as DM01, who reached out to an organisation without advertisement - *“I just reached out to them. I think I just heard of them and em...and just applied directly to them”* and DM16, who travelled regularly from Newcastle to London to get his portfolio in front of prospective recruiters. DM16, believed that his proactive approach would stimulate his recruitment opportunities and if unsuccessful, at least allowed him to gather advice on how to improve his work.

DM16 “I did basically take a portfolio of work which I’d developed as a student. Just lots of spec work and briefs I’d set myself. Took that around lots of agencies, at the time in London... [IV: Is that where you studied?]No I studied in the North East of England. I used to just get the train down and take the book around. Sometimes the overnight coach as well! ... at the time they did one pound bus fares, which was just phenomenal, you’d never get that now! ... Ridiculously cheap to get down to London but gruelling, but that allowed me to take my portfolio of work around lots of agencies and get feedback off people that were in the job so that I could improve my portfolio. And it was through those kind of relationships I guess that...You know, they were constantly telling me how to improve and then once I’d improved enough they’d try and bring me in for placements. So it works quite well, just constantly getting your work in front of people”.

(2) Engaging in online and face-to-face conversations with others in the industry. The participant’s recounted that an active online and social media presence enabled employment opportunities to be identified and/or created through the generation of connections. For example: DM19 current employment arose out of interaction on Twitter, whereby DM19 followed the creative director on Twitter, who tweeted the job opportunity, got in touch with the creative director via Twitter and set up a telephone conversation that led to the recruitment. Through online/ social media, the participants generated connections, which they referred fondly to as *“Twitter friends”* (FA06; DM07) - people the participants know via Twitter or other social media. Being Twitter friends made it easier to strike up a conversation with other individuals when face to face.

DM07 “... when I showed up, I recognised a few of the people just through Twitter. So it was almost like you don’t have a cold connection, you know a few faces there.”

The direct approach towards entry and recruitment was found to be more prevalent among the digital media participants, perhaps due to their increased utilisation of online and social media. However, there was evidence that the Fine Artists also took a direct approach towards their career, with the recognisable shift in their engagement with galleries. Fine Artists also recounted a growing trend of approaching galleries to show their work, rather than waiting for an invitation to show.

FA03 “as an artist myself, I mean years ago, I would never dream of approaching a gallery and I would have believed that I should have been approached. And I don’t know where that opinion comes from but I certainly wouldn’t have approached anyone to show my work”.

In essence the participants’ entry into the creative and cultural industries (CCI) was significant of particular career events, which then led onto their considerations of career management, with the majority of participants recounting that they had not planned or managed their careers. However, on counter to this lack of planning, the participants were recognised as being proactive within their careers (even those who did not explicitly recognise it in themselves), with proactivity manifesting itself as a direct approach and attempts to take influential control.

Following their career background, the participants were asked explicitly about their experiences of characteristics that are typical of a creative career as reviewed in Section 2.1.2.2.

Freelance work

Thirty-two of the participants had engaged in freelance employment at some point during their career, motivated by the flexibility and control that freelance employment provided to their working arrangements - “was like quick money, eh straight away” (DM15).

Freelance employment also generated experience as the participants could (1) create a portfolio of work from their freelance employment - “I knew I want to do it professionally so I just thought ‘get as much experience as I can’” (DM18) or (2) develop a foothold in a new industry - “So it was a conscious decision of ‘I have freelance work, I don’t need money per se in a

full time job' and so it was a means to income while still having the flexibility to sort of get to know the industry in an unfamiliar place" (DM07).

Unpaid Labour

Unpaid labour was referred to as any accounts where the participant had been employed, working creatively or generating creative output for no financial remuneration or *"just for expenses"* (DM19). Thirty-two of the participants' had engaged in unpaid labour, with experiences including: internships (DM18; FA04); open-source projects⁶⁸, open studios and collaborative projects in creative environments and producing creative output for businesses and/or local establishments for no financial gain (DM03; FA06). Consensus illustrated the impression that *"there was a mandate of, you get out of uni, then you do like a six month free, unpaid internship. That's kind of how things worked"* (DM07).

The financial consequence of unpaid labour had restricted the other four participants from engaging in unpaid labour at the beginning of their career, as they could not afford to work for free.

FA01 "it was emerging that my fellow students were possibly doing a lot of voluntary work to try and get started in an arts career, I wasn't in a position to do that financially, my family had helped me go through university but that was the maximum they could do".

Although the majority of the participants engaged in unpaid labour at the beginning of their career, some continued their unpaid work, with the digital media workers working on projects for friends and fine artists donating pieces of work for auctions. The participants recounted three benefits from engagement in unpaid labour: (1) building exposure; (2) sharpening their tools and (3) extending networks.

Exposure was built as engaging in unpaid labour enabled the participants' to get their name out and establish awareness of themselves in their creative field.

⁶⁸ Open-source projects are computer programs whose source code is available to the general public for modification and use, similar to the Wikipedia Pages. The open-source projects are available online and using 'peer production' the projects encourage the online communities to change, use and improve the original design before final production. A number of big brand companies utilise open-source projects, such as, General electric, Facebook, Google, sears and Chevron to name a few, benefiting from the low cost associations and technological advancements deriving from a larger online community.

DM15 *“[why he engaged in unpaid labour] So I wasn’t really yeah, I wasn’t really that fussed about getting like even if it was twenty quid here and there it was the fact that I was getting other things, like to me that was more valuable to be getting my name out there”*

FA05 *“it’s quite often you’re asked to do things that are not paid - sometimes they’re worth doing if they’re highly visible [decision to do an unpaid piece of work] the one we’re planning at the moment is like that there is the [name’s project] it’s such a brilliant location so though we may do the work for free or expenses because it’ll be, yes it’ll be so visible”.*

Unpaid labour provided the participants with experience and understanding, from which they could ‘sharpen their tools’⁶⁹, create contacts and build relationships.

DM20 *“I would say [unpaid labour] was more about just understanding what the industry was all about. Having had not much exposure to it and meeting the sort of characters that work at these place and I guess it was also helpful for me to figure out what I wanted to do... So it was all about me learning about the industry, learning about what I wanted to specialise in.”*

FA01 *“volunteering kick starts the whole thing [recruitment], gives you the contacts, you’re getting the most relevant experience you can, so I think the volunteering was a big thing”.*

A number of the participants recounted unpaid labour as a prerequisite for entry/recruitment into the creative industries, as they recognised the importance that employers and other cultural workers placed on experience.

DM03 *“I’m going to have to just get experience ‘cause everybody’s asking for experience or a marketing degree,”*

FA03 *“if you try and apply to something without that any of that you just won’t really get anywhere.”*

The participant’s recounted that through their unpaid labour, they were able to demonstrate their ability and knowledge, which positively supported their recruitment.

⁶⁹ The participants referred to the sharpening of their tool in that, through their unpaid labour opportunities, they were able to test and trial what they had learnt during a degree programme or online and had opportunities in which they could practice with less consequence.

DM16 *"I was trying to get just experience at the start and a few of the first placements were very low pay. Paid just the bare minimum and that was done largely just to get the experience and get into a company as well where you get your hands on work that allows you to build your portfolio around it."*

FA12 *"you say 'oh I've done this before' and it leads you onto other things".*

The exposure generated from unpaid work experience and open-source projects was believed to have facilitated entry as the experiences developed opportunities for the participants to gain *"attention"* (DM12). Attention was found to be particularly influential upon the careers of the digital media participant's, where the idea of *"hitching"* was deemed the *"best way to get into development"* (DM12). Hitching is an opportunity where developers get involved in an open source project, from which they meet other developers, share knowledge and their contribution attracts attention and credibility.

From their experiences and the people that the participants met through their unpaid labour, the participants recounted that such engagements made them more credible and therefore, positively supported their career. Hands-on experience was confirmed as a pre-requisite for entry/recruitment from an employer point of view. One participant, a company director, referred to how he favoured individuals who had engaged in unpaid labour when recruiting as it demonstrated passion and ability.

DM05 *"through volunteering, I gained some skills and stuff that way, so I very much believe that people who get stuff done are people who get stuff done...like when I get CVs in from people it's like not enough to have done your course, you need to kinda want to do stuff all the time....say for example I was hiring someone to run social media, then they should want to run social media like almost just all the time, so therefore, if they haven't got a job doing it they should be doing social events or for a charity, they should just want to do it, to be going it for something.. [IV: ...so like having that passion?] exactly!"*.

As mentioned earlier this finding reinforces the potential for class advantage as a pre-requisite of unpaid labour and a preference from employers that candidates have engaged in unpaid labour restricts those individuals who cannot engage with unpaid labour.

'Who you know' ideology

The 'who you know' ideology was prevalent amongst the participants, who appreciated the importance of contacts and how 'who they knew' could influence their creative career. Thirty of the participants recounted that their entry to the creative industries was based on people they knew that could make things happen for them.

DM07 "I think it's a mixture of that network that you should try and develop while you're at university, whether that's through an internship or through maintaining post contact with your mentors and your peers and your professors. That's what helps you land your first gig"

DM17 "So yeah, that's the kind of how I got working back in the early days, just from through who I knew basically."

Examples of the 'who you know' ideology influencing the participant's career included: meeting people by chance through alternative employment (DM12) or a university job leading on from an internship or other unpaid work experience (DM18); getting to "hear about opportunities first" (DM06) or recommendations from other people (FA03; FA06).

Seven participants explicitly discussed how other people influenced their recruitment through word of mouth, where the recruitment arose after someone they knew had referred them, 'vouched for them' or created a position for them. Like unpaid labour as a prerequisite, the 'who you know' ideology influenced recruiters. Three participants who regularly acted as recruiters, (DM01; DM15; DM17) referred to the influence of other people's referrals when recruiting or considering their next round of employees. DM01 demonstrated this influence in his account:

DM01 "what typically used to happen was a recruiter would just ask their clients 'who've you met that's been good? Or who's made an impression on you?' We do that, you know, when we're out. So asking clients and sort of 'who else have you worked with that's been good?' and we'll dig them out."

The participants illustrated the importance of strong networks, ties with people already in the industry and the ability to call on the people one knows to support one's entry. If an individual did not possess industry contacts or strong networks, they were able to build

the necessary networks to support their entry/recruitment by being proactive and creating opportunities that get them noticed.

Art for Art's Sake

A common characteristic of a creative career was the influence of belief in art for art's sake, which links to DM05's need for applicants to have passion. Described by the participants' as an inherent motivation to produce creatively, the art for art's sake, was explained as the motivation that sustained them through their creative career.

FA02 "you need that [motivation and drive]. It's just not enough to draw or paint or be a bit artistic, it has to have this very powerful thing in you and that's what makes an artist".

The inherent motivation was apparent in all of the participants as it was clear that the participants were motivated by the production of their creative produce rather than the financial remuneration.

Section 4.1., has demonstrated that there are a number of commonalities in the participants' creative careers. Engagement with freelance employment and unpaid labour was particularly consistent amongst the participants, with consideration for how both can manipulate a creative career. The inherent characteristics of a creative career, who you know and art's for art sake, were also prevalent. The features affecting the creative career were found across the sample, regardless of the two sub-sectors, which suggests that career management within the CCI might be similar across the sample.

From this brief background of the individuals sampled, the findings to answer the research questions will now be presented. For research questions 1-3, it is important to note that the sample is considered as a whole and that the quotes used to represent the themes are chosen on the basis of their best fit rather than the sub sector from which the quote came from. Only in research question 4 (section 5.4.) is the data considered as two separate samples and compared.

4.2. RQ1: Which practices, if any, do cultural workers employ in their attempt to deal with the precarious nature of creative work?

All of the participants alluded to recognising creative work as precarious, with twelve participants explicitly referring to their work as precarious. The participants referred to experiences of precarious work as instances where they had dealt with income insecurity, poor pay, unprotected employment and unstable work.

The participants recognised that creative work did not yield high financial remuneration and least of all financial security.

FA09 “I think it just, yeah, really tricky to try and keep that balance and just make enough money to support yourself. I think that’s the really difficult thing being in the creative industries is actually, yeah, just making a living. Because you don’t have a paycheck that comes in once a month and it’s a set amount that you’re guaranteed”.

The participants’ recounted having to deal with factors outwith their control as their creative career was skewed with uncertainty, they faced lulls of employment, unprotected work and the potential for opportunities to fall through at short notice.

FA07 “my contracts are only 3 months....So that’s probably again going back to what I was talking about working quite sporadically and intensely. Those times that I know I have time to do it, I’ll just get on with it and that’s a real luxury. Sadly it’s kind of offset with the fact that I don’t get paid but yeah I’ve been living with the threat of not having any work for a long time”.

FA16 “it is a struggle and it’s constant and if you do, like if there are periods of ill health or whatever, then it can be extremely difficult cause it’s not a case of guaranteed regular, it’s very much a case of clusters of and then a lull. Like it’s the uncertainty, there could be a good period and then a total lull, but in that lull although there may not be sales, that is when you are creating work but there is always, the financial pressure is quite great”.

Uncertainty bred income insecurity, which explicitly affected 22 of the participants. Although, many of the participants referred to how hard it was to make a living in the creative industries as a result of income insecurity. Income insecurity meant that income was unpredictable, irregular and not guaranteed, with the participants referring to times

where they did not know where their next pay cheque was coming from. Income had to be constantly juggled as the participants experienced months of increased financial gains and months of poverty. Income insecurity was also found to lead to restrictions for the participants as they were not able to obtain things that other employments derived, such as mortgages, credit cards or loans.

FA16 “[being a full time artist in the future] It is exciting but the downside is that there is a huge financial loss and that does influence your decision making because going from employment when you do have a regular income you know exactly from a rota point of view when you’re working, when you’re off ((pauses)) you don’t have the peace of mind that you have with a regular income because with the arts there could be an exhibition or bits and pieces or there could be a quiet phase.

FA13 “if I had to rely on the art, for all my income, I don’t think I would be, I’d probably be on benefits. You see, the art gives ME an income, it’s my play money, and I wouldn’t say that you make a huge thing out of art, you don’t make a huge, vast amount of money out of it and even with the tutoring, you don’t make a huge living from it”.

As a result of the uncertainty and income insecurity facing creative careers, the participants developed coping mechanisms.

The first and most common means to manage the precarious nature was to engage in multiple employment. Twenty two of the participants engaged in multiple employment in order to overcome the precariousness of creative work and minimise the risk of the income insecurity - “*make up a bit of my salary*” (FA02). Although, a more prominent mechanism between the fine artists, the digital media workers recognised the need to be able to turn their hand to other skills and work activities - “*need to survive so I’m always thinking to have a couple of options*” (DM08). Engaging in multiple employment involved the participants engaging in two forms of employment simultaneously and engagements varied amongst the participants - “[in reference to other income streams] *do tutoring or something else*” (FA13). The most popular form of multiple employment was teaching, with three participants currently employed in a teaching role (FA02; FA17; FA18) and a further six participants having had a teaching role alongside their creative employment.

Multiple employment was categorised amongst the participants as to either be in a creative environment (10 participants), such as working in a gallery, theatre (FA09; FA12) or doing relevant freelance/employed work alongside their employment (DM08; DM11; DM13; DM15; FA07; FA11; FA17; FA18) or in a non-creative environment (3 participants), such as, retail, bar work or waitressing. In a similar vein to multiple employment, the participants employed multiple work activities, making sure that they had a *“lot of strings to your bow to make it financially viable sort of”* (FA12). Examples of multiple work activities included DM08 who maintained a number of options and clients at one time so as to not rely on one source and the fine artists who recognised the benefit of producing items that they knew would be lucrative in order to sustain other creative outputs (e.g. FA11 with portrait commissions and FA17 who produced her trademark product as a result of other activities).

FA16 “the reality is unless you are really, really well established and well known, you can’t get by with just paintings alone, you have to have smaller, lower value items and cards as well, cards are a big, big seller”.

FA17 “[in reference to her various projects and work activities] And I’ve now got four strands⁷⁰, virtually, to the business. This is what I was working out and I was thinking ‘right, is there one that I can kill off?’ because it’s just too crazy, higgledy piggledy, brain-wise to jump. But actually I realised they’re all needed at different times of the year and they all support something else”.

Aside from enjoyment⁷¹, the main reason the participants engaged in multiple employment and work activities was for the financial *“safety net...if all else fail[ed] there’s a little bit of income coming in that’s going to be coming in every week”* (FA18). FA18 compared multiple employment to investments, encouraging cultural workers that their employment *“portfolio should be diverse”* and that by engaging in multiple employment, the participants would be better protected as they had more avenues in which they could generate income.

⁷⁰ Unfortunately the four strands cannot be mentioned as they would identify the participant but in a general sense they include: the products that she takes to exhibit at a large fair; large annual commission (which pays for the exhibition *“it’s just another way of juggling the sort of finances”*); her signature piece and her multiple employment which is a *“regular, constant income in the dead months”*.

⁷¹ FA10 “[in reference to her multiple employment as a teacher] *Like I really enjoy passing on my skills and knowledge but the main kind of reason for doing is because being self-employed is so sporadic income that it’s quite nice to have that little trickle of money coming in every month”*.

The regular income generated from the multiple employment, often referred to as *"bill paying income"* (DM13; FA16), enabled the participants to deal with the precarious nature of creative work. Not relying on one source for income meant that the participants' were able to sustain and/or finance their creative work. Income from the multiple employment and work activities sustained their creative output by providing capital to purchase resources, paid for studio/ exhibition appearances and kept the participants ticking over during *"dead months"* (FA17).

Further safety was derived as participants recounted that the additional employment diminished the financial pressure on the participant's creative work as the regular income took the pressure off the need to sell their work - FA04 [works in a school as an arts teacher] *having this amazing job allows me to be an artist, because I don't have to sell a thing"*. Such financial security generated a freedom in which they were kept inherently motivated and less concerned about the business side of their creative work, allowing the participants to sell more of what they wanted to produce. Of those participants whose additional employment was in creative environments, they recounted benefit beyond the financial as their multiple employment was often influential on their main creative work.

FA04 *"one part of my career feeds into the other part of my career, mmm, the other one then inspires me back to how can I build this into my paid job"*.

The participants recounted that 'related multiple employment' (DM08; FA09; FA17) enabled them to learn new skills and take inspiration from others. Examples of the non-pecuniary benefits of relatable creative employment included: access to some of the *"best technology in town"* (DM08; FA17); inspiration from colleagues and native cultural workers (FA09) and access to valuable market and customer information (FA18). All in all, engaging in multiple employment was found to be financially and creatively supportive to the participant's careers and enabled them to deal with the uncertainty and income insecurity of creative work.

The participants also talked about a "survival instinct" (DM17) developed to combat the characteristics of precarious work. The participants recognised that they had to predict and plan for times of uncertainty and insecure income. The uncertainty and insecurity of

creative work left the participants living “*on a day-to-day basis*” with a need to have a “*level of survival (DM13)*”. In times of strife, the participants recounted back-up plans of being able to count on freelance employment to add to their income and utilizing their networks to access sources of income. Examples of survival instincts included, FA06 who managed his finances by saving income in case of instances with no income and DM17 who recognised “*I need two of these a month [referred to contracts to create websites] or one of those [referred to a larger contract such as a complete marketing redesign] to get by and what else I pick up, well then that’s just the cream on top in terms of covering rent and all basics*”. By drawing on survival instincts and techniques, the participants were able to navigate the uncertainty and insecurity of the precarious nature of creative work.

Finally, Arts for Art’s sake as described in Section 4.1.⁷², enabled the participants to draw on their love of their creative work to get them through the precarious nature of creative work. The participants showed an acceptance of the negative characteristics of creative work, which they saw as counter-balanced by the inherent motivation, enjoyment and pleasure they received from their creative work.

FA16 “*in order to sustain it I think you do have to love what you do, otherwise you wouldn’t put up with the uncertainty*”.

FA03 “*I suppose I just made my work cause there was a need there to make it, it wasn’t necessarily about selling it, I just had to do it*”.

As part of their art for art’s sake, the participants recounted a genuine interest in the people, work and industry which encouraged them to engage in activities, like networking, which would otherwise be outwith their comfort zone. Examples of how the participants’ drew on their art for art’s sake included: (1) FA18, who despite the lack of economic viability from her art “*wouldn’t feel me*” if she gave it up (2) FA10 who when she questioned her creative employment, she just needed to be reminded of her love and ability and DM04, who whilst recognising the uncertainty of his employment, recognised the flexibility and self-control of his creative career. The fine artists in particular, recounted how their passion helped them to produce work more akin to their personal motivations as the pressure to produce work

⁷² See page 265

that was “*commercial*” was diminished (FA04). FA05 described the transformation and influence that her art for art’s sake ideology had had on her career.

FA05 “*Yes I think at a certain point I started to feel like the most useful thing that I could do was to make the best work that I could all the time and that’s where I took my focus really strongly and emm and I think that was the best thing that I have ever done for my career but in the early days I used to do paintings that I could sell and sometimes they weren’t the paintings that I wanted to do but I knew that through a certain gallery I could sell you know, a portrait for example, and I made a decision that at some point that actually I needed to make work that I would connect with and I made up and that was the best decision I ever made because I did some self- reviving exhibitions straight after that the way that I wanted to do them although the [name’s exhibition] in 2005 was the first one and It was the most successful one I’d ever done up to that point. So that type of integrity and sort of yes sort of like following that instinct and everything that’s the thing that I rely on most of all and I keep coming back to yes totally, the most important thing I can do is make the best work that I can make and then the rest does follow to a certain extent”.*

In answering research question one, it was found that the precarious nature of creative work affects all cultural workers with no one participants or group of cultural workers experiencing the precarious nature more than another. In answer to research question one, there are three practices that cultural workers employ in order to deal with the precarious nature of creative work: multiple employment, survival techniques and their passion (art for art’s sake). The participants recounted the use of their survival instinct to help them navigate through the precarity, the engagement of multiple employment (and relative benefits) and how art for art’s sake can facilitate a participant’s acceptance of the characteristics associated to creative work. Management of the precarious nature of creative work was found to be a “*bit of a juggling act*” (FA12) and that while there may not be a means to eradicate it, there are apparent mechanisms that minimize its effects as identified in section 4.2.

4.3. RQ2: Do cultural workers employ career management practices in their creative careers and, if so, which practices can be identified?

Career management practices, were identified in chapter 2.2., as the actions and behaviours that individuals employ in order to influence how their career is managed. To answer research question two, data relating to particular methods that the participants employed to deal with or develop their career was analysed. From these findings, whether or not career management exists within the sample's creative careers will be determined and any practices that cultural workers employ in order to manage their career will be identified.

4.3.1. The Cultural Worker's Role in the Management of Their Career

Participants were asked whether or not they felt they had planned or managed their careers. Accounts in which the participants talked about how their career had manifested and any occurrences whereby the participants felt they had influenced their career were considered.

Engagement with career planning and management was sparse as the participants recounted that they "*just got on with it*" (DM05) rather than consciously planned their career. A split amongst the participants as to whether or not they were able to influence or actively manage their own career pervaded. Fourteen participants recounted no influence in the management of their career, believing that their careers had "*happened more than it's been planned*" (FA11) and the direction of their creative career having "*more to do with circumstance and opportunity than managing it*" (DM20; DM01; DM06; FA07; FA10). On the other hand, seven of the participants felt that, although it was important to be open to opportunity and circumstance, there was an element of management by the individual.

DM18, referred to his role in the management of his career as a problem solver, citing that

"it's been really helpful to realise that most of the career advancement has been like serendipity, just people knowing me and being in the right situation".

Instances of the participant's ability to manage their career included: DM06 who actively sought out funding or opportunities to support career development or FA07 who made it their "*job to find out how to get a job tutoring at a college or school*". The underlying trend of the career management experiences of these individuals was the proactive nature taken

towards the development and sustainability of their creative career. A number of the participants believed that *“if you want something, you’ve got to go out there and do it for yourself”* (FA03).

However, fifteen of the participants felt their creative careers had been directed by the combination of both planning and opportunity, recounting the need to think ahead but also to be receptive to the opportunities around them.

DM20 *“to an extent I’d say the only managing I’ve done is to be open to circumstance and opportunity”*.

FA04 *“a bit of both, ehm, if I wanted to have an exhibition, I’ve gone out and organised it and there are other times where people have prodded and kicked me into having an exhibition, so you know it’s varied”*.

The participants recognised that there was only so much that they could plan for in their career and that they must appreciate that there are some elements to a career that must come down to they cannot influence. FA09 illustrated the combination of career management styles in her comparison of career management to sitting your driving test - *“I think as with everything, I put it in the same category as a driving test, it’s about 4/5th effort and planning and just good intentions and then it’s about 1/5th good luck”*.

Despite self-identification of proactive behaviour the participants did not recognise such proactivity as career management, thus skewing the participant’s own impression of their career management. DM01 and DM06, for instance, had sought out to influence their recruitment but then deemed themselves not to be managers of their own career. A number of participants appeared to actively avoid recognising career management in their career, and shied away from the notion of and their role in career management. The researcher recognised a number of instances where the participants said something to indicate a lack of career management but their intonation told an opposite story. One example of this came from DM13, who in his recollection of his career management clearly stated that his career had not been planned and that it had had developed pragmatically. However, looking beyond his language and through his intonation, it was evident that in his reference to reacting to the environment and decisions he had made, he had in fact attempted to manage his career.

DM13 “[IV: Would you say you’ve actively or consciously planned your career then?] ((Pauses)) I guess you could look at it that way but it definitely wasn’t on purpose. It wasn’t like I was sitting here going you know what I’ll do, I’ll do this and this will be my career path, it was more like ((pauses)) ... I guess it’s a more pragmatic notion of things, again you’re going back to that notion of being a creative or not, you don’t want to work in a factory, you don’t want to work in a traditional 9-5, so you find ways to get yourself in a position where you don’t have to do that and some of that is sacrifice. Cause obviously some of it’s not working directly with the art and some of that is conscious. So I don’t think it’s black and white saying I planned my career but you react to the environment to make your career fit the idea of your career as best you can”

Despite the lack of recognition of themselves as actively managing their career, it was evident that the participants attempted to manage their creative career through practices that the participants did not frame as practices. This idea will be explored through the following section, in which the data regarding career management practices will be presented.

4.3.2. Career Management Practices

Section 4.3.2., will explore the particular practices that the participants attempted to manage their career with.

4.3.2.i Being “business minded”

Participants recounted how they dealt with the economic pressures of running a creative business by being more “business-minded” (FA16), “business orientated” (FA18) or “better business people” (FA12). The participants recounted that being more business minded involved, consideration of the impression that they had on other people, the influence that impression had on their career and looking outside the box when approaching their creative career. Although the need to be more business minded was largely evident amongst the fine artists, the need for business-mindedness amongst the digital media workers was approached differently. For the digital media workers, business minded was less so about embracing business practice into their creative career – perhaps a result of their employment status or because they already or more readily embraced it, this was not known – but rather about the business side of managing their image and self, such as their reputation and representation.

Being business minded took two forms. The first was the participants' use of online/social media. The participants recounted being conscious of how their interaction online affected their career and would structure their use of particular media or promotional outlets. Image was important to all of the participants and therefore, when utilizing online/social media, the participants watched the language, tone and content they sent out; carefully chose their profile picture, the links they provided, how they used media tools and the conversations they got involved in.

DM06 *"if they go to my Twitter and see that I'm like being really negative about these games companies then they might not want to employ me or someone might not want to collaborate with me if I seem like a negative person."*

Secondly, the participants recounted new approaches to their creative output. The first being that the participants looked beyond the traditional boundaries for the promotion of their creative output, such as advertising in business papers (FA08), using unlikely sponsors, such as corporate banks (FA08) and advertising their services on Gumtree (DM18). The second, in that the participants developed 'survival techniques' regarding their creative resources, such as, keeping costs of resources down by recycling old frames or using cheaper materials (FA15), producing lower end products, such as prints, cards or cheaper substitutes (FA12, FA16 and DM16).

The participants recounted that by being more mindful of the business side to their creative production, they were more sustainable and generated opportunities for development or expansion of their creative product.

4.3.2.ii. Creating Visibility - "keeping front of mind" (DM01)

The creative persona was the most explicit expression by which the participants referred to career management - *"OK so a lot of career management is down to exposure and getting your sort of visibility of your own self within the industry"* (DM01). Described by the sample as the promotional activities of the participant's creative work, themselves as a cultural worker and their creative output, the creative persona was all about the participant being *"findable"* (DM04) and *"on display"* (FA03).

In connection with the earlier finding that many creative careers were managed and developed as a result of luck, the participants believed that if the individual was not actively

'out there' and no one knew their name or work, then the chances that they would be lucky would be greatly reduced. Therefore, they had to build and maintain an exposure to let luck find them. The participants created exposure by ensuring that their creative self and work was out in the public sphere. DM08 for instance, referred to how *"I'm not trying to hide what I do professionally"*.

4.3.2.iii Online and Social Media

Online and social media was used by the participants to promote and expose their career. All of the participants sampled were aware of online and social media and the majority of the participants (33) used online and social media in their creative career.

Amongst the array of online and social media, the participants used Twitter, RSS Feeds, Facebook, LinkedIn, own website, blogs or photo sharing platforms. There were two dominant media used by the participants. The first, Twitter⁷³ was recognised by all participant, however, five participants chose not to engage with Twitter, with one participant steering clear because *"[Twitter is] too fast"* (DM01). Twitter was particularly regarded as an information source, allowing the participants to keep up to date with industry discussions.

DM04 *"I love twitter for just keeping up to date with what's happening, cause I find it kind of digests a lot of stuff, so you get the snippets and headlines. If you follow the key people then you get like that nice digestible content, cause otherwise you'd spend half your day trying to read"*

FA06 indicatively referred to Twitter as *"the water cooler"* (FA06). Typically working in isolation from his house, FA06 recounted how Twitter allowed him to have the social interactions he might otherwise have in an office environment and from which he could ensure that his knowledge was up to date and he maintained an active role in the community.

The second media, was LinkedIn⁷⁴, utilised by all of the digital media participants but only five of the fine artists. Fine Artists engaged less with LinkedIn, with a preference to engage

⁷³ Twitter, is an online social networking site that allows users to micro blog by sending 140 character 'tweets'

⁷⁴ LinkedIn is a known social networking resource for the professional, with a business orientation rather than a social one, where member's connect with one another and give recommendations.

in the other social and online media options. One participant, FA07, asked *“LinkedIn, is that what it’s called? I have a profile but that’s as far as it goes”*.

Typically a professional tool, some of the participants were skeptical about how relevant LinkedIn was to those working in the creative industries due to the limited opportunities for individualizing profile pages.

DM09 “with LinkedIn there isn’t necessarily a format for communicating. For the portfolio it tends to be quite dry as opposed to a sort of visual portfolio... getting you know more of your identifiers rather than having text heavy business profile. Because that isn’t typically relative, relevant rather, to people in the creative industries em and isn’t the way they communicate anyway, so how do you bring people within the sector into communicating visually you know um or orally or whatever it is, em and actually sort of create that online presence”.

The importance of online and social media within the participants’ creative career was growing. The participants recognised the need for an effective online and social media presence and appreciated how their online presence could influence their career.

The first benefit of a strong online/ social media presence was the exposure that such presence brought the participant, in relation to their creative persona.

FA14 “[IV: so as an artist, having a presence of social media is important?] Absolutely! Absolutely! It’s essential. Oh yeah.[IV: in what way is it essential?] to establish who you are and get, make yourself known”.

Through their online / social media, the participants generated a competitive presence by maximising Search Engine Optimisation (SEO).

DM04 “...Twitter and LinkedIn and Facebook are my two biggies. I use Google+ as well because my business from an industry point of view, it’s good to be active on that [IV: And what does that bring you?] Er, SEO wins really, because erm, social signals are a big SEO influencer without going too geeky”.

The second benefit of online/ social media on the participant’s careers was the opportunity to access information. Information Sources included Mashable⁷⁵; AWWwards⁷⁶; various

⁷⁵ <http://mashable.com/>

⁷⁶ <http://www.awwwards.com/>

Marketing Associations (Digital Media workers) and various Scottish Arts Society⁷⁷'s and university forums (Fine Artists). Through their online / social media participants got involved in industry related conversations and forums that supported their careers and were able to generate RSS Feeds that managed the information collected/available. Participants found that active engagement in industry related conversations provided them with relevant knowledge that they could capitalise on at industry events, when networking and in their career moves.

DM04 "If you follow the key people then you get like that nice digestible content cause otherwise you'd spend half your day trying to read".

DM06 "I think it's quite important to keep up with what's going on in the industry and what the current hot topics are and that kind of thing. So if I do go to a networking event I can strike up conversations about what is happening".

The third benefit of online / social media was the impact it had on the participant's attempts to find new work. Through their online / social media, the participants recounted that they could take a proactive approach to finding future work and / or employment opportunities. Using their online / social media and their networks within them, the participants could put out a message to their networks looking for opportunities or scour sources for opportunities. Participants recounted actively looking for work on prospective employer's websites, reaching out on Twitter and connecting with the relevant people in order to influence opportunities. While the participants recounted that their online / social media must be effective at all times, there was a consensus that the need for effectiveness was stepped up when one was looking for work as they recognised that their website and online portfolio is *"the first port of call for basically any client"* (DM13).

The participants recognised that they would step up their online and social media presence in order to support their recruitment.

DM12 "But if I needed a job I would probably update my google+, be on twitter everything, I don't know".

⁷⁷ <http://www.s-s-a.org/> ; <http://www.thersa.org/> ; <http://www.rssa.org.uk/>

DM13 *“if I was made redundant or I quit... I would consciously re-do my website, I would consciously try and get as many and new interesting projects to upload my portfolio to a point where it looked like it was dry humping the zeitgeist”.*

FA09 *“Um, when I’m looking for work through that, I might be a bit more about putting myself in, LinkedIn”.*

The importance of online / social media was not only felt by the participants being recruited but also by DM17, who was in a position of recruiting, recounted that *“I mean we’ve got the next sort of half a dozen people that we want to hire in this office, lined up and you know and they’re associated through Twitter and how they talk through that medium and what articles they refer to and if they’re funny or not. So we’ve had a few people in in the last few months who have come in through that knowledge or that research and funnily enough they’re accurate to that, their online character to their personal character. So if that’s something that anybody would be interested in doing that’s what I would suggest”.*

Despite the widespread utilisation of online/ social media amongst the participants and evident benefits, not all the participants were active on the platforms they had created. A number of participants recounted setting up a profile but never getting round to updating it. The lack of content update or management occurred as the participants prioritised producing creative work, other than the promotion of creative work.

DM14 *“I mean I am actively trying to update my LinkedIn but I got about as far as a line and something else comes in that I have to deal with right away it”.*

Participants stated that they did not want to be *“chasing social media and trying to stay connected”* but rather wanted to deliver good work that will develop the creative career (DM18).

4.3.2.iii. Personality

A strong theme across the data was the role that the participant’s personality played within their creative career - *“there is a lot to be said for having a good personality ((laughs))”* (FA09).

Rather than alluding to psychological concepts, personality was understood by the participants as the impression other people had of you and how you interacted with other people, while a good personality was recounted as someone who *“worked hard and [was] nice to people”* (DM05) and *“just generally being nice”* (DM17).

Both the fine artists and digital media workers, recounted the need to be a team player, have the right attitude and the importance of getting along with other people - *“the main thing about it is, especially in all these industries, I’m sure sales is the same, is getting on with people...unfortunately”* (DM13). Throughout the data it became evident that personality was influential upon the creative career in a number of ways. The participants recounted that a strong personality,⁷⁸ created positive word of mouth within the creative community, which could then facilitate career opportunities.

DM20 *“it’s that kind of day-to-day working relationship with people, where if you strike up a good working relationship with people then they will put in a good word for you”*.

DM17 *“I guess through word of mouth he had heard that I was up to doing the work and reliable. I mean word of mouth is a massively important thing, from a positive and a negative point of view. I know some designers who-, it’s a small industry up here and you cannot do too much and it (flavours) your reputation if you’re a challenge to work with or if you...”*

The participants managed, what they referred to as their personality by maintaining a level and honest self-being. The participants recounted that it was important to not *“burn any bridges”* (DM07) and that by having a broad network and not always aiming to just *“schmooze the CEOs”* (DM04) because you don’t know where the juniors will end up.

Further influence from the participants’ personality on their career was recounted in how getting on with other people in the creative industries was influenced by the person’s personality and their ability to fit into a team. For the digital media workers working in employment scenarios, their personality and relationships with other people was often deemed more influential than their talent and ability. Participants expressed the need to demonstrate that they could work as part of a team and that they had the right attitude in

⁷⁸ Personality in this sense being the impressions others have of you as a cultural worker

order to gain opportunities for work. DM07 recounted that *“So yeah, if you’re nice to people and people like you, you might not tick all the skill boxes but you’ll get jobs ...there’s definitely a shift to find the right person, not the right necessary skillset”*. DM05 also illustrated the misbalance between talent and personality when he recounted how recruitment of two designers, one with a stronger similar skillset and design capability would be influenced by the lesser designer being a stronger team player - *“so much of what we do is working together... another important aptitude is the willingness to learn and not take yourself too seriously,. And that’s all about fitting in and working together... It’s aptitude and fit”* (DM05).

The participants used the term personality, yet on closer inspection, what the participants were actually sometimes referring to was their persona⁷⁹, the character that the individual takes on – the *“nice guy”* (DM17) or *“likeable”* (DM16). From their accounts, it was clear that the participants were considerate of the importance to be authentic and honest and have the right fit into the team – an option that would be far easier for the digital media workers in employed situations than the fine artists. However, what the participants displayed went beyond the typical sense of personality and was more similar to a mix of personality and persona. Therefore, the persona that the participants created for themselves was one that was honest, likeable, *“not being too pushy”* (FA18) and maintained a strong reputation for their standard of work *“I think it’s always good to be known for something”* (DM01).

4.3.2.v. Collaboration

The participants understood collaboration to be any occurrence where the participants worked with other cultural workers in pursuit of one goal. Fifteen participants explicitly discussed their experience of collaboration⁸⁰ and only one participant (FA10) had never engaged in collaboration. It was found that collaboration was not discussed as strongly amongst the digital media workers than their fine artist counterparts, perhaps a direct effect of their work environments. The digital media workers were typically employed in an

⁷⁹ With regards to the individual’s persona and the practices they employ in its creation and why, the word personality will still be used as it is the term utilised by the individuals sampled.

Personality is defined as *“a matter of human individuality or ‘individual differences’”*, while persona is defined as *“the mask worn by an actor to portray a particular character”* (Haslam, 2007:4/5)

⁸⁰ There was a clear consensus of collaborative experience however, the participants focused on the benefits derived from collaborating rather than their direct experience or engagement. Therefore, whether or not a majority of the individuals had engaged in collaboration was unclear.

office and team environment and therefore, because of this, collaboration was not perceived as significant because it occurred regularly and naturally within their work environment.

Collaborations typically took place with individuals in the same field as the participants, either colleagues in the digital agency they worked in (DM01) or other artists and included group exhibitions, studio complexes, community groups and/or networking events. FA02 referred to collaborations as partnerships, relating the act of working together to “comedians”. The trend of collaborating was more common amongst the fine artists, with a strong consideration for the influence that the ‘Glasgow scene’ had had on many artists’ careers, with FA14 suggesting the ‘Glasgow scene’ as a template for collaboration. A number of the fine artists recounted that the act of collaborating led individuals together who could bounce ideas off one another, develop a strong community spirit and work together to sustain their individual creative outputs.

FA14 “[they refers to artists] they get together in groups and they hold little exhibitions in people’s houses, dis-used empty shops. So they form little communities and these are kind of self-sustaining and they help each other”.

The participants recounted three reasons for collaborating: (1) “they shared information, they told each other about opportunities” (FA14); (2) to work with other people, in which learning and influence occurs through joint practice and talking about your work - “it’s quite nice to be part of that team and learn from them as well” (DM04) and (3) to tap into extended resources - “I think like innovation, you can get quite innovative things when we get collaborations between different people”(DM06). It was apparent in the findings that collaborating was influential upon the participant’s career and derived a number of benefits that the participants could draw on in their creative careers.

4.3.2.vi. The Use of Agents and Champions

Agents and champions were people who represented the cultural worker, undertook the promotional activities of the participant’s output and championed their work.

FA14 “as Andy Warhol said... I was saying to a friend down the street the other day, she said “it was easier when I had an agent”. And because there was a definite focus to the day and I said, yeah,

Andy Warhol said that what we all need is a manager, somebody who will come in and say, we're doing this this and this".

A fifty-fifty split was found amongst the participants regarding the use of an agent / champion, with the fifty percent not using an agent due to incompatibility or affordability. Using an agent or champion allowed the participants to focus on their creative output - "[gallery] yeah and it's good cause you do the producing, they do the selling" (FA15).

Agents and champions took two forms: (1) The conventional form of representation, such as gallery owners or representatives [typically used by the fine artists] and (2) other people, such as, peers or industry colleagues and/or family and friends of the individual - "You'll see a lot of artists often have other people, or they are working with someone like their husband or wife who will take over that side and do it" (FA14). The participants found that having someone external to their work in the form of an agent or champion that their commercial success was improved. Agents and Champions brought with them associated networks (FA05), credibility (FA11) and the opportunity to have a "sounding board" (DM20) or honest critic of their work (FA17), all of which would have a positive influence on the creative career. The participants recognised that the agent or champion was better at selling the work than the participants were themselves. The detachment from the creative output enabled the agent or champion to be more objective, speak more clearly of the product and develop a more formal client-supplier relationship than the artist could. Particularly, amongst the fine artists, the agents were better salespersons as they were not as shy as the participant when it comes to talking about their work.

FA15 *"I'm not a great one for sort of pushing myself so much, that's where [partner's name] is important, my partner, my missus, cause she doesn't care, she'll just walk straight in somewhere, [participant name] is an artist, here is one of his pictures."*

The artists recounted how being "emotionally involved" (FA04) often held them back from selling and that they were not "very good at talking about [their] own work" (FA06). While the fine artists employed the services of agents more than the digital media workers, it was understood that the digital media workers felt a resounding influence from other people external to the creative product. The digital media workers recounted how mentors were supportive of their careers in a similar vein to the artists' agents and champions with

consideration for how other people encouraged their creative output, supported it and played a role in their creative career.

The use of agents / champions therefore created platforms for the cultural worker to stay within the creative background and focus on the production of their creative output, while leaving the commercial aspects to those on the 'other side'. However, it was evident that the use of agents and champions went beyond the commerciality of the creative product, but also to the support, loyalty and care of the cultural worker which ultimately (and positively) supported their output.

4.3.2.vii. Networking

All of the participants were aware of networking and had at some point in their career, engaged in networking. Networking was described by the participants as the act of meeting like-minded persons who held a shared interest and was recounted by the participants in one of three ways:

- 14 participants described networking as 'striking up a conversation with other people that has mutual benefit' - *"It's kinda like making friends with people except you're only doing it so you have contacts for work"* (DM11);
- 8 participants felt networking was about 'creating and developing awareness and remembrance of who they are' - *"you know, reminding people you're still out there, you still exist"* (DM04) or *"making sure you make the right connections in the right places and keeping them sweet, keeping them interested, keeping them aware of your work"* (FA09)
- ten participants recounted networking as a business exchange between two or more individuals - *"see if there is anything you can do for each other"* (DM01) or have a *"skills swap"* (FA10) or *"[Networking] means having multi-connections with lots of different people, usually in a professional context"* (FA01).

The participants referred to their network as a security *"net"* (FA12), which they could call upon for information, advice, support or to gain work and employment opportunities and that it was a *"real comfort to know it's there"* (FA12).

FA12 *"I just, I don't understand how you could work without having, but for me, yeah it's absolutely essential. It's not that I use it all the time, maybe I go to these things twice a year, I*

don't need to go to them every week, I don't need to see people every week but it's nice to have that contact and I do have those emails addresses and I do have those links, so if I really need, I know they're there".

The fine artists in particular believed *"that something will happen. You know I think, you'll get a break or people are useful, you might meet somebody"* (FA11) as a result of networking. FA09 recounted the possibility of anything from networking in her representation when networking *"you just never know who you are going to meet, where it is going to go and again, you might meet that frigging oil baron who starts being your benefactor for the rest of your life"*. Not all participants shared the same enthusiasm for networking. DM13, recounted networking as a necessary evil, that *"means drinking cheap white wine in a badly thought out, overly expensive things in Shoreditch...um, being forced upon you, I guess that's networking"*.

Beyond the cynicism of DM13 that networking provided *"free food and free wine"*, networking was found to derive a number of benefits. Networking enabled the participants to *"talk to people in [their] industry and share the experiences [they've] had"* (DM04), hear *"about other opportunities"* (FA03) and access support. From networking, twelve participants built up contacts; three gained validation from others who recognised or supported their work and eight participants were able to build awareness around their work. The benefits of networking were by no means exclusive of one another, thus the potential to benefit the creative career was immense. Despite the benefits and acknowledge importance of networking on the creative career, the majority of participants were timid and embarrassed about how they networked and claimed that they were *"not very good in social situations... I [tend to] shy away in the corner a wee bit"* (FA07) or prefer people to approach them.

On average, the participants attended three networking events a year, engaging in the following ways: attending professional industry events, such as networking events like Thirst Thursdays⁸¹, industry training events, openings (galleries and exhibitions) or awards shows; participating on online and social media. The participants were asked about the particular practices that they employed when approaching networking. Using the critical

⁸¹ Thirst Thursdays is a free networking event organised by BIMA (British Interactive Media Association: <http://www.bima.co.uk/about-bima/index.asp>), where people in the media industry are encouraged to network over free drinks

incident technique to uncover the detail of the participant's networking, the participants were asked how they approached networking before, during and after a networking event.

The majority of participants (21) did not employ particular strategies towards networking as they acknowledged that one did not need to actively nurture one's network but by mingling one was able to remind others that one existed which maintained the network. Of the 21 participants, three shunned the idea of networking - DM14 did not care for networking, DM18 stated that he did not have time to network and FA18 *"tends to just go along for the joy of it and actually just, you know. I never think about it as a business"*, while 18 preferred to approach people on the night for both serious conversation and just to talk *"crap about football"* (DM17). DM01 even laughed at the idea of planning his networking when he referred to the fact that networking is *"not dating!"* (DM01). One participant, DM13, laughed at the question of how he approached networking and recounted that while he appreciated the need to exhibit particular behaviour and actions when networking, the reality was indeed very different.

DM13 *"[in reference to networking practices] ((laughs)) if this research is going to be given to people seeking advice in the creative career? ((IV potentially)) well then I'm going to lie, yes read the delegate list. You should, you should find out about the people you are going to see, perhaps brief your self on them and that but actually realistically what people do is they turn up, they drink a bit, he looks interesting, she looks interesting, oh there's Jim I remember him from what ever. Erm, ((pauses)) yeah I'm sure I should say yes you should definitely read up on all the people and seek out but really you should treat ((sighs)) sounds stupid but in the end of the day even though it's an industry, people and they appreciate interaction on a very human level and that's the best possible thing you can do at a networking event, basically"*.

Similar nuances as found in 4.2.1 came through in the findings regarding networking. A clear contradiction in the participant's non-recognition of career management and their very conscious discussions of networking was prevalent. The contradiction is evident in the networking discussions by DM20, who recounted his approach to networking as: *"It would be just turning up and if I see someone I know I might say 'hi' to them and have a chat afterwards, maybe go to the pub afterwards. That's maybe the way it works...I wouldn't employ any formal thing"*. Here, DM20 explicitly recounts no approach to networking, turning up and

seeing how it goes, however, later in his interview, DM20 contradicts himself when he recounts: *“I generally take the opportunity to try and ask a question from the audience because I always think that’s quite a good thing to do... It’s quite a good way of people knowing ‘that’s (the guy) that asked that question’”*. DM20 illustrated a pre-determined approach to networking through his consideration of networking as a social activity and for the purpose of expanding his network, thus contradicting his previous statement.

There were however, fifteen participants who recounted the employment of particular practices when networking. DM01 lucidly explained his approach to networking which mirrors the other 14 participants who approach networking systematically. These practices will now be presented with regards to the three stages of networking.

Pre networking event

DM01 considers his attendance at the event– *“I tend to (qualify) whether I want to go based on the quality of the attendees there, the speakers.... and if you’re going to learn something from the speaking event”* by exploring the delegate list⁸² and making connections with other attendees in advance of the event⁸³. Seven of the participants also recounted that checking the delegate list allowed them to determine their attendance or get in touch with other attendees ahead of the event. Connections were made ahead of the event either by email or social media which removed the *“cold connection”* (DM07) when you got there, although only two other participants (DM09 and FA03) recounted that they would contact people ahead of the event.

During the networking event

DM01 recounted that he would approach individuals and swap business cards - *“trying to be a little bit more ballsy about, confident about just walking up to people and saying ‘hello, my name is-’*. And then, yeah, just chatting and seeing what they’re try-... after you know we’ve swapped cards”. Eleven participants explicitly referred to the act of approaching other people at networking events, recounting that it was important to *“try not to stand still”* (DM16;

⁸² *“I will, if it’s available, have a look and see who’s signed up”* (DM01)

⁸³ *“I’ll say ‘oh, you know, it would be nice to see you there and I’m going as well and let’s try and grab five minutes’... So I will approach strangers online before going”* (DM01)

FA14). When approaching other people, the participants would either “*just chat to people*” (DM12; DM13); tell a story (DM17); ask questions (DM06) or look for people they knew who could introduce them to people they did not know (DM05; DM18).

Following the networking event

DM01 cited that he would “*make a note of who I’ve met and sort of just follow up with them. Just a LinkedIn contact to say it was nice to meet them. Sometimes it never goes any further than that but, you know. Sometimes you will have something specific to talk about*”. All fifteen of the participants who approach networking with practices would follow up connections made at events, although for five of the participants, such follow up was dependent on the conversation - if the conversation was about the individual’s holidays or families, then they would not follow up. Similarly to DM01, the participants would follow up connections from networking events by sending an email post event or connecting via LinkedIn.

The act of when the participants followed up connections that they made was divided. The majority of the participants (11) recounted that following up happens when it happens - “*it’s not dating*” (DM01); “*you put them [business cards] in your pocket and you keep thinking ‘shit, I should email that person’*. But every now and then you get round to it” (DM13). However, four participants were systematic in when they followed up with a connection post networking: within a week’s time or the Monday after an event (DM06), the very next day (DM05) to two participants having an exact methodology for following up networking connections.

DM17 “the methodology that I used is to follow up with an email shortly after the meeting so within a day, it was good to meet you yesterday, we talked about X, Y and Z. I can give you this or that or I found this and then based on the response if there is an email and a lead, then great, if there is no email back then it’s a phonecall. Just a quick chat, quick reminder so that would be a week after sending the email, erm and from that point on it just depends on what is actually happening, are the after anything”.

FA08 “*The next day in the morning from 9a.m till 12p.m, I’ll email saying that was nice meeting you it was a pleasure, I’ll add you into my mail list, you’ll be given a date of any events coming up*

so it's off and hope to hear from you soon and when I get a reply I follow up every single contact that I have".

However, not everyone shared DM01's networking practices. DM16, recounted that he would not check the delegate list, insisting that there is no "purpose" to his networking and his engagement is simply to "meet people and just to see what people are up to". While two participants recounted that they would not approach people at a networking event citing shyness as the deterrent (FA06) or the belief that it was "slimey" (FA09).

The practices of networking were either non-existent or quite specific and while perhaps not precisely planned, networking was approached in a particular manner. However, consensus was found amongst the participants that when networking, one must be authentic. Participants were conscious of not coming across as "robotic" (FA06) and were aware that networking often fell into the social realm as participants recounted that networking occurred informally, either after the stuffy, pre-organised networking events, or after a day's work between colleagues and industry peers.

DM13 "Real networking is what happens after jobs, when people go to the pub and have a drink or try and unwind or certainly in the AV agency which is where [current employer] started, it's after the show's finished, people go out and drink and that's where the bonds are made".

Overall, networking was a means by which the participants attempted to manage their career, where, by networking the participants were able to keep up with industry and personnel activities, share and gain information and maintain a visibility that enabled them to generate opportunities. The participants recounted particular practices by which they attempted to network, with evidence for consensus across the sample, however, there was not agreement by all participants. The lack of a universal approach to networking led to the impression that networking was often an organic activity that just happened as it happened with no formal planning.

4.3.2.viii. 'Who you know'

Through the previous career management practice networking, the participants create and maintained relationships with other people. A practice which was also apparent in the

'who you know ideology' presented in 4.1. Alongside the need to network, the participants recognised the influence that other people could have on their career. Twenty participants felt that their careers had been directly influenced by someone else, with 8 participants explicitly referring to the well-known term 'who you know'. When discussing the influence other people had on their careers, the participants referred to "*camaraderie*" (DM04), whereby cultural workers would stick together and help each other out in their creative careers. The existence of the camaraderie mirrored that of social capital, whereby individuals use their networks and communities to reciprocate each other.

Social capital amongst the participants largely existed in the influence it had on their recruitment - "*through connections rather than applying for work*" (DM07). Twenty two participants recounted gaining recruitment as a result of the people they knew - "*those referrals is what would probably bring me work. I can't see myself filling out job applications*" (DM09). The participants' social capital came into play as other individuals vouched for the participant (DM01); friends put the participant's name forward within their organisation (FA10) or the participant knew the employer (DM14; DM18; FA03; FA17). The participants also acknowledged that the influence of social capital on recruitment was not a taboo subject as employers encouraged the recruitment of peers or friends. DM20, reflected on the 'golden handshake'⁸⁴ he received when he recommended someone he knew for employment, while FA01 explained how friends shared work opportunities and that the recruitment of peers was just human nature.

The notion of supporting one another in creative careers was recognised, particularly by the fine artists, to have a lengthy existence. The historicity of this phenomenon was recognised with reference to Bennini (FA08), the Scottish Colourists (FA09) and the Glasgow Scene' (FA05; FA06; FA07; FA14). FA08 explained the support and influence derived from who you know in his recount "*where artists had to mingle in different social circles...I'll say it was a ((pauses)) like a priority that artists have to mingle to get into that need to know... Like for me at my opening, I've got to know who's in that room*".

⁸⁴ DM20's 'golden handshake', was a bonus which encouraged the recruitment of people the participants knew through sharing of employment opportunities with friends.

The camaraderie of the Glasgow Scene became internationally acclaimed, which the participants described as the strong supportive relationships that were held between the Scottish artists who worked together and as a result, supported each others' careers.

FA09 "[talking about the artists who are represented by the gallery she works in] *I was reading about [artist 3] ... and she was a student of [artist 1] and you suddenly realise that all these Scottish artists had these connections and all knew each other and they have this kind of cliché little group, erm, you know, they all went to the same, [art institution] so they all graduated from there and then they'd have like, then you'd realise 'oh wait [artist 1] was this guy's teacher or [artist 2] was this guy's teacher', no wonder, they have a similar style, they all know each other and they're all the artists that we exhibit. And it seems like every single one of them knew every single one of the other"*

Although, the participants appreciated the influence other people had or could have had upon their creative career, recognition was made towards the nepotism that had arisen out of the reliance and existence of social capital.

DM13 *"how do I put this without sounding very cynical... er, when I started it was a tiny industry, it wasn't tiny but it was small part of a broader creative industry, erm, so there were only a few key players. So if you know those, that's good but the main thing about it is, especially in all these industries, I'm sure sales is the same, is getting on with people...unfortunately. It's got a great degree of nepotism and a great deal of 'oh I remember him, he was alright'. And it's not always based on meritocracy or I guess most things."*

FA07 *"you know maybe knowing, having met the editor of a particular magazine, um that's only of so much use but knowing someone who could maybe do something for you"*

All in all, it was evident that social capital existed and influenced the participant's career. There was also evidence that the participants utilised their social capital either consciously or unconsciously and perhaps even through an inability to avoid it.

4.3.2.ix. Career Planning

Career planning was first presented in 4.3.1., when the participants referred to whether they had planned their career journey in terms of managing a career. In this section, career planning as per the discussions in the literature is an approach to career management that involves setting out steps and conscious efforts to achieve career goals and is concerned with the participants' plans within their career opposed to the initial entry and subsequent

maintenance of their career. Only four participants recounted any instances of planning in their career. Career planning took the form of *“always be thinking ahead”* (FA08) and being *“aware of when things are coming to an end, so not coming to the end and going ((gasps))”* (FA12). FA08 was the most prominent career planner and his accounts strongly illustrated how he planned for the future of his career by implementing steps in advance of their requirement⁸⁵.

Career planning was found to be inhibited by the external environment, other commitments - FA17 who recounted that she used to plan her career *“5 years ago”* but now with children she does not have the time to and the participants' attachment to their work - *“I don't feel like I can step back enough... I think you just get too close to what you're doing and you're in the middle of it...Always just jump from one thing to another ((laughs)) and not actually take the time to actually sit back and actually plan”* (FA17).

The lack of career planning was further evident in that the participants did not refer to the future of their career. There was no consideration amongst the participants as to what they would be doing in 1, 2 or 5 years' time or how they would take their career forward.

With consideration of the future of their career, the participants were probed about their experience or use of certain career development tools and agencies such as Creative Scotland, Creative Skillset or other skills and career assessment agencies. A number of the participants were unaware of the existence of such services and organisations and nearly unanimously, the participants did not use such services. Only two participants – DM06 and DM15, the two participants with the youngest creative career - had engaged with such services.

All in all, it was evident that the participants did not employ conscious career planning when attempting to deal with their creative career. Amongst the participants, there was a lack of acceptance of career planning and a clear inability to appreciate how they could plan their career.

⁸⁵ FA08 applied for a [shared artist studio space] during his undergraduate qualification so he would move up the waiting list before graduating and also linked with galleries in advance of graduation

4.3.1. Are Career Management Practices Employed by Cultural Workers?

While it was found in Section 4.1., that the majority of participants felt that opportunity and circumstance had developed their career, with little influence from themselves, it was found that the participants drew on particular behaviours, actions or practices within their career that mirror career management practices. The behaviours, actions or practices identified as career management practices have been presented across section 4.3. In answer to research question two, the identification of such behaviours, actions or practices indicates that the participants employed career management practices. Although not all practices were adopted across the sample, the findings demonstrate clear attempts by the participants to guide and influence their creative career.

Research question two was answered with evidence that thirty one participants exhibited proactive behaviour⁸⁶ despite not always recognising proactivity as they were found to be create opportunities within their career like DM05 - *“So yeah, the more doors you knock on, the more will open for you”* (DM05).

FA11 “I think if you say no to everything and you never put your nose out of the door... I think lucky people who land on their feet actually make it happen a lot of the time... they’ve been in the right place at the right time, but if you don’t then capitalise on that, like you might be at a coffee party or a drinks do and there is somebody there that can really help you and if you don’t go and talk to that person then you’ve missed an opportunity”

Examples of proactive behaviour included: identification and connection with an individual who could be influential upon their career (DM03); DM16’s regular trips to London with his portfolio, DM07’s dynamic approach to networking, FA02’s approach to collaboration and FA17 getting in touch with previous clients instead of waiting for them to get in touch.

However, despite their proactive behaviours and career management practices, the participants faced low levels of self-efficacy which created a barrier to their career

⁸⁶ DM06 *“Yes. I do think I try to be as pro-active as I can cause I don’t think you can just sit there and wait for things to happen...I think most of my career has come from being proactive and trying to constantly look out for things”.*

management. Struggling to see their role in their career management or how they had influenced their career, the participants recurrently shied away from opportunities to influence their career for the fear of damage to their career if they got it wrong - *“it’s almost better not- well, no in my head it’s almost better not doing anything at all rather than doing something badly. ‘Cause if you haven’t even done it then it’s not like you’ve got it wrong”* (FA10).

While evidence was found for career management practices being employed, the participants continually contradicted their behaviours, hesitated that their behaviours and actions were anything other than ‘just what you do’ and often failed to recognise the notion of career management practices within their own careers. In answer to research question two, it is thus concluded that career management practices exist within the participant’s creative careers but that the employment of such practices is more pragmatic than strategic, leaving the researcher to consider whether the practices were tactics or strategies.

4.4. RQ3: Do cultural workers display patterns of career management practices that can be interpreted as career strategies?

A range of career management practices were discussed in section 4.3., which when examined further, showed patterns in which two or more practices were used together to pursue a particular aim(s). These patterns can be understood as career strategies, which are defined as *“any behaviour, activity or experience designed to help a person meet career goals”* (Greenhaus et al, 2010: 131) and will be presented in section 4.4.

The exploration of patterns of career management practice as career strategies was prompted by one digital media worker’s use of the word *“campaigns”*. It then emerged that participants employed certain career management practices in combination to pursue a particular aim, such as changing course in their career or looking forward. Often these patterns of career management practices would include updating their online and social media; actively networking; getting in contact with and/or maintaining contact with people in the industry and simply ensuring that there is awareness around their creative output.

Systemically following up on this finding, six such typical patterns of career management practices which can be understood as career strategies were identified (see Table 3).

Table 3: Matrix of Career Management Practices to Patterns of Strategic Behaviour

Strategies ----- Practices	Awareness of themselves	Keeping up with Industry going-ons	Influencing Impressions	Relationship Management	Social Capital	Managing the precarious nature of creative work
Business Minded	•					•
Personality	•		•	•	•	
Art for Art's Sake						
Online/Social Media	•	•	•	•	•	
Creating visibility	•	•				
Collaboration	•		•		•	•
Agents & Mentors	•					•
Networking	•			•	•	
'Who you know'		•	•	•	•	•
Career Planning						

The following sections will present how the career management practices were employed towards the particular aim, taking each pattern at a time. The researcher was aware that the identification of career strategies would not be straightforward. Therefore, rather than a binary/ diactic division of external and individual forces, the career management practices were envisioned on a spectrum of practices. The spectrum ranges the practices from being largely controlled by the participants' actions and behaviours, to those which are often outwith the control of the participant and answerable to external forces.

4.4.1. Awareness of Themselves / Their Work

To manage a creative career, the participants referred to the need to create and maintain awareness of themselves and/or their work - *"just got to put yourself in the window all day every day"* (DM03). Awareness was described by the participants as the act of being visible

and “keep[ing] exposure” (FA16), which involved the participants actively making sure that others were aware of them and their work. The participants ensured that both themselves and their work was kept “front of mind” (DM01) and “findable” (DM04) as they recounted creating awareness by “meeting people and getting known” (DM03); “being on display, getting those opportunities and then anybody who likes your art you’re open to talk to them about it” (FA04) and “spreading the name, spreading the look of your pictures cause someone is going to see it” (FA09).

DM16 *“people being aware of you is never a bad thing, unless you’re a bad person! And the more that they do that the more likely it is that somebody will go ‘oohh...’, the whole keeping yourself front of mind when a brief comes in”.*

The participants recounted the importance of communicating their work as such promotion and visibility was believed to be beneficial to their career through the generation of opportunities and revenue.

FA07 *“I think if you let everyone know what you are doing. I tell my students that a lot, that never to hide what it is they want to do... I think it’s very important that they just tell everyone they meet”.*

DM06 [IV: visibility? And why is that important in your career?] *well so far I’ve just found that it has led to good opportunities”.*

FA17 *“Yeah but I have to keep telling myself ‘if I don’t advertise it, I’m not going to sell the work’. I can make away to my heart’s content”.*

Participants communicated their work (and themselves) through regular exhibitions (DM06, FA04; FA05; FA06; FA18 – the fine artists exhibited in galleries, while the digital media workers exhibited online, through personal, professional and industry related websites); getting articles about them or their work published (DM04; FA02); blogging (DM06; DM18; FA08; FA17); networking (DM03; DM15; FA10) and being active at events they attended, either by organising them (FA17) or presenting –*“yeah and I try to do as many interviews and talks as I can just to even, just to make myself much more visible”.*

It was equally important that the participants maintained awareness, to ensure that people did not “forget about you” (DM09). The creation and maintenance of awareness was pursued

through a combination of career management practices, namely, being business minded; creating visibility; utilising their personality; networking; collaborating; online/social media and agents and representatives in their career.

The employment of the career management practices in the awareness career strategy was founded on the creation of a positive image that was circulated to a wider audience in return for positive impacts on the participant's career. The participants drew on each of the relevant career management practices for a particular purpose. The career management practice of creating visibility was the founding principle of how all the practices were pursued and was employed in this career strategy with consideration for the mechanism as to how visibility would be created, such as networking, advertisement and getting your work in front of people.

DM08 *"sometimes when I work on events for free, people see me and next time when they think about doing something similar then they already remember me because they've seen something you know. So I'm just trying to be visible"*.

Being business minded was drawn on so that the participants thought creatively and strategically around the creation of their image and the awareness they generated - *"think about how you want to be positioned when someone's researching you"* (DM01). In doing so, the participants considered where they were generating awareness, what awareness was being generated and how the awareness would be perceived. Examples of how being business minded included: DM17's consideration of alternative marketing spend⁸⁷ to promote his business; DM04's pursuit for feature in industry publications and FA10's practice of extending advertisement reach through magazine advertisements. The participants then drew on their online / social media as the platform on which their awareness would be generated, utilizing Twitter, personal website, industry related forums and so on to build and maintain the awareness of themselves - *"it is about getting your stuff out there."* (FA18). FA01 *"you must have visibility, especially in an online capacity cos when people search for services now, the first thing they do is use a search engine or the internet in some way so that's why the online profile is so important for me"*

⁸⁷ Such as, sponsoring events and branding taxis

Development of a presence in the industry, enhanced the participant's chances of gaining opportunities as more people knew about them and their work was able to reach more people through other people's awareness of it.

DM03 *"If I meet five people in a day, that's five other people out there who are saying that I know what I'm doing and it is worth talking to them"*.

Through their online / social media, the participants built a presence, broader networks and were able to ensure that their awareness was maintained without the need to be everywhere. The participants used their online / social media in their awareness career strategy in the following ways: regularly updating content on their online/social media - *"upload photos of new designs and if somebody likes it they can mention it or they can retweet it and that kind of thing"* (FA18); chipping into social conversations online which kept the participant in touch with others, maintaining their awareness amongst others or enabling links with others to be established. The use of their online / social media also complemented their networking as the platform provided opportunities to network and engage with others which strengthened the awareness that they could create and maintain.

The participants combined their use of online / social media with their business mindedness as they used the platform strategically to create and maintain further awareness of themselves and their work.

DM09 *"creating a greater visual presence through the various online and social medias that I use in a professional capacity"*.

Twelve participants referred to their active consideration for meta-tags⁸⁸ and Search Engine Optimisation⁸⁹, recounting that it was not enough to upload content but that there had to be a purpose to the uploading.

FA14 *"I put a fresh picture up with a note about it. Well, if you update your website it keeps it higher up in the search engine, so basically all your meta titles, key words and you do that on every*

⁸⁸ A meta-tag is a tag (coding statement) that describes particular content from a web page, simply, it explains the page to a browser (such as Internet Explorer or Google Chrome) to understand, which in turn helps your page to be found in a search engine (Such as Bing or Google search)

⁸⁹ Search Engine Optimisation is an internet marketing strategy which involves webpage managers to target search audiences through particular design features on their site, such as particular words or content that push their website higher up the ranks of search engine results. SEO is the pursuit of increasing traffic to your site through design and algorithms.

page to keep it high up. And google keeps an idea on how much a site is being used and if something hasn't changed you gradually sink lower in the search"

FA17 "I've found that the way it's worked for me is that I've put in meta-tags and meta...whatever you're meant to do on your website. So certain words come up when people Google. So they my website seems to come up on the first page if not the top of the page quite often for certain words"

As the awareness of themselves as a career strategy involved the creation and maintenance of a positive image of the individual, the two career management practices that involved other people – collaboration and agents and champions – were pursued in order to exploit the benefits that other people had on their creative career. Through the agents, champions and collaborations, the participants had access to broader networks, more resources and were able to leave the promotion of themselves and their work to people who were not as attached to the work itself.

Creating awareness was pursued through the career management practices, which allowed the participants to create an awareness that positively impacted on their career through platforms, strategic considerations and other people. The need to create awareness was equally apparent by both the fine artists and digital media workers and was approached in similar ways, however, the strategic approach to online/ social media was noted more by the fine artists. Whether the strategic approach was pursued more by fine artists or simply more akin and less noticed by the digital media workers was not apparent. Imagined on a spectrum, the creation of awareness was positioned at the farthest point of individual control (strong) but could also be influenced by external forces as determined by the resources available.

4.4.2. To Keep Up With Industry Goings-on

The participants recognised the need to keep up with industry goings-on to maintain a competitive edge. DM04 explained, that working in a digital industry, *"if you are not part of or aware of the latest digital fad, then you are not going to do very well when your customers phone you up and catch you out on a Monday morning"*. In order to mitigate falling behind, the

participants pursued the following career management practices: online/social media; social capital and visibility, to keep up with industry goings-on.

The career management practices were used as the gatekeeper to information and as a means by which the participants could digest information. The participants' online/ social media, such as, Twitter, LinkedIn, blogs⁹⁰, Tumblrs⁹¹ (DM13), particular web sources (Such as NotCot⁹², Mashable and Digital Buzz), forums (DM18) and particular book publishers (A List Apart DM01), acted as the platform to finding relevant information and knowledge.

DM01 "[Twitter] I use it for getting information and hearing what people are saying"

DM08 "[LinkedIn] yeah I think so, cause I think it just gives you information about what is happening in the creative field. So I find it interesting"

The participants then drew on their social capital from which they were *"able to share information and experience with each other"* (FA13), which provided access to information that keep them abreast.

FA04 "Your contacts, that's where you get information from".

FA18 "we coincide in a lot of ways as well and we, we feed off each other and we give each other information".

The participants used their online / social media and social capital to access information relating to industry events, particular knowledge, personnel changes, employment opportunities and generally to keep abreast of things happening in their industry which they could draw on when networking etc. Through their social capital, 25 participants actively shared information to ensure that no one got *"left behind kind of thing"* (DM15). Referred to as *"peer communication"* (DM09), the participants recognised the strength of their peers in educating and informing their careers through information sharing. The participants recounted that through their social capital they were able to refer to friends and family, who in the latter stages of their career were often *"experts in their given field"* (DM09); could grasp what the industry is really looking for" (DM15); were more likely to

⁹⁰ (such as Colossal; AWWwards and Econsultancy DM01 and DM13)

⁹¹ Tumblr is a micro blogging and social networking platform

⁹² "There's websites that I go to like 'Notcot' ((participant spells it out)) So that's like a creative hub" (DM16)

hear about job opportunities (FA12) and were able to ask questions to the appropriate people - *“the more people you know the more likely it is that someone will have the answer”* (FA10).

Information⁹³ in the creative industries was recognised as changing very quickly and being available in large volumes. The participants used their online / social media and social capital to digest information. The participants' online and social media was used to filter and manage the information that they accessed, as demonstrated in quote by DM04 (see page 115). The participants commonly managed their information through RSS Feeds⁹⁴, which would sort the online and social media sources that they accessed and LinkedIn, which provided access to material from carefully selected industry individuals. DM16 recounted the benefit of his RSS feeds as he could easily access necessary information, from reliable sources, on his work commute.

The participants' social capital was also used to filter information as they actively engaged in the act of sharing.

DM09 “there is a strong I’ll scratch your back, you scratch mine and sharing of information, because there is, especially in digital media, there is such a wealth, a volume of information out there, you couldn’t read everything so if you could give five pieces to a friend and they could bring you five pieces that would be great”.

The participants recounted that their peers helped them to digest information in *“identifying stuff that is relevant to you”* (DM09) and *“if you read a book, pass that information on, share the knowledge”* (DM17). Experiences included: the sharing of industry related articles and updates (DM15) and keeping up with peers to gauge how things are going in other sectors (FA09). The participants combined their social capital and online/social media by using their online/social media to share the information with peers and colleagues. The digital media workers commonly used Google+ Circles and LinkedIn for sourcing and sharing information, while the fine artists utilised Facebook to share and source.

⁹³ Information was discussed by the participants as blogs or articles about new technologies, software or people moving around within the industry; information also included keeping up to date with what other people were doing, company activities and generally just keep up to date with the -ons in the field.

⁹⁴ RSS Feeds involved the creation of a web based feed reader which retrieved updated content from a variety of sources and listed them in one place for its user.

The participants drew on their career management practice of 'creating visibility' alongside their social capital and online / social media, when attempting to keep up with industry goings-on as they recognised the influence their visibility had on access to information. The participants continued to use their online / social media as a platform in which they held a presence by chipping into conversations, reminding people they existed through forums, updating their activities and to build up social capital. The participants found that through their visibility, opportunities and information was passed onto them (DM08; DM20; FA11; FA17; FA18).

The participants kept up to date through their career management practices that generated access to and management of information that in turn established a competitive edge for the participants that positively supported their creative career. The act of keeping up with industry goings-on is imagined on the spectrum as verging close to the middle but staying on the strong side as the individuals themselves control the level of activity they engage with and how they keep up with industry goings-on, however, such engagement can be outwith their control if they have restricted access or limited resources to do so, i.e. training and social media.

4.4.3. Influencing Impressions

In section 4.1., and 4.2., the participants recognised the importance of other people on their career and it became apparent other people's impression of the participant influenced their career. Referring to brand management, the participants recounted that the impression others had of them could affect their reputation and actively engaged in shaping other people's impressions of them.

Thirty three participants actively managed their reputation, which participants described as how the participant conducted themselves, the standard of work produced, their level of professional behaviour and having a strong work ethic.

DM07 *"It's what you do, it's how you work with people and if you're always delivering good work, if you're good to get along with, if you're generally dedicated".*

To pursue the strategic aim of influencing impressions, the participants drew on three career management practices: personality, online/social media and collaboration. The career management practices were drawn on in an attempt to create and manage the impression that other people had of the participants.

The participants drew on their personality when influencing the impression other people had of them by encouraging a professional impression. The participants built a strong professional image of themselves by being time managed, reliable, consistent and approachable, noting “[we are] *only as good as our last job*” (DM17). The participants made sure that they did not “*oversell*” themselves (DM13) and that they were a “*good colleague*” (DM20). The participants acknowledged that their personality was instrumental in the impression that other people had of them and that one could “*flavour [their] reputation*”, if they were a “*challenge to work with*” (DM20).

The participant’s personality was combined with the quality of their work as the participants believed that they should “*work hard and be nice to people*” (DM05). The participants employed the practices of their personality by ensuring that they were professional at all times, had the right attitude towards their work and working with others and had strong professional relationships with a variety of people.

In conjunction to their personality the participants employed their online/social media when attempting to influence the impression other people had of them. The participants ensured that they maintained their reputation online through consistent brand management as they considered how they were presented online. The participants considered their online content and the impression that built of them by: ensuring their content was up to date, work related and not personal⁹⁵; pushed their professionalism, establishing a presence for a particular subject; the interaction they had online with other people⁹⁶ and was strategic through the use of meta-tagging as presented previously. Through the impression they put out on their online / social media, the participants could

⁹⁵ DM04 never used a photo from a social event and FA06 had two accounts in order to separate his the two strands of himself.

⁹⁶ The participants managed the conversations they got involved with, the commentary they had and also the interaction other people had with their content, such as, retweets and recommendations on LinkedIn

influence how others viewed them. DM16 explained that an up-to-date and crisp online profile, demonstrated that they were organised, efficient and conscientious.

The participants also drew on their collaboration career management practice when attempting to influence the impression others had of them. The participants recounted that collaborating boosted the image of the participant which generate future opportunities. Collaborating enabled the participants to work with other people and widen their reach to other people as their collaborations influenced their external image. DM04 was also conscious that people often only meet the “*online you*” so it was important to be able to back up the impression offline to up-hold one’s reputation through consistency and integrity. Their collaborators brought associations, learning, networks and resources that the participants could use to enhance the image others had of them. The participants pursued their collaborations when influencing the impressions others have of them by carefully considering which collaborative projects to get involved in.

When influencing the impression that other people had of them, the participants drew on their personality, their online / social media and their collaboration activities in order to present an image of themselves that would be received positively by other people. The participants attempted to guide other people’s impression of them through the portrayal of professionalism and getting that impression out to a wider audience (through their online/social media and collaborations). Sitting in the middle of the spectrum, the view other people had of the participant was both in the control of the individual and out of their control, leaving the pattern sitting in the middle.

4.4.4. To Manage Their Relationships

The participants recounted the importance of keeping in touch with people they knew and as a result actively attempted to manage their professional relationships, both new and old. To manage their relationships, the participants pursued the following career management practices: personality; online/social media and networking on the premise that the participants wanted to connect with other people and keep in touch.

The participants drew on their online / social media and networking through active engagement with other people online and offline. Examples included: keeping up over

email; attending exhibitions, gallery openings or talks organised by their peers or colleagues; engaging in social media conversations with others; blogging and sharing their thoughts virtually; engaging in and initiating small talk; inviting peers and colleagues to events they are holding and meeting up with connections outwith events. Using their online /social media as a platform, the participants were able to keep up with their networks movements and activities and maintain communications with them across social media. Through networking, the participants were able to manage their relationships through an active presence amongst their connections. Networking also provided the participants with opportunities to connect with and engage in conversations with their connections that managed their professional relationships. The participants recognised the creative industries as a *“very personal industry”* which left the management of relationships to often be a very sociable affair as professional conversations *“swing over into the pub”* (DM01). DM13 explained the key component in the management of his relationships as *“Drinking. Drinking is the main, the life blood of this industry really. You go out for a drink with people, that’s what you try and do”* (DM13).

The socialisation element of the participants’ relationship management made the use of the participant’s personality extremely understandable. The participants’ were conscious of how they kept in touch with others and made sure they were authentic when managing their relationships. It was important to the participants that they did not come across as forced or robotic when keeping in touch.

DM07 “I won’t be like ‘oh my god, I haven’t been on Twitter for three weeks, I should go and keep in touch with people.’ I don’t do it for the sake of just keeping in touch so it’s not like I have a maintenance schedule, make sure you’re on Twitter at least twice a month. It’s kind of when it happens it happens”.

The participants ensured authenticity through their personality by employing appropriate ‘social skills’⁹⁷ and recounted the management of relationships rather as the maintenance of relationships - *“You know, you build up good relations with people and it’s to maintain them”* (DM04).

⁹⁷ The participants would ask for people’s opinion (DM09); ask questions; where careful to not push their agenda on the other person (DM06) and were just generally interested in them/ their work.

Further to the need to be authentic, maintenance involved visibility but not over-exposure. The participants recounted that there was a very “fine line between pestering” and maintaining their relationships, where the participants had to be careful to ensure they did not cross that line (FA06). In order to maintain their relationships without pestering, the participants took a natural approach to how relationships maintenance, which involved “*day-to-day browsing*” (DM07) online to engage in topics that they were “*genuinely interested in*” (DM08) and making sure that any contact made was not “*superficial*” (DM07).

The premise of managing relationships was keeping visibility amongst peers that would support the participant’s careers. In order to keep visibility, the participants employed their career management practices in the management of their relationships. The career management practices enabled the participants to maintain visibility but also helped the participants protect their approach by making them conscious of how such management could subsequently damage the creative career. To manage their relationships the individuals must take an active role and are in charge of the actions that enable them to manage their relationships, such as, how and when they reach out to their networks. Therefore, managing relationships is imagined at the strong level of control end on the spectrum, with consideration for the individuals own role within and influence on the relationships and how they are managed.

4.4.5. Social Capital – The Influence of Other People

The participants used social capital to promote and manage their career, with appreciation for how other people had an influence on career opportunities through support and sharing.

FA12 “*yeah it’s important to know people in the industry that you can network with and then you find out about job opportunities, but in the visual arts, when you are creating, it’s more about support and knowing there are other people out there, cause it can be quite lonely and just feeding ideas off*”.

The participants pursued their career management practices of networking, collaboration and personality in order to build a community around themselves in the form of social capital. From this community, the participants felt stronger in terms of their career as their social capital provided answers to questions and back-up (FA10); a sense of security and recognition from their surrounding community (FA15; DM04) and they were able to feed

off *“the dynamism of helping others around about them”* (FA07). Through their networks and via their personality, social capital provided the participants with the opportunity to *“Talk shop”* (DM07).

The participants’ career management practices were pursued in the creation of social capital, as their personality was used to establish themselves within the community, their collaborations acted as the sources for social capital and their networking established the access to creating social capital. The participants pursued the relevant career management practices in pursuit of this aim in a similar vein to how they used the practices themselves, often letting the practice create the social capital itself.

The participants used the career management practices strategically in how they drew on their social capital in terms of their recruitment. Twenty five participants recounted use of their networks to gain new employment, opportunities or avenues *–“I’d use my network”* (DM17) as it was found that the participants *“wouldn’t bother really doing job searches, I don’t think I’d bother sending out my CV”* (DM14). Therefore, in order to use their social capital in such means, the participants had to ensure that their career management practices of online/ social media; personality; networking and collaboration were polished and supportive. A continuing trend was the use of online/social media as the platform in which the participants would pursue their particular aim, with LinkedIn and other social media referred to as the *“mechanism”* (DM09) through which the participants would use their social capital to support recruitment - *“push out through LinkedIn and say ‘looking for a change’ essentially. Contact people that I know could help”* (DM16).

It was evident that although the career management practices were pursued in a less strategic fashion than the other patterns as the participants attempted, through their career management practices, to create social capital. From their social capital, the participants were able to influence their recruitment and strengthen their careers through the role other people played. However, while social capital was found to have a strong influence on a creative career, the control in which the individual had upon their social capital (and its influence) was low. Therefore, imagined on the spectrum of control, social capital was very close to the low end, with consideration for the role and control that other people had on social capital.

4.4.6. Managing the Precarious Nature of Creative Work

The participants pursued their career management practices as coping mechanisms when managing the precarious nature of creative work. Drawing on their practice of being more business minded enabled the participants to maximise their income generation and support themselves in developing their career. The participants employed their career management practice of collaboration to enhance their visibility and generate valuable connections to generate future opportunities/ work or employment, while the participants' agents and champions removed a layer of precarity from the participants as the participants were able to focus on the creative output.

In essence, the career management practices were employed in order to manage the precarious nature of creative work by providing the participants with tools and techniques in which they could deter the precarity from affecting their career. Therefore, the pattern was plotted on the low level end of the control spectrum and was the practice at the farthest point of low individual control.

4.4.7. Are Patterns of Career Management Practices Interpretable as Career Strategies?

In answer to research question three section 4.4. presented how the participants drew on the career management practices identified in section 4.3 in a strategic manner for career development and management. Particular career management practices were used simultaneously to achieve a combined goal or aim, such as the use of seven⁹⁸ of the nine career management practices to build awareness of the participant and their work. The simultaneous use of the career management practices demonstrated patterns, from which the combined aim or goal of the simultaneous use of the practices (the pattern) answers research question three in that the patterns can be interpreted as career strategies. The interpretations will be presented in section 5.3., in chapter five.

Career management strategies differed significantly with respect to the level of control cultural workers had on the outcome. In section 4.4., a spectrum of control (see figure 9)

⁹⁸ CMPS: Creating Visibility; Being Business-Minded; Personality; Online/ Social Media; Collaboration; Networking and Agents & Mentors

referred to the employment of the career strategies as affected by the participant's level of control.

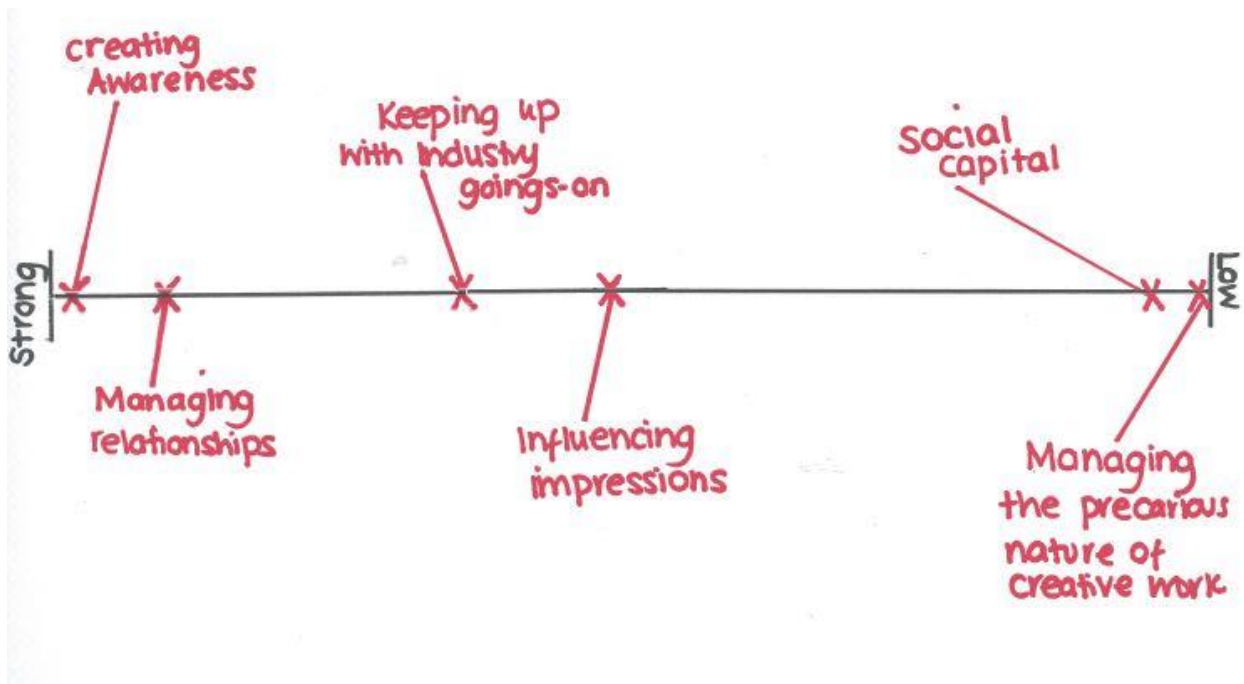


Figure 9: Spectrum of Control over Outcome of Patterns

Figure 9 illustrates the spectrum of control for the six career strategies, placing each pattern against the level of control that the participants has over the intended outcome.

The spectrum of controlled is illustrated above in Figure 9 with two continua, strong level of control, where the cultural worker had control over the intended outcome and low level of control, where the cultural workers control over the intended outcome was limited and the outcome was typically controlled by forces external to the cultural worker, such as societal factors, employment characteristics and/or other individuals. Figure 9 demonstrates that four of the six career strategies fall on the strong level of control end of the spectrum, indicating that the cultural workers themselves have control over the intended outcomes, while the other two career strategies are at the far end of low level of control. The plotting of the career strategies indicates that levels of control are extreme when it comes to the influence of external forces and that once an external force (outwith the cultural worker themselves) is associated with the pattern, there is little, if any, control by the cultural worker.

Looking at either end of the spectrum, the pattern with strongest control is 'creating awareness' and its counterpart at the other end is 'Managing the precarious nature of

creative work'. The pattern of creating awareness involved the participants drawing on their career management practices in order to establish and maintain visibility of self and their work. As the participants had control of their practices and activities in creating awareness as they managed their online/ social media, drew on their business minded-ness and other career management practices, the pattern is plotted at the farthest end of control (strong). The strong level of control was determined by the participants' control of what they got involved in, how they presented themselves and the means by which they created awareness of themselves and their work. While the participants' level of control was considerate of the resources available to them to creative awareness (i.e. online / social media platforms and access to particular resources required to create awareness), such access was not influential on the outcome of the patterns as the creation of awareness was not dependent on the platform used. On the other end, the participants lacked a level of control over the management of the precarious nature of creative work.

Despite the practices identified in answer to research question one and the employment of the career management practices identified in answer to research question three, the success of such activities was open to influence from a number of external forces, such as employment structures in the CCI, accepted norms in the CCI and the acknowledgment that any practices employed in the management, were for mitigating the effect of the precarious nature as opposed to eradication. With respect to levels of control, the other patterns are plotted between these two to demonstrate the control that the participants had on their patterns of career management practices with consideration for the influence of other resources, subjectivity and external forces. Sitting in the middle of the spectrum, despite being a similar pattern to creating awareness, influencing impressions was plotted due to the 50:50 level of control that the participants had over intended outcomes. Despite a strong control over how the participant interacted with other people and attempted to promote themselves positively within these interactions, how a participant was viewed by another person was subjective and therefore limited the participant's level of control. For example, regardless of a strong impression building activity, if another person did not perceive such impression strongly then the influence of that impression was minimised.

It should be noted that plotting on the spectrum is representative of the participants' opinion at the time of data collection and that the researcher is aware that in reality, and on a day-to-day practice, that levels of control would be effected by circumstance, environment and other factors. Therefore, the career management practices had to be responsive to the changes in level of control. It was evident that underlying the level of control the participants had that managing one's external image was of utmost importance could salvage any damage caused by loss of control.

In answering research question three, the study has identified that career management practices are displayed as patterns, which can in turn be interpreted as career strategies. Identifying and understanding such interpretations of career strategies is important as career strategies are useful components of creative career success and through understanding the levels of control within these interpretations will enable cultural workers to assign effort and resource to their employment form which they will generate the highest reward.

Despite their resistance to acknowledge their role within their career management as presented in section 4.1 and 4.2., the patterns that the participants exhibited in their career management practices were strategic, informed and action oriented. In response to research question three, therefore suggesting that cultural workers do in fact attempt to manage their career strategically, whether they recognise it or not.

4.5. RQ4: Are there any differences between the career management practices of digital media workers and fine artists?

The sample consisted of 36 participants, 18 digital media workers and 18 fine artists, providing an attractive platform for comparison of career management approaches across the two sectors of the creative industries. Comparison of the data would explore whether career management in the creative industries is universal or sectoral. The participant's career background was found to be influential upon their engagement with particular creative career features. Simple differences and similarities between the groups were found

in the structure of the participants' careers and employment backgrounds and subsequently, the participants' approach to career management.

A number of similarities between the two groups existed. Both groups were highly educated with all of the participants holding a first degree and the four participants with a PG qualification was split evenly between the two groups. The two groups were equally passionate and committed to their creative work with consensus that their passion (art for art's sake) carried them through the precarious nature of creative work and the benefits and motivations for the act of collaborating was shared across both groups. Both the fine artists and digital media workers, recounted that the management of their personality was either: (1) the impression that the participant made on another person; (2) their work ethic, attitude and ability to work with others and (3) the connections they made with others (i.e. the social aspect of the creative industries made it important for the participants to generate solid friendships with others based on trust, loyalty and respect). Both groups employed online/social media in the same fashion and there was a balance across the two samples with regards to the employment of career planning.

Other people was found to be equally important and influential to both groups with no difference in how the two groups approached managing their relationships. Social capital was a strong finding within the data and there was no difference between the two groups as to what social capital meant or how it affected the creative career. Both groups recognised the importance of and approached networking in the same way. Further similarity was found in the two samples ability to discuss other people's careers, other companies or things they had seen in other people's career in a more positive fashion than their own. Despite the participants' consideration of other people and other people's career, there were no difference between the two groups with regards to being unable to focus on themselves, which was evident in how they shied away from promoting themselves and became elusive towards accounts of their own career. The similarities that were found between the two groups demonstrates that cultural workers share a number of characteristics that will require management within a creative career, thus adding further evidence in answer to research question two, that cultural workers employ career management practices in their creative career.

With a small sample of 36 participants, split fifty-fifty between the two sectors, it was difficult to make generalisations. There were however, some clear characteristics, approaches and accounts typical of either sector that will now be presented.

Sixteen of the digital media workers identified themselves as employed, with only two participants being self-employed. From this, the experiences of the digital media workers typically appreciated a greater employment security. Although, the digital media workers had embraced freelance employment within their creative careers, viewing it as an opportunity to make money fast, build experience and fill any gaps in employment. Unpaid labour was prominent in the careers of the digital media workers but not something everyone had engaged with – five people had not, citing having had a career previously to their digital media career as the reason why they had not. The career management of the digital media workers came across as progressive and proactive, where it appeared that the digital workers were looking ahead and searching for the next opportunity and taking the steps to make it happen. The digital media workers typically took the strategy to manage their brand, relationships and reputation in order to influence their career. Typically, the digital media workers recounted a greater sense of influence over their career and looked at their career and its options with a ‘what can I do to make X, Y or Z happen?’ outlook. The digital media workers approach to their career management and view of their role in their career management played into their approach to career characteristics. When it came to recruitment, typically the digital media workers employed a direct approach, where they reached out to friends, networks and recruitment agencies for opportunities. The digital media workers approach to their online/ social media was founded on connecting and engaging, and were typically more active online, using online / social media on a day-to-day basis. Through their online / social media, the digital media workers found it easy to manage their relationships and benefited from their increased use of the media as a result. Agents and champions typically took a mentoring role in the careers of the digital media workers, being people who have aided their career opposed to driving it. As fellow digital media workers were not typically viewed as competitors, but rather peers, networking was a more natural process as the digital media workers ‘just did it and didn’t really have to think about how to network’.

The fine artists had a different picture to their career and career management. All the fine artists identified as self-employed and expressing higher levels of employment uncertainty and insecurity. With regards to their career management, the fine artists found themselves managing much more than their career, with consideration for the other roles⁹⁹ they had to play as a result of their self-employed status. Typically, the fine artists associated with career management occurring on a day-to-day basis rather than on a long term view, with their strategy for management being to build and maintain exposure. Typically the fine artists felt less manipulative on their career and focused on getting by rather than developing their career, leaving them thinking ‘it will happen when it happens’. The fine artists’ self-employment status resulted in them expressing confusion over freelance employment, what it meant and how it was applicable to them¹⁰⁰. The confusion led to the fine artists typically not identifying with freelance employment in their careers. All of the fine artists had engaged with unpaid labour at some point in their career and found that unpaid labour was their main source for recruitment opportunities.

In terms of their career management practices, the fine artists responded more so with the practice of being business minded, recognising the role that it played on their careers. The fine artists used their online/ social media as a platform to communicate out rather than with, with their communication being disproportionately about themselves and their work. The fine artists recognised that they needed to have more presence and activity online. Typically the fine artists had a strong engagement with agents and champions, citing them as particular drivers of their career and imperative to their career management and success. Despite the appreciation for the role other people played in their careers, the fine artists struggled with the concept of networking and relationship management due to competitor syndrome. The fine artists recounted that due to the nature of the fine artists’ employment status that networking felt like client poaching, selling to other artists or trying to step on

⁹⁹ FA10, who recognised that *“being self-employed I am an accountant and I am a photographer and I am a jeweller. But I’m also an administrator and all the other things that, if you were working in a big business, all these different jobs would have someone working on them but I do all of it myself”*.

¹⁰⁰ FA05 *“Yes, I often do freelance work and by that I mean , I don’t know what you mean by that but I do commissions for people and I often do public art works em yes, so my income comes from all sorts of places.*

FA10 *“Em, it depends what you mean by freelance. Like all the stuff I do is kind of freelance. Like, I suppose freelance to me would kind of imply working for an actual organisation that are then wanting- employing you for specific things”*.

each other's toes, a feeling that left the fine artists feeling uneasy and not naturally akin to networking.

The two pictures of typical sectoral career management illustrates that the participants from the two sectors manage their careers differently but from similar premises. The differences in approach to career management from the two groups can be viewed on a continuum. The digital media workers can be viewed at one end of the spectrum with their approach to career management being progressive and centered on their brand, reputation and opportunities. While the fine artists are viewed somewhere in the middle of the spectrum, as their approach to career management is somewhat outwith their control as they wait for things to happen but equally is controlled through their day-to-day approach to managing their career and management of exposure. Such a conclusion is perhaps a direct influence of their self-employment and the need to manage the business aspect alongside their creative career.

Although unable to generalise, the findings suggest that a universal approach to career management in the creative industries does not exist and that perhaps a sectorial approach does not exist either. Therefore, in answer to research question four, there are differences in approach to career management practices between the two groups studied. The similarities in career management from the two sectors suggests that there are however, particular features and considerations that can be fed into a support and manage a creative career. Through the similarities that were identified, the study added further answer to research question one that cultural workers do employ career management practices as the similarities demonstrated that attempts to manage a creative career exist. Both groups found benefit and influence on their career from their social capital, management of relationships, collaborations, online / social media and the management of self through one's brand or reputation.

4.6. Chapter Four Summary

Chapter four presented the findings from the thirty six interviews and answered the four research questions identified in chapter 3. The participants' careers were presented in

section 4.1., where it was found that the participant's career length varied, their entry to the creative industries was not as clear as one would expect and they had faced a number of employment characteristics, such as unpaid labour, freelance employment and precarious work.

Section 4.2., considered the effect of an employment characteristic identified in 2.1. (precarious nature of creative work), and answered the first research question through identification of particular practices employed by the participants to deal with the precarious nature of creative work. Precarious work was found to feature strongly in the creative career - all of the participants were aware of it and most had faced precarity at some point in their career and was regarded by the participants as unstable, unprotected and uncertain. Three practices were presented in section 4.2., in answer to research question one, in which the participants attempted to deal with the precarious nature of creative work through engaging in multiple employment, identifying and employing survival techniques and relying on their art for art's sake. Multiple employment was found to be the strongest mechanism for dealing with the precarious nature of creative work and provided benefits to the participants beyond income stability.

Section 4.3., then considered whether cultural workers employed career management practices were employed in the management of a creative career in an attempt to answer research question 2. While the majority of participants felt that they had not planned their careers and played no role in their career management, nine career management practices were identified, thus answering research question 2. Through identification of 9 career management practices of: being business minded; creating visibility; utilising online and social media; the use of their personality; collaboration; agents and champions; networking; social capital and career planning, research question two was answered. Research question 2 was further answered through the presentation of each career management practice, in which the detail of the practice was presented.

Chapter four moved onto section 4.4., which presented how the participants drew on the practices with a strategic purpose. Research question 3 asked whether employment of career management practices displayed patterns of use which could be interpreted as career strategies. It was presented in section 4.4., that the career management practices identified in 4.3., were in fact used simultaneously of each other for a single goal, thus displaying

patterns of use. In answer to research question 3 it was found that the patterns of career management practice use was interpretable as career strategies. The use of the career management practices in patterns led to the identification of six career strategies which were then presented on a spectrum with respect to the level of control the participants had on the outcome of the career strategy.

The final section, 4.5., looked at the two groups (digital media workers and fine artists) as separate samples in comparison of their approach to career management. By comparing the two samples in terms of career management, the study answered research question two as it was found that career management practices are approached differently by the two groups of cultural workers. Through the similarities that were identified provided further evidence in answer to research question 2, whilst suggesting that the premise for career management is consistent across the creative industries. In answer to research question four, the differences demonstrated that creative career management is by no means universal and cements the importance of understanding career management in the CCI in order to provide appropriate, practice led support.

Chapter four has sufficiently presented the evidence in which the four research questions identified in chapter three have been answered. The thesis will now discuss the findings presented here in chapter four in chapter five in relation to the literature reviewed in chapter two.

Chapter Five: Discussion

Consisting of four sub-sections, chapter five discusses the findings per theme under the research question.

The literature in chapter two showed that research on creative careers is currently focused on recruitment and inequalities in cultural and creative employment rather than individual practices aimed at managing careers. Furthermore, the extensive career management literature fails to apply its principles to non-traditional, precarious careers and therefore, the gap in knowledge surrounding creative careers is widened. This exploratory research begins to address the gap in knowledge surrounding creative career management in two ways. Firstly, through the collection of data from the perspective of the individual, which gives a more refined representation of creative career realities, and secondly through the exploration of career management in the cultural and creative industries (CCI) that will supplement knowledge on creative careers and lead to the generation of new knowledge.

Analysis of thirty six qualitative interviews confirmed that:

- the creative workforce are well educated (Menger, 1999; Freakley & Neelands, 2003; Skillset, 2010)
- there is a strong prevalence of unpaid labour (Gill, 2002; Kennedy, 2010; Skillset, 2010; Taylor & Littleton, 2011; Coughlan, 2012)
- the expectation of unpaid labour leads to discrimination (Oakley, 2006; Randle et al., 2007; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013)
- cultural workers engage with freelance and/or multiple employment (Blair, 2001; Guille, 2006; Haukka, 2011)
- creative careers are precarious in nature (Galloway et al., 2002; Ross 2006/ 2008; Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2008; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013)
- the 'who you know' ideology has a strong influence on creative careers (Caves, 2000; Thanki & Jeffrey, 2006; Skillset, 2008; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2009; Randle & Culkin, 2009)

The participants struggled to recognise their role in their career management, with the majority of the participants recounting that their career was founded on luck, chance and circumstance. The participants' inability to recognise their role in their career management can be interpreted as an outcome of the bohemian approaches to work and employment (McRobbie, 2002; Banks, 2006; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006; Taylor & Littleton, 2008; Taylor & Littleton, 2012). The participant's lack of recognition to their role in their career left them subconsciously belittling any efforts of career management, shrugging efforts off as 'it's just what you do' or 'it's not as thought out as that'. The participants suffered from, what they referred to as, a limiting self-belief, which inhibited them from recognising their role in and engaging in particular practices of their career (Bandura, 2006). Low levels of self-belief or more commonly known as self-efficacy (Bandura 2006) can affect an individuals' ability to see their own influence and effect change around them, often stifling an individuals' participation in activities that they deem to exceed their capabilities. Echoing findings of Bandura (2006), the participants recounted that it was easier (and perhaps safer) to 'do nothing' than do something wrong. The participants' self-proclaimed, self-limiting belief left them judging their own ability to manage their career. As such, their self-efficacy inhibited their engagement with career management, however, as the researcher discovered on a number of occasions, this limitation was actually that they did not recognise their engagement with career management.

A potential change in cultural workers' anti-commercial stance was detected in the literature (Taylor & Littleton, 2012; Lingo & Tepper, 2013) which was also evident in the findings. With the rising desire for increased employability provision embedded within creative degree programmes (Ball et al., 2010; Donnelly, 2012), the anti-commercial stance was less prevalent in the younger generation of cultural workers who sought out greater employability provision and recognised the influence of considering the business in creative work. Understanding more about the apparent change to the anti-commercial stance is the first suggested avenue for future research. Given that anti-commercial attitudes are constituent to cultural workers' identities (Haunschild & Eikhof, 2006), changes in this anti-commercial stance might have important implications for cultural workers' self-understanding.

Traditionally career management is concerned with advancing one's career through the development of promotion opportunities as implemented by an individual (Greenhaus et al., 2010). Initial thoughts arising from the CCI literature expect that career management would not be present in the participants' careers due to the strong nature of self-employment (Freakly & Neelands, 2003), the cultural workers typical struggle to correlate effort and result (Noe, 1986; McEnrue, 1989) and the disharmony between art and economic logic (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007; Haunschild & Eikhof, 2009). The findings initially suggested agreement that career management would not be present as the participants struggled to deem investments in their career, such as training, as justifiable, and failed to recognise and associate with instances of career management. Recurrently presented, the participants struggled to see their role in their career management (linked to Bandura's (2006) self-efficacy), and instead belittled their efforts of career management or shied away from recognising instances where they had managed their career. However, evidence for the existence of career management within creative careers and the deployment of particular practices and strategies was presented in chapter four. The findings will now be discussed in the following four sub sections with regards to the study's four research questions.

5.1. Dealing with Precarious Employment in CCI

Echoing long-standing research findings (e.g. Blair, 2001; Ross, 2006 /2008; Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2008/ 2009; Gill, 2010; Taylor, 2012) creative work and employment was recognised by the participants as precarious, unstable, unprotected and unpredictable. Appreciating that the precarious nature of creative work was a characteristic of their industry and that it could be exacerbated by the project ecology environment (Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013), the participants developed three ways in which they dealt with the precarious nature of creative work.

The participants engaged in multiple employment, in which they held employment alongside their creative work and employment. Multiple employment e.g. teaching, retail or hospitality has been shown as typical for the CCI (Dex et al., 2000; Lewis, 2000; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013; Eikhof, 2014). With 22 of the 36 participants engaging in multiple employment, the findings exceed Brown's (2007) expectation that at least fifty percent of

the creative workforce is engaged in multiple employment. As described in previous literature, the participants were able to safeguard themselves in their creative career as a result of multiple employment. The participants were able to manage the precarious nature of creative work through their access to resources,¹⁰¹ which their engagement in multiple employment enabled. Primarily, multiple employment generated additional (and often constant) income (Freakley & Neelands, 2003; Guile, 2006), which acted as a safety net, covering the participants financial responsibilities and substantially reducing the pressure of the precarious nature as their bills were paid (Galloway et al., 2002; Gill, 2002; Guile, 2006; Bennett, 2009). Through the safety of their 'bill paying income' the participants recounted feeling more inclined and able to engage in training and other investments in their career. Additional resources accessed through multiple employment included (1) other people (i.e. colleagues, customers, networks), in which the participants widened their social capital and through the act of sharing (advice, support and opportunities) retrieved information and opportunities and (2) an increased opportunity to learn and develop their creative practice through access to skills and experience beyond their creative work, such as business practice (see also: Ball et al, 2010).

Beyond the typical sources¹⁰² of multiple employment, the participants' cited 'related'¹⁰³ multiple employment which was important to the participants' psyche and artistic integrity, regardless of how tenuous the relation¹⁰⁴. Examples of related multiple employment included teaching on creative programmes/ in creative institutions; working in galleries or other creative environments; freelancing alongside their creative employment and working in creative retail spaces, such as, jewellers or art clubs. Relatable multiple employment magnified the participants' access to other people and increased development of their creative practice as the participants created competitive advantage, from which they became more 'employable' (DM08). Through their related multiple

¹⁰¹ It is important to note that in relation to their lack of identification towards their role in their creative career management that the participants referred to these access routes as the benefits of multiple employment.

¹⁰² as the participants engaged in teaching, retail and hospitality roles alongside their creative work

¹⁰³ DM08; FA17; FA09

¹⁰⁴ "I mean the first aid job isn't really creative but it's in a creative environment so I get to see the concerts and... I would say that every aspect of my work is creative... And yeah, you're in a cultural venue so you're surrounded by people that love their jobs because it's culture. And I'm not just a general first aider, I'm a customer service assistant with first aid and that's why I applied for that job because where it is" (PFA03; Fine Artist from the Pilot Study)

employment the skills and resources accessed encouraged the participants' creative work rather than detracted from it. For example, FA17 a jeweler, worked in an independent jewelers on the high street where she experienced customer trends and pricing strategies, experiences which informed her own creative practice.

Participants also attempted to manage the precarious nature of creative work through the maintenance of a strong presence amongst their industry peers. Having a presence amongst industry peers has partly been picked up in previous studies (e.g. Caves, 2000; Grabher, 2002; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2009; Randle & Culkin, 2009; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013,). Through a strong presence, the participants ensured that they were 'findable' (and remembered) and were able to positively influence the reputation of themselves and their work, which in turn, encouraged opportunities (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2009; Randle & Culkin, 2009). Echoing the literature, the participants emphasised the importance of tried and tested relationships on shaping their future opportunities and the role their friends and/or colleagues (past and present) played on their recruitment (Kretschmer et al., 1999; Blair, 2001; McRobbie, 2002; Witz et al., 2003; Oakley, 2006; Currid, 2007; DCMS, 2008; Taylor & Littleton, 2008; Carr, 2009; Davies & Sigthorsson, 2013). Particular reference was made to the famous industry wisdom of Blair (2001)¹⁰⁵ as the findings also recognised that 'your career is dictated by the last job you did'. Developing social capital and a presence through their use of online / social media, networking and engaging with others, the participants were able to manage the precarity of creative work.

The study identified 'survival techniques' which the participants drew on to manage the precarious nature of creative work. The survival techniques involved the participants monitoring their income, an activity which appreciated feast or famine mentality that exists in the CCI (Ross, 2008). In monitoring their income, the participants averaged their monthly income, keeping aside money for months where their income was lower¹⁰⁶. While money is seldom referred to in CCI literature, the participants act of income monitoring mirrors that of McRobbie's (2002) position in which cultural workers are suppressing the previous

¹⁰⁵ "you're only as good as your last job"

¹⁰⁶ For example: DM17 recounted his income monitoring when he said "I need two of these a month [referred to contracts to create websites]" to make it by that month".

notions of anti-commercialisation and are in fact developing a more business and strategic approach to their creative practice. While not a new finding, the evidence for income monitoring demonstrates an acceptance of coexistence as cultural workers begin to appreciate the need to engage with both art and business.

The three practices described above enabled the participants to deal with the precarious nature of creative work. Their multiple employment overcame the income instability and insecurity, their presence amongst industry peers overcame the informalities and their income monitoring overcame the irregularity of income. Regarding these points, the study of digital media workers and fine artists was able to confirm, deepen and extend existing research.

5.2. The Use of Career Management Practices by Cultural Workers

Career management practices are the skills, platforms and activities that individuals employ in order to manage their career (Pazy, 1988; Orpen, 1994; Greenhaus et al., 2010). Despite the participant's lack of recognition for their role in their career management (Section 4.2.) nine career management practices¹⁰⁷ were identified in chapter four (Section 4.3.2.). Acting as the platforms from which participants' promoted their creative career or the methods and behaviours employed by the participants' to manage their creative career, it is evident that the participants employed career management practices (CMP) in their creative careers. The use of career management practices echoes Harvey (2005: xx) account of employability, as the career management practices mirror the "attributes, techniques or experience" that the participants could sell to employers to develop their career opportunities.

While employability characteristics may not resonate with cultural workers, a structure that might is Taylor and Littleton's (2012) 'logic of success'. Taylor and Littleton (2012: 82) referred to a "cause and effect narrative resource which is linked to an assumption, generally tacit rather than explicitly stated, about how success can be achieved". In their research, Taylor and Littleton (2012) found that their participants would enact particular

¹⁰⁷ CMPs: the use of online/social media; being business minded; individual's personality; Creating visibility; Collaboration; Agents and Champions; Networking; Social Capital and Career Planning

behaviours in pursuit of success but that these behaviours were not felt universally amongst their participants, a similar finding in this research. With Taylor and Littleton's (2012) logics of success in mind, section 5.2., will discuss the career management practices identified in section 4.3.2.

5.2.1. 'You're Only As Good As Your Last Credit' (Faulkner & Anderson, 1987: 906)

Profile and being visible is imperative to encouraging and sustaining work and employment opportunities (Faulkner, 1987; Hirschman, 1989; Jones, 1996; Oakley et al., 1998; Taylor & Littleton, 2012), an opinion which is confirmed in the findings. The participants recognised opportunities to establish visibility through presence at industry events and that by keeping up ties with their peers they could maintain a strong reputation (Blair, 2001; Jones, 1996). A novel finding in addition to the traditional forms of creating visibility was the use of online/social media to create visibility. Online / social media activities involved platforms for hosting a profile, encouraging profile reach, strengthening one's profile by connecting with people, accessing information, communicating their work and participating in industry discussions. The participants' use of online / social media to promote themselves and their work, echoes Guthrie et al.'s (1998) concept of self-nomination and presentation. According to Guthrie and colleagues, individuals display their ability and accomplishments to others, ordinarily supervisors, in pursuit of career advancement. Guthrie et al's., (1998) act of communicating one's self to the wider public in the vein of encouraging work or employment opportunities captures the activity of the participants.

The participants' online / social media activities also enabled them to access information and manage their relationships – an appropriate imagery was FA06's reference of Twitter as a "*water cooler*" (FA06). Using RSS Feeds or following poignant people on Twitter, participants were able to digest relevant information and easily connect with other people in their social and professional circles. Such activities strengthened their profile and kept them findable. The participants' use of online/ social media to manage their relationships and access information, echoes Gill's (2010) opinion that cultural workers must keep abreast of industry goings-on and maintain strong ties with other people in the industry to combat the 'who you know' ideology. Taylor and Littleton's (2012) describe similar practices of

cultural workers as 'connected creatives', recognising that interpersonal relationships are of strong importance and influence on a creative career and explain that cultural workers exist in contexts whereby "their work [is] supported, encouraged and influenced by other people". This study provides detailed empirical evidence of how connectivity and information are achieved through online/ social media use.

5.2.2. Being Business Minded

The findings demonstrated that the participants increasingly wanted to become 'business minded', an act which resonates with recent literature showing cultural workers beginning to embrace business notions and the idea of being 'commercial' in their creative career (McRobbie, 1998 and 2002; Bennett, 2009; Haunschild & Eikhof, 2009; Lingo & Tepper, 2013; Thomson & University of West of England, 2013). The participants recognised the need to balance the creative elements of their work with business considerations and showed appreciation for business approaches within their creative work. The findings contest studies emphasising that cultural workers' dis-associate making money from creative production (Davis & Scase, 2000; Fillis, 2006; Luxford, 2010).

Whilst the anti-commercial stance is recognised as diminishing in the literature (McRobbie, 2002; Ball et al., 2010), previous research only scratches the surface with examples of business logic being embraced by cultural workers in their creative and cultural careers. The findings echo Haunschild and Eikhof (2009: 116) German theatre artists who engaged in "strategic marketing of their own labour" with recognition of commercial opportunities within a creative and cultural career through alternative avenues for promotion of their work, opportunities for career advancement or utilised business processes¹⁰⁸.

The practice of being business minded found within the study signals a changing landscape within creative and cultural work and employment, with consideration for a growing harmony between art and economic logic. However, it is clear that further work is required in this area, as a typical 'business minded' characteristic emerging from the study is to be

¹⁰⁸ Cost effective methods included product diversification - the production of lower end creative goods to support their main creative goods and/or sourcing cheaper material and alternative avenues for sale and promotion

known for high standards of work, professionalism and reliability (Donnelly, 2012; Taylor & Littleton, 2012), which is by no means a break from anti-commercialisation.

5.2.3. Personality

The participants actively referred to their personality in relation to their career management practices. Referring to the need to be likeable, reliable and professional, whilst also being authentic, the participants preferred characteristics resonate with Guthrie et al's., (1998) Big Five¹⁰⁹ behavioural traits that suggest that human personality influences an individual's career. The big five behavioral traits of Openness to Experience; Conscientiousness; Extraversion; Agreeableness and Neuroticism were found in the data with regards to how the cultural workers presented themselves and interacted with others.

The participants recognised the need to be sociable and connect with other people within their creative career as presented in 4.3.2.viii; 4.3.2.viii., and 4.4.4., which resonates with the trait of extraversion. Extraversion is "displayed through a higher degree of sociability, assertiveness, and talkativeness" (Komarraju et al., 2011: 472), characteristics which are inherent with the informal and social nature of the creative career. The participants also recognised the support that other people have upon a creative career and the act of sharing that is evident in the creative and cultural industries (see section 4.3.2.viii and 4.4.5.), which resembles the trait of agreeableness. Agreeableness is a trait in which individuals are sympathetic and helpful to one another, characteristics were are prevalent and supportive within a creative career. While agreeableness and extraversion were the most prominent traits recognised, the other traits, openness to experience, conscientiousness and neuroticism were also found within the data. The participants recounted conscientiousness in their need to be more business minded (section 4.3.2.i.), their openness to experience, which Komarraju et al (2011:472) recognise as "intellectual curiosity" in their strategy of keeping up with industry goings-on (section 4.4.2.) and neuroticism in their endeavour to be professional, reliable and businesses minded (section 4.3.2.iii., and 4.3.2.i.).

¹⁰⁹ Openness to Experience; Conscientiousness; Extraversion; Agreeableness and Neuroticism.

The study indicated that personality was more resonant with persona and characteristics of 'good manners', with evidence for behaviours that resonate with Marshall's (1989) career agency and Rosenfeld et al's., (1995) impression management. Evidence that the participants made attempts to manage their personality and external impressions through proactive and extroverted practices which are known to influence careers success (Siebert et al., 1999; Inkson, 2007; Judge & Kammeyer-Mueller, 2007) was found in the study despite the participants failing to recognise such practices in themselves. As described in previous research, the participants acknowledged that their extroverted counterparts were more successful as they were more likely to make things happen (Guthrie et al 1998; Siebert & Kaimmer, 2001; Judge & Kammeyer-Mueller, 2007).

As found in 4.4.7., the participants' engagement with strategies was not explicit as they found themselves in engaging in the behaviors and strategies naturally, in which they often failed to recognise the strategic nature of their actions. Such consideration goes towards explaining how the participants' recounted personality and related things like 'social skill' to their personality, reducing such behaviours and actions to trait like explanations? Furthermore, the participant's recount of personality relates somewhat to self-efficacy (Bandura, 2006) in that the participant's judgement of their ability influences their approach to the task in hand. It was found that a number of the participants had low levels of self-efficacy in that they had a low judgment of their ability. In the case of personality, their low self-efficacy could play a role in their interpretation and recount of what constitutes personality and their reaction to turn such behaviours etc into trait like explanations.

All in all, the participants recognised that personality had a strong influence upon an individual's career, with consideration for the type of personality (extroverted vs introverted) and the particular traits of a personality (proactivity). However, the participants also recognised that by having a positive and well received personality, opportunities would increasingly be available to them.

5.2.4. Relationship Management

Alongside previous research, the study identified the importance of relationships on careers in CCI, with the most prevalent career management practice being relationship management. Managing relationships echoes previous research in recognising how strong social bonds, informal working practices and the prevalence of 'who you know', requires cultural workers to maintain strong ties with other people (Faulkner, 1987; Caves, 2000; Blair, 2001; Carr, 2009; Florida, 2011). The study also appreciates that other people and cultural workers relationships have two functions within a creative careers: (1) support and (2) influence, whereby the relationships that cultural workers have play a strong role within the creative career (Jones, 1996; see also: Caves, 2000; Thanki & Jeffrey, 2006; Skillset, 2008; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2009; Randle & Culkin, 2009).

In the study, relationship management manifested itself in the same manner as in previous research, with consideration for networking, collaboration activities and maintaining connections with CCI peers (Blair et al., 2001; Blair, 2003; Blair et al., 2003; Tempest et al., 2004; Storey et al., 2005; Dasakalki, 2010; Coulson, 2012; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012; Seibert & Wilson, 2013). However, further detail on how the cultural workers managed their relationships was uncovered in the study. Firstly, on how relationships were also maintained through online mechanisms via social media or industry related forums that enabled networking with new CCI peers and keeping in touch with current CCI peers which extends current understanding of relationship management. Secondly, the importance of artistic integrity in the management of one's relationships. The cultural workers recognised the importance of being seen as authentic and professional when networking and for their relationships to be built on authenticity and merit and not their sales approach. Such findings go beyond that of the poverty stricken artist and the avoidance of selling out. As identified in section 5.2.2., as a suggested avenue for future research, how individuals authentically manage their relationships may have an effect on how cultural workers engage in more business minded practices.

5.2.5. Art for Art's Sake

Art for art's sake is known as the inherent motivation that a cultural worker has for their creative work (Caves, 2000; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007), a commitment which is shared by

the participants, who recounted how their love and determination for their creative production had got them through hard and insecure times of creative work and employment. As a result of art for art's sake, financial remuneration is often substituted by individual's intrinsic motivation (Oakley, 2009; Ball et al., 2010) and supports the participant's acceptance of poor, unstable and low paid employment opportunities as they strive for reputational rewards instead (Bourdieu, 1983; McRobbie, 2002; Nooy, 2002; Freakly & Neelands, 2003; Taylor & Littleton, 2008). Intrinsic motivation crucially supports acceptance of particular CCI structures, such as low pay and unstable employment, does create an impression of a career management practice. As a result of their love and commitment for their work, the cultural workers accepted the obstacles in their career and were able to navigate around them through their substitution. While art for art's sake was a beneficial coping strategy and was supportive in a number of ways, it could also be considered as constraining in that the cultural workers acceptance of such obstacles could be exploitative and inhibit strategic behaviour within their career. Furthermore, while cultural workers accept the barriers they face in their creative careers, necessary changes and support will not be introduced as such barriers continue unchallenged. Therefore, developments in career management behaviour will fail to exist.

5.3. The Interpretation of Career Management Practices into Strategic Patterns

A number of relationships between traditional career strategies and CCI structures were presented in section 4.4., thus providing evidence for the employment of career strategies in the non-conventional creative career. For example, it is known that the CCI breeds a culture of long working hours (Gill, 2002; McRobbie, 2002; Hesmondhalgh, 2010; Taylor, 2011), behaviour similar of the career strategy 'extended work hours' in which working above your hours is used to demonstrate commitment and ability to improve performance (Greenhaus et al, 2010). Although it is regarded that cultural workers typically engage in long hours out of self-exploitation (McRobbie, 2002; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006) or because creative work is a 'way of life' (Ball et al., 2010), evidence for a relationship between creative work characteristics (section 2.1.2.2.) and Greenhaus et al's., career strategies (section 2.2.1.1.) is still present. Here, despite the consideration that the long hours is self-exploitation, there is no dispute that the cultural worker is committed to their job (hence

demonstrating commitment) and equally there is no evidence to suggest that such long hours does not improve their performance. Therefore, the cultural worker’s act of engaging in long hours could be a nature of the creative beast and an imposed structural characteristic of working in the CCI, but it could equally be a strategic or self-imposed practice in order to have benefit on their career.

As presented in chapter 4, the participants drew on their career management practices simultaneously, in pursuit of a particular goal or purpose¹¹⁰. The simultaneous drawing off career management practices may have had an influence on the doubt casted over the participants’ reticence to identify their own engagement with career management.

Replicated below is the matrix from chapter 4¹¹¹ which illustrates the career management practices and their respective patterns.

Table 4: Replication of Matrix of career management practice to patterns of strategic behaviour in section 4.4.1

Strategies ----- Practices	Awareness of themselves	Keeping up with Industry going-ons	Influencing Impressions	Relationship Management	Social Capital	Managing the precarious nature of creative work
Business Minded	•					•
Personality	•		•	•	•	
Art for Art’s Sake						
Online/Social Media	•	•	•	•	•	
Creating visibility	•	•				
Collaboration	•		•		•	•
Agents &Mentors	•					•
Networking	•			•	•	
‘Who you know’		•	•	•	•	•
Career Planning						

¹¹⁰ For example, the participants employed their career management practices of personality, online/ social media and collaboration, which led to the pattern of consideration of how others saw them.

¹¹¹ Originally on page 201

The employment of career management practices and the subsequent patterns that emerged is consistent with Greenhaus' (1987, cited in McEnrue, 1989: 5) description of a career strategy as a "process through which employees guide, direct and influence the course of their career". The patterns reflect the process in which the cultural workers' career is guided, directed and influenced as the individual uses their career management practices as inputs into the process in which they enact influence on their career. Thus demonstrating the interpretation of the patterns as career strategies.

Relationships with the career strategies reviewed in 2.2.1., were found, particularly with the perceived overlap that occurred both with the patterns and within Greenhaus' (1987) career strategies¹¹². How the patterns presented in 4.4., resemble and can be interpreted as career strategies will now be discussed the following sections.

5.3.1. Creating Awareness

The participants' use of their career management practices to create awareness recognises the importance of visibility and awareness within their creative career which echoes Jones (1996: 64) finding that "your profile is critical". Through their act of creating awareness, the participants other career management practices came into play as the participants recognised how their practice of increasing awareness interfaced with the need to be business-minded or present a certain personality.

Practices in which the participants maximized their exposure and visibility supported the participants' careers as the awareness helped them to overcome the effects of the informal networks (Caves, 2000; Thanki & Jeffrey, 2006; Skillset, 2008; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013) and project ecology environment (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1998; Menger, 1999; Gill, 2002; Oakley, 2007; Gill & Pratt, 2008; Skillset, 2010; Grabher, 2012; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013) and minimised the challenges¹¹³ that Jones (1996: 64) identified as facing freelance film-makers.

¹¹² Greenhaus et al., (2010: 132) represented his seven career strategies in a cycle that suggests that the strategies are used simultaneously of each other and can be intermittent.

¹¹³ "Establishing one's reputation" through high quality work; "expanding one's skill base" and "developing a network of personal contacts".

The participants' creation of awareness, in which they drew on their career management practices¹¹⁴ to actively promote themselves and create a visibility around their work (and themselves, which was often portrayed as part of their brand), was perhaps not particularly strategic but certainly mirrors the principles of three career strategies reviewed in chapter two. The participants' promotion of work activities, accomplishments and attributes, mirrors the principle of self-nomination (Guthrie et al., 1998) and career strategies of 'building one's image and reputation' and 'engaging in organisational politics' (Greenhaus et al's., 2010), as all three career strategies involve careful consideration of how an individual communicates¹¹⁵ with other people. Although, the majority of the participants did not find themselves engaging in organisational politics due to their employment nature as the strategies suggest, they did engage in opportunities where their networks and connections were exploited for work and employment opportunities. Similarity of Greenhaus et al's., (2010) strategy of engaging in organizational politics was found in the study in how the participants actively engaged in online communities and conversations pertaining to issues affecting the CCI.

The participants' creation of awareness is presented on the continuum of control (figure 9) at the farthest left point indicating that the participants have a strong level of control over the intended outcome. Despite having a strong level of control, the participants demonstrate a disconnect between their actions being agentic and their appreciation of such actions as strategic.

5.3.2. Keeping Up With Industry Goings-on

The participants attempt to keep up with industry goings-on, in which they maintain a presence and knowledge with regards to industry appropriate information, plays into three of Greenhaus et al's., (2010) career strategies.

- developing new skills, whereby individuals engage in relevant training, development workshops or promote their employability through attaining new skills (Greenhaus et al., 2010); While the participants did not necessarily promote

¹¹⁴ CMPS: business minded; personality; online/social media; collaboration; agents and mentors and networking

¹¹⁵ first through their work, where the individual communicates their ability and the second, where the individual persuades other people to engage with or employ them.

their employability through particular training sessions due to the financial constraints involved (See Chapter 5; Handy, 1994; Cohen & Mallon, 1999), the participants maintenance of information and industry connections compensated. Through their industry engagements and up to date knowledge, the participants could identify skills for development and means by which such skills could be developed (e.g. online articles, online training, unpaid labour opportunities and free resources). Furthermore, the participants' presence within the industry offered opportunities for them to tap into resources which supported their attainment of necessary skills (e.g. invitations to speak at events that opened doors and connections with industry experts).

- engaging in organisational politics, which Greenhaus et al (2010) suggests involving flattery and the formation of alliances. The participants practices played into this strategy in that their relevant industry knowledge identified influential people with whom to engage in conversations (flattery) and kept them up to date with connections thus supporting their relationship management (forming alliances). While the participants were not explicitly engaging in organisational politics like the strategies suggests, they were engaging in the politics that affect the industry as a whole or their sub sector through their networking activities, online presence, information gathering activities and general maintenance of what is going on.
- developing new opportunities at work. Through their presence online and at events, industry engagements and their maintenance of knowledge relevant to their industry (and/ or sub sector), the participants were able to seek out or identify new opportunities for work. Such opportunities were a result of their visible profile and the reputation that their activities helped to establish and therefore opportunities were either brought to the participants as a result of their industry (and/ or sub-sector) specific knowledge or that they found through their practices that maintained their knowledge.

The three strategies mentioned above, are referred to by Greenhaus et al (2010) as development based strategies, which rely on the individual engaging in self-development and self-sourcing of opportunities that will advance their career, traits of which are evident

in the CCI (McEnrue, 1989: 59¹¹⁶, see also: blurred boundaries literature e.g. Gill, 2002; McRobbie, 2002; Henry, 2009; Taylor & Littleton, 2012; Conor et al., 2015). Through their activities the participants facilitated the flow of information and their reliance on informal networks as sources of information (Becker, 1982; Jones, 1996), which in turn supports their career management and plays into the three career strategies. The practices in this pattern are recognised as being particularly strategic in that the participants actively recognised their role in influencing the outcome and took steps in which to create such influence. However, despite their agentic behaviour and strategic attempts, the participants strategy of keeping up with industry goings-on, was plotted on the continuum of control (figure 9) near the middle in that the participants control over the intended outcome was not necessarily in their hands.

5.3.3. Influencing Impressions

The participants strive for a reputation based on merit, good work and reliability resonates with the importance (and influence) of artistic prestige as an indicator for creative career success (Randle & Culkin, 2004). The participants activities in which they presented themselves in particular fashions¹¹⁷ through control of their external image strongly mirrors Rosenfeld et al's., (1995) impression management strategy, in which individuals would manipulate the impression other people had of them (Tedeschi, 1981; Kipris & Schmidt, 1988; Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Rosenfield et al., 1995; Bozeman & Kacmar, 1997; Bolino & Turnley, 1999; Pear & Vitak, 2015). In extension to what is already known, the participants built this image and competence through face to face interactions but also through their online / social media presence in which such activities where the catalyst for which their image was created (Conor et al., 2015).

While the activities mirror the premise of impression management, the study demonstrated that such activities were not conducted in terms of manipulation but positive self-presentation which satisfies their attainment of artistic prestige. Such finding further

¹¹⁶ "process of self-development [that] requires employees to sacrifice their own time, energy and other resources both on and off the job"

¹¹⁷ Great care of their external image and active consideration how particular events, discussions or depictions of themselves affect their external image by drawing on their career management practices (personality, online/ social media and collaboration).

demonstrates the disconnect that the participants experienced between strategic behaviour, structure and pragmatism. It was increasingly evident throughout the study that the participants' career management was either pragmatic or simply unrecognised.

To balance the creation of appropriate impressions with satisfying artistic prestige motivations, the study demonstrated that external images were founded on suitability, which resonates with Greenhaus et al's., (2010) career strategies of 'building one's image' and 'attaining competence in current job'. From the impressions they influenced, the participants found that career success and opportunities were generated which subsequently supported their creative career. While the participants were not employing the strategies in their true form (to advance their career), they were employing them to sustain their career and support their continuous employment through the project ecology environment.

The pattern of influencing impressions was plotted in the centre of the continuum of control (figure 9). Despite the participants displaying agentic behaviour towards how the impressions were influence through their strategic attempts to influence impressions, the control over the intended outcome was neither theirs or not.

5.3.4. Relationship Management

A known characteristic of creative work and employment prevalent in the study was the influence of 'who you know' (Caves, 2000; Thanki & Jeffrey, 2006; Skillset, 2008; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2009; Randle & Culkin, 2009). With appreciation that informal channels led to the existence of motley crews (Caves, 2000) and that tried and tested relationships influenced recruitment opportunities within creative careers, the participants actively managed their relationships with other people for recruitment (Kretschmer et al., 1999; Blair, 2001; McRobbie, 2002; Witz et al., 2003; Oakley, 2006; Currid, 2007; DCMS, 2008; Taylor & Littleton, 2008; Carr, 2009; Davies & Sigthorsson, 2013).

The participants' attempts to manage their relationships with creative and cultural peers played into relationship-orientated career strategies (Guthrie et al's., 1998) as the management of relationships mirrors the involvement of other people. Under relationship-

orientated career strategies, individuals create scenarios which positively demonstrate their ability (self-nomination) and/or connect with other people (build a network), traits resonant with the pattern of managing relationships. By managing their relationships, the cultural workers created networks which supported their careers and enabled them to promote themselves to others who could generate valuable opportunities. The premise and practices involved in the pattern resonate with Rosenfeld et al's., (1995) impression management, Social capital and Greenhaus et al., (2010) attaining a mentor. Through the other people the cultural workers were able to manage and develop their career.

Plotted on the continuum of control near the end indicating strong control, the participants held influence over how their relationships and attempts to manage such relationships played into their careers. However, the practices in which the participants managed their relationships were pragmatic and not recognised by the participants as strategic. Again the disconnect between control over outcome and agency came into play, indicating that in reality, the participants approach to career management was largely pragmatic rather than strategic.

5.3.5. Social Capital

Through their engagements with other people, the participants were analysed as using their career management practices in ways that positively influenced (and encouraged) social capital (Burt, 1992; Adler & Kwon, 2002; Halpern, 2005; Keeley, 2007; Hau et al., 2013; Leung et al., 2013). As noted in 2.1.2.2.ii., social capital was already recognised as being influential within a creative career and the findings presented in 4.4.5., added to this knowledge. Therefore, it was unsurprising that the cultural workers were found to employ practices and patterns in which to capitalise on such influence.

In 4.4.5., it was presented that the influence of other people on the cultural workers career mirrored the "material gains" expected of social capital (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012: 1313). Other people were recognised in creative careers as influential players on career success either directly (through word of mouth recommendations and recruitment influences) or indirectly (through information sharing, advice and mentorship) (Roos & Roos, 1997; Uzzi, 1997; Kretschmer et al., 1999; Dex et al., 2000; Blair, 2001; Paterson, 2001; Baumann, 2002;

Gill, 2002; McRobbie, 2002; Witz et al., 2003; Haunschild, 2003; Oakley, 2006; Thanki & Jefferys, 2006; Currid, 2007; DCMS, 2008; Spiro, 2008; Skilton, 2008; Taylor & Littleton, 2008; Carr, 2009; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013; Skillset, 2014).

The cultural workers used their social capital to promote and manage their career, from which they can build a community (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012) and share a sense of 'safety in numbers' as a result of the resources that their social capital generates (Roos & Roos, 1997; Lin & Haung, 2005; Ellinson et al., 2007; Zuniga et al., 2012; Ellison et al., 2014). It was further found that the cultural workers social capital played its part on their recruitment which mirrors the opinion of Paxton (1999) that social capital is based on the receipt of resources from one's connections (See also: Seibert & Wilson, 2013).

Drawing on their career management practices of personality; online/social media; collaboration and networking the cultural workers used their social capital in their career management. The pattern further mirrors the concept of social capital in the fact that through their practices the cultural workers maintained the three properties, norms; trust and information. The three properties were found to be the foundation of how the cultural workers managed their relationships and interacted with other people. The cultural workers social capital was also, as recognised in the literature, a defense mechanism from which the cultural workers dealt with the structures of creative work and employment (Jones, 1996; Sorsenson & Waguespack, 2006; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012). Through their social capital, the cultural workers developed work and employment opportunities and developed their careers through the access to resources that their social capital generated, similar to the material gain referred to in 2.1.2.2.ii.

It was also recognised that in relation to their social capital, the cultural worker's developed and managed their social capital through what they referred to as personality. As Guthrie et al., (1998) did, the cultural workers recognised personality as a strong precursor for how an individual will succeed in their career with consideration for how a cultural worker's reputation influences their work and employment opportunities and relationship management. The cultural workers extended this consideration to how personality influenced their social capital, with recognition that a likeable, reliable and professional

personality, developed social capital and enabled them to draw on their social capital (Tilly, 1998; Barley & Kunda, 2004; Bechky, 2006; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012). Therefore, Guthrie et al (1998) career strategy of personality is strongly aligned with the pattern of social capital.

The cultural workers use of social capital as a career strategy, is consistent with another career strategy, 'attaining a mentor' (Greenhaus et al., 2010). Greenhaus et al's., (2010) career strategy 'attaining a mentor' involves development of one's career through a senior employee who shares knowledge, experience and guides the individual through their career journey. The premise of the strategy 'attaining a mentor' mirrors the community built and resources accessed as a result of the cultural workers social capital.

In essence, typically the cultural workers did not use their practices to create social capital (although they recognised the ways in which the practices could do so), but to manage and maintain their social capital which was then used in the management of their career. Through their social capital, the cultural workers developed a number of gains that in themselves managed their careers, such as recruitment, reputation and support. Therefore, social capital was not a solo career strategy but had a much wider benefit.

5.3.6. Managing the Precarious Nature of Creative Work

The study demonstrated that the participants career management practices enabled them to counteract or ease precarious characteristics of creative work (Dex et al., 2000; Gill, 2002; Carr, 2009; Hesmondhalgh, 2010; Taylor & Littleton, 2011; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013; Taylor, 2012/ 2013). The participants' use of their career management practices were analysed as attempts to make change, for example, they proactively considered alternative products (business minded) and engaged in collaborations to open up opportunities demonstrating examples of career agency within their creative careers (Thatcher & McQueen, 1981; Lent & Hackett, 1987; Marshall, 1989; Cochran, 1997, Betz, 2001; Inkson, 2007). Through their agentic behaviour, the participants patterns of career management practices in managing the precarious nature of creative work plays into Inkson's (2007) career metaphor, careers in action. Although the cultural workers were recognised as exhibiting agentic behaviour, again it became clear that such behaviour was pragmatic as they did not recognise their

behaviour as proactive or agentic. A thought which leads back to the dichotomy of structure and agency that was consistent throughout the findings, in which the behaviours of the cultural workers in respect of their career management were not always recognised as strategic or in the cultural workers hands.

With consideration for the cultural workers lack of recognition for career planning, it was considered that the management of the precarious nature of creative work impedes on the cultural workers recognising their practices and subsequent patterns of practices as strategic. Although agentic behaviour was identified, the participants struggled to associate with career planning (Orpen, 1994), a concept which appeared hidden behind the nuances used by the participants'. The participants echoed the opinions of Eikhof and Haunschild (2007) and Taylor and Littleton (2012) that they could not engage in career planning due to the need to be mobile, flexible and responsive to opportunities in the CCI, an opinion recognised by Inkson (2007) who believes that career planning can stifle or limit a career.

Recognised on the spectrum of control (figure 9 in section 4.4.7.) at the farthest right point, the pattern of managing the precarious nature of creative work was deemed low in the cultural workers control. Despite the participants agentic behaviour, the control that the cultural worker had on the outcome of how they managed the precarity was outwith theirs. Revisiting the lack of career planning and need to respond to the structural constraints of creative work (such as the project ecology), it is unsurprising that the management of the precarious nature of creative work is outwith the cultural workers control. Thus, the structural elements of creative work are stronger even than a cultural workers agentic behaviour, a finding which has a severe consequence on policy and practice.

5.3.7. Summary of Research Question Three

As presented in section 4.4.7., the career management practices of cultural workers that made up patterns were interpreted as career strategies with a number of instances where the patterns resembled career strategies identified through section 5.3. The application of career strategies within creative careers is an important finding as it demonstrates that

career management is prevalent within the CCI whilst maintaining the distinct uniqueness of the CCI.

Throughout analysis of the study's findings, it was apparent that the participants struggled to recognise their own strategic behaviour, which led to them belittling and dismissing their career management efforts. It is here that the researcher recognised the dichotomy between structure and agency, in that the cultural workers' practices and behaviours were typical of structure (created by 'society') rather than agentic. A number of instances where agentic behaviour was overshadowed by structure were prevalent, which in turn influenced the impression that the cultural workers had of their own career management. It was also evident that while the patterns were interpreted to resemble a number of career strategies, their application to creative career management would not be straightforward. Traditional career management strategies are motivated by career advancement—advancing one's career or attaining promotion, while the study suggests that creative career management is far more aligned to day-to-day management and the importance of maintaining a strong artistic identity. Therefore, while the employment of traditional career strategies are applicable to creative career management as the principles marry current career activity in CCI, the strategies should be adapted to consider CCI specific structures and attributes. Adaptations could include how career strategies typically designed for organisational employment are applied to self-employed careers and used on a basis to maintain a career rather than develop it. Specific adaptations include how the development based career strategies recognise careers in which skills investment is particularly tricky or often inaccessible.

5.4. Career Management by Digital Media and Fine Artists.

Section 4.4., presented the findings pertaining to the similarities and differences pertaining to the two groups in this study. The similarities and differences between the two groups (digital media and fine artists) will now be discussed under the three themes that arose from data analysis.

5.4.1. Creative Careers

Similarity between the two groups was strongest in terms of their creative careers. In both groups it was found that the participants were highly educated (Menger, 1999; Freakley & Neelands, 2003; Skillset, 2010), had a passion for their work (Jones, 1996; Menger, 1999; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Howkins, 2001) and were unable to discuss their own careers as easily and positively as they could other people's careers. All of the participants recognised themselves in a creative identity and shared a common belief in their industry and the work that they did.

The differences between the participants in both groups appeared to stem from the employment contracts¹¹⁸ held by the two groups. The digital media workers found themselves employed in traditional, more structured employment scenarios where promotion and advancement were a common possibility. The fine artists, who were typically self-employed, found themselves having to navigate a more fickle and less structured employment scenario. The two employment structures brought around different challenges in the world of work and it is here that the main differences between the two groups was found. Difference between two groups was found with regards to their approach to career management and their employment of their career management practices. For example, the groups of participants experienced differences in their methods of recruitment [word of mouth and recommendation (DM) vs opportunities arising from unpaid labour (FA)]; engagement in unpaid labour [less prevalent in DM than FA¹¹⁹] and deployment of freelance employment [more prevalent in DM than FA].

5.4.2. Career Management

As presented throughout chapter four and discussed in the previous sections in chapter five, all of the cultural workers displayed instances of career management in their creative careers (whether they recognised it themselves or not). Despite the consistency of evidence for career management across the cultural workers careers, difference in how the two groups approached career management was found: digital media workers considered the

¹¹⁸ The Digital Media workers were mainly employed by an organization typically undertaking employee status (even if they engaged in freelance employment, they were an employee in their primary occupation), while the Fine Artists were typically working for themselves and typically self-employed.

¹¹⁹ Five digital media workers had never engaged in unpaid labour

management of their career in the long term, while the fine artists appeared to manage their career on a day-to-day basis and made attempts to manage their brand rather than their career. The digital media workers appeared to manage their career through their own actions and in a progressive fashion, as they engaged in opportunities and/or behaviours in pursuit of advancing and developing their career. While, the fine artists appeared to manage their career in a the vein of sustainability, whereby the opportunities and/ or behaviours they engaged in with regards to managing their career appeared to be about staying afloat and surviving. While not conclusive the difference in approach between the two groups mirrors two scenarios in career management literature. The first being the effort and reward concept, where individuals who perceive a higher reward from a particular activity are likely to exhibit greater levels of effort in that activity (Noe, 1986; McEnrue, 1989). The second scenario is how the difference in approach to career management plays into the difference between individual and organizational career management (Gutteridge, 1976; Super & Hall, 1978; Orpen, 1994; Alfred et al, 1996; Brousseau et al, 1996; Nicholson, 1996; Baruch & Peiper, 2000; Thite, 2000; Baruch, 2003). Organisational career management, was presented in chapter two as career management in which policies and practices are developed by the organisation for career effectiveness (Orpen, 1994). The organisational approach to career management mirrors that of the fine artists, who strive for career sustainment rather than management and through their activities and behaviors' endure effective careers. The behaviours expressed by the fine artists were typically reactive and relied on existing structures, which could be a byproduct of the constraints that they faced in their careers. An interesting relationship as the fine artists are typically self-employed which, poses the question as to who is the organisation that generates the policies and practices. As this was not explored in the study, the researcher suggests that the organisation is the CCI themselves in that the career structures and environment in which the fine artists operate forces them to strive for career effectiveness. On the other hand, the digital media workers approach to career management mirrors that of the individual career management approach (Judge et al., 1995), whereby the individual takes responsibility for their career and involves the "personal effects made by the individual to advance their own career goals" (Orpen, 1994, 28). The digital media workers appeared to take greater responsibility over their career through their more proactive nature and ability to manage their career related actions and

behaviours, such as networking, communicating and career development. In essence, the difference in approach to career management was influenced by the dichotomy of structure and agency, in which the fine artists were more constrained than the digital media workers by the nature of what they do (See 4.3.2.vii on networking, in which the fine artists struggled with the concept of networking due to their interpretation of their networks). Relative to the correlation between effort and reward, agentic behaviour is promoted by high levels of confidence which encourage proactivity and an individual's belief in their ability to enact change (Kush & Cochran, 1993: 434; see also Boyatzis, McKee & Godman, 2002; Inkson, 2007). It appears that the digital media workers have greater belief in their ability to enact change and therefore, through the opportunity for agency within their career, take on a more strategic and longer term approach to managing their career (Lent & Hackett, 1987; Lent et al 1996; Cochran, 1997; Bandura 2001; Betz, 2001; Pringle & Dixon, 2003; Inkson, 2007).

5.4.3 Career Management Practices

Career management practices were found to have similarity and difference, which was to be expected considering the strength of similarity between the two groups in their creative careers.

The strongest similarity in career management practices was the strong influence and supportive role that other people (colleagues, peers, other cultural workers and people external to their creative production) had on the career of cultural workers from both groups' (Kretschmer et al., 1999; Blair, 2001; Gill, 2002; McRobbie, 2002; Witz et al., 2003; Oakley, 2006; Thanki & Jeffreys, 2006; Currid, 2007; DCMS, 2008; Taylor & Littleton, 2008; Carr, 2009; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013). As part of other people, networking was a prominent career management practice amongst all of the participants and no difference in opinion was found between the two groups in how he engaged with networking (through online/social media or during face to face interactions).

Despite the strength in consensus regarding other people and how the cultural workers networked, difference was found in detail of the two elements. Firstly, in terms of other people, difference between the two groups was found in the role that the other people took in the participant's career. For the fine artists other people's engagement was

predominately as agents, champions and supporters. In essence the fine artists sought other people as a source of promotion or to take away the administrative workload of the creative production while the digital media workers, sought other people as mentors and / or influences on their careers (through the generation of opportunities and guidance). With networking, the fine artists expressed concern that their actions could be seen as poaching as networking took place amongst or even with their industry peers who were also their competitors. The digital media workers on the other hand had a clearer distinction between networking for self-promotion to potential clients and networking with peers for information exchange. The differences go towards the suggestion in the previous section (5.4.2.) that the two groups approach career management differently. The fine artists' perception of the role of other people as promoters and workload supporters resonates with organisational career management in that the goal is to sustain the creative production in the same vein that organisational career management endeavours to support the aims and objectives of the organisation rather than its employees. The difference also further suggests that the digital media workers are more in tune with the notion of managing their career through agentic behaviour (Inkson, 2007) and individual career management. Again further suggesting a difference in approach to career management between the two groups.

Difference in who utilised the career management practices was not found, however, like approach to career management, difference lay in how the career management practices were utilised, drawn on or employed between the two groups. The main difference in how the career management practices were used arose in the participants' use of business minded-ness, online/ social media, agents and champions and networking. Again, the difference in how the two groups of cultural workers used their career management practices resonates with the difference between individual and organisational career management (Gutteridge, 1976; Super & Hall, 1978; Orpen, 1994; Alfred et al, 1996; Brousseau et al, 1996; Nicholson, 1996; Baruch & Peiper, 2000; Thite, 2000; Baruch, 2003). Typically, the digital media workers were found to be more assertive and proactive with their employment of their career management practice, thus further strengthening the suggestion that their career management mirrors individual career management (open, 1994). Evidence for resonance with organisational career management amongst the fine

artists was demonstrated in the employment of their career management practices in a more salient manner and to support the overarching goals of the CCI rather than to develop their own career.

The strongest difference in career management practices is between the greater relationship with business minded-ness amongst the fine artists and a greater use of online/social media by the digital media workers. The fine artists presented themselves as needing to be more business minded than their digital media worker counterparts as they exhibited a greater need to consider the business side of their creative production, through resource considerations and attempted to add 'strings to their bow' such as lower end products (cards) or creative advertising. The increased need and desire from the fine artists to be more business minded echoes Ball et al., (2010) appreciation for greater employability provision from Higher Education Institutions. In Ball et al., (2010) study, the participants strived for greater employability within their creative education in the hope that it would equip them in their creative career, which resonated with the motivation amongst the fine artists to be more business minded.

The digital media workers were more akin to working online and promoting themselves and their work through such mediums. While all of the participants recognised the importance and influence of online / social media and there was consensus for how an individual should promote themselves online (ie. Professionally, with consideration for the image they created for themselves), the two groups differed in what they considered as the primary function for online/ social media. For the digital media workers, the primary function of online/ social media in their creative career was a platform for interaction, using their online/social media for engaging and connecting with other people (similar to the self-presentation as discussed by Conor et al., 2015). The fine artists on the other hand, primarily used their online/social media as an outward platform for communication and display rather than engaging with other people. The digital media workers displayed a greater proactivity towards their online / social media and consideration to its influence on their creative career, strengthening the opinion that they approached their career management more systematically and actively.

In all, the differences between the two groups provide a basis from which further research is required to explore it in greater detail. Further research would further address the gap

in career management in the creative and cultural industries as little research is known on the sectors within the overarching industry.

5.5. Chapter Five Summary

Chapter five has seen the findings presented in chapter four discussed in relation to the literature reviewed in chapter two. Chapter five has answered the three of the four research questions as posed in chapter three sufficiently, with identification of the practices which cultural workers use to deal with the precarious nature of creative work (research question 1); identification of the use of career management practices by cultural workers and the details of the nine career management practices identified (research question 2) and the use of career strategies by cultural workers (research question 3). Research question four, consideration of the differences between the digital media workers and fine artists was answered but more work in this area is required to sufficiently conclude the differences in the two groups of participants.

Chapter five has contributed to knowledge in a number of ways, generally and more directly. In the bigger picture, the findings discussed have confirmed a lot of what is known about careers in the CCI and have then gone further with this knowledge, adding detail to what is already known and identifying the detail of particular practices. Furthermore, the utilisation of the critical incident technique enabled the study to gather data direct from participant experience and therefore enabling the study to focus on the individual perspective, which is currently lacking in CCI knowledge. In more detail, the findings have enabled a far greater understanding of creative career management through the recounts of first-hand experience from the participants, which tell similar stories of the attempts by individuals to manage the precarity of creative work. Lingo and Tepper (2013: 345) referred to the opinion of Throsby when they reported that cultural workers need “exposed to specific training in career management”. This doctoral study has taken Lingo and Tepper’s (2013) opinion further through the research that has been conducted and presented. The research has gone a long way towards identifying particular training needs of cultural workers with regards to career management, but most importantly presents evidence that there is an appetite amongst cultural workers for such training and that the negative relationship believed to exist with such economic non-bohemian ways is diminishing.

Furthermore, the findings have, for the first time, married traditional career management literature to CCI knowledge, with application of how traditional career management literature relates to the experiences of cultural workers. This particular finding has led to the conclusion that traditional career management needs to be adapted to new industry contexts, which is important in a time where traditional careers are not as common and a number of work and employment scenarios exist in society. In response to the changing environment of work and employment, the career management literature needs rejuvenation in order to be considerate of the new and alternative ways of working.

Succeeding chapter five, is chapter six, in which the findings will be presented in avenues for future research and conclusions will be made from the data.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations

Chapter six concludes the exploration of career management in the creative and cultural industries by bringing together the empirical findings with the implications for practice, policy and theory. The avenues for future research on career management in the creative and cultural industries (CCI) are presented and discussed in consideration with the limitations facing this doctoral study.

Through the exploration of the micro level of career management in the creative and cultural industries, this study has met its aim as stated in section 1.3. This aim was achieved through the empirical data that was gathered, analysed and discussed throughout this thesis. The methodology of the study supported the 36 subjective career experiences from which the micro level detail of career management in CCI be understood, be interpreted into the objective patterns that generated a larger understanding of career management in a whole population.

Within the overall aim, two objectives were also presented in section 1.3:

1. To bring together two separate research subjects, career management and creative industries, and explore the relationship between the two.
2. To identify practices, strategies and the detail of individual career management in the creative industries.

The first objective has been met in that the discussion of the 36 career experiences that took place in chapter five explored the relationship between creative and cultural industries and traditional career management. The second objective of the overall aim was met in the four research questions that were answered and provided the detail of career management in the creative and cultural industries.

As identified in chapter one, this doctoral research was timely and appropriate. Contribution has been made both to theoretical knowledge, policy and practice. With a growing proportion of the population employed and the strong economic growth in the CCI (DCMS, 2016), to support further gains, it is imperative that creative career management is systematically addressed in research, policy and practice. This study has

provided exploration, insight and understanding of career management in the CCI. Through avenues for future research opportunities in which further understanding can be generated, which in a cyclical fashion, could feedback positively on the further expansion and growth of the CCI.

This doctoral study set out to collect data that would answer the four research questions set out in 2.3:

1. Which practices, if any, do cultural workers employ in their attempt to deal with the precarious nature of creative work?
2. Do cultural workers employ career management practices in their creative careers and, if so, which practices can be identified?
3. Do cultural workers display patterns of career management practices that can be interpreted as career strategies?
4. Are there any differences between the career management practices of digital media workers and fine artists?

The following section, 6.1., presents the findings which led to the answering of the study's four research questions before presentation of the theoretical and policy implications as a result of answering the four research questions.

6.1. Empirical Findings

The empirical findings were gathered through 36 qualitative research interviews with cultural workers based in Scotland as the qualitative interview process provided scope for valuable, in-depth, personal data to be gathered. Flanagan's (1954) critical incident technique was employed which enabled the study to drill down deeper into focused experiences and events within the participants careers and thus gather the necessary detail required for this exploratory study. The empirical findings as per the four research questions will now be briefly summarised.

6.1.1. Research Question One

The first question asked which practices cultural workers employed in order to deal with the precarious nature of a creative career. In chapter four it was presented that the

participants employ three practices when dealing with precarity: multiple employment; survival instincts and art for art's sake. The findings demonstrated that the employment of these three practices provided safety and support to the participants in times of insecurity, instability and low income and enabled the participants to juggle the demands of creative work. Whilst the findings were in agreement with current knowledge, extensions to knowledge were found, particularly with multiple employment, in that the cultural workers were increasingly engaging in related employment, which in itself extends our understanding of artistic prestige. The finding of related employment demonstrates that the cultural worker recognises the necessities within creative careers but are attempting to employ ways in which the greatest level of support and benefit to their creativity can be achieved. The analysis of the participants' practices in dealing with the precarious nature of creative work demonstrated a level of pragmatism from the participants. As such, the participants dealt with the precarious nature with practical responses, such as their income monitoring and with practices that diminished the negative consequence of the precarity rather than trying to diminish the precarity. Such pragmatism could be deemed the result of acknowledged lack of control of the precarious nature of creative work or a practice in itself, in which the participants appreciated precarity as inevitable and therefore, through their practices they could alleviate the effect it had on their career.

6.1.2. Research Question Two

The empirical findings demonstrated the use of career management practices within creative careers from cultural workers despite a lack of recognition of their role in their own career management practices. The career management practices were all used as means by which the participants could influence or direct their careers through the employment of particular behaviours, actions or platforms on which their career could be promoted.

Nine career management practices were identified: Being Business Minded; Visibility; Collaboration; Online/ Social Media; Personality; Networking; Agents and Champions; Social Capital and Career Planning. Each career management practice was presented in turn in section 4.3.2., with consideration of what the practice involved and how it was used within the creative career by the participants. Again the practices were found to share a similarity with pragmatic behaviour similar to the three practices used to deal with the

precarious nature of work. The practices were often described by the participant as just something they did or were not explicitly recognised as an out of the ordinary behaviour, further suggesting that the career management practices were pragmatic behaviours and more about day-to-day survival than career advancement. A number of the participants appeared to go beyond pragmatism and were deemed proactive in their career behaviours, with particular consideration for their use of online/ social media and being business minded. The nine practices were not used in isolation of each other, which led to the emergence of patterns as discussed in 4.4., and will be summarised in section 6.1.3.

6.1.3. Research Question Three

Research question three asked whether cultural workers employed career strategies in their creative careers, with consideration for patterns of behaviours emerging that could emulate career strategies. In section 4.4., the findings presented a number of patterns that emerged from the deployment of the career management practices that were presented in the previous section (4.3.). The patterns demonstrated simultaneous use of the career management practices for one particular aim and the patterns were presented on a continuum of control. Six instances were found whereby the participants had drawn on more than one practice in the achievement of a goal, for example, the participants strived to 'keep up with industry goings-on' and in order to do so, were found to draw on their career management practices of online/ social media; creating visibility and social capital. It was presented in section 5.2.3., that the patterns of career management practices took a similar form as the career strategies reviewed in the general literature (Section 2.2.1.) and especially shared a number of characteristics with Greenhaus et al., (2010) career strategies. The six patterns were presented on a continuum of control with respect the level of control the cultural worker had on their outcome. For example, the two extremes, were strong control of which the pattern of creating awareness was plotted as the awareness created was solely in the control of the cultural worker, to the other extreme, low control, of which managing the precarious nature of work was plotted due to the fact that the cultural worker could attempt to manage the precarity of creative work but ultimately due to the structural influences, it was outwith their control.

It was also presented in section 4.4. that the participants use of their career management practices in patterns was not recognised by themselves as strategic and were often just things that you did or were expected to do in your creative career, such as networking and making friends in the industry. It was found when discussing the findings with the existing literature that the career strategies and patterns, although relatable, were often outdated for use in the CCI and did not necessarily respond to the alternative career structure that the CCI possess'. It could also be argued that while there were six patterns, the six patterns were centered on the main aim of maintaining a strong external image within their creative career and that each pattern came back to this central aim. The participants recognised the importance of how they were perceived by others and how a bad reputation could have devastating effects on their career, therefore, by networking, staying visible, having strong relationships and creating a particular image of themselves through their online/ social media, the participants were able to positively maintain their external image which supported their career. An aim which comes back to the well-known importance of artistic prestige. However, this also goes back to the continuum of control in that the cultural workers also had to deal with external contingencies and therefore, while artistic prestige was the overall theme, it is perhaps influenced by external forces.

All in all, the empirical findings found that cultural workers, while not recognising it themselves, employ career strategies in their creative careers. The study further found that while the cultural workers may not follow the exact mapping of the career strategies in the literature, the principles of the strategies are reflected in the experiences and practices of career management reflected on by the cultural workers sampled. Furthermore, the study, through the discussions in 5.3., has gone beyond the traditional career strategies and adapted them to the contemporary context of interest – the creative and cultural industries.

6.1.4. Research Question Four

Research question four explored whether career management manifested itself differently between digital media workers and fine artists. While not a principal aim of this study and by no means conclusive, it was important to explore if career management between one traditionally cultural industry (fine arts) and one typically creative industry (digital

media)¹²⁰ was in fact different or if there was enough of a difference to need to be explored further.

The sample was split 50:50 in fine artists and digital media workers, thus providing a clear and comparable data set. Section 4.5., presented the findings which proved that career management in the CCI is not universal and one size does not fit all, despite similarities between the two sub-samples. The differences between the two groups were subtle, with examples including the use of online / social media (outward facing for the fine artists and for engagement amongst the digital media workers); the groups engagement with freelance and unpaid employment (the former was greater amongst digital media workers, while the latter was greater amongst the fine artists) and how the participants from either group approached networking (with the digital media workers being less cautious than the fine artist who fought against the competitor syndrome when networking). A further difference found was that while career management was built on the same premise for both groups, the two groups approached career management in different ways. However, it is also not enough to say that the two groups approached career management differently as difference was found within the groups as well, meaning that a clear approach to career management was not undertaken by the fine artists and another by the digital media workers. It was found that the difference in approach typically came down to the participant's employment situation (see appendix 5), with the 14 self-employed fine artists and 5 freelance digital media workers taking a similar approach to their career management versus the 13 digital media workers and 4 fine artists who recognised themselves as employed. The cultural workers employment influenced the approach they took to their career management as recognised in section 4.5 and 4.6., in that the self-employed cultural workers typically approached their career management on a day-to-day basis, with their exposure being the main thing they managed versus the employed cultural worker, for whom career management was more progressive and about their overall brand. Such a difference was based on employment status rather than sectorial and could have been influenced by the structures surrounding the cultural worker as a result of their employment.

¹²⁰ For a discussion of cultural versus creative worker see Banks (2014).

Similarities between the two groups were also found when research question two was answered. Both groups shared the same career passions (high level of art for art's sake found between both groups), educational background (all of the participants had a first degree and of the four with postgraduate qualifications, this was split between the two groups) and career principles (i.e. both groups felt an influence from other people on their career and found it important to be known for good work and have a strong external image). The similarities presented in section 4.5., support this study's contribution to knowledge as it cements the imagery that already exists of the cultural worker and the typical characteristics that make up a cultural worker – hard working, committed to their art and with a degree qualification. In addition, the study supports an understanding that career management is not universal and therefore policies and support for the creative and cultural industries should reflect this. While, it was not the intention or expectation of this study to concretely represent the two sub-sectors, the study has identified the further exploration that is required in determining the differences within the CCI as an area of research in its own and justified right.

6.2. Theoretical Implication

This doctoral study made three main contributions to knowledge.

The study's first contribution was the confirmation of knowledge. The data gathered from the empirical work validated CCI literature through similar findings in this study. Confirmations of knowledge included, the characteristics of a creative career, such as, the precarious nature of creative work, engagement with unpaid labour and reliance on other people; the desire for more employability provision and changing landscape of creative careers, the importance and influence of other people on creative careers and the importance of visibility and profile within a creative career. Further confirmations were found in research question one, in which the methods found to deal with the precarious nature of creative work demonstrated the importance of multiple employment to manage instability; survival techniques to diminish income insecurity and how a strong industry presences keeps cultural workers at the front of mind which supports their periods of unemployment. The confirmations of current knowledge support the need for further

research in creative career management as they suggest that little, if any, change has occurred in creative careers across the decades.

From the confirmations of knowledge the second contribution of the study was the extensions the findings made to current knowledge. Examples included how online / social media was used by the participants in their career which advanced the knowledge provided by Taylor and Littleton (2012) on cultural workers use of online / social media; the employment of relatable multiple employment, which extends current knowledge regarding multiple employment (Dex et al., 2000; Lewis, 2000; Haukka, 2011; Freakley & Neelands, 2003; Guile, 2006; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013; Eikhof, 2014); the practices employed when networking (McRobbie, 2002; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013) and how being the practice of being business minded manifested itself within the CCI (Ball et al., 2010; Donnelly, 2012). By extending current knowledge, the study has made a strong academic contribution and the extensions support the need for further research on career management in the CCI.

As an exploratory study, new knowledge was not necessarily expected but the exploration of a particular phenomenon, in this case career management, does expect to generate new knowledge in terms of whether the phenomenon exists. Therefore, new knowledge was created in the evidence that career management exists within careers in the CCI (despite the cultural workers not always recognising it), which is the third contribution from this doctoral study. New knowledge was developed as the empirical findings drilled down deeper into creative careers and identified the details of how career management exists within the CCI. Through the new knowledge generated from this doctoral study, a deeper understanding of the creative and cultural industries, with particular attention to creative career management was developed, supporting Hesmondhalgh and Pratt's (2005) desire for more knowledge on the operations of the cultural industries.

The study's strongest development of new knowledge was the identification of mechanisms and strategies used by cultural workers to deal with their creative career in answer to research question two and three. While previous studies have mainly described careers, this study has brought in the career management literature to show that, although

not perceived as such by the individual, cultural workers do, in fact, employ career management practices and they do so in ways that even have strategic character. The cultural workers demonstrated instances of proactive behaviour, when they made things happen for themselves in their careers and through their career management practices had a dominant effect on their creative careers - a stark contrast to the image of the charmingly chaotic Bohemian entrepreneur.

Through all three contributions: confirmations, extensions and new knowledge, the study addressed the gap in knowledge identified in chapter two as the literature prioritised the characteristics of creative work rather than the detail of careers in the CCI. Through the empirical findings, this gap was addressed as the data provided valuable insights in career management in the CCI and drilled down into the norms, relations and organizational structures on which cultural workers' behaviours and actions are informed. The fourth and final contribution was the avenues for future research that this exploratory study has identified, which will be discussed further in section 6.5.

All in all, this doctoral study delivered four strong contributions to knowledge that enable research on creative career management to continue and presses for further exploration.

6.3. Policy Implications

As identified in chapter one, this doctoral study has a number of relevancies to policy and practice. With consideration for the growth and value of the CCI (as per the government statistics), it is important that policy is supportive of creative careers and provides relevant and effective support that will enable further (and sustainable) growth of the CCI.

Interestingly, when asked about the future of their creative career and if they had used any creative agencies, such as Creative Scotland and Creative Skillset, the majority of the participants came across as confused and unaware of such service. This finding would be of particular interest to policymakers as it demonstrates that there is a lack of knowledge and experience of such agencies, which therefore, impacts on the effectiveness and delivery of such services. Policy makers such as creative skillset and Creative Scotland regularly run census activities, which are well responded too, suggesting that the CCI is not a particularly difficult sector for policy makers to engage with. From such findings, the

implications for policy may be that such policy makers and support agencies alter the way that they approach CCI policy and their campaigns by which they promote their services. With consideration of the strength of using online / social media amongst the cultural workers, this would be a particularly interesting and potentially fruitful avenue for policymakers to encourage dialogue and interaction with cultural workers.

The second implication for policy comes from the findings not resonating enough with CCI strategy documentation, which focus on growth of the CCI economically and operationally rather than on the individuals involved in such industries. Skills Development Scotland through their dedicated website 'My World of Work'¹²¹ suggests that the CCI will grow by two percent¹²² (an estimate of 1300 jobs). There is a lack of consideration for how this two percent growth and subsequent 1300 extra jobs will be supported or for the effect this employment growth will have on the current over supply of labour and precarious work conditions as identified in both the literature and these findings. Therefore, the findings from this doctoral study should impact policy by demonstrating that focus should not be on growth and 'new customers' but on the existing creative population and how growth impacts on them and that necessary support mechanisms are required. Such practices would of course benefit future growth of the CCI and with sustainable growth, the CCI will be in a much stronger position.

The next policy implication is the impact the findings have on The Creative Industries Council strategy¹²³ put together by Creative Industries Council. Again the focus is made on the growth of the CCI, however, details for supporting this growth and that of cultural workers was noted, such as access to finance and provision of skills and training with reference to the need to "equip the next generation of talent" (Creative Industries Council, 2014: 02). The findings provide useful case studies and opportunities for providing known successful support mechanisms, such as online / social media training or opportunities to generate valuable social capital. Therefore, this doctoral study, presents to the Creative Industries Council, the means by which it could deliver such support from the real life

¹²¹ <https://www.myworldofwork.co.uk/my-career-options/creative#overview>

¹²² No time frame or indication of when was provided by the source.

¹²³ http://www.thecreativeindustries.co.uk/media/243587/cic_report_final-hi-res-.pdf

career management experiences of the study's participants. From the findings it was also evident that cultural workers could benefit from greater support surrounding recognition of their role and influence within their career management, from which they may find themselves more proactive and responsive in terms of career management. Such support could involve documentation from which cultural workers recognise their own behaviours and practices thus leading to recognition or through support sessions in which the behaviours and practices employed by the cultural worker are demonstrated to them in terms of generating recognition.

The premise of this this doctoral study opposes a number of UK CCI policies that focus on growth of the industry and the attraction of talent. However, the European Union policy, specifically, the European Creative Industries Alliance Policy Learning Platform (ECIAP) seeks better practice for current cultural workers through the provision of mechanisms that are supportive to those already in their creative career rather than trying to enter one. The findings of this study are therefore, particularly aligned to implicating such policy. As previously discussed, a 'one size fits all' approach to career management in the CCI was found inappropriate with suggestion that career management is not sectorially universal. Although the study did not intend to conduct a comparison study between the two groups (digital media workers and fine artists) the data found that between the two groups, career management was founded on similar premises, such as the need to engage with other people and the need to develop a strong reputation yet differed in approach and employment of career management activities. For example, the digital media workers exist in a career environment which is far more team based and amenable to self-promotion than the fine artists.

With consideration for the non-universal approach to career management and the need to explore the differences between CCI sectors further, this will have serious implications on policy, as policies like the ECIAP will have to consider the differences across the CCI and respond sectorially in their policy. More research that considers further the differences between sectors within the CCI, will have a positive impact on the policies that support creative career management as they consider the different features and factors involved in CCI careers.

A final policy implication as a result of this study is the transferable knowledge that the study has generated. In a time where austerity is not diminishing and precarious working environments are on the rise as the working population across the UK has to adapt to changing working environments and increased insecurity, the knowledge generated from this study can support careers outwith the creative and cultural industries. It has been recognised previously that characteristics of the CCI, particularly the inherent motivation and commitment, has been recognised by other sectors and industries, with attempt to emulate them, therefore, the knowledge generated from this study has wider appeal and benefit to policy across UK work and employment.

In summary, the findings implicate policy by pushing towards a greater need for support, policy and mechanisms for the existing creative population rather than the current sole focus on attracting new talent to the CCI. The findings demonstrate that policies current consideration that business and creativity must go hand in hand is appropriate and that cultural workers strive for more of this. Therefore, supporting the work that creative agencies and policy makers do. The findings also implicate policy in answering why the cultural workers sampled failed to recognise and respond to creative agencies as a support mechanism. Therefore, policy makers and support agencies must recognise this in their operations and consider how they can overcome this issue.

6.4. Study Limitations

Due to the exploratory nature, there are still gaps in the knowledge base post study, which in hindsight, could have been addressed. There are three potential impacts that will be considered as the study's limitations.

The first limitation is that a two stage approach to data collection could have been beneficial. A two stage approach, whereby additional data was collected after an initial round of data collection and analysis would have enabled the study to explore particular areas of the data further. For example, a two stage approach would have enabled the study to generate greater detail regarding the career management practices that were identified as the second stage would allow for questioning based on original findings and provide an avenue for which particular aspects are returned to, such as the patterns which were interpreted as career strategies in order to generate a greater understanding. Also by

approaching data collection in two stages, the study would have been able to diminish ambiguity, explore further any nuances that said one thing but suggested another and been able to eradicate any discrepancies or anomalies in the dataset. However, such research design would have required substantively different resources in terms of time and funding at the risk of not deriving any additional data or knowledge.

How a two stage approach provided additional understanding of career management in the CCI would be influenced by the way it was conducted. A two stage approach which involved revisiting the same sample following an initial stage of analysis would derive the potential impacts identified previously, however, a two stage approach with a larger sample could systematically explore the differences between particular sub groups of the CCI. For example, a potential impact would be location. A two stage approach could have allowed for initial collection of data around a particular aspect of career management, such as networking and through the second stage of data collection, once the aspect, practice or strategy was found, potential differences between cultural workers in different locations could be explored giving the study an alternative edge. For example, it would have been interesting to explore the role and manifestation of networking in creative careers between rural and urban CCI hubs. Adding the element of location into the research approach would have provided an interesting platform from which to explore how career management exists within the CCI and provided valuable case studies from which a number of stakeholders would have benefited.

However, as an exploratory study, which sought to explore career management with no assumption of its existence, a larger data set was not initially appropriate and despite the limitation of time and scope, the study uncovered career management as a rising activity in creative career, therefore establishing career management in the CCI as an area to be researched. The study also developed an insight into the means by which cultural workers attempted to manage their career, identified a number of routes for future research and created a pathway for further and larger research in this area to be conducted.

Another limitation of the study is technical based, in which the use of interviews for data collection relies on individual first person accounts and the information that interviewees choose to present. Bryman and Bell (2011) recognise the technical limitations associated with interviewing - response sets, in which bias emerges; the problem of meaning and the

feminist critique – which are often unavoidable. While Bryman and Bell (2011) recognise that technical limitations are unavoidable, they do recognise that researchers can make attempts to minimise their effects. As such, the researcher ensured that they built up a strong rapport in which to facilitate the data collection but was mindful that the relationship did not become friendly in order to encourage social desirability bias.

In this study, the researcher was aware of social desirability bias in which “response answers to questions are related to [the interviewees] perception of social desirability of these answers” (Bryman & Bell, 2011: 226) Although, the researcher was fortunate to have very engaged participants, who were exceedingly open and honest about their experiences, going as far as to share negative experiences and recognising instances whereby they recognised the ‘right answer’¹²⁴, there is concern that the participants’ accounts are not necessarily true. Given that the participants were found to actively engage in impression management, it would be possible that they consciously or sub-consciously managed the impressions of themselves in the interview itself. With consideration for the nuances that were used and that career management in the CCI is a taboo subject, it could have been that the participants played down their efforts or that they provided the answers that they thought the researcher was looking for.

Despite these concerns, the researcher is content with the validity of the data collected as the relationship that the researcher built up with the participant meant that the participants were honest and open. The technical limitation could have been prevented through the two stage approach in which the participants could have been revisited with scenarios or for their opinion on particular examples. Additionally, as the research methods literature suggests, alternative methods of triangulation or participant observation would have allowed for validation of the data. Therefore, alternative research methods is an avenue for further research that will be explored in section 6.5., however, it should be noted that alternative methods will also have their own limitations and may not fill the potential for impact.

¹²⁴ For example DM13 who said he knows the answer should be X but the reality is Y.

A final potential for impact was that the findings represent a snapshot of career management from the participants at time of interview. The study may have benefited from seeing how the participants approach to career management developed over time, allowing for changes in approach and career management scenarios to be identified. Therefore, a longitudinal approach to research would have gathered insights into the evolution of career management practices over the lifetime of the creative career and generated case studies in which particular career management practices and / or strategies are appropriate as per the stage of the creative career.

6.5. Recommendations for Further Research

As expected with an exploratory study, avenues for further research into the phenomenon of career management in the CCI have been identified. With consideration for the study's limitations (section 6.4.), further research could be conducted with alternative methodologies or larger research designs that would generate supplementary data to that of the study.

As this study is exploratory, an obvious avenue for future research, is to conduct further studies on the back of this one to explore career management in the CCI further by developing the findings into further, larger and possibly more focused studies. Using this study as the building blocks, further research into career management in the CCI can be conducted as the study has identified a need for research in this area.

Additional studies could utilise a different methodology to generate further representation and understanding of career management practices in the CCI, such as, vignettes, which would elicit perceptions based on the findings from this study. Furthermore, an alternative methodology, such as vignettes, may help further studies to overcome the influence of impression management that was referred to as part of the limitations in section 6.4. Further understanding of the career management practices would enable identification of what adaptations and alterations to the career strategies would be or whether in fact, alternative career strategies and frameworks would be more applicable.

Beyond further research into career management generally, two specific avenues for further research have been identified, which will strengthen the theoretical and policy implications of this study.

The first avenue is further exploration of the differences in career management between the sub sectors of the CCI. Career management was found to not be universally adopted with a number of differences between the two groups of participants (digital media workers and fine artists). The differences between the two sub sectors approach and employment of career management in their creative careers was picked up on when the doctoral study was disseminated at seminars and conferences, suggesting an appetite for further insight and understanding. While the study did not intend to provide conclusive comparisons between the two groups, the insights that were developed demonstrate a need for wider exploration. Future research in this vein could involve larger data sets which include exploration of other sub sectors of the CCI to generate a wider demographical picture of career management in the CCI. By widening the scope in which data is collected, further comparisons will be made beyond the cultural vs creative comparison of this study to comparison of creative and cultural hubs, regional comparisons and even international comparisons (United Kingdom versus Australian CCIs would be particularly interesting). In order to explore the differences further, research could employ focus groups or group interviews as research methods which enable comparison discussion between groups to develop and thus generate data. The focus group method would allow the participants to generate the comparisons themselves but would require careful construction and strong facilitation. The statistical nature of the quantitative research method would facilitate the collection of quantified and comparable data that would further aid the understanding of the differences in career management across the various samples. Overall, the differences in career management need further exploration in order to generate a far wider representation of career management in the CCI and thus enable the most effective and appropriate support.

The second avenue for research would be to explore in more detail the move away from an anti-commercial stance that emerged across the findings. It was evident across both the study and the literature that cultural workers are viewing the relationship between artistic

and economic logic as less contentious than previously assumed and show explicit consideration for a need for greater employability provision and a more harmonious approach to the business side of creative work. Further research would provide greater clarity of the overall representation of the move from an anti-commercial stance in the CCI, beyond that of this exploratory study. Greater understanding of the emergence of a diminishing anti-commercial stance would provide further implications to policy as greater understanding would enable policies to better reflect cultural workers growing harmonisation towards art and economic logics and could support the intention to create more work-ready cultural workers. Additionally, further research would also be able to consider the notion of the diminishing anti-commercial stance in a realm beyond that of career management in order to understand how it manifests or may be beginning to manifest in all aspects of creative work and the CCI.

The avenues for further research demonstrate opportunities to supplement this study and provide greater understanding of career management in the CCI.

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A.1. Participant Consent Form

Exploration of Career Management practices of cultural workers

This study will follow ethical procedures for scholarly research as specified by the University of Stirling research ethics guidelines.

Name and Position of Researcher: Miss Fiona Alison Millar
(PhD Candidate, University of Stirling)

Participant Code: _____

Please initial boxes

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.	
I agree that the data gathered in this study will be used in a University of Stirling PhD research study named Cultural Workers’ Career Management Practices (CW-CMP). Uses of the data will include reports and academic publications/presentations.	
I agree that my data gathered in this study may be stored and may be used for future research.	
I understand that the interview will be tape recorded but that I can refuse to answer a question if I wish and stop the interview at any time without having to give an explanation.	
I understand that the interview will remain strictly confidential.	
I agree that all information collected about me as part of the study can be stored and analysed by the research team at University of Stirling.	
I understand that small parts of what I say may be quoted anonymously when the results of this part of the research are reported.	
I have read the participant information sheet and understand what my participation involves and give permission for these recordings to be used for research purposes.	
I agree to take part in the Cultural Workers’ Career Management Practices (CW-CMP) study.	

Name (printed) _____

Signed _____ Date _____

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please contact Miss Fiona Millar by email fiona.millar1@stir.ac.uk or telephone 01786 467331.

A.2. Interview Schedule: Final Study

Exploration of Career Management Practices of cultural workers

Good Morning / Afternoon. Thank you for taking the time to meet with me today and participate in my research. The purpose of today's interview is to talk about your career practices. I will ask you about your career in general and about specific experiences that may have been particularly important or influential for your career.

Do you have questions about the research or today's interview before we start?

Please note that any names mentioned throughout this interview – your name, companies, fellow workers etc - will be anonymised and maintained confidentially between yourself and I.

I'd like to ask you to draw a timeline of your career from your first job to where your career is today. If you could indicate in blue the key elements or events that have occurred through your career timeline and in red the key influences (people, encounters, readings etc).

(Use this time to explore (briefly) the individuals' entry to the creative industries, the influence of mentors on the individual's career and any times of uncertainty in their work and what such factors have meant to their career and their career practices)

About you:

- What is your current working position and title?
- How long have you been working in the Digital Media / Fine Arts Sector?
- Have you ever conducted any Paid Freelance work?
- Would you describe yourself as a cultural worker? If so, how do you define that?

Career Management:

In your opinion, do you consciously plan and/or organise your career?

If yes, what does that involve and why do you do it? Are you active in your career management?

If no, why do you feel you don't manage your career? And therefore, how does your career develop over time?

Have you ever engaged in unpaid labour?

If yes, why did you engage in unpaid labour and do you feel this has had an influence on your career?

If no, why did you not engage in unpaid labour? If you could go back would you engage in unpaid labour?

What do you do to make sure you have work in a year's time? Why?

Brand Management:

Do you see yourself as a brand that needs to be managed?

If yes, is your personal branding important? If so can you give an example of the importance of this brand and why it is important?

If no, in what way do you feel you are not a brand?

You described yourself as a cultural worker due to XXX, how do you ensure your creative identity is preserved?

How do you ensure your creative identity is positively promoted?

Reputation:

Is reputation important in your career development? If so, can you tell me about a time where your reputation had a major influence on your career?

Please tell me about:

- What reputation means to your career
- What influence this particular event had

Do you actively try to influence your reputation and how others see you?

If so, how does this influence take place, can you give me an example?

Recruitment in the Creative Industries:

Did someone ever open a door for you career-wise? If so, will you please tell me about it?

Please tell me about:

- How the person “opened the door” for you – a job opportunity, a contact, an introduction, a collaboration?
- Who was the person who influenced your career? (what was their relationship to you)
- How did their influence make you feel?
- And how do you think it contributed to your current career situation?

Relationship Management:

Is it important to you that you maintain relationships with people you work with or know in your field?

- Do you use social media in your career; any photo sharing platforms; online profiling such as Behance or Google+?; Any other online/social media?
- Could you roughly give me an indication of your following / friends / connections on these platforms?
- What’s the ratio professional: personal? - How do you use such platforms and why? - Are there other ways you maintain relationships?
- What influence do professional relationships have on your career?

Networking

What does the term networking mean to you?

If we think about networking in the sense of meeting other people who have a shared interest or potential influence on your career, can you tell me about a time when you engaged in the act of networking and what effect this had on your career?

Please tell me about:

- Who you networked with; Why networking is important; is it a necessity?
- What effects it has upon your career; benefits gained from networking
- Whether it is a necessary component of your career management
- Why you ne twork and what practices you employ when networking

Thinking about the future of your career

- Do you use any of the following services: Skills assessment; career counselling; Creative industries agencies; collective groups; specific social media following
- Do you attend professional events such as a vernissage, product/campaign launch, workshops/conferences etc
- Could you roughly say how many professional events you attend on a yearly basis?
- When you are considering future work, by what means do you do this?

If an industry entrant asked you “what’s the key thing I can do to keep my career on track”, what would you say?

Has that been a fair reflection on your career practices or are there any other career related incidents that you would like to discuss or provide further information on ones we have discussed?

Do you have any questions for me regarding the research?

Many Thanks for your time and participation.

Art for art's sake; freedom from traditional employment norms; glamour of the career; always wanted to as a kid

How long have you been worked in your current type of work?

Have you worked in any other industries PRIOR to your employment in the creative industries? If yes, which ones?

Can you tell me about your education and why you made your educational decisions?

PROBES: High school; college; UG; PG; professional training; institution; why? What did it bring you?

During your education did you undertake any work related placement? If yes, how many placements did you do?

Why did you do the work placement?

PROBES: Course Requirement; Friend's recommendation; Thought it was worthwhile; To get industry connections

Benefits of such a work placement?

What skills do you think you gained from participating in the work placement?

What was it like trying to enter this industry?

PROBES: what obstacles did you face? How did you overcome them? What would you say was the hardest thing to overcome? Did you feel in control or not of your career? Did you face any discrimination? If so, in what way? Did you apply with friends? Were they successful? Did you know anyone who worked in the industry previously? Did this help?

Do you consider your work to be creative?

PROBES: how would you describe it? What would you say makes up creative work? Who is cultural worker? Do you think it's important to differentiate and define cultural workers?

Are you familiar with the term Creative Industries? Does it mean anything to you?

if so, do you see a difference between cultural/creative industries/workers and if yes, does that difference matter etc.

Thanks for that insight into your career leading up to where we are now. It would now be great to understand what your career involves at this moment in time and be a little reflective on how you go here.

Which of these activities are you currently involved in?

Temporary employment (< 3mths)	Fixed term employment (>3mths)	Permanent employee
Self Employed (own business)	Self-employed (freelance/commission)	Further study or training
Independent study	Developing a portfolio	Voluntary / unpaid work experience
Unemployed / looking for work	Time out / career break /maternity	Other...please specify

Why have you engaged in this working environment?

PROBES: suits my lifestyle; no other choice; to develop my work choices; Is there anything that affects how you work – promotes or hinders?

Do you currently engage in any other work?

PROBES: teaching; retail; non-creative work

If applicable, Why do you engage in multiple employment?

What does multiple job holding enable you as a cultural worker?

What would you say your most important skills are?

If there was anything you could change about your career what would it be and why?

What could you do with more of in order to support your career?

A concept that comes up a lot in the literature surrounding careers is that of employability. Is this a term you are familiar? Does it mean anything to you?

With this in mind, what does employability mean to you?

PROBES: what does it mean – definitional; how do you use it? Why do you try to enhance it? Is it part of your everyday career management? What do you think affects your employability?

Well in the literature, employability is about possessing qualities and attributes that will facilitate and enhance employment opportunities opposed to employment which is the act of getting a job.

So thinking back to your education, did you experience employability skills in your previous education? If not, how did you develop these skills?

Presentation work/ideas	of	Understanding client needs	Self-confidence
Using I.T./Software		Entrepreneurial skills (Bus. Acumen)	Critical thinking
Networking		Project management	Industry experience / collaboration

Did your course provide opportunity for participation in any of the following activities? Do you feel it prepared you effectively for your current work?

Collaboration with other students	Personal and professional Development	Peer / self-evaluation
Shows/exhibitions	External / live project work	Careers guidance / education
Business / enterprise activities		

Do you think it is important for individual's to engage in employability enhancing activities?

PROBES why? What kind of activities? Why those activities?

How do you currently engage in employability enhancing activities? Do you currently try to enhance your employability and make yourself more attractive when applying for jobs/promotions or maintaining your current employment?

PROBES: do you undertake training; attend seminars; network; develop new skills; attend conferences?

If we think ahead in terms of your career and what the future holds, considering the activities that you exhibit in order to promote your employability when you are looking for further or future work **Do you / can you plan your career?**

If so, what enables / inhibits your ability to plan?

How does this affect your career?

How do you find new or alternative opportunities for work?

PROBES: friend's/connections; adverts; word of mouth; active searching; repeat work

When you are hoping to gain new / additional or different employment, how do you go about that?

PROBES: Attaining competence in current job; Networking; Attaining a mentor; Putting in extended hours; Developing new skills; Building one's reputation and image

How important is your reputation upon your career? If so, can you tell me story about the influence reputation has upon your career?

Do you try to control how people view you? If so, why and how?

How important are networks of contacts upon your career? What decisions influence which networks you join? And why? Are relationships important upon the influence of your career? How do you manage such relationships?

Thank you very much for meeting with me today and discussing your career with me, it's been really insightful and I thank you for your time.

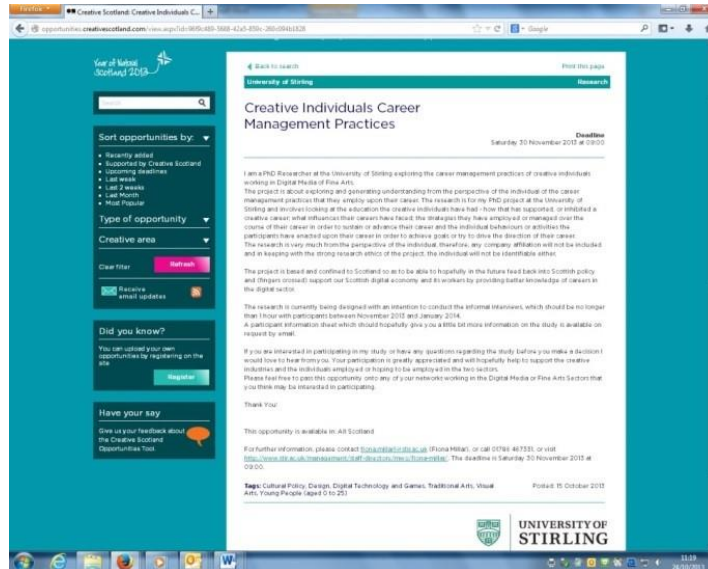
One last question, upon our reflections today, do you think you would do anything different towards how you have approached your career if you were to do it again?

Thank you and best wishes.

A.4. Participant Recruitment Advertisement

3.3.1. Creative Scotland Opportunities Screenshot as of 24.10.2013 at 11.20am

<http://opportunities.creativescotland.com/view.aspx?id=96f9c489-5688-42a5-859c-260c094b1828>

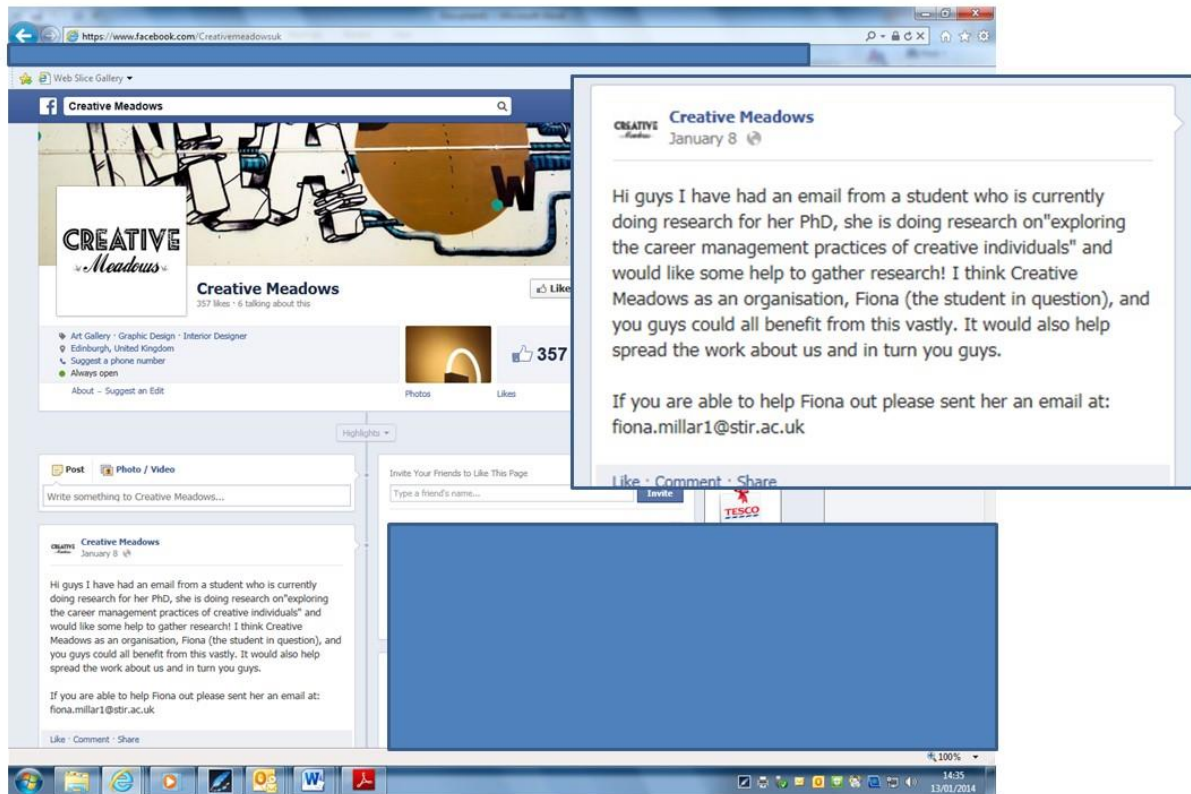


3.3.2. Creative Clyde Blog Screenshot as of Nov 29th 2013 -

<http://blog.creativeclyde.com/arts-crafts/manage-creative-career/>



3.3.4. Creative Meadows Facebook Recruitment



A.5. Participant Profile

Key:

Location

EDB = Edinburgh GGow = Glasgow CS= Central Scotland O = Other (specify)

Employment status

ES1 = Employed ES2 = Freelance / Self-Employed

Participant Code	Gender	Location	Employment Status
FA01	Female	EDB	ES2
FA02	Female	CS	ES2
FA03	Female	CS	ES1
FA04	Female	CS	ES1
FA05	Female	GGow	ES2
FA06	Male	GGow	ES2
FA07	Male	GGow	ES1
FA08	Male	GGow	ES2
FA09	Female	EDB	ES1
FA10	Female	EDB	ES2
FA11	Male	EDB	ES2
FA12	Female	CS	ES2
FA13	Female	CS	ES2
FA14	Female	CS	ES2
FA15	Male	CS	ES2
FA16	Female	CS	ES2
FA17	Female	EDB	ES2
FA18	Female	EDB	ES2

Key:

Location

EDB = Edinburgh GGow = Glasgow CS= Central Scotland O = Other (specify)

Employment status

ES1 = Employed ES2 = Freelance / Self-Employed

Participant Code	Gender	Location	Employment Status
DM01	Male	EDB	ES1
DM03	Male	GGow	ES2
DM04	Male	EDB	ES2
DM05	Male	EDB	ES1
DM06	Female	O: Dundee	ES2
DM07	Female	EDB	ES1
DM08	Male	EDB	ES2
DM09	Male	EDB	ES1
DM011	Male	EDB	ES2
DM12	Male	EDB	ES1
DM13	Male	EDB	ES1
DM14	Male	EDB	ES1
DM15	Male	EDB	ES1
DM16	Male	EDB	ES1
DM17	Male	EDB	ES1
DM18	Male	EDB	ES1
DM19	Female	EDB	ES1
DM20	Male	EDB	ES1

A.6. Coding Scheme

Last updated 01.04.14

This coding scheme has been developed in order to support the coding of the interview data from the CI-CMP research study by identifying the content that is to be coded.

The data analysis is intended for two purposes:

1. Completion of PhD
2. A brief findings report to be sent to the CI-CMP participants in order for the research to benefit from triangulation

The data is intended to be analysed for the purposes of answering the research questions driving this research and to develop an understanding of the career management practices that might or might not work for other cultural workers.

The codes are drawn from two sources making up a theory-based codebook: the *data itself* (i.e. developed through the transcription process) and the literature reviewed for the purposes of this research study.

1. General Personal Information

This code involves coding all the data that relates to who the participant is under the following sub codes in order to develop a general background to the participants:

- a. Working Position
- b. Length of time in sector
- c. Freelance work history
- d. Previous career/ education

2. Career Management Practices

The code Career Management Practices is derived from the literature and will enable the researcher to develop an understanding of how the participant manages their career and the practices they employ within their career to manage it. In this code the following references and indications in language should be included:

- a. Indications to Inkson's metaphor of Careers in Action, with reference to discourse surrounding Proactive behaviours and Agentic or Communion behaviour

- b. Any practices of Career Planning and/or career strategies employed within their career and its management
- c. Mentors / Role Models
- d. Cultural Worker
- e. Self-Efficacy
- f. Personality - Creating Opportunities; Self-presentation; Self-limiting belief or Connection with others
- g. Use of Social Media

3. Precarious Work

This code is derived from the literature and refers to all accounts in the data where the participants refer to or mention elements of precarious work, which is defined in the literature by Kalleberg (2009) as “work that is uncertain, unpredictable and risky from the point of view of the worker”. This code should also consider any references of behaviours that the participants evoke in order to secure work for the future or the management of uncertainty.

- a. Experience of Precarious Work
- b. Management of the Uncertainty
- c. Future Work securement

4. *Time Management*

This code derives from the data collected in the final study where a number of participants mentioned the need to manage time within their careers and the balancing act between work and life and the balance that arises between doing the actual work against the promotion of such work. Data in this code is illustrative of any references made by participants of balancing time within their career, working on working or how who they know supports the time spent on promotion.

5. Unpaid Work

This code has derived from both sources within the codebook and refers to any references of the participants undertaking any unpaid labour at any stage of their career such as placements, internships, charity work. It also refers to the benefits derived from undertaking unpaid labour and why the participant was motivated to do so.

Unpaid work is defined in this code as any work that was undertaken for no payment or a token payment i.e. payment of a set amount or that covered expenses.

6. Brand Management

This code is about the management of the participant's personal professional brand and any related references to such a topic.

Brand Management in this context is related to the management of one's own brand identity, be that thematic promotion of their own work, their style in their creative output or how they manage the way that other people view them and their work.

In this code, data collected will be inclusive of when participants mentioned whether they feel brand is something that resonates with them, if branding is important, how they manage their brand and what managing their brand means to them.

7. *Reputation*

This code derives from the data gathered in the pilot study which found that an individual's reputation had an influential role upon their career and therefore their ability to manage their career. It was also evident in the data from the pilot study where participants recognised and mentioned the importance of reputation upon the management of one's creative career. References within this code will include where participants were asked to recall times in their career where their reputation influenced their career, what reputation meant to them and how they managed their reputation.

Reputation refers to the way that the participant is seen by fellow cultural workers, customers or other individuals and what impact their reputation can have upon their career.

Any references to exposure, visibility and being seen are coded under this code, along with references to the following concepts from the literature: Artistic Prestige; Intrinsic motivation; Impression Management and "You're only as good as your last job".

The following sub-codes will be employed:

- a. Role of reputation in sector / for career
- b. Explicit practises to influence reputation

8. Social Capital

This code refers to any data relating to how or when a participant was recruited in the creative industries, the process of recruitment, the experience of recruitment and also the influence of the informal networks upon their recruitment. It also refers to the utilisation of social capital by the participants and why they use social capital in their careers. The code is driven out of the data from the pilot study and backed up by the literature.

Recruitment is defined in the code as any accounts where the participant found themselves gaining employment - paid or unpaid – in the Creative Industries. It also involves reference of the ‘who you know’ element within creative industries employment and the experiences the participants have had with this.

- a. Informal Networks
- b. Recruitment
- c. Information Gathering

9. Collaboration

This code refers to any occurrences within the data where the participants refer to any accounts of collaboration within their career, what they do to encourage collaboration, what collaboration means to their career and its management and if so, how they encourage collaboration

10. Other people and Networking

Along with the ‘who you know’ element of creative industries recruitment, other people are very influential upon another cultural worker’s career. This is evident in the literature and the data therefore, making it massively important to analyse. This will be done through the other people and networking code where any references to other people’s influence on the participants career, reciprocity, social capital or networking behaviours will be covered.

Other people covers any references to how other people have played a part in the cultural workers’ career, references to how other people can support your creative career and the importance of other people on a creative career. While networking is inclusive

of any references where the participants talk about the act of networking, what it means to them, the importance of networking and any career benefits derived from networking. A very broad code, however, there will be a number of sub codes within the general code that will enable the code to go deeper into the factors of who you know and how this has an influence on the participants career.

The following sub codes will be created to account for any references to more detailed references to how other people and networking influences the management of a creative career.

- a. *Agents*
- b. *Representatives*
- c. *Family champions*
- d. *Community*
- e. Blurred Boundaries
- f. Networking practices

11. Relationship Management

Seeing as it is known that other people can have a strong influential effect upon a cultural worker's career, it is important to identify and analyse how cultural workers manage such relationships. The management of relationships may or may not be influential upon how the cultural worker manages their creative career and this code will be utilised in uncovering that relationship by considering any references where the participants discuss the importance or managing relationships, the practices they employ, the why and how of relationship management.

Inclusive of this code will be any reference to the relationship orientated career strategy from the literature and the use of social media to manage the relationships the individuals have in their career – be that personal professional relationships with contacts, clients and also those with the wider audience for their creative output. The code will have particular inclusion of references where the participants discuss uses of social media and the practices they

12. Art for Art's Sake

Art for art's sake has a common occurrence in creative industries literature and is commonly understood as accounts of when an individual is committed to the production of their creative output regardless of financial remuneration and despite any obstacles. Therefore this code refers to any references where the participant discusses instances where they were compelled to create their creative output despite any hardships and with a commitment to the art. It also involves any references that the participants make that relate to the contents of the literature of Artistic Prestige, Artistic identity and what it means to the individual and the need for ownership of the art over the financial reward.

13. Future

This code refers to any occurrences within the data where the participants refer to the future of their work, their career or their personal life in regards to their career.

14. *Business Skills*

In this code any occurrences where the participants discuss their business skills or lack of them will be included, such as marketing skills, business training or any other references that relate to the use of or appreciation of business skills within their creative career such as: *Alternative income streams; Business training ; Working with others or Employability*

Participants may refer to the provision of business skills from their university degree, any reasoning behind further study or the steps they take within their creative career to make it more business like.

15. Key thing

At the end of the interviews the participants were asked to discuss the key thing they would advise an industry entrant to have or maintain in order to kick-start and then manage their career. In this code the references will be combined and then separated between the two sectors in order to see comparability of key advice across the industry sample and then the differences between the two sectors sampled.