

# **Gender and Entrepreneurship in Creative Industry Career Journeys**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis represents an interdisciplinary study with original theoretical contributions to knowledge identified across three distinct disciplines: Entrepreneurship, the Creative Industries and Gender Studies along with methodological contributions with regards the use of research diaries as a data source.

The last fifteen years have seen a huge focus, from policy makers and researchers, on entrepreneurship and the creative industries. Both have been seen as key drivers for economic growth in the UK and beyond. Studies have been wide and varied, looking at both disciplines individually and more recently where they converge. However, there is a paucity of research into the role that gender plays within this sector, and specifically the impact of gender on entrepreneurship within the creative industries.

Using a highly reflexive approach, this study examined the career stories of a cohort of fine art graduates, the cohort with whom the researcher had graduated (1991-94, BA Fine Art, Wolverhampton School of Art and Design). The rationale was to make the best use of insider perspective and to access a group who had all had the same starting point, were within a similar age group (38-44), had worked through the 'Blairite' creative industries/economy policy framework and most likely had had to consider their ambitions as parents. It was considered that this group would offer a concentrated sample of creative graduates' experience.

Participants were interviewed using a narrative methodology and detailed career stories were gathered. The study took an inductive, grounded theory approach, making use of memoing and research diaries to aid reflexivity. Through a process of open, axial and thematic coding (Strauss and Corbin, 2003) themes emerged which, although linked to the original literature, also extended to new themes and topics which helped to better understand and explain where entrepreneurship fits within creative industry career journeys. Both theoretical and methodological contributions to knowledge are made:

The study provided an evolved or hybrid approach to using Grounded theory with a reflexive insider perspective. The methods drew upon the work of Charmaz (2005), who addressed issues of reflexivity within Grounded theory, and Nadin and Cassell (2006) who advocated the use of the research diary in the field. This study offers fresh insights and an approach to tackling reflexivity through journaling and the use of the research diary as a source of primary data at the point of analysis.

The research has identified three main theoretical contributions, first: explanations as to why artistic identity can remain strong amongst fine art graduates. The research highlights that: artistic identity can act as both a motivator and hindrance to entrepreneurial activity. Second: The research provided an explanation of differential degrees of career identity between the genders: for women parental identity was more compatible with artistic identity than career identity. Men tended to embrace career identity. Third: the research identified different career types experienced by gender and offered explanation as to how these manifest. It indicated that women are more likely, than men, to pursue their artistic endeavours; maternity career breaks for women provide an opportunity to re-engage with artistic endeavours. Men are likely to work within a creative discipline, not pursue their individual artistic endeavours but experience greater career success, in terms of financial reward and promotion. A major finding is offered in terms of a set of archetypes which emerged through the analysis and development of an integrative model. These archetypes offer a 'shorthand' to types of career experienced, and highlight and explain how and where entrepreneurship manifests itself within the careers of male and female creative graduates.

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## **Appendices items (see book 2)**

Appendix 1 Interview Aide memoire

Appendix 2 Written consent form

Appendix 3 Transcribed and coded example of an interview

Appendix 4 Full list of open codes and hierarchy of codes

Appendix 5 Researchers previous published work related to this thesis:

Carey, C. (2006) *Characteristics of Creative Industries Entrepreneurs: A gender Perspective*, ISBE conference proceedings CD-Rom, 26<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference, Cardiff, November 2006

Carey, C. and Matlay, H. (2011) Emergent Issues in Enterprise Education: The Educator's Perspective, *Industry and Higher Education* 25 (6) 1-10

Carey, C. and Matlay, H. (2010) Creative Disciplines Education: A Model for Assessing Ideas in Entrepreneurship Education?, *Education + Training* 52 (8/9) 694-709

Carey, C. and Matlay, H. (2007) Entrepreneurs as Educators: The Case of the Creative Industries in the UK, *Industry and Higher Education* 21 (6) 435-443

Carey, C. and Naudin, A. (2006) Enterprise Curriculum for Creative Industries Students: An Exploration of Current Attitudes and Issues, *Education + Training* 8 (7) 518-531

## **Chapter 1**

### **1.1. Introduction**

In 2006, when this study was first conceived, the then Labour administration were riding high through a period of global economic growth and prosperity (Leitch, 2006). There had been throughout the period of their leadership a strong emphasis on the creative industries: from ‘Cool Britannia’ to the ‘Creative Economy’, the rhetoric from the then Prime Minister, Tony Blair, had celebrated the contribution that the creative industries made and their role as an economic driver for change. Alongside this came renewed attention paid to entrepreneurship and its role in economic development. Both, arguably, provided a convenient substitute for the then failing manufacturing industries throughout the UK.

These two strands, creative industries and entrepreneurship as a driver for economic development, form the foundations of this study, which seeks to better understand and explain the role of gender in entrepreneurship within the creative industries, specifically within the careers of creative graduates. This is informed by my personal interest, which stems from insights from my own career. To briefly summarise, I was a fine art graduate and practising artist, and had various periods of self-employment and small business ownership within the creative industries, leading to my current role working as a lecturer and researcher in creative entrepreneurship and marketing within a Birmingham university Business School. While during the lifetime of this study, the policies related to the creative industries and somewhat blind regard for their promise have altered, researchers have become more critical and there is less funding made available to the arts, the researcher’s commitment to the aims of this study have remained constant.

The wider context of the study, then, is based on some fundamental assumptions that a) the creative industries and the development of the creative industries are good for the UK economy, b) entrepreneurship and enterprise development increase overall employment and in turn have a positive impact on the UK economy, c) the combination of entrepreneurship and the creative industries is good for the UK’s knowledge economy, and finally d) women are less likely to run a business generally

and even less likely to do so within the creative industries, and in turn are less likely to be making a contribution to the UK creative industries and thus the UK economy.

An interdisciplinary approach has been taken to this study, as it spans three distinct fields of research: the creative industries (as a specific sector), enterprise and entrepreneurship and gender studies.

### **1.1.2 Why is this study important?**

This study is for the most part focused on the UK creative industries within the context of a specific period of time and a set of policies which were aimed at generating new business and jobs while creating competitive advantage for the UK. These include the development of entrepreneurship and the creation of new business, which has arguably been seen as a panacea to increase graduate employment in the context of globalisation and the sharp reduction in the quantity of large potential employers (Matlay and Carey, 2006). The second factor is the growing interest in the creative industries sector, given the role attributed to this sector in regional regeneration and economic growth (Carey and Naudin, 2006). Both policy areas support entrepreneurial activity within the creative industries sector and share a common goal of helping to ensure, retain and develop the UK's competitive advantage in the 'knowledge economy'.

Initial research suggested that increasing attention was being given to the development of the creative industries. Jones *et al.* (2004) highlight that the term 'Creative Industries' emerged with the incoming UK Labour Government in 1997, describing them as industries "with their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and with the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (DCMS, 2001:5). This wide definition encompasses thirteen unique sub-sectors: "advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer games, television and radio" (DCMS, 2001:5). Interestingly, this definition subsequently went on to be widely adopted throughout Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand and Eastern Asia (Jones *et al.*, 2004).

The development of a 'Knowledge Economy' was seen as the key to national competitive advantage, providing a route to the creation and generation of wealth in the twenty-first century (Martin, 2004). At the heart of the development of the knowledge economy lie innovation, the empowerment of knowledge creation and knowledge development processes, and the establishment of an entrepreneurial culture. A range of policies and initiatives were put into place to increase and support innovation, with the aim of encouraging the UK's national mood to become less risk averse and to encourage those sectors perceived to be able to take advantage of the new developments in technologies to add value to their activities. The service sector in its widest sense is cited as having a key part to play (Andersen, 2000), with the creative sector similarly seen to bring long-term economic benefits via new media developments. Despite counter views to this process (de Laurentis, 2006; Brinkley, 2006), policies at European and national level became dependent upon this view of the future, which saw the creative sector as important, not just as a large and growing part of the economy but also because of its contribution to the rest of the economy and society having a "multiplier effect that stems in part from the way that creative skills and thinking are vital to most industries" (Leadbetter, 2006:15).

Having established that the creative industries and entrepreneurship are both individually and when combined a 'good thing', observations and earlier research carried out by the researcher identified that there appeared to be fewer women running businesses, and arguably being entrepreneurial, within the sector. For example, when sourcing a sample group for an earlier, regional study of female entrepreneurs within the creative industries, the researcher kept coming up with and being recommended the same group of women, and in some sub-sectors, for example the games industry, women simply appeared not to feature (Carey, 2006:5). At the same time, 'gender and entrepreneurship' and 'women's entrepreneurship' more generically (i.e. not sector-specific) were developing and flourishing as fields of research. Meanwhile, policy makers at a national level were being asked to respond to a Briefing Paper produced by the Women's Enterprise Policy Group (2011, September:5), entitled 'A Multi Billion £Opportunity: The Untapped Growth Potential of UK Women Entrepreneurs'. Elsewhere, inroads were being made into understanding the female experience of

entrepreneurship and the practical realities of this experience (Brush *et al.*, 2009). This extended from the ability and relationships women entrepreneurs had in attracting finance (Carter *et al.*, 2007; Marlow and Patton, 2005) to feminist theory looking at the genderisation of entrepreneurship (Mirchandani, 1999), and much in between.

These factors: the apparent lack of female entrepreneurs within the creative sector and the need for more entrepreneurs from the creative (knowledge-based) disciplines, combined with the researcher's own experience as a creative graduate and former business owner, led to this study. The aim of the study is to understand the experience of graduates from creative disciplines in terms of their careers and how and when entrepreneurship is experienced, in order to explain the role of gender in entrepreneurship within the creative industries. This study makes an important contribution in the following ways: providing a better understanding the dynamics of gender and entrepreneurship within the sector, the role and support of policy makers from national government, local authorities and regional development, as well as organisations concerned with education and training, can be better directed.

### **1.1.3 Rationale for methods**

The approach taken to the study was to capture the career journeys and destinations of a cohort of graduates, all of whom graduated at the same time and from the same course. The sample was made up of the alumni of the researcher's own undergraduate programme of study (those who graduated in 1994, in Fine Art from Wolverhampton School of Art and Design). The sample offered the following benefits: first, a significant amount of time had passed since graduation; in turn the participants were considered to be at a point in their lives where personal responsibilities might have had an influence over their careers, for example, parenthood, home ownership or other caring responsibilities. Second, their careers would be, for the most part, reasonably established. Third, having all emerged from the same institution at the same time, the sample group would have been exposed to the same education, government policies (related to developing entrepreneurship in the creative industries) and political environment. Fourth, it could also be argued that Fine Art is the least vocational of the creative

disciplines: for example, there are few jobs or companies recruiting painters, sculptors, fine art print makers, installation, conceptual or time-based artists (Bridgstock, 2005), so in turn the scope for creating one's own opportunities through, for example, self-employment is, it could be argued, greater. Finally the researcher would have a historical relationship and empathy with the sample group, which it was perceived would offer useful insight into their situation. In this way, the study would benefit from an 'insider's' perspective which is argued to provide "a more nuanced and complex understanding of experience" (Birke and Kirton, 2006:2), and could be argued to offer the benefit of 'pre-understanding' (Neilson and Repstad, 1993, cited by Coghlan, 2003) and insight into the given situation.

It should be stated that in terms of a sample group other options were considered. For example: tracking a group of recent graduates, who would to an extent, be easier to make contact with was considered as was: manufacturing a sample group from the local, regional or national sector. However, as described previously, recent graduates would not necessarily have encountered some of the potential barriers to employment as yet, and a manufactured sample would have had varied entry points.

It is important to note that during this phase, when the considerations and development of the desired sample group and approach were being considered, an appropriate ethical framework, which adhered to the university's ethical research guidelines, was considered (see Chapter Three).

#### **1.1.4 A personal journey**

As indicated, the researcher's interest in pursuing this line of enquiry stems from her personal experience of an Art and Design education and subsequent career within the creative industries sector. Briefly, this career history includes being a self-employed 'new media' artist, freelance Internet consultant, lecturer and small business owner and what could be described as a 'portfolio' worker. This personal trajectory was curtailed following childbirth. The researcher's personal perception was that the specific creative industries sub-sector within which she worked (film and video and interactive leisure software) was changing so rapidly that the period of maternity leave had rendered

her at a disadvantage and with a significant (technical) knowledge gap. Significantly, this was her perception, and it is the personal perceptions of the participants which are of interest within this study.

For a number of years leading up to the start of this study, the researcher had been heavily involved in research relating to diversity and inclusion within the creative industries. Initially, this work was as a researcher attached to an ESF (European Social Fund) funded project iCi EQUAL, whereby the researcher was immersed within the field and interviewing 'beneficiaries' of the programme: the work extended to an examination of the role of business support for culturally diverse 'start-ups' within the creative industries (Carey, 2004). Building on this, later research, funded through the TE3 project (Technology Enhanced Enterprise Education), was concerned with the female experience of entrepreneurship within the creative industries and captured the career journeys of female business owners from across the creative industries (Carey, 2006). A revealing aspect of this study was that there appeared to be far fewer female business owners in comparison to male business owners (in the West Midlands) (Carey, 2006:5). This situation, accompanied by the researcher's own previous experience, led to a desire to better understand the career development of individuals in this sector, how likely they are to run their own businesses and whether gender contributes in any way to likely entrepreneurial activity.

### **1.1.5 Aims of the research**

This study explored the careers of individuals working in a given period, under a set of policy directives. In order to do this, the following aims were established:

**Aim 1:** To consider and develop an understanding of the literature, research and policy context associated with this field of study (i.e. gender, entrepreneurship and the creative industries)

**Aim 2:** To develop an appropriate methodology in order to capture the career destinations, choices, opportunities and outcomes of a sample of female and male graduates who graduated in 1994 from the same creative discipline course.

**Aim 3:** To carry out an analysis of the gathered data in order to identify common themes relating to gender and entrepreneurship within the creative industries sector.

**Aim 4:** To carry out a qualitative exploration of the relationship of gender with post-graduate participation in creative industries entrepreneurship

### **1.1.6 Methodological and theoretical contributions**

The study provides deep insight into the career experiences of a cohort of fine art graduates, in so doing both theoretical and methodological contributions are made: the study provided an evolved or hybrid approach to using Grounded theory with a deeply reflexive insider perspective. Drawing upon the work of Charmaz (2005), who addressed issues of reflexivity within Grounded theory and Nadin and Cassell (2006) who advocated the use of the research diary in the field: this study offers fresh insights and an approach to tackling reflexivity, particularly the use of the research diary as an additional form of primary data to draw upon at the point of analysis.

In addition the research has identified three main theoretical contributions, first: explanations as to why artistic identity can remain strong amongst fine art graduates. The research highlights that: artistic identity can act as both a motivator and hindrance to entrepreneurial activity. Second, the research provided an explanation of differential degrees of career identity between the genders: for women parental identity was more compatible with artistic identity than career identity. Men tended to embrace career identity. Third, the research identified different career types experienced by gender and offered explanation as to how these manifest. It indicated that women are more likely, than men, to pursue their artistic endeavours; maternity career breaks for women provide an opportunity to re-engage with artistic endeavours. Men are likely to work within a creative discipline, not pursue their individual artistic endeavours but experience greater career success, in terms of financial reward and promotion. The Contribution to knowledge is discussed in detail in the conclusions chapter, see outline of thesis to follow.



## 1.2 Outline of the thesis

The purpose of this first chapter is to set the scene for the research, it provides the background and context for how the study came about, the role of the researcher, aims of the study and how the thesis has been structured. It offers an overview as to how each chapter has been approached, offering an insight into the content, issues that arose and outcomes from the research.

In order to gain an understanding of, and evidence the need for the proposed research, the researcher first examined these established and emergent fields and their symbiotic relationship. Figure 1.1 (below) aims to illustrate the approach for Phase One of the study:

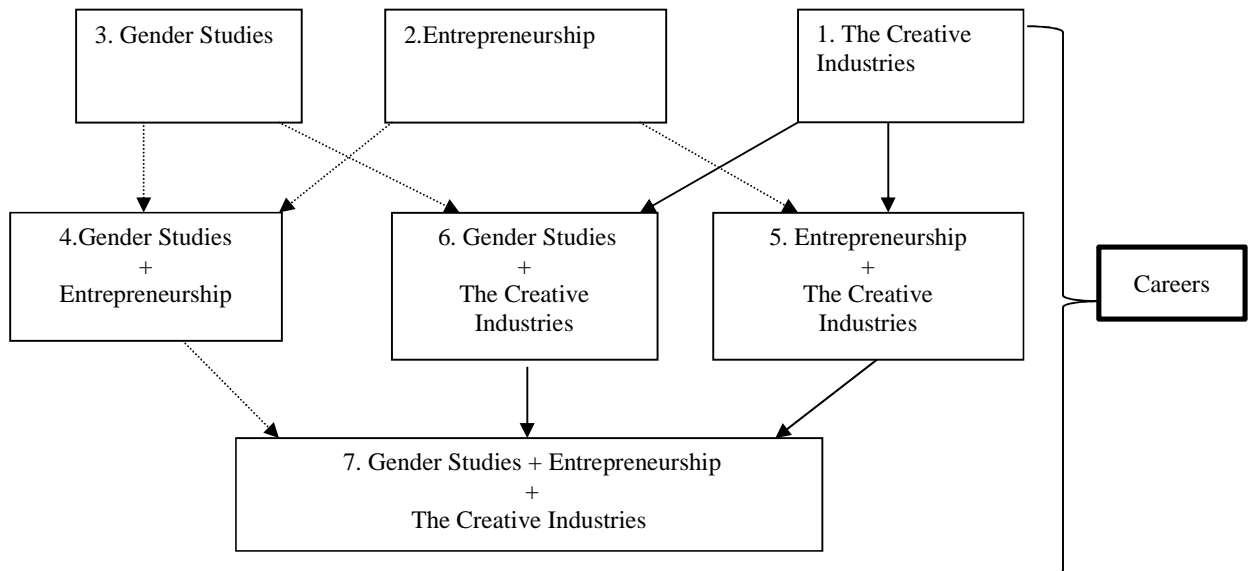


Figure 1.1 Conceptual framework for the literature review

The literature review resulted in two chapters. Chapter Two provides the first phase of this literature search where the three core fields, the creative industries, entrepreneurship and gender, are examined independently of one another. These are, within their own rights, broad fields of study and concentrating on and doing justice to all three, presented a challenge to the researcher. In order to combat this and to make sure that the literature review remained relevant and focused, the search within these reviews was linked closely with the context of the study, for example, the initial phase of

the literature review looked at the ‘creative industries’ and a number of characteristics of the sector and creative workers/careers were identified. These characteristics then formed the structure of the next stage of the literature review, ‘entrepreneurship’, and provided a template with which to examine this field – the following example is provided to illustrate this approach.

Table 1.1: Example of approach taken to literature review (see Chapter Two for full table)

	<b>Characteristics of the creative industries</b>	<b>Area of entrepreneurship research studied</b>
Characteristics of the entrepreneur	Creative and innovative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Entrepreneurship and creativity</li> <li>• Characteristics of entrepreneurs</li> <li>• Trait based theory</li> </ul>

This approach was then replicated when looking at ‘gender’. Areas which had dominated the creative industries literature review were used as ‘clues’ as to where to look when considering gender, and the review picked out elements which related directly, for example employability, identity and inequality in the labour market, as well as technological and societal considerations, for example, the impact of media and new technology, along with cultural aspects, for instance, the link between consumption and production of creative output (Tams, 2002).

Chapter Three considers where the three fields converge, as illustrated in Figure 1.1. The rationale for the approach was to pursue as thorough a review as possible, recognising that there was a paucity of specific literature related to the study. The final section of the literature review looks at how and where all three overlap. Here literature was sourced that specifically looked at gender and entrepreneurship in the creative industries. Common ground and similarities across the sub-sectors of the creative industries emerged, including the prevalence of self-employment, a long-hours culture, male-dominated lecturers/practitioners potentially acting as entrepreneurial role models within Higher Education and the specific importance of friendship and networking to business operation. As well as these three core fields of literature, ‘careers’ are at the centre of this study, and as such literature related to careers is threaded throughout the review in terms of how it is discussed and researched across and within each of the levels of the review.

Chapter Four, the Methodology, builds on the literature review by providing a rationale and justification for the methods used and approach taken to the study. The study made use of Grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 2003), taking an inductive, qualitative approach in which the insider perspective, or what could be described as auto-ethnography (Alvesson, 2003), was deployed. This chapter provides a rationale for each choice made within the design of the study, from the need to take a qualitative approach, a description and justification for the sample group through to the methods of data collection.

Chapter Five, titled 'Reflections and analysis', draws heavily on the work of Strauss and Corbin (2003). This chapter discusses the use of grounded theory and how this has informed the data analysis. As highlighted in the methodology chapter, the study makes use of the insider perspective: in this instance the relationship of the researcher to the participants is relatively close, to the extent that the researcher is a participant. It was decided early on in the study that this required the researcher to adopt a reflective and reflexive approach to the study. In terms of timeliness, it made use of the researcher's 'research log' in order to reflect on how the research process had worked in the field and how this then informed the approach to analysis. Chapter Five then goes onto provide a detailed step by step process of the interviews and analysis.

The presentation of findings took a thematic approach. Rather than have a chapter of specific findings then a chapter of discussion, the researcher combined the analysis, findings and discussion: this led to three thematically led chapters of findings and discussion. Each chapter provides part of an integrative account of where the three main themes of this research - gender, entrepreneurship and the creative industries - converge. This led to a progressively enhanced model to aid understanding and explain the role of entrepreneurship and gender within the sector.

The first of these chapters, Chapter Six, is titled: 'The creative maker: internal and external factors informing artistic identity in the fine art graduate'. This chapter provides the first two stages of a progressively developing model. First it looks at how the individuals in the study relate to their own arts practice. A theme which emerged focused on their identity as creative individuals. This chapter

explores this identity and the factors that contribute to it, for example the individuals' 'compulsion to create' through to the external factors and influences, people and places that inform this part of their identity. Throughout, these findings are discussed within the context of the literature from these emerging fields.

Where Chapter Six is, perhaps, more concerned with the internal psychology of being an artist, Chapter Seven, 'The nature of enterprise and entrepreneurship within fine art practice: The tensions and motivations within the working life of a fine art graduate', focuses on the practical experience of making a living as an artist. Here we see the intersection of the entrepreneurial mindset with the artistic. The nature of the sector necessitates an often entrepreneurial approach, but a number of factors emerge which make this difficult and often uncomfortable for participants. Here we see a well-documented tension revealed: the tension between art and commerce. What emerges is a complex situation whereby business skills associated with, and arguably necessary for artistic practice, impact on the perceived value of the work. Value is then explored from the artist, the arts world and the consumer perspectives, and seen within the context of the practical aspects of operating as an artist. The chapter goes on to explore the perceptions of the participants specifically in relation to enterprise and entrepreneurship. Here, different types or levels of entrepreneurship are identified as experienced by the participants. The chapter concludes with the model being revised to include these aspects which highlight and are identified as 'push and pull' factors informing entrepreneurial outcomes and identity.

Chapter Eight, 'Gender and parenting and its impact on fine art careers and enterprise: the male and female perspective' provides the final section of findings and discussion. This chapter builds on the understanding developed through Chapters Six and Seven. It looks at these aspects from a gender perspective and explains the role of gender within the careers of the participants. Differences of experience are identified and themes emerge relating to gender and when and where entrepreneurship is experienced. The role of artistic identity is once again considered within the context of potential multiple roles and identities. This is explored in terms of how these different identities, for example,

artistic, parental, career and entrepreneurial identities, interplay with each other. This leads to an additional layer of understanding being added to the model.

The final chapter, 'Conclusions, Recommendations and Reflections', looks back to the original aims of the study and is structured to explain how these aims have been met. The final aim: *Aim 4: To carry out a qualitative exploration of the relationship of gender with post-graduate participation in creative industries entrepreneurship* is used to identify where within the thesis specific contributions to knowledge are made. Specifically, this is narrowed down in order to consider gender and the creative industries in terms of careers. A series of archetypes are identified, which have emerged through the analysis, findings and discussion through this insight into how entrepreneurship is exhibited and offer an understanding to different types and career paths within the creative industries. This, along with a summary of findings and conclusions leads to recommendations from the study, in terms of recommendations from the research and also recommendations for future research. Chapter Nine also offers a final piece of reflection and reflexivity. Bearing in mind the nature of the study, an attempt is made throughout the thesis to fully explore and understand the impact of the researcher on the research. This final chapter and the end of the thesis is devoted to a last, in-depth discussion of this aspect.

### **1.3 Summary and conclusions of chapter**

This chapter has provided a rationale for the study, the context in which the study sits for example the economic impact and imperative of the creative industries. It had also provided an outline of the chapters that follow. By outlining the chapters included in the thesis the focus of research, the broad topics discussed and methodological approach have been described.

The chapter offers a detailed overview of the thesis, as a whole, and highlights some of the tensions and insights that emerged from the findings. It highlights the in-depth, exploration of the careers of the participants, and as such how and when entrepreneurship featured. Likewise it serves to highlight the somewhat personal journey for the researcher, both in terms of her development as a researcher but also as a fine art graduate.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

### **2.1 Introduction**

As established in the introduction chapter, the aim of this study was to try to gain a clearer understanding of the contribution women make to the creative industries sector, specifically the role that gender might play in their likely entrepreneurial activity.

In this chapter, I explore the wider literature in order to frame and understand the context within which this study fits. It was initially assumed that there would be a body of established literature that would describe or evidence the relationship between gender, entrepreneurship and the creative industries. However, significant searches found that, other than some rare and notable exceptions (including a special edition of the *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, Volume 11, Issue 2, 2005), this assumption proved to be incorrect. Bearing this in mind, a specific interdisciplinary approach was undertaken.

Three distinct research strands: gender, entrepreneurship and the creative industries, were explored together in order to develop an evidence base to better understand the female contribution to the sector, based on how these three fields interplayed. This interdisciplinary approach and review of the existing literature sought to gauge what had been written on the role of gender in creative sector entrepreneurship. It became apparent that there is a marked paucity of empirical data to support theory and practice in the creative sector. Overall, research in this area has been limited, with studies on gender-related aspects of entrepreneurship particularly low. This review of existing research and policy points to some key gaps in the knowledge and understanding of this sector.

Increasingly, over the past ten years, entrepreneurship, and specifically entrepreneurship within the creative and knowledge rich industries, has been seen as a key factor in the future economic growth and competitiveness of the UK economy. Bearing in mind this desire for increased entrepreneurial activity within the sector, it is worth, at this point, drawing attention to a key characteristic of the sector and careers within it. The creative industries are typically characterised by high volumes of

Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (SMEs), the majority of which are represented by micro-businesses and self-employed freelancers (Jones, 2011; NESTA, 2006; Ball, 2003; Blackwell and Harvey, 1999). Research suggests that far fewer women start, run or develop businesses in this sector than men (Carey, 2006). However, the role of gender and entrepreneurship in the creative industries remains under-researched and largely uncharted, for example: there might be issues and ambiguity around what constitutes a business within this sector; uncertainty about the role women play in administering funds and working within the public sector; and the likelihood of business growth by either gender. This literature review attempts to gain a clearer understanding of the current situation by drawing together three distinct strands of research and not only developing the current understanding of women's careers but also more specifically charting female entrepreneurial activity in this important sector of the UK economy.

### **2.1.1 The Approach**

Firstly, I describe the rationale for taking this interdisciplinary approach and how it has been carried out. Each of these specific relationships is then explored in turn. Initially there is an in-depth exploration of literature surrounding each of the three main areas of study: gender, entrepreneurship and the creative industries. I then go on to explore their interaction, for example, entrepreneurship within the creative industries. Within this I look at related areas which might have some bearing on this study, for example examining the characteristics of the sector in terms of how groups and companies are formed. I also look at enterprise education within this sector to examine whether this might have any influence over entrepreneurial activity.

Finally, I explore the role of gender and entrepreneurship within the creative industries: there is limited research into this area, but some specific studies exist which relate either to a particular sub-sector or region of the UK. Taking a similar approach, I have tried to assemble a picture of the current state of affairs, based on this evidence. This evidence is made up of and draws upon multiple sources of both academic literature, specifically the growing body of research within specialised small business and entrepreneurship, gender and creative industries journals and government and NGO

reports for the creative industries. Although this study is set within a UK context, the literature review has extended to specialist literature from Australia, New Zealand, the US and Canada amongst others, where there are particular pockets of research expertise emerging relating to this field.

### 2.1.2 Combining different disciplines

As suggested, the role and contribution that gender makes to entrepreneurial activity within the creative industries remains unclear. In order to inform the growing debate on entrepreneurship, I examine three established and emergent fields of research and their potentially symbiotic relationship. The diagram below illustrates the conceptual thinking behind this study and how the various strands of research have been funnelled in order to get to a convergent field of research. Three main areas are considered: 1) gender studies; 2) entrepreneurship; and 3) the creative industries. Each of these represents vast fields of research, but it is the overlap and relationships between the three topics that it is hoped will provide a clearer insight into the role of gender and entrepreneurship within the creative industries. Figure 1 illustrates this approach.

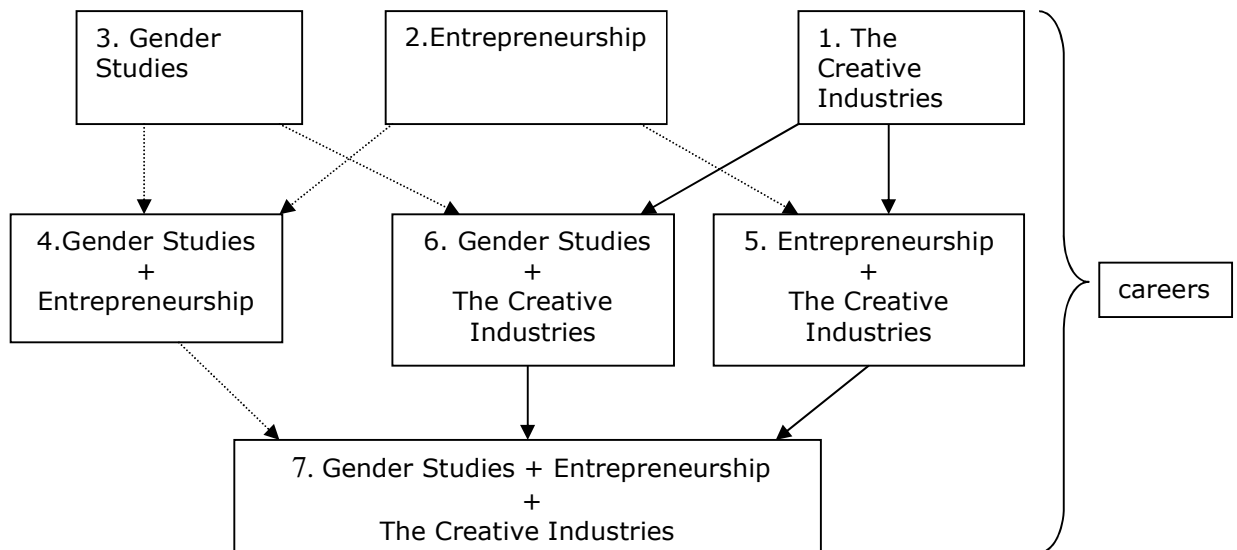


Figure 2.1 Conceptual framework for literature review.



### **2.1.3 Narrative of the literature review**

In order to create sense of the subject and its various elements, a narrative based approach has been taken. As described in the introduction, this thesis and the study it reports upon are based on a pilot study which aimed to gain an initial understanding of the experiences of women running businesses within the creative industries sector.

As described in detail in the methodology chapter, this study has at its heart an insider's perspective. (see auto-ethnography, Chapter Four). Having been self-employed and a small business owner for a number of years in her earlier working life (within the creative industries sector) the researcher felt aware of issues around women working within this sector. As the sector's profile developed amongst policy makers, and in turn public policy, interest in the sector developed. So it is with this context that this literature review (and story) starts.

## **2.2. The Creative Industries**

In order to offer some context to this study the starting point is focused on the creative industries. In this first section, the sector is examined from a number of perspectives to try to better understand the context of the overall study. Firstly the focus is a rationale for studying the sector, endeavouring to answer the question, "why is the creative sector important as a field of study?" Here the growth of the sector and public policy interests are explored. Secondly a critical review and analysis of the terminology and definitions surrounding the sector are explored (see Section 2.2.2). Finally, given that this study is focusing on the role of gender within entrepreneurship in the sector, to help frame this study, the role of the creative industries as a vehicle for regeneration, social inclusion and social change is explored.

### **2.2.1 Why is the creative sector important as a field of study?**

The UK government recognise that the economy, as a whole, benefits from the employment opportunities that entrepreneurship and small business development can offer (Darling, 2007). Several initiatives over the past decade or so have been created specifically to facilitate and support new

business ownership, including Prowess for Female Entrepreneurship, the National Council for Graduate Entrepreneurship (NCGE), and within the creative industries, the Department of Culture, Media and Sport has taken a key role in the development of the sector, most recently through the Creative Economy Project, along with the Higher Education Academy and the National Endowment for Science, Technology and Arts (NESTA). In the UK, this sector is seen as critical to the competitiveness of the wider economy and significant in terms of its contribution to the development of a knowledge economy. Encouraging innovation and entrepreneurialism is seen as key to the success of this sector, in particular the development of ‘new’ industries such as interactive media, computer gaming and music technology, which rely significantly on the interface between the creative arts and technological development (DCMS, 2006b:11).

There is a paucity of data, however, to evidence this specific aspect of competitive advantage in the creative industries. Despite suggesting that recent growth has been linked to creative sector industries, the UK Department of Culture and Media and Sport cite, for example, an average 6% growth per annum attributable to this sector between 1997-2002 (DCMS, 2006b:11). Commenting that the largest growth occurred within the television and radio, advertising and software industries, DCMS statistics show that the creative industries accounted for 8% of Gross Value Added (GVA) in 2002 and 7.9% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2000 – a higher proportion than in any other country (DCMS, 2006b:2). Further indications of growth are cited by NESTA, who highlight that the global market value of the creative industries increased from US\$831 billion in 2000 to US\$1.3 trillion in 2005 (NESTA, 2006:2). Recent indications from the CBI suggest that “the creative industries contribute 6% of GDP, employ over 2 million people and export over £16bn annually” (CBI, 2013:website).

The complexity of the sector has impacted considerably on the nature and approaches to research in this field. This has sometimes led to oversimplification, when research has focused on one of the many sub-sectors rather than exploring all sectors of economic activity (Henry and Johnson, 2005). While such studies can offer in-depth approaches to one sub-sector, their application to the wider sector remains uncertain. Such research includes sector-specific studies of companies involved in performing arts (Brown, 2005; McCarthy and Torres, 2005); in film (Blair *et al.*, 2001a, 2001b);

designer fashion (DTI, 2002) music (Tschmuck, 2002; Wilson and Stokes, 2002, 2005) and media industries (Baines and Robson, 2001). An exception to this sub-sectoral approach is a survey of graduates from 14 UK higher education institutions (HEIs): 'Destinations and Reflections' report (Blackwell and Harvey, 1999), which examined the employment routes of graduates from across the art, craft and design disciplines. This study was recently revisited by Ball *et al.*, (2010) who embarked on a similar approach to capturing the career destinations of a more recent set of creative graduates, from across creative disciplines, this resulted in the publication of the widely cited 'Creative graduates, Creative Futures' (2010).

As well as these two studies other research, albeit sub-sector specific, has focused on growth and employment trends, despite explorations of management practices in creative organisations (Amabile, 1998; Locke and Kirkpatrick, 1995) and of the operation of contractual arrangements between arts and commerce (Caves, 2000; Wilson and Stokes, 2002). Sub-sectoral studies are useful but provide an uneven base for comparison, given the key differences between various sub-sectors and arguably the term the creative industries, which encompass such a varied group of activities may prove problematic for business support practitioners and policy makers alike. As Potts *et al.*, highlight the difficulties of trying to establish standard industrial classification (SIC) codes for the creative industries "The cultural and creative industries fit uneasily into this framework: first, because of they share many generic characteristics of the service economy; and second, because they are to a large extent an outgrowth of the previously non-market economy of cultural public goods and private imagination that seeks new ways of seeing and representing the world. However, the creative industries have come to such recent prominence as these once marginal activities now have significant market value and contribution to individual wealth and GDP" (Potts *et al.*, 2008: 168). This highlights a tension related to the creative industries, their existing relationship to cultural industries and their current scope for income generation.

There has been a raft of reports which have set out to better understand and advise on how to develop the creative industries. How to sustain growth and competitiveness are viewed as central to this discussion. In her foreword to The Work Foundations report (on behalf of the DCMS), 'Staying

ahead: the economic performance of the UK's Creative Industries', Patricia Hewitt described the creative industries as growing by up to 5% per year, suggesting that this is almost twice the rate of the rest of the economy (The Work Foundation, 2007:6). The Leitch report discussed the skills shortages within the UK and the need for 'up-skilling' the workforce, making training available to managers and small businesses and helping small business owners to grow their businesses (Leitch, 2006). The Higher Education Academy and NESTA have also published findings relating to entrepreneurship education for the creative industries (2007). There is no doubt that from a policy perspective, the creative industries are big news.

### **2.2.2 Definitions of the creative industries**

A thematic review of the existing body of literature related to the creative industries sector is shown in Table 1. As expected, the first theme to emerge was the varying definition of this 'new' sector. Jones *et al.* (2004) suggest that the term 'Creative Industries' emerged with the incoming UK Labour Government in 1997, describing them as industries "with their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and with the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (DCMS, 2001:5). Importantly, however, the creative industries are defined more broadly than just 'the arts' (Rae, 2005b:186). It should be noted that this broad brushstroke definition encompasses thirteen unique sub-sectors: advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer games, television and radio (DCMS, 2001:5).

Although this definition has since been widely adopted throughout Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand and Eastern Asia (Jones *et al.*, 2004:134), other definitions still persist. For example, Florida (2002) describes a wider 'Creative Class' composed of 'knowledge workers' who add economic value through their creativity. Among this group are scientists, engineers and university professors as well as poets, actors and architects (Florida, 2002:8). This is particularly significant bearing in mind that policy makers across the world involved in regional development, and in turn sector development, have drawn heavily on the work of Richard Florida: "It's quite remarkable how

many city planners and developers I've met over the last couple of years who walk around either carrying or quoting this book as if it were a bible of how to make their city hip and modern and successful" (Jacobs, 2005, website). Cave (2000) suggests a more limiting definition, with the creative industries being those "supplying goods and services we broadly associate with culture, artistic or simply entertainment value" (Caves, 2000:1). More recently this definition has been challenged by Nesta who seek to simplify and aid understanding of the sector, they provide the following definition: "those sectors which specialise in the use of creative talent for commercial purposes" (Bakhshi *et al.*, 2013: 13). This definition is housed within a 'manifesto' which seeks to strengthen and protect the development and growth of the creative sector, as well as recognise the breadth of where creativity lies within industry more widely. Arguably, however, this definition emphasises the commercial aspect of the creative industries, this it could be argued is detrimental and fails to acknowledge the counter balance provided by non-commercial creative pursuits.

Similarly the existing definition, when echoed in policy-making terms, i.e. the broader and more widely adopted definition may be problematic if a blanket approach is adopted. This is the case not only in terms of undifferentiated actions across the UK, but also across the sector itself. Blanket approaches ignore potential differences in scale, discipline and the types of intervention required to support regional regeneration (Martin and Matlay, 2001). The potential benefits of expanding creative sector businesses on a regional level has led to widespread efforts to develop these, with little regard for local differences, such that "no region of the country, whatever its industrial base, human capital stock, scale or history, is safe from the need for a 'creative hub' or 'cultural quarter'" (Oakley, 2004:68). Other issues arise over the use of the term 'creative', given that this suggests a lack of creativity in other industries. In this context, it has been noted that the creative industries may potentially be no more creative than any others (Pratt, 2004:119). However, as Oakley suggests it was the 'Mapping Documents' produced in 1998 and 2001 by the DCMS, which succeeded in raising the profile of these sectors considerably, establishing them as one of the fastest growing parts of the UK economy and putting them firmly on the political map (Oakley, 2004:69). Interestingly, as time passes

the literature has become a great deal more critical of the terminology and definitional differences relating to the creative industries.

### **2.2.3 A role within regeneration and economic development**

As part of the wider context to this study, it is important to understand the various roles with which policy makers imagine the creative industries might play a part. With their mix of 'knowledge rich industries' and a high propensity towards self-employment, they are frequently cited as a means to promote regeneration within a given city or region (Oakley, 2006; Tams, 2002). They are often considered a driver for urban economic growth and it has been argued that they have "become part of the new orthodoxy by which cities seek to enhance their competitive position" (Miles and Paddison, 2005:833). A great deal of this research has been guided by Richard Florida, who in his seminal work 'The Rise of the Creative Class' (Florida, 2002) described a situation whereby a city with an active cultural/creative sector would attract other workers and in turn become a more attractive location for businesses to locate. Florida goes on to describe the conditions required by a city to develop and foster such creativity. Based on his own research model, he developed a ranking of (North American) cities which were more creative. The three main criteria are described as 'The 3 T's of Economic Development': Technology, Talent and Tolerance (Florida, 2002:249). Interestingly, here Florida argues that in order for a city or region to take advantage of the benefits that a strong creative sector can bring, they need to be strong in these three areas. Florida's work is of specific interest to this piece of research, in terms of his ideas and their on-going impact on public policy in the UK relating to tolerance and the need for greater diversity in terms of widening participation, as suggested in the previous section his work has been far-reaching and in its early days adopted widely with little critique.

His well-cited and promoted theory, amongst others, has led to many cities and regions within the UK developing and using the creative industries as a way to lever diversity and social inclusion within wider regeneration strategies. Indeed, commenting on Florida's work, Oakley suggests that "there is a trend for North American thinkers to have a disproportionate influence on New Labour policy

makers” (Oakley, 2004:70). Other research takes a much more critical view of this. Discussing claims by the Department of Media Culture and Sport that the “cultural element can become the driving-force for regeneration”, Miles and Paddison argue that this is largely based on a “limited evidence base” and could be misleading (Miles and Paddison, 2005:833).

#### **2.2.4 Characteristics of the creative industries sector**

Overall the sector is frequently characterised by a high volume of and reliance upon freelancers, sole traders and small firms (Pink, 1998; Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999; Florida, 2002; NESTA, 2003; Ball, 2003; Carey, 2004, 2006; Carey and Naudin, 2006), high incidence of self-employment (DCMS, 2006b; Blackwell and Harvey, 1999), and characterised by individuals who ‘exhibit entrepreneurial traits’ (NESTA, 2003). Amongst other traits NESTA (2003) also highlight creative individual’s networking skills: “with a high proportion of owner managers and small businesses, who work collaboratively and are generally ambitious and entrepreneurial” (NESTA, 2003:12).

Although described in more detail later in this chapter in relation to describing the characteristics of the sector, Howkins describes the creative entrepreneur as having the “creativity to unlock the wealth that lies within themselves” (Howkins, 2002:128). Howkins goes on to explain the different ways in which creative people experience entrepreneurship. Insomuch that the only capital creative entrepreneurs might require is their ‘intellectual capital’, as opposed to financial or other for entrepreneurs within other industries (Howkins, 2002:122). However, this could be argued to be a somewhat romantic view, as presumably creative individuals are not immune from the costs and overheads associated with, for example: tools of the trade, accountants and marketing materials.

An interesting aspect of the sector is how it is perceived from the outside. Views on this are conflicting, for example Rae suggests that although the regular taxpayer and consumer is inextricably linked to the sector, through their consumption, the relationship is distant and ultimately one way (Rae, 2008). This idea, that through their consumption, the wider public are heavily involved with the sector, is identified as one of the key reasons for the growth of the sector, insomuch as the creative

industries are “... all around us ...” (O’Cinneide and Henry, 2008:73). This is an aspect frequently overlooked within the literature. Acknowledging that the wider public are indeed immersed within the output of the sector through architecture, television, music, film, advertising and other creative outputs, Cave (2000), Florida (2002) and more recently Florida *et al.* (2008) have highlighted the relationship between the health of the cultural economy and production and consumption. However, rather movingly, Shorthose describes a somewhat bleak situation whereby “cultural capitalism historically demonstrated a capacity to assimilate new cultural values and production ‘back in’ to the mainstream economy, to sanitise cultural critique and so commodity culture as a series of ‘events’ participated in as something extrinsic to one’s own life and capacity for creative expression” (Shorthose, 2004:4). Ravenscroft and Gilchrist cite the field of ‘work and leisure’ when discussing the growth of leisure and the relationship between leisure time and cultural consumption, but highlight a growing trend in terms of consumers becoming producers of cultural/creative output (Ravenscroft and Gilchrist, 2009).

An important aspect influencing the creative industries in the recent past and currently is the ever-changing impact of technology. Changes in technology are impacting the creative industries in a number of ways. Mills and Green (2008) identify four ways in which technology is impacting on the sector, including ‘New technological platforms’ - they identify a number of changes to the way creative content is made and distributed; ‘Consumers’, and the ease with which consumers can now share their views on products; ‘Institutional change’, for example the impact of global markets, competitors and labour; and ‘new products’, for example computer games (Mills and Green, 2008:6), and they describe these in terms of opportunity and drivers for innovation. When discussing the computer games industry, Hotho and Champion highlight the fact that “the computer games industry is a fast changing industry with technology permanently creating new business opportunities that may or may not be seized” (Hotho and Champion, 2011:39). Without doubt the changes identified by Mills and Green, are impacting across all fields of the creative industries, from publishing to the music industry, what is important to take from this is not just the relationship producers have with technology but also consumers. Arguably then, it is important to consider who is producing and who



is consuming? And whether or not the evolution of production, distribution and consumption within the creative industries sectors represent a level of exclusivity. This is considered in more detail within section 2.4.5 Gender, media and technology.

### **2.2.5 Careers and the creative industries**

As identified, there are high levels of self-employment within the creative industries sector (Richards, 2006; Blackwell and Harvey, 1999). Careers within the sector are characterised by “a range of portfolio options” (Reid *et al.*, 2010:26) or the protean career (Bridgestock, 2006, 2011). Negative aspects have been highlighted, for example a lack of job security or scope for promotion (Reid *et al.*, 2010), and in some instances inaccessibility to careers due to exclusivity of networks or opportunities (Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009). Graduates often find it difficult to establish themselves (Bridgestock, 2011).

Careers vary across the creative industry sub-sectors, for example the publishing industry is the largest employer within the creative industries, where, although the industry is less certain than it was, careers take on a more traditional route through employed work: “83 per cent of those working in the Publishing sector do so as an employee, with 17 per cent self-employed” (Skillset, 2008:13). While still a higher proportion than the UK as a whole, this is far lower than across the creative industries more generally, with estimates between 39-43% self-employment at some point for creative graduates (Blackwell and Harvey, 1999) and a “overall 24 per cent are self-employed, rising to between 40 and 50 per cent in movies, video, and TV, and radio services and in creative, arts and entertainment services” (Brinkley and Holloway, 2010: 9). As identified there is a high reliance on networking within the sector. One insight into the careers of creative individuals comes from Bilton, who highlights that “most enterprises within the creative industries start small ...based on one or two individuals ... playing multiple roles” (Bilton, 2007:27). This suggests that the creative individual might start an enterprise based on an idea and have to fulfil many other business tasks to sustain it.

Elsewhere, discussion revolves around artists’ career trajectory being based on their ability to develop a public persona and recognition of their talent (Menger, 1999). Across the performing and visual arts,

there is evidence for the motivating factors of work and career being driven by artistic pursuit and not commercial imperative (Kubacki and Croft, 2011). These themes are explored in more depth within the section in Chapter Three looking at entrepreneurship and the creative industries.

### **2.3 Entrepreneurship**

The field of entrepreneurship is wide and varied. Within this section, a specific approach has been taken in order to remain focused on the overall study. This has involved identifying synergies or similar characteristics found within the literature on entrepreneurship and that of the creative industries. Later in this literature review, entrepreneurship specifically within the creative industries is discussed (see Section 3.2), here the focus is on characteristics associated with the creative industries sector which are discussed in literature relating to generic entrepreneurship, Table 2.1 illustrates this.

This section will be structured as follows. Firstly an overview of entrepreneurship research is provided. Here some of the key trends and developments within this field, including definitions and theories of entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur are explored. Following this, four key themes are identified. Firstly, I look at the individual. As identified, individuals within the creative industries sector are frequently described as creative, highly networked and self-motivated (NESTA, 2006), and here theories around entrepreneurial traits and characteristics are explored. Secondly, the reasons why some individuals become entrepreneurs are explored, with the high levels of self-employment within the creative industries sector, this section will look to the entrepreneurship literature to see what can be learnt from generic entrepreneurs, for example, theories around whether entrepreneurs are ‘born or made’, motivations of the entrepreneur and push and pull factors will be considered. Thirdly, intangible assets associated with entrepreneurs and successful creative individuals are explored, for example, social, cultural and human capital. The final section looks at enterprise and entrepreneurship education. A key characteristic of the creative industries is the high levels of educational attainment; here emerging theories around enterprise education are studied in order to seek out similarities of provision.

Table 2.1 illustrates how this section is split into these four main sub-headings and how by mapping characteristics of the creative industries across to the entrepreneurship literature, these sub-headings were arrived at.

Table: 2.1 Creative industries characteristics within the context of entrepreneurship research		
Sub-heading	Characteristics of the creative industries	Area of entrepreneurship research studied
Characteristics of the entrepreneur	Creative and innovative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Entrepreneurship and creativity</li> <li>• Characteristics of entrepreneurs</li> <li>• Trait based theory</li> </ul>
Why are some people entrepreneurs?	Career destinations (high levels of self-employment)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Behaviourism</li> <li>• Entrepreneur's nature vs. nurture</li> <li>• Motivations</li> <li>• Push-pull factors</li> </ul>
Entrepreneurship and social, human and cultural capital	Highly networked	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Entrepreneurship and social and human capital</li> <li>• Entrepreneurship, networking and friendship</li> </ul>
Enterprise and entrepreneurship education	Highly educated	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Entrepreneurship education</li> </ul>

### 2.3.1. Entrepreneurship as a field of research

The focus of research and interest in business management has shifted in the last twenty to thirty years. As described, “over the last twenty years the business world has fallen in love with the idea of entrepreneurship” (Burns, 2007:4). Previously within the field of business management research, the focus in terms of what was taught, researched and considered successful was the idea of big business. This relatively new focus on entrepreneurship within the research world reflects what Burns refers to as an ‘entrepreneurial revolution’ driven by the increasingly rapid pace of change, where small firms are better able to adapt (Burns, 2007). The consensus appears to be that as a field of research entrepreneurship has been in development for the last 30 years (Blackburn and Smallbone, 2008;

Carter and Jones-Evans, 2000). Several authors have, in recent years, aimed to map the development and scope of research into entrepreneurship in the U.K. Blackburn and Smallbone evidence the growing trend towards the study of entrepreneurship by highlighting the increasing numbers of researchers attending the UK's largest small business and enterprise conference and the increased numbers of professors in UK universities specialising in this field of study (Blackburn and Smallbone, 2008).

There are tensions related to entrepreneurship theory, with a lack of consensus amongst scholars on what constitutes entrepreneurial theory (Alvarez, 2005). Casson points to two main theories of economics which help to form the basis of entrepreneurial theory: the Neo-classical school of economics and the Austrian school of economics (Casson, 2003). The Neo-classical school, Casson suggests, made assumptions "that everyone has the same access to information that they require to make decisions ... trivialising decision making and making it impossible to analyse the role of entrepreneurs in taking decisions of a particular kind" (Casson, 2003:9). The Neo-classical school limits theorists by suggesting that a set of data can only ever lead to certain outcomes: here, creativity is not discussed (Casson, 2003; Kirzner, 1997). The Austrian school, however, places great weight on 'entrepreneurial discovery': the act of discovery potentially leads to what has as yet been overlooked – an opportunity (Kirzner, 1997). Arguably this position resonates more closely with Howkins (2002) position of the creative entrepreneur and is more sympathetic to the position of that type of entrepreneur. Alternative theories around entrepreneurship reflect on the individual and are founded on traits based and behaviourism theory (Alvarez, 2005; Gartner, 1988). Describing the last twenty years, Alvarez suggests that while entrepreneurship theorists have had wide and varied approaches, they have all concentrated on three main areas of entrepreneurial phenomena: the nature of entrepreneurial opportunities, the nature of entrepreneurs as individuals and the nature of the decision-making context within which entrepreneurs operate (Alvarez, 2005:2).

Other theories and often public policy are concerned with the socio-economic impact of entrepreneurship (Ebner, 2003; Scase, 2000); this work extends to theories related to female entrepreneurship (de Bruin *et al.*, 2006; Marlow and Carter, 2004; Carter, 2000; Brush, 1993), ethnic

entrepreneurship (Ram *et al.*, 2000; Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990), indigenous entrepreneurship (Peredo *et al.*, 2004) and the environment conducive for entrepreneurship (Devi and Fogel, 1994).

The word entrepreneur is considered to have been introduced to the field of economics by Cantillon (Casson, 2003; Bolton and Thompson, 2004), translated variously as merchant, adventurer and employer, although directly meaning the undertaker of a project (Casson, 2003:19). However, Drucker refers to the French economist J.B. Say as introducing the term and defines the entrepreneur as someone who “shifts economic resources out of an area of lower and into an area of higher productivity and greater yield” (See Drucker, 1999, 1985:19). Drucker argues that Say left no guidelines as to how to identify who entrepreneurs were and so much definitional confusion has ensued, which continues to dominate much of the literature and discussion around entrepreneurship (Drucker, 1999, 1985).

There are also tensions around the definitions and uses of words to describe entrepreneurship, seen as one of the most crucial and difficult aspects of the theoretical area (Casson, 2003). For example, work related to small business, small business creation, enterprise and entrepreneurship is often seen as one field, with the various terms being used interchangeably. Moreover much of the research fails to distinguish between owner managers and entrepreneurs, assuming that anyone who starts their own business is an entrepreneur (Burns, 2007:31). Brockhaus highlights early definitional issues, suggesting that owner managers were entrepreneurs, and discussing whether that in turn meant that a manager could also be an entrepreneur (Brockhaus, 1980). Drucker cites US business schools as contributing to some of this confusion by simply re-branding small business courses as entrepreneurship courses, suggesting that not every small business is entrepreneurial or represents entrepreneurship. Others suggest that there has been an on-going debate about whether the unit of policy analysis should be the entrepreneur or the small business (Westhead *et al.*, 2005). ‘Entrepreneurship’ is defined and described in many ways, for example, in terms of opportunity recognition, business start-up and growth (Matlay and Carey, 2007), as an activity leading to the

creation and management of a new organisation designed to pursue a unique, innovative opportunity (Hindle and Rushworth, 2000) and/or as carried out by individuals able and willing to grasp profitable opportunities, take the necessary risks and have the confidence and capabilities to turn creative new ideas into working realities (Nixon, 2004). Honig *et al.* (2005) suggest that nascent activities are arguably one of the most crucial and understudied aspects of the study of organisational development, as they determine the critical point at which certain individuals succeed or fail at creating new organisations.

### **2.3.2 Characteristics of the entrepreneur**

Schumpeter (1950) describes an entrepreneur as a person who is willing and able to convert a new idea or invention into a successful innovation. Alternative definitions suggest that when discussing the role of the entrepreneur within economic development, one can frame the discussion by taking the view of a historian with hindsight: here the entrepreneur is identified as “being the one who was right when practically everyone around them was wrong” (Casson, 2003:10). Bolton and Thompson have developed a definition through trying to understand the special and unique qualities which they perceive the entrepreneur to have, thus their definition is: “A person who habitually creates and innovates to build something of recognised value around perceived opportunities” (Bolton and Thompson, 2004:16) and here perhaps, is where it could be argued, the difference between a small business owner and entrepreneur lies, as Drucker states, “to be entrepreneurial an enterprise needs to have special characteristics over and above being new and small. Indeed, entrepreneurs are a minority among new businesses. As suggested by Drucker “they create something new, something different; they change or transmute something” (Drucker, 1999:20). Arguably while this differentiation resonates with the role of the self-employed creative producer, it appears that this clarity is missing from the wider research community. Terminology surrounding entrepreneurship and business ownership are somewhat confused as evidenced through the previous discussion highlighting this confusion.

Self-employment is another aspect of the work carried out by entrepreneurship scholars. This is an important aspect for this study given the aforementioned high levels of self-employment within the creative industries. Based on the definitions provided by Schumpeter and Casson and heavily adopted by the entrepreneurship research community, Berthold and Neumann argue that “every self-employed person can be defined as an entrepreneur” (Berthold and Neumann, 2008: 237). Gartner (1989) discussed the issue of defining “who is an entrepreneur?”, acknowledging that the debate on how to define the entrepreneur had been raging then for some fifteen years (at the time of writing and now for some forty years). He offered some insights as to the definitional differences between the self-employed and the entrepreneur, drawing upon the work of Garland *et al.*, (1984), who suggested that a business owner of some ten to fifteen years is not necessarily engaged in entrepreneurship (Garland *et al.*, 1984, cited by Gartner, 1989:47). They go further than this to suggest that “all new ventures are not entrepreneurial in nature” (Garland *et al.*, 1984:357).

Elsewhere, definitions and descriptions of what makes successful entrepreneurs are made within the context of their entrepreneurial activity and various entrepreneurial types. For example, Westhead *et al.* (2005) describe three distinct entrepreneurial types: Novice, those who are new to entrepreneurship and starting out; Portfolio, those who start and run multiple enterprises; and Serial, those entrepreneurs who create, run and sell enterprises and repeat the process. They also describe nascent entrepreneurs. Identifying nascent entrepreneurs is by its very nature extremely hard, although work has been carried out which identifies particular characteristics which those nascent entrepreneurs might have. Wagner describes the starting of a business as involving three transitional periods. The first transition begins when one or more persons start to commit time and resources to founding a new firm: if they do so on their own, and if the new venture can be considered as an independent start-up, they are called nascent entrepreneurs (Wagner, 2004:2). Elsewhere, the ‘entrepreneurial cycle’ is cited: here four phases are identified, conception, gestation, infancy and adolescence, aimed at identifying the transitions in ‘entrepreneurial effort’ i.e. from an adult with a business idea, to an individual entrepreneur, to a fledgling firm and finally to an established new firm (Aldrich and Martinez, 2001:5). Others speak of another type of entrepreneurship: Intrapreneurship, defined as

“entrepreneurship within an existing organisation” (Antoncic and Hirich, 2003). Briefly, intrapreneurship is the act of an employee behaving entrepreneurially within and on behalf of their employers. Although views on intrapreneurship may vary there is evidence to link an entrepreneurial workforce with growth of firms (Jasna and Antoncic, 2011) and increased innovation and performance (Felicio *et al*, 2012). This it could be argued is due to increased staff satisfaction.

Within the field of entrepreneurship is a sub-sector of literature which focuses on the entrepreneur. Within the creative industries, as established in the previous section (see ‘the Creative Industries’) there are high levels of self-employment, which could be described as enterprising or entrepreneurial activity (this is further explored in Section 3.2). Within the literature around entrepreneurship there is much discussion around whether entrepreneurs are born or made.

### **2.3.3 Why are some people entrepreneurs?**

Much has been made of the reasons why some people become entrepreneurs and others do not. The research covers a multitude of areas, including research aiming to uncover entrepreneurial traits, i.e. those, which might help to identify who is likely to become an entrepreneur (Burns, 2007). This, it could be argued, is particularly salient within research and policy related to enterprise education, with researchers hoping to identify and understand how these characteristics and traits might be developed and encouraged within individuals. Other literature focuses on behaviourism and aims to identify specific behaviours of the entrepreneur (Gartner, 1988; Deamer and Earle , 2004; Hannon, 2006). This section explores some of the drivers to entrepreneurship, looking at entrepreneurial traits and characteristics, motivations and factors, which either push or pull individuals into an entrepreneurial path. Levels of self-employment and, it could be argued, entrepreneurship, are high within the creative industries: by understanding some of the factors behind generic entrepreneurship, we might gain a clearer understanding of what might be driving enterprise within this sector.



Often considered the predominant field of research relating to entrepreneurs is traits based theory, which aims to identify specific traits which entrepreneurs possess. Bolton and Thompson offer an acronym which helps to recall the various qualities that entrepreneurs share: FACETS - focus, advantage, creativity, ego, team and social (Bolton and Thompson, 2003:53). Interestingly, they suggest that artistic talent is an additional or complementary factor when describing an entrepreneur in musical theatre. Casson reminds us that the core characteristic of the entrepreneur is that the entrepreneur is always an individual (Casson, 2003). Describing the personalities and individuals behind companies such as Microsoft and Virgin, Carter and Jones-Evans suggest that these successful entrepreneurs offer role models and that, in line with the previously mentioned history of research in this field, attitudes towards entrepreneurs have changed significantly in the last twenty years (Carter and Jones-Evans, 2000).

Elsewhere, Delmar and Davidson describe five main characteristics of entrepreneurs: risk-taking propensity, need for achievement, locus of control, over-optimism and desire for autonomy (Delmar and Davidson, 2000:141). While highlighting these otherwise positive characteristics, they suggest that in fact there might be a 'dark side' to the entrepreneur's character. Other characteristics highlighted refer to a need for independence and an ability to live with uncertainty (Burns, 2000). Indeed having a high tolerance for ambiguity, it has been argued (Schere, 1982), is greater in entrepreneurs and potentially higher than the perceived higher risk-taking propensity (Delmar and Davidson, 2000). The ability to identify and exploit opportunities is also seen as a core characteristic. Casson and Wadeson describe opportunities as projects and the entrepreneur as one who seeks out and exploits projects, suggesting that as there are a large quantity of projects (opportunities) out there, the successful entrepreneur is the one with a "good set of search strategies" (Casson and Wadeson, 2007:286).

McCarthy identifies two main types of entrepreneur and suggests that the strategy formation of their companies, at least, is driven by the owner/manager (entrepreneurs) personality. Here, two types are described: 'charismatic' and 'pragmatic' entrepreneurs. The charismatic entrepreneur "conforms to the stereotypical view of entrepreneurs and they were visionaries, risk-takers, highly persuasive,

passionate, with ambitious and idealistic goals. The pragmatists did not fit the stereotypical mould and were more cautious, more rational and seemed to adopt a more calculating and instrumental approach to the business, yet they also achieved success” (McCarthy, 2003: 158). Entrepreneurship has been associated with a range of psychological conditions, Bolton and Thompson identify these as including early days mania, stress, and a ‘need for achievement’, although they stress that the motivating factor of ‘need for achievement’ does not necessarily result in a successful entrepreneur (Bolton and Thompson, 2004). They go onto explore competitiveness as a motivating factor.

In other work, McCarthy and Leavy, however, suggest that there is “growing disillusionment with personality trait theory” (McCarthy and Leavy, 1999). While some popular traits associated with entrepreneurs have proved inconclusive, for example ‘risk taking’ (Deamer and Earle, 2004), they point to another field of research which looks to entrepreneurial behaviour. As a field, there is much discussion around whether traits theory is legitimate and, if so, which of the traits is most prevalent. Earlier work also suggested that this focus was not well placed. In his seminal work, Gartner referred to the ‘Traits approach’ and considered this to be an inadequate approach for explaining the entrepreneurship phenomenon (Gartner, 1985). Here, Gartner takes an arguably more holistic approach, arguing that the behavioural approach offers greater understanding of entrepreneurial phenomena, viewing the creation of a new organisation as a contextual event subject to many influences (Gartner 1989:57). He goes on to suggest that the study of the entrepreneur should focus on what they do (their behaviour), not who they are (their personality). Naffziger *et al.* (1994) cite Greenberger and Sexton (1988) for bringing together these two fields, by incorporating individual characteristics and environmental Influences. They also describe the individual’s “decision to behave entrepreneurially” - here they suggest that there are five major variables which influence an individual’s decision to behave entrepreneurially: 1) Personal characteristics, 2) personal environment, 3) relevant business environment, 4) specific business idea, and 5) “goals of an entrepreneur” (Naffziger *et al.*, 1994: 32).

'Push and pull factors' have also been cited as causes of entrepreneurship (Brockhaus, 1980a; Shinnar and Young, 2008). These are characterised by push factors such as job dissatisfaction as opposed to pull factors for example being "pulled into an extremely appealing business opportunity" (Shinnar and Young, 2008: 259). Push and pull factors are frequently referred to in instances where entrepreneurship is linked to gender and ethnicity, for example when studying Hispanic entrepreneurs (Shinnar and Young, 2008) and female-owned businesses (Baughn *et al.*, 2006; Buttner and Moore, 1997; Birley, 1989).

However, Aldrich and Martinez argue that while it might be intellectually stimulating to find out what motivates entrepreneurs and how they might differ from 'mere mortals', the more critical question (from an economic perspective) is how these individuals manage to create and sustain successful organisations, despite severe obstacles (Aldrich and Martinez, 2000:3). On this basis, they argue that when studying entrepreneurship an evolutionary approach should be taken, whereby one considers how organisations adapt to changing circumstances, how organisational arrangements lead to success and survival (selection), and how these successes can be sustained and replicated by others (retention).

#### **2.3.4 Entrepreneurship and social, human and cultural capital**

'Social capital' is often used to describe some of the less tangible assets that individuals might have, ranging through "social energy, community spirit, social bonds, civic virtue, community networks, social ozone, extended friendships, community life, social resources, informal and formal networks, good neighbourliness and social glue" (statistics.gov.uk, 2001: website). High levels of social capital have been attributed a number of positive effects in terms of benefits to both individuals and the wider community. Cote and Healy highlight three 'types' of social capital: "bonding social capital - characterised by strong bonds (or 'social glue'), for example, among family members or members of an ethnic group; bridging social capital - characterised by weaker, less dense but more cross-cutting ties ('social oil'), for example among business associates, acquaintances, friends from different ethnic groups, friends of friends, etc; and linking social capital - characterised by connections between those

with differing levels of power or social status, for example links between the political elite and the general public or between individuals from different social classes” (Cote and Healy, 2001:42).

Linked to human capital is what is referred to as: Cultural capital, this type of capital builds over time, through experience, education and training (Matarasso, 1999). Elsewhere it is suggested that cultural capital accumulates through community situations, for example: celebrations and other culturally rich shared experiences (Gould, 2001). Cultural and social capital, as well as financial capital, are considered important to the success of new enterprises (Storey, 1994; Marlow and Carter, 2004; Smith-Hunter, 2006). Individuals are in a better position within the general workplace if they have higher levels of human, social and cultural capital. Aldrich and Martinez highlight that knowledge is as vital as financial capital for entrepreneurs; they go on to suggest that the ideal combination for acquiring knowledge and capital is “through a blend of diverse and strong connections with other individuals and organisations” (Aldrich and Martinez, 2001:16). This has resonance with the creative industries given their highly networked and collaborative characteristics.

Perhaps not surprisingly, a successful start-up business will be affected by the nascent entrepreneur’s past experience, training, education and skills development (Deakins and Whittam, 2000:116). In fact social and human capital can be leveraged to develop new business ideas, in terms of bettering an existing product that the would-be entrepreneur may have come into contact with or in terms of being able to draw upon particular knowledge or experience (Deakins and Whittam, 2000). Some studies suggest a direct link between educational attainment (human capital) and entrepreneurial growth, specifically businesses with high growth (Storey, 1994). Burns describes it as “folklore that the entrepreneur comes from a poor deprived background and has little formal education” (Burns, 2007). Later, I explore the impact of social capital on female entrepreneurs (see Section 3.1), as well as making links between this increased human capital and entrepreneurship within the creative industries: 42% of creative industries workers are educated to degree level (NESTA, 2003). Elsewhere, symbolic capital is discussed: this relates to how one is valued by others (Fuller and Tian,

2006; Bordieu, 1985). An entrepreneur might try to increase their symbolic capital through, for example, their ethical and responsible behaviours (Fuller and Tian, 2006:288).

From this perspective, social capital is not just about how an entrepreneur or nascent entrepreneur benefits from having it: one of the motivations for starting a business is to create some social capital. Bolton and Thompson describe this: “entrepreneurs who, rather than focusing on financial wealth and capital, have instead been principally motivated by a desire to build social and aesthetic – or artistic – capital and, in some cases, to preserve environmental capital” (Bolton and Thompson, 2004:179). They go on to discuss social enterprise and businesses, which are about ‘doing good’. This area will be re-visited when looking at entrepreneurship in the creative industries.

### **2.3.5 Entrepreneurship and careers**

Much research on the careers of entrepreneurs focuses on career planning (Rae, 2006), early stage and nascent entrepreneurship (Henderson and Robertson, 1995; Carter *et al.*, 2003; Casser, 2007). Much of this research is centred around entrepreneurship education and is situated within the context of the drive for greater numbers of entrepreneurs (Woodier-Harris, 2010), the move, more generally, towards portfolio careers (Henderson and Robertson, 1995) and, the fact that we are in “a period of unprecedented change, with a fall in graduate jobs and a freeze on graduate pay” (Woodier-Harris, 2010:465). Rae argues that the recent focus on youth and graduate entrepreneurship has led to a lack of understanding of the development needs of what he refers to as ‘mid-career entrepreneurs’, acknowledging this as growing group of entrepreneurs, given the ageing population (Rae, 2006:563).

Theories related to push and pull factors are commonly drawn upon within the entrepreneurship literature in order to understand the original motivation for becoming an entrepreneur (Hytti, 2005; Matlay, 2008). Cox and Jennings, when looking at ‘what entrepreneurs are like’ identified and compared three distinct groups: ‘elite entrepreneurs’ (born to advantage), ‘elite intrapreneurs’ (born to advantage and running, for example, the family business) and ‘self-made entrepreneurs’. They compared the careers of the three groups and found some interesting comparisons and differences. In

common, most were not motivated by money, they all worked hard but interestingly those “who had made their own way in the world started in early childhood” (Cox and Jennings, 1995:9): this appears to be linked to early childhood experience and the development of resilience. Hamilton (2011) provides a useful addition to the understanding entrepreneurial learning in childhood when looking at it within the context of family business, through this study, where participants were exposed to entrepreneurial activity, she highlights that “entrepreneurial learning....as socially embedded rather than individually acquired” (Hamilton, 2011: 21). While focusing on family business it could be suggested that this is transferrable to other settings for example, in the case of this study the art school.

Entrepreneurial careers are often characterised by resilience and response to failure (Cox and Jennings, 1995). Coelho and McClure highlight that multiple failures occur throughout all business functions and that failure is part of the learning process of trial and error (Coelho and McClure, 2005). Linked to enterprise education is the need to help students to manage the emotion of failure and understand that learning to fail, reflect and recover is generally a good thing (Penaluna and Penaluna, 2008). Moreover, failing entrepreneurs have also been identified as beneficial to the economy. Knott and Posen discuss ‘beneficial failure’, highlighting the fact that new ventures to the market have a positive economic impact, regardless of their failing, due in part to the way existing companies respond to this new competition and the innovations they bring (Knot and Posen, 2005).

### **2.3.6 Entrepreneurship and education**

Entrepreneurship coupled with innovation has seen increased attention in recent years. In the UK these are attributed with helping to deliver competitive advantage. To encourage entrepreneurship “a range of measures and initiatives have been introduced over the last ten years, including funding for the development of new enterprise curricula and the setting up of new bodies such as the National Council for Graduate Entrepreneurship” (Carey and Matlay, 2010: 696).

The education system is considered key in this respect, shown, for example, in calls for universities to deliver new curriculum to develop enterprising graduates. The hope is that Universities will

produce entrepreneurial graduates, leading to new firm formation as well as offering a more flexible approaches to careers i.e. moving between employment and self-employment. Higher education has been encouraged to “take on board self-employment within employability aspects of courses” (Moreland, 2006:3), this has led to university curricula being developed in order to equip graduates with the necessary skills for managing business (Scase, 2000).

Entrepreneurship education is frequently cited as a means of significantly increasing the numbers and quality of entrepreneurs entering the economy, but there are still questions as to its effectiveness (Matlay and Carey, 2007:259), despite the pressure felt across Higher Education to deliver enterprise and entrepreneurship education (McKeown *et al.*, 2006b:611). This increased emphasis on Higher education to provide entrepreneurial learning has led to an increased interest from the research community, with studies focusing on ‘learning entrepreneurial behaviour’ (Rae and Carswell, 2000) through to questions related to ‘what entrepreneurship education is? And whether or not there is an appetite for it (Binks, 2005). There is discussion about ‘at what point entrepreneurship education should take place’ for example McKeown *et al.*, look at the post-graduate enterprise education (McKeown *et al.*, 2006b) elsewhere, whether entrepreneurship can be taught? is considered (Henry *et al.*, 2005).

### **2.3.7 Specialist and contextualised entrepreneurship education**

The type of education being offered varies, while there is a tendency for entrepreneurship education to be focussed within business schools, it is increasingly being offered across other disciplines and within their contextual settings (McKeown *et al.*, 2006b; Matlay and Carey, 2006: Carey and Matlay, 2011). While there is much discussion about the relative merits of different approaches and types of provision, “relatively few studies consider existing models of enterprise education or devise new or better practices” (Lewis and Massey, 2003:199). Meanwhile the shortfall in longitudinal studies, due to the relative newness of the topic and a ‘tendency for local, small-scale

studies' have been attributed with a lack of consensus as to what constitutes best practice (Brown, 2005; DCMS, 2006b; Carey and Naudin, 2006; Carey and Matlay, 2011).

Employability, arguably, affects all areas of the curriculum and this has led to research into entrepreneurship and enterprise in non-business school contexts. For example, reporting how HE could better support entrepreneurship in the creative industries, the Department of Culture, Media and Sport highlighted five specific models or approaches to teaching enterprise education: curriculum embedded, extra-curricular activities, post-graduate courses, continuing professional development or external agency provision (DCMS, 2006b:7). This has had impacts across disciplines, with individual faculties developing new curricula, for example, the widespread new enterprise courses in creative industries departments (Carey and Naudin, 2006). Otherwise “the most effective programmes in terms of numbers of new business start-ups seem to be those placing product innovation or product development at the centre of their programme. These were usually run from science, technology, creative sector or engineering faculties” (McKeown *et al.*, 2006b:610).

Art and Design schools are proving of interest within the discussion of enterprise education. Existing art school pedagogies are being explored (Penaluna and Penaluna, 2009; Carey and Naudin, 2006) for example “links between practitioner-lecturers and embodiment of enterprise is also providing a focal point for some researchers and practitioners exploring non-business school contexts” (Carey and Matlay, 2010: 697). Frank (2006) however, argues that subject-specific entrepreneurship education is still in its infancy, is not widely available and has yet to be fully explored.



## 2.4 Gender Studies

Having looked at the creative industries and entrepreneurship, the final discipline to explore is gender. Here, an overview of gender studies as a field of research is provided, and from this a funnelling exercise has taken place (see Table 2.2) in order to retain focus on the core elements of the study. This has led to the exploration of three main sub-headings, firstly gender and identity and careers. Here the author tries to gain an understanding of what influences and determines identity in terms of gender. Secondly, gender and inequality in labour markets are explored. Thirdly gender, media and technology are discussed, both in terms of their influence over likely career outcomes and also from the perspective of both sexes' contribution to these fields.

<b>Table 2.2 Approach to identifying fields of study to explore within Gender studies</b>		
<b>Field of gender studies literature explored</b>	<b>Characteristics related to creative industries</b>	<b>Area of gender studies investigated</b>
Gender and identity and careers	The identity of individuals as artist/creative – is this a gendered identity?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Influences of gendered identity on careers</li> </ul>
Gender and inequality in the labour market	The creative industries are a male-dominated sector. Generic materials on gender inequality in the workforce as a whole are explored here.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Inequalities in the workplace</li> <li>• Work/life balance</li> <li>• Inequalities across different sectors</li> </ul>
Gender, media and new technology	The creative industries form one of the central industries that feed media and new technologies. The link between these fields and gender is explored. Links have been made between gender and the production and consumption of creative artefacts, specifically high-end industries, e.g. computer games and software design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gender and the media</li> <li>• Gender and new technology</li> <li>• Women and computing</li> <li>• Cyber feminism</li> </ul>

### **2.4.1 Gender studies as a field of research**

Gender studies, it could be argued, investigates gender differences between men and women, with specific focus on how these difference exist or manifest themselves within specific social or cultural contexts. Initially this field was driven by feminist scholars who sought to understand the reasons behind gendered differences: some sought to redress the balance of understanding women's experience as they considered women "hidden from history" (Rowbotham, 1973). Liddington refers to this early work as "characteristically recuperative - quite literally uncovering and celebrating the stories of radical and working-class women" (Liddington, 2001:2). In trying to establish the roots of feminism and an interest in gender as a field of study, Oakley points to the first Elizabethan reign as a point in history where the gendered roles of men and women went through a period of reappraisal (Oakley,1985), and she pinpoints this time as being "a topic considered of some social relevance" (Oakley, 1985:11). From here she maps across to a second later period at the start of the "movement for emancipating women", and describes the interim period as being a time where the roles of the sexes became starkly different in terms of interests, activities and personalities. Liddington also refers to the 'movement for emancipating women' and a second wave with the 'Women's liberation movement' in the early 1970s, which led to greater research in the field (Liddington, 2001). Criticism was made of some of the earlier work, laid at the style of writing, often described as overly descriptive and not sufficiently analytical (Scott, 1986). Scott also took issue with the terminology, suggesting incorrect usage of the word gender: "in its simplest recent usage, 'gender' is a synonym for 'women' suggesting that the term gender depoliticizes the study" (Scott, 1986:1056).

Gender has not only been looked at through a historical lens but also through a more anthropological viewpoint. Ortner (1974) highlighted that gendered roles were not unique to any one culture and that women's roles in all cultures were universally of a lower social status: "female subordination ... exists within every type of social and economic arrangement and in societies of every degree of complexity" (Ortner, 1974:67). This view is reiterated by other scholars, for example the feminist political theorist Valerie Bryson (Bryson, 2003). Ortner describes her hypothesis as to why women

are universally subordinated. Briefly, women are considered, due to the physiological demands of pregnancy and childbirth, to be closer to nature, while men are potentially perceived as closer to culture and therefore superior (Ortner, 1974). However this hypothesis has not been without criticism, as Moore suggests: 'Nature' and 'culture' are not value free and we cannot assume that they are perceived the same way outside of western cultures (Moore, 1994). Elsewhere, however, this theme has persisted, where gender equality is described as a perceived threat to nature and leads to confusion around the conventional roles of the sexes (Oakley, 1985).

As well as the historic perspective, or perhaps born out of it, is feminist theory related female political history. Bryson suggests that the term feminist was first introduced to the UK in the 1880s, indicating women's equal political and legal rights to men's (Bryson, 2003:1). De Beauvoir (1949), when considering questions related to when gender inequalities started and why they existed in the first place points to "A little-known feminist of the seventeenth century, Poulain de la Barre, put it this way: 'All that has been written about women by men should be suspect, for the men are at once judge and party to the lawsuit'" (De Beauvoir, 1949:10).

#### **2.4.2 Gender and identity and careers**

The roots of work related to gender and identity stem from early psychoanalytic work that aimed to better understand homosexuality (Stoller, 1968). Briefly, gender identity is defined by self-conception as being male or female, as distinguished from actual biological sex. For most persons, gender identity and biological characteristics are the same (Britannica, 2008: website). Not surprisingly, much work focuses on gender and identity (Charles, 2002; Chodorow, 1994; Oakley, 1985): it could be argued that most of the work related to careers, activities and even personalities is driven by how individuals create a gendered identity and make gendered choices. For example, in terms of careers, both sexes are often reluctant to embark on non-traditional gender roles: research reveals that for men there is a fear of being considered 'gay' and for women there is a fear of harassment. There is also evidence that women experience male-dominated cultural references within many organisations (Charles, 2002).

This is a wide field of study. The literature ranges from discussions of identity formation and the influence of the media (Gauntlett, 2002), for example the influence of male and female targeted magazines, through to the influence of parents on identity. It is argued that the formation of one's identity in terms of gender starts to develop from the dynamics people experience when contrasting themselves and their behaviour with their mothers (Chodorow, 1994). Mothers continue to shape their children's identity. Usamini and Daniluk (1996) discuss the link between body image, how this is affected by mothers and identity formation in adolescents girls.

In terms of research on work and careers, gendered identities feature heavily. Besen (2007) suggests that masculine and feminine attributes within the workplace have seen the dominance of traditional gender stereotypes, for example 'the male breadwinner'. She cites a long history of 'gendered identities' in relation to the workplace, establishing the onset of the industrial revolution as a point in time when "work and home were sharply separated and gendered" (Besen, 2007:257). Kang *et al.* (2011) highlight two foundational theories of identity: 'social identity' defined "by an individual's membership in various clubs"; and 'personal identity', defined by "idiosyncratic attributes that distinguish an individual from others" (Kang *et al.*, 2011:413). These are explored in terms of the ways in which gender identity can be expressed through dress within the workplace. Elsewhere, gender identity research extends to entrepreneurship, where the act of entrepreneurship is generally considered to be a masculine activity (Marlow, 2002). Moreover Hamilton suggests, when looking at the experience of women working in family businesses that existing "studies demonstrate how the entrepreneurship and family business literature constantly reflects and reinforces the relative silence and invisibility of women in the ideological dialogue that creates the entrepreneurial discourse" (Hamilton, 2006: 253). This highlights the entrepreneurial stereotype as male and suggests something of women's relationship to entrepreneurial identity.

While it is acknowledged that we all have and experience multiple identities, for example work, family and career identities (Kang *et al.*, 2011), Volpe and Murphy describe a situation where "the

self can be conceptualized as a set of social identities”, referring to a ‘salience hierarchy’, where salience is defined as the “readiness to act out an identity” (Volpe and Murphy, 2011:62).

### **2.4.3 Gender and inequality in the labour market**

Recent reviews of literature related to gender inequalities in the workplace identified that “construction, engineering, plumbing and information and communication technology, were all male-dominated, and childcare female-dominated” (Dilloway and Sylvester, 2007:3). Added to this was insight that “employers are still discriminating against pregnant women and women of childbearing age. The glass ceiling and issues around diversity and social inclusion are all still active” (Dilloway and Sylvester, 2007:6).

Earlier research focused on comparisons of male and female roles, opportunities and inequalities within the workforce (Pommerenke, 1988). Elsewhere research focused on male-dominated sectors for example the construction industry. Dainty *et al.*, suggest that given the correct knowledge and training women could make a significant contribution. However, they acknowledge that for women to remain long-term within the sector changes to the working environment and culture would be necessary (Dainty *et al.*, 2001). Similar studies in the US have identified the low numbers of women working in and sustaining careers within the construction industry. Sarkar found that “41 per cent of these women had suffered from gender harassment and 88 per cent reported sexual harassment. More than half (52 per cent) of the surveyed tradeswomen reported that men refused to work with them during their construction careers” (Sarkar, 2002:6). A number of contributory factors emerge as to the experience women have within these industries: “the industry's image; career knowledge amongst children and adults; selection criteria and male-dominated courses; recruitment practices and procedures; sexist attitudes; male-dominated culture; and the work environment” (Fielden *et al.*, 2001:293).

Researchers frequently refer to a 'gendered workforce' (Gray *et al.*, 2007; Browne, 2004) this refers to the types of role associated with a particular gender. Of pertinence to this study, owing to their status as a major employer within the creative industries, Browne identifies the BBC as an organisation that has adopted a number of measures to address their gendered pay differentials and were considered to offer optimum conditions for career progression, although the "vertical occupational gender segregation" remains high (Browne, 2004:55). When looking at segmentation within the workplace, Gray *et al.* (2007) point to social networks and social capital. They suggest that social networks offer access to valuable labour market opportunities. Citing Granovetter (1974), they suggest that people who have found their jobs through informal methods such as social networks find higher prestige jobs, greater job satisfaction, and higher earnings (Gray *et al.*, 2007:146). Social networks appear to play a significant role within the careers of creative entrepreneurs, and this is explored at some depth within Section 2.2.4.

Moreover, women suffer from greater 'inter-domain conflict' than men and this is compounded for women with children (Brough and Kelling, 2002). Although employment has risen amongst women, traditional familial roles have not been abandoned (Brough and Kelling, 2002). Gjerdingen *et al.* (2001) identify that working women contribute more to household chores than men. This additional workload puts pressure on family life, jobs and careers (Gjerdingen *et al.*, 2001). Repetti *et al.* (1989) describe 'multiple role strain' and suggest that this is a conflict and in turn a "stress that arises from multiple roles and the subsequent lack of fulfilment of both roles" (Repetti *et al.*, 1989:1394). Arkin (2007), however, suggests that women benefit from these multiple roles inasmuch as the "combination of family roles with paid employment protect[s] women from psychological distress associated with the other role" (Arkin, 2007:1).

#### **2.4.5 Gender, media and new technology**

Developing the ideas of gendered identities, this section focuses on the media and media portrayals of both sexes, identity, femininity and masculinity. It also focuses on new technology in two aspects: from the position of how women engage in technological development, for example their contribution

to technology sectors and careers, and secondly as new technology leads to new and increasingly dominant media platforms, this section looks at research which investigates the gendered influences of these platforms. Interestingly, Hermes (1994) points out that gender as a field of study has become unpopular in the light of scholars recognising other variables, for example, ethnicity and sexuality, suggesting however that there was a paucity of research relating to gender within the field of media studies (Hermes,1994). Looking at media has a number of links to the overall study area. Media production sits firmly within the creative industries sector (DCMS, 2006); it could be argued that in western culture individuals are heavily immersed in the media and individuals compare themselves to these media images when constructing their own identity (Gauntlett, 2002). Mattelart (1986) gives an analysis of how television mediates traditional male dominance but argues that the evolution of female related programming has become increasingly sophisticated, citing 'Today's Woman' (Canada) as an example. However, regardless of their increasing sophistication, the programming (lunch and afternoon time slots) is still intended to integrate into women's everyday life – i.e. a home life (Mattelart, 1986). Elsewhere, work relates to the examination of women as spectators of film and television and how arguably the perspective of a feminist film critic is often missing from historical accounts of, for example, cinema going (Stacey, 1995).

Research related to technology covers a span from “why girls do not use computers” though to cyber-feminism. For example, an American study found that girls found computing classes too narrowly focused and rejected computer games for being too violent and tedious. Interestingly, this study suggested that although mainstream thinking was that girls needed to ‘catch-up’ with boys, in fact it could be viewed that “girls are pointing to important deficits in the technology and the culture” (AAUW Educational Foundation 2000:5). Elsewhere, studies have focused on the schooling of girls and the ages at which they are ‘turned off’ computing (Durdell *et al.*, 1995). Ideas related to women's relationship with computers and technology also appear within the ‘cyber-feminist’ literature, notably in Sadie Plant's (1997) ‘Zeros and Ones’. Here Plant suggests that women have always had a close relationship with technology and have been central to its development, from the

loom through to computer programming, but like other elements of history, their stories have remained untold (Plant, 1997).

This focus on technology is important. Many of the newer creative disciplines and indeed existing creative disciplines have been strongly shaped by new technology. Arguably the adoption of new technologies by women and women's presence within those emerging disciplines or lack thereof could have a dramatic impact not only on gender inequality in the work place going forward but also on the output of those sectors. As Fountain suggests when discussing the need to include more women in software design "an increase in the participation of women in the design of information technology at all stages will both redress a significant shortfall in human capital and influence the construction of an increasingly information-based society" (Fountain, 2000: 59). Linked to this is the economic imperative for more women as both creators and consumers within these new sectors. When discussing the computer games industry, Garner Ray (2004) suggest that the traditional computer games market has 'reached saturation' and that this has made it paramount to the continued growth of the sector to reach 'non-traditional markets (i.e. girls and women). Within this context the need for women working in and informing the development of new products is seen as vital (Garner Ray, 2004: 49).

It has become evident in this initial part of the literature review of gender that the field is born out of a need to better understand history and how history is told. Much of the work is developed out of the work of feminist historians, who have sought to tell and understand the lives of women and men. In terms of this section of the literature, there are also many points where the literature crosses over to our other themes, for example the influence of social capital. These themes are developed in the next chapter where the interdisciplinary fields of research are explored in greater detail.



## **2.5 Summary and conclusions of chapter**

This chapter has provided an overview of the three main themes associated with the literature review for this study: the creative industries, entrepreneurship and gender studies. These fields of research are all broad, with many possible sub-categories to examine. The approach was devised in order to focus on areas where the researcher felt there was a direct link to the objectives of the study for example when looking at the creative industries the characteristics of how the sector operated was considered important, as this might have a direct bearing on careers. Likewise when looking at gender it was felt important to look at the workplace and gender inequality within the workplace in order to glean insight, as this is a major focus of the study.

Full conclusions from the literature review are made in Chapter Three, however, what has become evident is that these three fields looked at independently offer good insight and clues as to how the three might converge. They vary in terms of maturity for example the creative industries, as a field to study, is relatively new with studies emerging which enable an understanding of the structure and characteristics of this somewhat broad collection of industries. The research does however, provide insight to some common attributes across the various sub-sectors for example the highly networked and propensity to self-employment. Across all three of these fields of research there are definitional issues. For example entrepreneurship and what entrepreneurs are like, how entrepreneurs differ from other business owners, leads to some confusion within the field. Similarly what constitutes gender studies appears to mean different things to different groups.

The approach was devised in order to navigate around the perceived lack of specific literature to the study. By looking at where the three main fields converge, the necessary building blocks of understanding would and have emerged. This has proved a useful approach in uncovering pockets of literature that help inform the study. This approach is developed in the following chapter, which

builds the literature review further to look at the second and third 'layers' of literature, where the topics cross over, and finally where the three converge.

## Chapter 3: Literature review - themes converge

### 3.0 Introduction

This second part of the literature review focuses on where the three different disciplines overlap. In the first instance, a systematic approach was taken to this literature review. In the previous chapter each of the research fields was examined, and topics within the research fields were selected based on their relevance to the overall study. In this chapter, an interdisciplinary approach and review of the existing literature is taken. Based on the apparent paucity of literature where these three disciplines converge, the rationale for the approach taken was to look at where the three fields of research independently crossed over, in order to build a clearer sense of the situation. On that basis, this chapter is structured in the following way first, gender and entrepreneurship are discussed, second, entrepreneurship within the creative industries and third gender and the creative industries are explored (see Figure 3.1). The final section of this chapter explores Stage 7 (see Figure 3.1), and here literature where these three fields converge is explored.

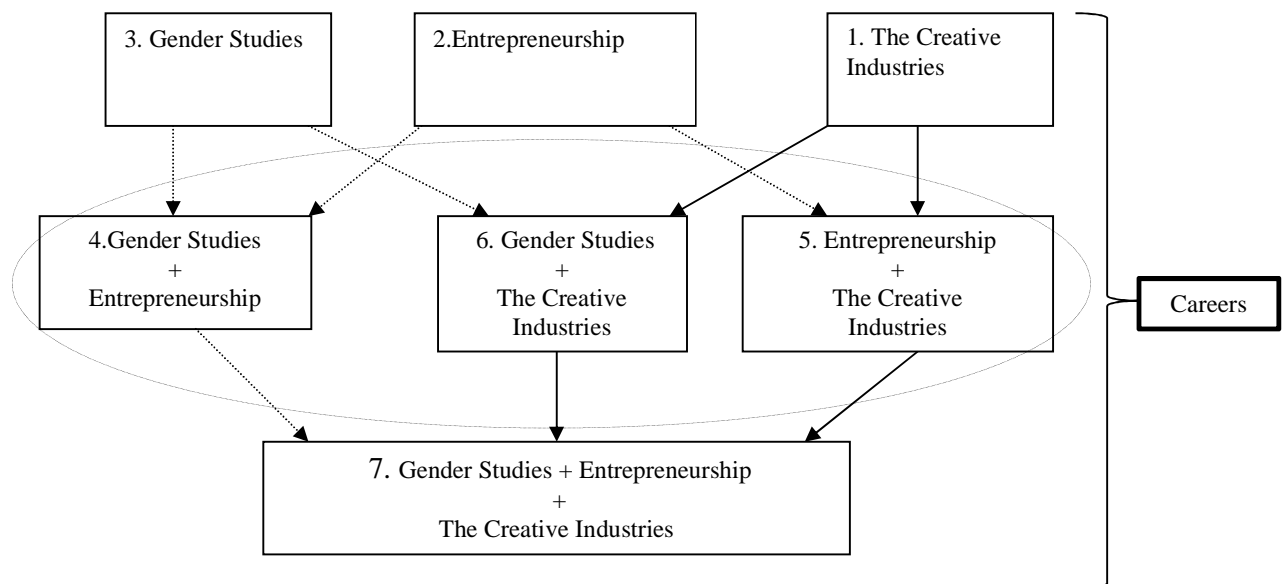


Figure 3.1. Conceptual framework for literature review: second tier

### **3.1 Gender and Entrepreneurship**

This section of the literature review builds upon the areas discussed previously, namely gender studies and entrepreneurship; here I discuss the literature related to where these two fields converge. As described, entrepreneurship, generally, has attracted increasing attention from the academic community over the past 30-40 years. However, until relatively recently, there has been much research into generic small firms but little attention has been placed on the role of gender and specifically female-owned firms (Carter, 2000), with research into women's entrepreneurship described as being "in its infancy" (de Bruin *et al.*, 2006). Arguably, this has developed in recent years. This is evident by the growing body of work presented at the currently existing dedicated gender and entrepreneurship or female entrepreneurship tracks at national conferences (ISBE and BAM) and reflected in the recent development of dedicated academic journals, for example 'The International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship' (Emerald, 2013). What follows is an in-depth look at gender and entrepreneurship. First, trends related to women's entrepreneurship research are explored. Second, the experience of women entrepreneurs is looked at, exploring issues and barriers that might lead to these smaller entrepreneurial numbers. Next, research is looked at relating to careers, specifically, why women become self-employed, an exploration of 'push and pull' factors and the impact of social and financial capital. In order to contextualise the UK situation, wider international research on gender and entrepreneurship is discussed and finally in order to frame the next section, the focus falls upon sectorial differences in terms of gender and entrepreneurship research.

#### **3.1.1 Trends related to women's entrepreneurship research**

Research within the UK has focused significantly on the female experience of self-employment and the barriers and issues that arise for women seeking self-employment. Previous discussion within Chapter Two (see Section 2.3) suggested that self-employment was sometimes at odds with the broader discussion of entrepreneurship. Within the literature associated with female entrepreneurship, this appears less problematic or at least not the focus of debate, and the terms self-employment and

entrepreneurship are frequently used interchangeably or at least self-employment is used as a term to evidence entrepreneurship. What is evident is that fewer women run businesses than men: “In the UK, women are less than half as likely as men to be setting up their own businesses or becoming self-employed. Women’s self-employment accounts for 27% of all self-employment and total early stage entrepreneurial activity (TEA) has remained very similar at 3.6% of the female population for the last five years” (Harding, 2007:5).

Earlier research, however, suggests a dramatic increase in the numbers of women moving into self-employment between 1979-1997, with numbers increasing by 163%, however this is frequently attributed to the absolute rise of women into the labour market as a whole (Carter, 2000:327). Research into female entrepreneurship has at times focused on the differences and comparisons between male and female entrepreneurship, this was particularly the case with earlier research, which tended to find that there was little difference between male and female business practices, particularly once businesses were established (Carter, 2000). In the US, Brush (1993) identified studies which sought to distinguish between the characteristics of male and female business owners. Carter (2000) describes how research became more sophisticated around the late 1980s, with findings emerging which identified clear gender differences in, for example, access to finance, networking within management and the performance of female-run businesses (Carter, 2000:329), noting that, at this point, female entrepreneurs were recognised as not being a homogenous group. Recent empirical studies highlight differences amongst groups of women, in terms of background characteristics: moreover, by not recognising these contextual differences, the entrepreneurial process may not be understood (de Bruin *et al.*, 2006).

These complexities are explored further by examining women with multiple barriers to self-employment, for example lone mothers and benefit dependent women (Marlow, 2006). These research studies have taken place within the context of entrepreneurship as a solution to social exclusion. Marlow argues that while self-employment might be more readily accessible, it is not necessarily a solution to women finding work (Marlow, 2006:593).

### 3.1.2 Why do fewer women than men run businesses?

The reasons for fewer women running businesses and establishing themselves, as entrepreneurs are complex, and a number of factors emerge. These range from the media portrayal of female entrepreneurs as being less viable (de Bruin *et al.*, 2006; Baker *et al.*, 1997) to perceptions of women as ‘home makers’ and not entrepreneurial (de Bruin *et al.*, 2006). Women’s enterprise is often viewed as hobbyist (Brush *et al.*, 2001). It could be argued that these perceptions present barriers in terms of self-efficacy. Perceptions, however, are being challenged, as research emerges to evidence the wider role that women are playing. Women’s businesses now exist across all industrial sectors and evidence suggests that these female entrepreneurs are keen to grow their businesses in size and scope (Brush *et al.*, 2001).

Other factors which appear to have an influence on female entrepreneurship include ethnicity, age and educational background (Borooah, 2001). For instance, in the UK, ethnic minority women are significantly less likely to be in senior roles, “yet at the age of 16, Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls all have the same aspirations as their white British counterparts”(EOC, 2006: 6), which they are increasingly well qualified to achieve. It is reasonable to assume that the ‘glass ceiling’ effect reducing female management roles may be “lower for ethnic minority women, with only 6% of employed Pakistani women and 9% of Black Caribbean women working as managers or senior officials, as compared to 11% of white British women” (EOC, 2006:9). It is suggested that this access to opportunity might be mirrored within business ownership. Indeed in terms of business start-ups, similar figures emerge. Activities vary across ethnic boundaries. but women are usually less well represented than men in new venture development (Martin and Wright, 2005). Criticism has been levied at government support and policy, specifically, the strategic framework for women’s enterprise, which is argued to have treated female entrepreneurs as a ‘homogenous group’ with understanding of the different needs of different ethnic groups largely either ignored or not considered (Forsen, 2006). Indeed Forsen goes on to argue that while entrepreneurship research has often been described as androcentric, it could also be described as ethnocentric.

When looking at companies established and run by women, particular aspects emerge, such as start-up and business performance issues, as compared to male-run businesses, which are seen as the 'norm'. Although there is a growing body of work: "female entrepreneurship research may still be at an early stage where established firms are concerned" (Carter, 2000:326). Hamilton (2006) suggests that "traditional discourse on entrepreneurship is not only gender and ethnocentrically biased, but also ideologically determined and controlled (Hamilton, 2006: 268). Similarly, the 'deficiency' model" (Martin and Wright, 2005:162) often represents the female-owned firm as under-performing (Watson, 2003; Mukhtar, 2002; Du Rietz and Henrekson, 2000), with owners portrayed as under-confident (Fielden, 2003) and lacking representation within some industries and subject specialisms (Carter *et al.*, 2001; Rosa *et al.*, 1996). The literature appears to continually refer to three key themes related to female entrepreneurship in terms of core requirements: financial capital, social capital and network structures (Smith-Hunter, 2006; Carter, 2000; Carter and Marlow, 2004).

### **3.1.3 Careers: push and pull factors in female entrepreneurship**

A popular way to discuss an individual's reasons for going into self-employment is often referred to as 'push and pull factors', as discussed in Chapter Two. Certain factors emerge in terms of push and pull factors related to female entrepreneurship. The push factor for women is frequently related to gender inequality: the move into self-employment reflects the restricted structure of opportunities in the labour market (Baughn *et al.*, 2006). A Canadian study suggests that the three top reasons for women moving into self-employment were a combination of push and pull factors: firstly independence; secondly, involvement in a family business; and thirdly a lack of other available work (Baughn *et al.*, 2006). However what remains to be seen is whether the fact that a woman has been pushed or pulled into self-employment makes a difference to her likely success (Hughes, 2005).

A UK study describes several motivating factors for seeking self-employment, finding they include the need for 'challenge' and the opportunity to work on something significantly complex technically and creatively and ultimately giving an opportunity to solve problems (Hughes, 2005) and that doing work for oneself made it especially challenging (Hughes, 2005:55). Orhan and Scott (2001) suggest

that the pull/push model, while reflecting most entrepreneurial motivations, has some specific features for female entrepreneurs, highlighting female dissatisfaction in terms of career progression and their experience of the 'glass ceiling'. This glass ceiling and glass-wall effect is also evident in some American studies, as Mattis identifies: "Lack of flexibility continues to be a feature of the corporate culture that leads to the attrition of high potential women and is contributing to the dramatic increase in entrepreneurship among women in the US" (Mattis, 2004:157). Overall there is evidence to suggest that there is a reasonably equal spread of both push and pull factors motivating women into entrepreneurship, with pull factors including "the need for achievement" as well as offering "flexibility between personal and family life" (Piperopoulos, 2012:195).

The push and pull theory has not been without criticism. Hytti (2005) discusses push and pull factors and suggests that "this dichotomy if taken as an either/or question is reductionist and stereotypical resulting in understandings that do not account for the relationship between pull and push, or more generally the complexity of factors at work" (Hytti, 2005:595), although she does go on to concede that push factors can be seen as an "important trigger in the entrepreneurial process" (Hytti, 2005:595). Terjesen discusses the 'careerpreneur': here a situation is described whereby female senior managers frustrated by issues related to the glass ceiling and lack of progression leverage their career capital, described as their contacts, networks and relationships built up with in their corporate jobs, in order to start up their own venture (Terjesen, 2005).

#### **3.1.4 Social and financial capital and the female entrepreneur**

Much research focuses on the finance or lack thereof that women are able to bring or attract to their venture. Assumptions have been made, previously, that women attract less funding, for example fewer venture funded businesses in the US are run by women, and while women are often found in a 'start-up team' they are noticeably absent from top leadership positions in venture funded start-ups (Brush *et al.*, 2001:3). More recent data suggests, however, that while women do appear to be less likely to apply for funding, there appears not to be any prejudice on the part of the lenders (Orser *et al.*, 2006). A number of factors emerge related to women's access to finance, including the perception of their



ability to attract finance, with an assumption of rejection (Carter and Shaw, 2006). Roper and Scott (2009) discuss the 'discouraged effect' describing a situation which again relates to perception, whereby women feel unable to access funding outside of their immediate circle. Kwong *et al.* (2012) refer to a 'perception of availability' when discussing likely access to finance.

Other factors emerge relating to access to finance and perception of its availability. These relate to differences in structural types and the differing industries in which women are likely to establish businesses (Carter and Shaw, 2006; Kwong *et al.*, 2006, 2012; Harding, 2007). Career breaks and lower income from paid work are also seen as a potential barrier for attracting finance, as women are frequently in a situation whereby they have been unable to accumulate much in the way of personal wealth (Kwong *et al.*, 2006).

The capitalisation of a new business, it is argued relies not only on access to finance, but evidence suggests social and human capital are important, in terms of existing management experience for example (Storey, 1994; Marlow and Carter, 2004; Carter, 2006; Smith-Hunter, 2006). Following this argument through suggests that low levels of human and social capital can be as damaging as a lack of financial capital. This argument is based upon research that suggests that individuals are in a better position within the general workplace if they have higher levels of human, social and cultural capital. Marlow and Carter (2004) suggest that woman-owned businesses frequently exhibit 'under-social capitalisation', and that being able to mobilise capital is closely related to an individual's experience of business ownership (Marlow and Carter, 2004:8).

Brush (1992) suggests that access to networks for female-run businesses tended to be limited, with female entrepreneurial networks being characterised by fewer but stronger ties. While it has been suggested that female entrepreneurs would benefit from increasing their number of network ties (Kwong *et al.*, 2006), women are often excluded from networks and less welcome in networks (Brush, 1997; Carter *et al.*, 2002). This could partly be due to both genders having a preference or tendency to network with their own gender (Kwong *et al.*, 2006). Moreover it has been suggested that "there are still significant gaps in our understanding of the relationship between gender, business owner

networks, social capital and men's and women's experiences of business ownership" (Neergaard, 2005:353).

### **3.1.5 Sectorial differences**

Even in the 'new economy' sectors, initially believed to offer gender-neutral opportunities for entrepreneurship, the number of firms owned by women and traditional patterns of gender representation and stereotyping would appear to persist (Wilkinson, cited by Marlow and Carter, 2004:8). The creative industries sector is often characterised by networks and networking, with the 'who you know' factor and personal relationships cited as important factors in terms of getting work and building partnerships to deliver work (Florida, 2002). However, it could be argued that other sectors are also influenced by friendships, the previously termed 'old boys' networks' are a phenomenon well documented in large corporations, with women usually excluded from these networks (Tavakolian, 1993). The advent of the Internet and new technologies has seen a shift in the types of network that exist, and as Gamba and Kleiner (2001) identify, there is now a 'new boys' network'. As the name suggests, IT sector networks appear to still be male-dominated: the authors suggest this is partly down to the lack of women training in the IT sector and the dominance of male-run internet start-ups (Gamba and Kleiner, 2001). Smith-Hunter identifies a number of sectors where women's businesses tend to emerge: these are described as 'small service industries'. These include, for example, hairdressing, personal coaching or alternative therapy; interestingly these are described in terms of being an extension of a woman's traditional role as a mother or homemaker (Smith-Hunter, 2006:8). She goes on to state that manufacturing and agriculture have a relatively small uptake by women.

Other research looks to the professional sectors, with some drawing on the theory that client/practitioner profiles frequently match. For example, Ram and Carter identify that accountants and their clients frequently share characteristics in terms of size and type of organisation (Ram and Carter, 2003). Marlow and Carter (2004) suggest that this could potentially be the case for female-run accountancy firms. This then begs the question: does the same situation occur in other sectors and if

so, does this impact on the range of clients a female-owned company might have? (Marlow and Carter, 2004).

### **3.1.6 Wider international research**

Baughn *et al.* (2006) argue that women across the world make up a significant share of those choosing to be entrepreneurs, although the proportion of women running businesses varies by country (Baughn *et al.*, 2006). They go on to describe how push and pull factors vary across countries depending on levels of gender equality, education and gender segregation. The US appears to have a far greater number of female majority owned businesses than the UK. For example, in the UK “By 2009 that figure had increased to 29% of the self-employed in the UK and 15% (or 700,000) of the 4.8 million enterprises in the UK were majority-led by women” (Prowess, 2013:website), however Harding argued that uptake of female entrepreneurship in the USA was almost double that in the UK (Harding, 2007). Indeed, women business owners are considered to be a driving force in the US economy (Brush *et al.*, 2000). It is believed that one in ten women over the age of 35 is either self-employed or running a small business: the huge growth of female entrepreneurship is also cited as contributing dramatically to the US national economy (Smith-Hunter, 2006).

Drawing on a significant piece of cross-university research, which focused on high growth business and venture capital, ‘the Diana Project’ refers to eight myths about female entrepreneurship. Briefly, this found that women do want to grow businesses, they do have the right experience to run high growth businesses and they are a force within the venture capital industry (Brush *et al.*, 2000).

Elsewhere, cultural differences are explored, for example issues of work/life balance for female entrepreneurs in Pakistan (Rehman and Roomi, 2012). As in the US and UK, studies relating to differences of experience across ethnic groups are explored, again evidencing that push and pull motivating factors are rife within female entrepreneurship throughout Europe, as in Poperpoulu’s (2012) study of Greek female entrepreneurs. The developing world and Asia specifically have also seen a steep rise in research interest in female entrepreneurship. Tarakeshwa *et al.* (2011) highlight a number of trends from across Asia, noting that a quarter of Chinese businesses are run by females and

a similar proportion in Japan. In contrast, based on census data, female-run businesses account for just 1% of businesses in India (Tarakeshwa *et al.*, 2011). Although numbers are not as strikingly low, men continue to dominate entrepreneurship within the United Arab Emirates (Samia, 2012) and similar barriers to growth as those seen in the UK, have been highlighted amongst Bulgarian female entrepreneurs (Desislava, 2011).

The various themes of research relating to gender and entrepreneurship provide the context for the next section of this literature review. These themes are picked up again in the final section, where the three core themes converge. This includes consideration of issues around the growth of technology driven companies, barriers and myths that surround female entrepreneurship, push and pull factors which influence and motivate enterprise for women, and the need for social as well as financial capital. However, the next section relates to entrepreneurship and the creative industries.

### **3.2. Entrepreneurship and the creative industries**

Almost 29 million people are employed in the UK. Of these, 3 million are self-employed. Small firms with fewer than 50 employees, excluding the self-employed, account for around a quarter of employment, with large firms accounting for just under half (Leitch, 2006:6). Within the UK, 1.8 million people work within the creative industries sector (The Work Foundation, 2007). Within the creative industries, a high proportion of individuals are self-employed or run small businesses: recent estimates range from 39-42% (The Arts Council, 2004; Blackwell and Harvey, 1999). Within the UK and internationally, SMEs are seen as paramount to generating sustainable competitive advantage (Matlay and Carey, 2007; Martin and Matlay, 2001). SMEs are frequently defined as being run by 'entrepreneurs', i.e., individuals who grasp opportunities to create wealth and generate new employment (Moorland, 2006). Increasingly, policy and academic research relating to entrepreneurship has focused upon the creative industries sector, which as described as being characterised by a high propensity towards small business and enterprise development in growth areas.

### **3.2.1 How do creative sector firms operate?**

The literature around entrepreneurship within the creative industries focuses on the characteristics of the sector, the ways in which organisations and individuals interact with one another, and the impact of external factors which influence the direction of those organisations and the sector as a whole. For example, the sector has been characterised by its reliance upon networks, relationships and collaboration (NESTA, 2003; Baines and Robson, 2001), owing to the requirements for collaboration for project fulfilment across sub-sectors. The film industry has long been identified for its reliance on freelancers, as it is funded on a project by project basis. Employment patterns in this sub-sector are almost exclusively based on groups of freelancers, and the sub-sector is often used as an exemplar of how an industry can operate in this way (Blair *et al.*, 2001a,b), with emphasis in the popular press in the USA on the ‘emergence of the freelancer’ (Pink, 2002). Here, Pink identifies a growing trend towards self-employment in the US across all sectors and walks of life. This work has been the subject of many citations and acknowledgements (Florida, 2002) but there is little academic research to explore, deny or support these ideas, although there has been a recurring view that business owners source team members, finance and work via friendships and other social networks, with resulting interdependence and related issues. Bilton goes on to describe the characteristics of creative talent that underpin and necessitate this type of collaboration: “it could be said that the high level of supply chain dependency in the creative industries is the direct result if the specialisation and individualisation of creative work in such complex and specialised sector, no single individual or firm can realistically expect to be self-sufficient” (Bilton, 2007:27).

What also emerges is a blurring of the boundaries within these networks (Arthur and Rouseau, 1996; Bridgestock, 2011). Here, the boundary-less career is defined as “opposite to organisational careers” or those “conceived within a single setting” (Arthur and Rouseau, 1996:6). Networks extend to friendship, and in some instance the boundaries between friendship and work are blurred (Carey, 2006): how friendship models can be applied to running a business are explored (Keohn, 1998), while Peottschacher refers to a ‘five friends’ script and highlights how some of the businesses founded in the creative sector have been a ‘side-effect’ of personal friendship (Peottschacher, 2005).

### 3.2.2 Characteristics of creative industries entrepreneurs

A growing body of research indicates high rates of self-employment in this sector (DCMS, 2006b; Blackwell and Harvey, 1999). The creative sector is characterised by a high volume of, and reliance upon, freelancers, sole traders and small firms (Pink, 1998; Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999; Florida, 2002; NESTA, 2003; Ball, 2003). The question arises as to whether these self-employed individuals are all entrepreneurial. Descriptions of 'creative individuals' operating in this sector show ambitious and entrepreneurial owner/managers working collaboratively (NESTA, 2003:12), but the wider group of individuals operating in different ways are so far unexplored in terms of entrepreneurship and innovation, as research tends to focus on the motivations and required attributes of creative entrepreneurs, e.g., identifying 'seven key characteristics' of creative individuals (NESTA, 2003; Carey and Naudin, 2006).

This focus on personal traits is reflected in the description of the basic requirements for creative individuals "who can work flexibly with good interpersonal and research skills" as having excellent communication, networking and teamwork skills (Ball, 2003:14). In contrast, Howkins (2002:128) describes the creative entrepreneur as someone who uses their "creativity to unlock the wealth that lies within themselves", suggesting that the difference between creative and non-creative people is that creative individuals might need only their intellectual capital to start an enterprise.

As described, literature relating to entrepreneurship in the creative industries is emerging. A recent addition to this literature is a collection of chapters in the aptly named book 'Entrepreneurship in the Creative Industries; an International Perspective' (Henry and de Bruin, 2008). This book provides useful insight to the creative entrepreneur, offering several definitions of the 'creative entrepreneur'. Aggestam refers to the 'Art-entrepreneur', suggested to be someone who is a "holder of tacit knowledge that is realised as part of human capital and includes individual skill, competence, commitment and creativity based mindsets" (Aggestam, 2008:30). Rae offers an alternative perspective when discussing the 'creative entrepreneur' he describes them as 'key stake-holders' within the context of the 'Creative economy'. He points a key differential of being a creative

entrepreneur: that they “face all of the challenges of running a business that a more generic entrepreneur would face, but they have the distinct challenge of sustaining a business from ‘creative activities’” (Rae, 2008:58).

### **3.2.3 Teaching entrepreneurship in creative disciplines**

Across the field of business management, many research studies have been undertaken “into the possibilities of teaching entrepreneurship as a subject” (Gibb and Hannon, 2006:4). Following years of growth in graduate numbers, self-employment and business ownership are perceived to be increasingly important employment routes and it is argued that higher education needs to better equip its graduates with combination of skills necessary for this type of work (Scase and Davies, 2000).

With such high levels of self-employment within the sector (DCMS, 2006a; Blackwell and Harvey, 1999), recent research has aimed to better understand the role of education, specifically higher education, in supporting graduates from these sectors into self-employment. It is not surprising that HEIs have been a focus for research, bearing in mind that 43% of creative industries workers have a first degree (Higher Education Regional Development Association, 2003). Research has focused on exploring the current support and funding available from HEIs and other public sector bodies for creative entrepreneurs (HEA/DMA, 2007), and on ways to promote entrepreneurship in arts higher education (HEA/ADM and NESTA 2007; DCMS, 2006; Carey and Naudin, 2006b; Brown, 2005). The pressure felt across HEIs to deliver enterprise and entrepreneurship education has intensified (McKeown *et al.*, 2006:611) and has not been missed by the creative industries sector, with new courses emerging across the country (Carey and Naudin, 2006a). Here “the most effective programmes in terms of numbers of new business start-ups seem to be those placing product innovation or product development at the centre of their programme. These were usually run from science, technology, creative sector or engineering faculties” (McKeown *et al.*, 2006b:610). An addition to this field, and of interest to this study, is research investigating existing practice

and pedagogies within schools of art and design, these studies add to the exploration of what non-business school faculties offer in terms of enterprise support, education and curricula (Penaluna and Penaluna, 2008; Carey and Naudin, 2006).

A piece of research carried out by a partnership of the Higher Education Academy for Art Design and Media and NESTA, which consulted widely on the issues surrounding entrepreneurship education for the creative industries, recommended the need for entrepreneurship to be made more explicit within the curriculum and for definitions of entrepreneurship to be developed in order to make them more appropriate to this sector (HEA/ADM and NESTA 2007:114), in so doing acknowledging that perhaps art and design students do not necessarily relate to current perceptions of what an entrepreneur is (DCMS, 2006b). The characteristics of a creative education that facilitates an entrepreneurial outcome have also been identified. Carey and Matlay (2007) point to what is referred to as 'implicit enterprise education', this incorporating lecturers who are practitioners, the use of experiential learning, responding to real-life projects, the 'crit' (for assessment) and the degree show (Carey and Matlay, 2007:440). These, they argue, are existing teaching methods which would enhance enterprising behaviours.

### **3.3 Gender and the creative industries**

The emerging picture of the research and literature related to gender and the creative industries is limited. Studies relate either to local projects or specific sub-sectors, leading to a somewhat fragmented picture overall. For example on a local level, "only 17% of women in the film industry sector in Birmingham run their own companies as opposed to 33% of men" (Birmingham City Council, 2002:9). The researcher has attempted to provide an insight into the role of gender within the creative industries by looking across these different, often small-scale or sector-specific studies, in order to form a general picture of the UK situation. Of benefit to this study is fact that the majority focus on gender within careers and the workforce in the creative industries.



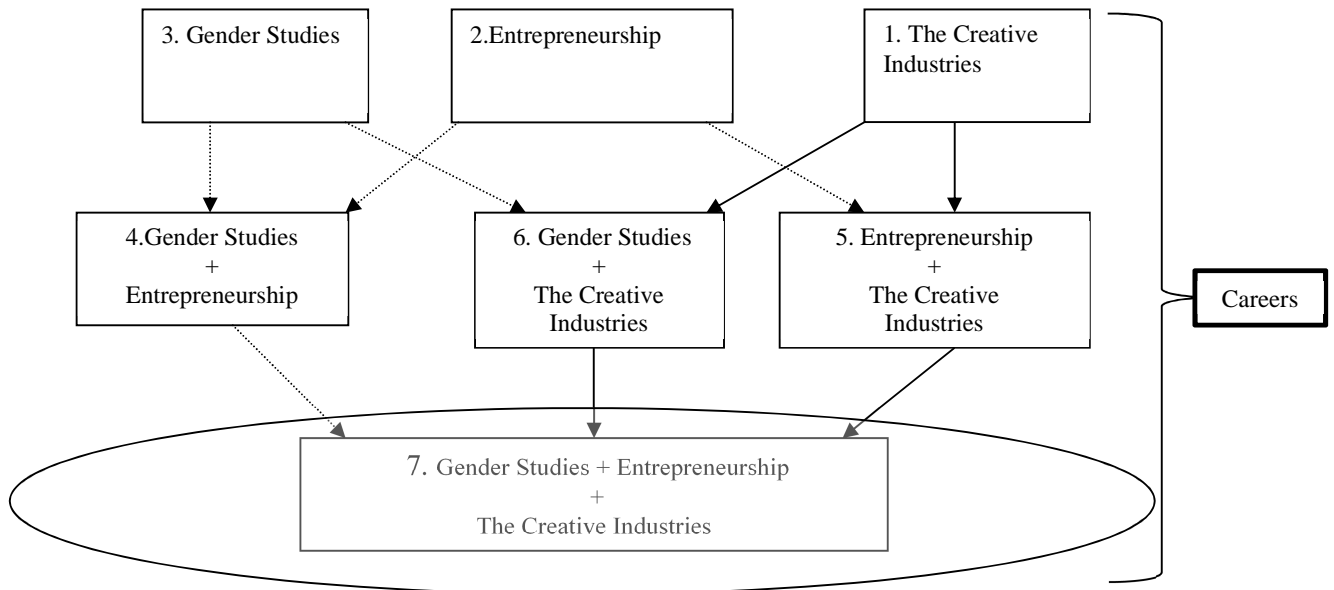
Within the film industry, nationally, only 33% of respondents to a survey were female (Skillset, 2005). Likewise in the US “the percentage of women working as directors, executive producers, producers, writers, cinematographers, and editors on the top 250 domestic grossing films declined from 19% in 2001 to 16% in 2004” (Lauzen, 2004: 2). There is some evidence to suggest that women were “or were more likely to have - jobs in administration and project management of publicly funded projects within the creative industries sector rather than running their own businesses” (Carey, 2006:5). A national Skillset survey found that there was a suggestion of inequality in terms of the roles women had within the film industry, “while there are few women in camera, sound, electrical and construction departments in the film industry, more women work in costume, make-up and script development” (Skillset, 2005:12). It could be argued that, given the high levels of self-employment within these sectors that this could also extend to business start-up and ownership within the sector.

A more recent Skillset report in 2010 suggests that there was a shortfall of women working in senior positions and ‘under-representation across the board’ (2010: 2). Although there appear to be large numbers of women working within the creative and cultural industries, there are fewer than in the general workforce (Skillset, 2010; Dodd *et al.*, 2008). The ‘Cultural Leadership Programme’ cites that there are far fewer female leaders within the sector than male, and the proportion of mixed gender management teams within the sector is only 12%, as opposed to 39% in the general workforce (Dodd *et al.*, 2008:8).

Some insight is offered from the advertising sector, both from industry and academic literature, which points to a masculine and male-dominated working environment where women struggle to progress: “Men did not face such conflicts, since masculinity was the dominant role for their gender and their profession. These gender differences were constructed over time and maintained through male homosociability, paternalism, and sexism” (Wendal and Lee, 2012: 515). The life of the female artist is explored elsewhere. Brooks and Daniluk (1998) highlight the difficulty female artists experience in establishing their careers, citing a number of potential barriers including “recurring unemployment

and career interruption” as well as the “traditional association of artistic roles with men” (Brooks and Daniluk, 1998:247). These traditional gendered roles are all too present in the new creative industries. Gill (2002) suggests, when discussing ‘new media’, that those industries include “entrenched and all too old fashioned patterns of gender inequality” (Gill, 2002:70).

### 3.4 Gender and entrepreneurship in the creative industries



**Figure 3.2 Conceptual framework for literature review: third tier**

This final section of the literature review concentrates on the third tier of the conceptual framework illustrated in Figure 3.2. Here, the literature review is concerned with looking for research and studies where these three fields converge.

Between 34.1%- 41.2% of the UK small business stock is estimated to be either owned or co-owned by women (Carter and Shaw, 2006), with around one million women now self-employed – an increase of 18% in five years at the beginning of the millennium (ONS, 2006). It would be useful to know,

however, how many of these are operating in the creative sector. Various figures are available, but the Equal Opportunities Commission claims that very few of these are in lead roles (see Table 3.1), despite their overall representation being higher than that for all business sectors.

**Table 3.1 : Sex and Power 2007 Index**

	2003	2004	2005	2006
Business: women's average representation = 14 %				
Directors in FTSE 100 companies (executive and non-executive directors)	8.6%	9.7%	10.5%	10.4%
Small businesses with women the majority of directors	12.3%	14.4%	18.0%	N/A
Media & culture: women's average representation = 17 %				
Chief executives of media companies in the FTSE 350, and the DG of the BBC	7.4%	4.3%	9.5%	10.5%
Editors of national newspapers including the Glasgow Herald and the Western Mail	9.1%	9.1%	13.0%	17.4%
Directors of major museums and art galleries	21.1%	21.1%	21.7%	17.4%
Chairs of national arts companies	27.3%	27.3%	33.3%	33.3%
Chief executives of national sports bodies	14.3%	6.3%	6.7%	6.7%

(Source: EOC, 2007: 4-5)

Regulations will potentially improve the proportion of women in public sector bodies - the Equality Act 2006 established the 'Gender Equality Duty', this required public bodies to promote gender equality in the design and delivery of services and through their employment policies. It is less clear whether this will impact upon women working in the private sector, particularly in smaller firms within the creative sector industry. Before beginning the debate on the sector itself, the researcher explored the existing research on gender and entrepreneurship across economic sectors.

The field of women and entrepreneurship is relatively mature; however, research related to female entrepreneurship within the creative industries is sparse. "Previous research suggests that

there is a notable shortage on baseline knowledge about women's contribution, with very few companies run by woman across the sector”(Carey, 2006:7). There is also evidence to suggest women make up a smaller proportion of the creative workforce “approximately 36% of the cultural industries workforces, i.e., significantly lower than the proportion of 45% made up by women in the general workforce” (Independent Theatre Council, UK, 1996, cited by Metier, 2002; Duffield, 2002).

Exploring ethnicity and gender issues indicates lower participation in creative industries, and the proportions emerging are also unrepresentative of the demographic profile, in employment terms. Both nationally and regionally, within the UK 5.5% of those running independent creative and cultural businesses are Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (Cultural Leadership Programme 2010:2). There are particularly low levels of participation from black and ethnic minority communities, and specific sub-sectors show very low proportions of women across ethnicities. In addition, there are issues in some of the sub-sectors and particular occupations related to age (e.g., TV and film production), but women are clearly under-represented in terms of those studying, employed and self-employed. The DCMS (2006b: 69) report on Higher Education and the creative sector, identifies these disparities, using as an example the fact that while 38% of those studying for architecture degrees are women, only 11% go on to become RIBA Chartered Architects.

#### **3.4.1 Education, gender and entrepreneurship in the creative industries**

In the creative sector lower paid and lower status jobs are occupied by women and fewer business start-ups are driven by women contrasts with the emphasis given in governmental reports on the need to develop female-owned firms. A typical route to encourage female entrepreneurship is through entrepreneurship education. Despite this, there are still very few courses focused on female entrepreneurship, either as individual modules or as full programmes (McKeown *et al.*, 2006). Lack of emphasis on female enterprise may also reflect the lower numbers of female professors across the European Union, with the balance of women in lower ranked posts in administration and teaching rather than management and research leadership (Eurostat, 2005).

Within the creative industries specifically, having more female and ethnically diverse role models amongst lecturing staff has been cited as a potential solution/positive contributing factor to widening participation and encouraging creative enterprise (Carey and Naudin, 2006). Given the focus here on gender and the creative sector, it would be interesting to compare numbers of male and female lecturers and professors in creative sector faculties, but these figures are unavailable except for particular sub-sectors. For example, of the 83% of UK institutions teaching music as part of a degree course, (i.e., as a major or minor study, as a full course or as a component of other programmes) women make up about 18% of lecturing staff overall, but the number is lower (16%) in pre-1992 universities (Whistlecroft, 2000). There are also indications that practitioner-lecturers can have a significant impact on entrepreneurial intent for graduates in creative sector faculties, but any link between the gender of these practitioner/lecturers and its influence on entrepreneurial intent requires further research (Carey and Naudin, 2006; Mills, 2006).

### **3.4.2 Networking and social capital**

However, one aspect of creative industries companies that may have significant effects on the level of female participation in the sector is the way in which such companies operate, with their high level of networking and the essential nature of appropriate social capital to be part of project activities and to deliver project outcomes. The ‘post work socialisation’ culture in which practitioners meet to discuss opportunities may be particularly difficult for women to engage in (Carey, 2006). Networking has been identified as a crucial part of the sector and as identified by activity for self-employed media workers, networks can exclude as well as include (Baines and Robson, 2001:359).

It is sometimes suggested that women are less likely to be included in male-dominated networks, linked perhaps to both men and women seeking out similar minded people to befriend and ultimately work with (Markiewicz *et al.*, 2000). Furthermore, the invisible nature of female roles can act as barriers, given that “organizational culture is created in everyday interactions which represent difference by gender and reaffirm the equality/inequality inherent to it” (Gherardi, 1994:608),

Within the literature, a number of factors have been discussed which may contribute to the low level of female-owned enterprises, for example, some evidence points to a link between consumption of creativity (i.e., leisure) and male-dominated production. Others cite the ‘long hours culture’ of self-employment along with childcare and other work/life balance issues as preventing some women from being able to fully commit to a business (Tams, 2002; Marcella *et al.*, 2006). To some extent, this is backed by a recent study of the film industry, which indicated that working patterns were inconsistent, with 70% of respondents citing working for 11 hours or more an average day when working on a production (Skillset, 2005).

### 3.5 Summary of literature review

#### 3.5.1 How does the literature inform the study?

Table 3.2 provides an overview of how the literature review provides context for the study:

Main field	Author/date	Key themes
The creative industries	Jones <i>et al.</i> (2004), DCMS (2006), Florida (2002), Oakley (2004), deBruin (2005), Banks <i>et al.</i> (2002) Leadbetter, 2004; Oakley, (2004), Ball, (2003), de Laurentis, <i>et al.</i> , (2003),	Multiple definitions of what constitutes the creative industries, often stemming from the UK DCMS definition.  Policy perspectives and the economic growth potential of the sector.
Entrepreneurship and the creative industries	Richards (2006), Howkins, (2002), Blackwell and Harvey (1999), NESTA (2003), Ball (2003) DCMS, 2006; Kellet, 2006; Carey and Naudin (2006), Penaluna and Penaluna (2006a), Penaluna and Penaluna (2006b), DCMS (2006), Brown (2005).	The nature of the sector in terms of company size, heavy reliance on freelancers, teams and networking.  A secondary area which potentially influences entrepreneurial activity is enterprise education: in itself this emerging field has recently had some focus on enterprise education within the creative industries sector, both the needs of the students and the style of delivery.
Gender studies, entrepreneurship and the creative industries	Carey (2006), Metier (2002), Whistlecroft (2000), Ledwith and Manfredi (2000), Tams (2002), Dodd <i>et al.</i> (2008)	An emerging field: authors are concerned with the role of gender within the sector, includes literature considering gender within HE, some specifically dealing with the sector, for example issues of

		consumption of creative output, leadership within the sector, push and pull factors and barriers to building a business within the sector.
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The table above offers a short cut to some of the key themes which have emerged through this literature review. Some links between the key topics emerge, for example, arguably, entrepreneurs tend to be creative and likewise ‘creatives’ tend to be entrepreneurial. This is evidenced through the creative industries being characterised by high levels of self-employment and micro-businesses. The creative industries have high levels of networking; similarly, entrepreneurs are reliant on high levels of social and human capital, also evident, although not necessarily expressed as such, within research concerned with the creative industries. Within the creative industries, the networks, even within the newer sub-sectors, tend to be traditional in structure and male-dominated. Women tend to have lower social and human capital generally, and are less likely to be entrepreneurial, and this is evident within the sector, as fewer businesses within the creative industries are run and owned by women.

### **3.5.2 Concluding remarks**

In developing these two literature chapters, the interrelationship between these three themes: gender, entrepreneurship and the creative industries, has been identified, in order to provide a context for this study. Time has been spent looking at the various contextual elements within these three themes, for example while discussing the creative industries, considerable attention was paid to definitions of the creative industries, given that these have affected the way in which policy makers have, at a regional and national level, over the past fifteen years responded to government lead policy. The role that the creative industries potentially serve, in terms of regeneration and widening participation, and the level to which policy is driven by ideas around what this potential contribution might be has also been considered. This is particularly pertinent given the nature of this study. Within the section looking at creative industries and entrepreneurship, consideration has been paid to how Higher Education has been affected by policies both relating to the creative industries and to entrepreneurship, specifically how to teach entrepreneurship.

Several factors have emerged from this overall literature review. It is increasingly evident that the sector is very complex in its make-up. The thirteen unique sub-sectors have their own characteristics and challenges, and within these lay a multitude of different genres and subcultures. There are, however, some common ground and similarities across these sub-sectors, including the prevalence of self-employment, the long-hours culture, and the male-dominated lecturer/practitioners potentially acting as entrepreneurial role models within higher education and the specific importance of friendship and networking to business operation.

From the various studies discussed, it is clear there are fewer female creative sector start-ups and fewer entrepreneurs than might be anticipated, resulting, perhaps, from the nature of work in this sector, which may provide additional difficulties for the female entrepreneur, especially those with home and childcare responsibilities. The importance of social networking and social capital is therefore strongly indicated both as a barrier and opportunity.

The main message, however, is that there are significant gaps in our knowledge which affect the design and implementation of policies to support female enterprise in the creative sector. The key finding seems to be that there needs to be recognition by policy-makers of the paucity of robust empirical evidence into pertinent aspects of female entrepreneurship – and specifically, the lack of research into the role of gender in creative sector entrepreneurship.

Taking this interdisciplinary approach has proved useful in terms of creating an understanding of the current situation. It also highlights likely issues relating to gender and entrepreneurship in the creative industries; and in so doing it has exposed potential evidence gaps in those areas necessary for business support practitioners and policy makers to understand in order to be able to make a difference by their actions.

Therefore, having identified these gaps in knowledge and potential routes for future research, the researcher embarked upon the study detailed here, whereby a link between gender and likely entrepreneurial activity within the creative industries would be evidenced. The rationale for the study was that it would highlight issues, circumstances or experiences that either prevent or encourage entrepreneurial activity and provide a comparison between male and female experiences of working



life following education at HE level within the creative industries study area. The literature gave rise to the following research questions:

- Entrepreneurship: What is understood by the participants as entrepreneurship? Perceptions of their own entrepreneurial activity
- Educational experience (Enterprise): How did their art and design training prepare them for employment/self-employment?
- Educational experience and gender: What influence if any did the gender of their lecturers/other notable professional individuals (e.g. guest speakers) have on their sense of future employment/self-employment?
- Barriers and opportunities: What are they? Are there any gender specific trends that make entrepreneurial activity any more or less likely?
- Tacit knowledge relating to creative industries careers: who has it and does it have a bearing on future career destinations?

Reflecting on the approach taken to this literature review, while it has proven useful in terms of trying to sift through the various fields of research in order to get to the core of what this study is about, the approach has limitations. Each of these subject areas could have been explored in more depth. No doubt there are papers missing: the researcher has taken a pragmatic view to try to tell the story and to draw upon key authors and so provide sufficient evidence as to the current situation with regards to research within these fields, and specifically where they converge. A core aspect of the study that follows is that it took a grounded theory approach, as will be discussed in the following chapter. A true grounded theory approach would have not included this pre-understanding (Locke, 2001) provided by the literature review. Instead, as findings and theory emerged so the literature would be examined to contextualise those findings. This approach is discussed in Chapter Four. What emerges in the findings chapters are links to literature found here but also to new (to this study) literature, as new understanding and unexpected findings emerge.

## **Chapter 4: Methodology**

### **4.0 Introduction**

This study captures an important part of the career journeys of a specific cohort of creative discipline graduates. The researcher graduated in 1994 as one of this cohort. At the time of writing, this was some 19 years ago. To this end, the researcher is at the centre of this research and by virtue of the sample group, a participant of the study. This approach and the nature of the sample group serves as a reminder of the significance of the researcher's role within research and has led to a proportion of this chapter being given over to understanding research methods related to the insider perspective, auto-ethnography and the role of reflexivity within research (see Part Two). To this end, a reflective approach has been taken to this chapter, drawing upon, amongst others, the work of Schon (1982), Steier (1991) Finalay (2002), Dowling (2006) and Archer (2007) to help consider the researcher's own role within the study, the role of the sample group and to help frame the development of the methods used.

This chapter is in two parts. Part One provides an overview and answers the question "what is research?", discusses different philosophies and provides an overview of qualitative and quantitative methods. Through this exercise, links are made between the approaches taken within this study and an analysis of how they sit within the wider context of research philosophies and methods.

Part Two of the chapter deals in more concrete terms with the actual study undertaken and is broken down into the following sections: first, an introduction describes the research aims, objectives and questions; next a rationale is provided, including descriptions of previous work and the background to this study. Following this, a detailed exploration of the role of the researcher within the research is made, linking to a section on the sample group, which is described and the rationale explained.

Following this, the approach to capturing data is discussed, specifically details of the methods used and rationale for the methodological choices. These are described in terms of phases by which the data was collected, e.g. survey design and narrative methods, which are discussed from multiple perspectives. Finally the approach to analysing the resulting data and how this was used to identify

unique knowledge is explained.

This chapter builds upon what has been established in the two literature chapters. Aspects highlighted in the literature have influenced the development of an appropriate methodology with which to capture the career journeys and destinations of a sample group of graduates from a creative discipline, for example the areas related to the characteristics of the sector and common work patterns: highly networked, high reliance on self-employment, freelancers and micro-businesses (Pink, 1998; Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999; Florida, 2002; NESTA, 2003; Ball, 2003; Carey, 2004, 2005; Carey and Naudin, 2006b). However it was also identified that there was a paucity of data relating to female occupations within the sector. The emerging picture was one of fewer female-run businesses (DCMS, 2006; ONS, 2001), fewer female and ethnically diverse role models amongst lecturing staff (Carey and Naudin, 2006; Whistlecroft, 2000) and ‘out-of-hours’ networking (Baines and Robson, 2001:359). A link between consumption and production of creative content (e.g. computer games and software) being male-dominated (Tams, 2002) and a ‘long hours culture’ of self-employment, along with childcare and other work/life balance issues preventing some women from being able to fully commit to a business within the sector (Marcella *et al.*, 2006; Skillset, 2005; Tams, 2002).

However, a key feature from the literature was that while women make up approximately 62% of creative graduates (HESA, 2012), a figure that has increased from 50% in 1999 (Blackwell and Harvey, 1999), the percentage of ‘entrepreneurs’ within the sector who are female appears far lower. It appears that there is little baseline knowledge of the contribution women make to this sector, but as identified within the literature review emerging picture is bleak.

In brief, the methods devised sought to effectively capture the career journeys of a particular group of creative discipline graduates, in order to explore and capture their career paths and the contribution that the individuals made to the sector. The intention of doing this was to explore whether gender influences career and ultimately entrepreneurial outcomes.

## 4.1 Part One

### 4.1.1 What is research?

Part one of this chapter begins by asking: what is understood by research? This provides a foundation for the following sections, which look in detail at the differing research philosophies and approaches to research and data gathering. Maylor and Blackmon provide this definition: “Research is a process of finding out information and investigating the unknown to solve a problem” (Maylor and Blackmon, 2005:5). Myers describes research set within a university as being defined as “an original investigation undertaken in order to contribute to the knowledge and understanding on a particular field” (Myers, 2009:6).

The original basis of this research was intended to capture the career journeys of a cohort of creative discipline graduates with the intention of identifying any influence gender might have on entrepreneurial outcomes. The three themes (creative industries, gender and entrepreneurship) discussed at length within the literature chapters highlight the interdisciplinary approach taken by the study. To this end, research methods are explored across the various different disciplines, but ultimately are set within the context of business management research.

Views on the approach to business research vary. Business research has been criticised for taking too academic an approach to research (Bryman and Bell, 2003), suggesting that management research is too far removed from the realities of running a business. Alternative views suggest that using more applied approaches, concerned with ‘fact finding’, do not benefit from the guidance of theoretical frameworks (Burrell, 1997). There are also concerns that within the applied research approach, the research suffers by being overly directed by policy agendas (Bryman and Bell, 2003). Easterby-Smith *et al.* (2002) identify other factors potentially influencing the outcomes of business research: they highlight the need for the research to have some practical outcome, but identify the nature of business managers as often being powerful and busy people who “are unlikely to allow research access unless they can see personal or commercial advantages” (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2002:8).

#### 4.1.2 Research philosophies

Saunders *et al.*, (2003:83, 2012:128) refer to the ‘research onion’, describing research in terms of layers. The first layer indicates the research philosophy, which will “guide the researcher”. Within this framework, four main philosophies are highlighted: Positivism, Realism, Interpretivism and Pragmatism. Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggest further paradigms for specifically qualitative research and refer also to post-positivism and critical theory.

Elsewhere these philosophies are referred to as theories, for example, Bryman and Bell (2003) go to some length to describe the following as theories: structural-functionalism, symbolic interactionism and post-structuralism (Byman and Bell, 2003:7). They distinguish ‘theories of middle range’ from ‘grand theories’ (Merton, 1967; cited by Bryman and Bell, 2003).

In-depth reading around research philosophies has resulted in a greater understanding of how this research and approach is situated. Broadly speaking, research is set within either a positivist or an interpretivist paradigm. Goulding (2002) highlights that historically positivism has dominated and been seen as superior. She cites a possible explanation for the “lack of acceptance of interpretivism” being partly due to “an explosion of different interpretative approaches” such that there is “no one accepted method” (Goulding, 2002:17). Table 4.1 explores these research philosophies and provides a definition and description of the characteristics associated with each of them and their ontological and epistemological orientation.

<b>Table: 4.1 Research paradigms, their characteristics and links to this study</b>		
<b>Definitions of philosophies/ theories</b>	<b>Characterised by:</b>	<b>Links to this study:</b>
<b>Positivism</b>		
The precursor of empiricism (Phillips and Burbles, 2000). Considered the dominant research philosophy within business and management (Myers, 2009; Goulding, 2002). The dominant approach in studying the natural	Objective analysis, highly structured methodologically, quantifiable observations and scope for statistical analysis (Saunders <i>et al.</i> , 2003). Historically (late 20 <sup>th</sup> century science) considered the “best way to find things out”.	Researchers using positivist approaches believe that the study of people is possible using the methods and approaches used in studying objects (Bryman, 1988). It is also suggested

<p>world/science (Saunders et al, 2003). Comte (1864) attributed with first using the term (Byman, 1988).</p>	<p>Empirical data assumed to be objective, emphasis on “rendering theoretical terms observable” (Bryman, 1988:19). Overall emphasis on deduction, cause and effect (Goulding, 2002). Induction is a method for seeking terms that can be tested within a hypothesis, i.e. can be the precursor to a deductive (positivist) approach (Bryman and Bell, 2003).</p>	<p>that a positivist approach would not consider unobservable phenomena to be knowledge, for example: feelings or ‘subjective experience’. In terms of this study, however, there is value in being able to capture the experiences of a group of people and the actual events that took place. Their understanding of why something happened is also significant. To this end, while a positivist approach might be useful to capture the overall career patterns of creative graduates, it would not be appropriate to use it in isolation.</p>
<p><b>Interpretivism</b></p>		
<p>Recognises the nuances within social science and issues/ limitations with theory. Concerned with the realities of a given situation (Saunders <i>et al.</i>, 2003). Acknowledges the subjectivness of participants and their perspective on a situation. Not as common as positivism (Myers, 2009). From the phenomenological tradition.</p>	<p>Makes use of qualitative approaches. Centred on a specific context (Myers, 2009). Recognises that businesses, like people, are complex and unique (Saunders <i>et al.</i>, 2003). Associated with constructivism and social constructivism, which is concerned with subjective meanings motivating people’s actions (Saunders <i>et al.</i>, 2003:84) . An alternative perspective is that social constructivism acknowledges that subjectivity imposes itself on what is considered objective (Steier, 1991). Interpretivism is seen as contrasting with the positivist position and offering a useful alternative. Characterised by inductivism, “concerned with</p>	<p>Within this study it is acknowledged that the perceptions of the participants will form the basis of understanding their situations. The social constructivist perspective is useful for this study. The researcher’s close ties to the participants’ means that a level of subjectivity is hard to avoid. In order to counter this, a reflexive approach has been taken.</p>

	the empathetic understanding of human action rather than with the forces that are deemed to action it” (Bryman and Bell, 2012:16).	
<b>Realism</b>		
Arguably bridges positivism and interpretivism. Assumes that reality is independent of human thoughts and beliefs, that there is a reality beyond human perception (Saunders <i>et al.</i> , 2003; Silverman, 2000)	Includes critical realism, which is considered to be similar to interpretivism. Less well known but growing in popularity amongst business management research (Myers, 2009). Empirical realism (Reality can be understood through the use of appropriate methods). Has been considered superficial as ignores ‘enduring and structures and generative mechanisms’ (Bhaskar, 1989: 2 as cited by Saunders <i>et al.</i> ,2003)	As Silverman (2000) suggests, when interviewing individuals frequently they will describe particular narratives which will form their understanding of a given situation. To this end, realism possibly neglects the importance of these perceptions.

The table above offers insight into how the philosophical approach has been arrived at and where this study most comfortably fits. It is acknowledged that ultimately the approach is mixed in terms of its philosophy. To this end, the following section goes on to discuss the various approaches used in carrying out the research. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches are discussed, with a particular emphasis on qualitative methods, acknowledging that these approaches are more closely aligned with the interpretivist and social constructivist position with which the researcher is aligned.

#### 4.1.3 Qualitative Research Methods

Myers (2009) offers this succinct definition of what is meant by qualitative research: “Qualitative research methods are designed to help the researchers understand people and why they do and say what they do” (Myers, 2009:5). He goes on to suggest that one of the benefits of qualitative research is that understanding is gained through knowing the context within which an individual might be having a particular experience, and why they might have taken particular actions or made decisions. He argues that this context is best understood by “talking to people”. Strauss and Corbin suggest that

qualitative research methods are “any type of research that produces findings which are not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:10). They describe these as suitable methods for research about “persons’ lives, lived experiences. behaviours, emotions, and feelings” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:11).

Qualitative research methods can be broadly described in terms of four different research methods (themselves including numerous approaches). These are broken down by Saunders *et al.* (2003) into: Action research, Case study research, Ethnographic research and Grounded theory – each is described here in more detail.

#### **4.1.3.1 Action research**

Action research aims to contribute both to the practical concerns of people in an immediate problematic situation and the goals of social science by joint collaboration within a mutually acceptable ethical framework. (Rapport, 1970:499, cited by Myers, 2009:54)

As Rapport highlights, action research is characterised by its collaborative nature. In business, Waring (2002) highlights that action research is considered radical “in so much that it challenges the traditional scientific approach to research” (Waring, 2002:50). Saunders *et al.* (2003) point out that the term ‘action research’ was coined in 1946 by Kurt Lewin. Although they acknowledge that the method has been interpreted differently by different researchers, they identify three ‘common themes’ which action research should include: the management of change; the involvement of practitioners and researchers (collaboration); and the research should have implications beyond the lifetime of the research study (Saunders *et al.*, 2003:94). Myers suggests that this a unique aspect of action research, describing the researcher as “deliberately intervening while at the same time studying the effect on the organisation” (Myers, 2009:57).

#### **4.1.3.2 Case study research**

Myers (2009) describes case study research as the most popular form of qualitative research, he suggests that this popularity is linked to well-written case studies which offer a ‘real story’, something



with which individuals, researchers included, can easily identify (the use of narrative and benefits of storytelling are described in more detail in Section 4.2.3.1). An alternative view on case studies is offered by Robson (2011), who defines the case study as “a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence” (Robson, 2011: 112). Saunders *et al.* (2003) argue that the case study also offers a means of answering many “why? what? and how?” questions (Saunders *et al.*, 2003:93).

Dul and Hak (2007) point to a well-known proponent of case study research methodology, Yin, and cite his definition: “a case study is an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the object of the study and the context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2002:13-14). They go on to highlight that the real differential of case study methodology is that the case study is only ever an enquiry into one object of study (Dul and Hak, 2007). Tellis (1997) highlights that this has been the cause of much criticism of this methodology but also points to the work of Yin (1994) and Hamel *et al.* (1993) and their defence of the case study. Tellis interprets Yin’s work, suggesting that as long as the parameters of the study are well established and applied to all research, then “even a single case could be considered acceptable, provided it met the established objective” (Tellis, 1997:4).

#### **4.1.3.3 Ethnographic research**

Ethnography is used in multiple fields of research. Drawing upon literature from medical journals, for example the following definition is offered: “Ethnography is the study of social interactions, behaviours, and perceptions that occur within groups, teams, organisations, and communities” (Reeves *et al.*, 2008:337). Saunders *et al.*, suggest that “its roots can be traced back to anthropological studies of small, rural (and often remote) societies undertaken in the early 1900s, and emanates from the field of anthropology” (Saunders *et al.*, 2003: 181). Later in this chapter (see Part Two), the use of auto-ethnography (the study of self) is discussed in more detail.

#### 4.1.3.4 Grounded theory

Locke suggest that “grounded theory overlaps, to an extent, with all of the approaches of qualitative research” (Locke, 2001:18). Grounded theory was originally developed by Glaser and Strauss. Following a study into the ‘experience of dying’ they published ‘The Discovery of Grounded Theory’ (Birks and Mills, 2011). This is frequently seen as the first generation of grounded theory. Glaser and Strauss (1967) provided a definition of grounded theory, suggesting that it is the process of ‘theory building’ and that rather than testing or using an existing theoretical framework, the researcher instead develops a framework through “a combination of induction and deduction” (Saunders *et al.*, 2003:93). As the careers of the two authors evolved in different directions, so did the theory. This led to three distinct, second generation grounded theory approaches: Glaserian (seen as original grounded theory) and Strausserin (work carried out in collaboration with Corbin), and the original Glaser and Strauss. It should be noted that original and more pronounced within the Glaserian approach is the emphasis on the researcher coming to the data with “no pre-conceived concepts in mind” (Charmaz, 2005:48). This model has evolved to acknowledge that researchers are unable to avoid coming to a study without some thoughts about the study. The Glaserian approach, however, would advocate this lack of pre-conception to include not carrying out a literature review, not taping or recording interviews and holding back on sharing or discussing the emerging theory until it is complete (Glaser, 1998). Birks and Mills (2011), however, describe a situation where there are potentially multiple approaches to grounded theory, and that it continues to evolve, much of which is dependent on the researcher’s philosophical position.

Grounded theory is generally considered to involve the capturing of textual data, usually via interview, so considered to be a qualitative approach, which then requires the researcher to codify the contents of the data. Importantly, Allan (2003) highlights characteristics of grounded theory in terms of its differences from other qualitative approaches, stating, “analysis of interview data in qualitative research tends to result in descriptions of an interpretivist view of events, whereas GT data analysis involves searching out concepts being the actualities by looking for codes, then concepts, and finally categories” (Allan, 2003:1). Strauss and Corbin have gone on to develop grounded theory and suggest

that the grounded theorist displays a number of characteristics: the ability to step back and critically analyse situations, recognise tendency towards bias, think abstractly, be flexible and open to criticism, have sensitivity towards the words and actions of respondents and have a sense of “absorption and devotion to the work process” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:7).

Elsewhere, grounded theory has been criticised as potentially limiting. For example, Bryant and Lasky highlighted issues regarding the use of formal ‘Glaserian’ methods as limiting to their study when the researcher encounters a particularly rich source of data, in this instance narrative (Bryant and Lasky, 2007). Here they point to work by Suddaby (2006) and Charmaz (2005), which together point to a disparity or divergence of approaches as grounded theory has evolved. These highlight the openness and creativity in interpreting data advocated by Glaser, while Strauss and co-author Corbin have moved towards a more formal approach (Bryant and Lasky, 2007). The present study made use of grounded theory and it will become apparent that a somewhat hybrid version was adopted (see Methods and Analysis).

#### **4.1.4 Quantitative research methods**

When discussing the differences between quantitative and qualitative approaches to research, De-Cuir-Gunby (2008) suggests that the difference is that where qualitative methods are concerned with asking ‘what’ or ‘how’ research questions and are concerned with process, quantitative research questions focus on examining variance, so compare, relate or describe (De-Cuir-Gunby, 2008:128). Quantitative research is characterised in terms of having a logical structure (Bryman, 1988). Here a description of an ‘idealised’ method is provided as suggested by “many writers in particularly prevalent textbooks ... it conceives of quantitative research as a rational, linear process” (Bryman, 1988:19). Bryman goes on to describe the quantitative research environment to be one where “the social world can be broken down into manageable packages: social class, racial prejudice, religiosity, leadership style, aggression and so on” (Bryman, 1988:22). Nardi describes the use of quantitative research from the perspective of those (researchers) wishing to “explain the way people act or in predicting how they might act in the future ... with the assumption that social phenomena can be

systematically measured and scientifically assessed” (Nardi, 2006:17). A frequently cited disadvantage of quantitative methods is that they tend to miss many of the cultural and social issues that emerge through qualitative data collecting methods (Myers, 2009).

#### **4.1.5 Mixed methods/triangulation**

The terms ‘mixed methods’ and ‘triangulation’ are frequently used interchangeably throughout the literature. De Cuir-Gunby (2008) describes a context amongst the research community where there are two main camps: those who use quantitative and those who use qualitative methods. However she suggests some significant benefits to using both, that the two can ‘complement’ each other (De Cuir-Gunby, 2008). It is important to note that initially there was a desire to take this approach, to use mixed methods: starting with a quantitative approach which would lead to a qualitative approach, however, as will become clear, the quantitative approach proved less productive and was eventually rejected (see part 2 of this chapter).

Triangulation can take several different forms. Five main types of triangulation have been identified these include: methodology: data (multiple sources), investigator (multiple researchers), methodological (utilising more than one methodological approach) – on this basis mixed methods could be referred to as triangulation, theoretical triangulation (making use of multiple theories) and a fifth which is a combination of all or any of these methods – multiple triangulation (State University of New York Institute of Technology, 2006; Carey, 2007). Triangulation is cited as offering the research increased confidence in their findings (Thurmond, 2001; Silverman, 2000), as well as ‘offering the possibility of revealing unique findings’ (Thurmond, 2001). However, critics of triangulation have suggested that one should not assume that multiple sources of data will necessarily result in a more ‘complete picture’ (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:199). Silverman goes further to suggest that “the ‘whole picture’ is an illusion” (Silverman, 2000:99), with a danger that the results of such studies will potentially be based on under-analysed data (Silverman, 2000).

Van der Velde *et al* (1998), suggest that multiple methods or data triangulation is frequently used in studies of organisations or organisational science; they suggest that researchers commonly use a combination of quantitative and qualitative datasets. It is suggested that this enables rigour in terms of being able to verify sources of data against each other (Van der Velde *et al.*, 1998). However, the mixing of qualitative and quantitative data sources is viewed as potentially problematic, as it requires expertise across multiple research methods (Myers, 2009). Myers highlights that qualitative researchers frequently triangulate data sources and cites the example of the ethnographer who might develop case studies based on several sources of data, including primary and secondary sources (Myers, 2009).

Various philosophies and research methods have been discussed. Part Two of this chapter goes onto describe the methods chosen for this study, which were devised using a two-way process. Firstly the study was informed by the literature review and where a gap in the knowledge and understanding was identified, a suitable method for capturing knowledge was devised. The second process was to cross-reference this approach against what we already know about research philosophies and approaches to research. In brief, this has led to a qualitative study, with a leaning towards grounded theory, that uses mixed methods and at points data triangulation in order to answer the research aims and objectives. Part Two of this chapter explains this in detail.

## **4.2 Part Two**

Part Two of this chapter discusses in detail the methods devised to try and capture the career journeys of a particular group of creative discipline graduates. The methods were required to explore and capture the career paths and contribution that the individuals make or have made to the creative industries, while capturing information on whether gender influences career and ultimately entrepreneurial outcomes. It is divided into the following sections: first a rationale for the study is provided, followed by the aims and objectives of the study and research questions. Next a brief 'at-a-glance' diagram illustrates the process that the research has taken. Following this, the methods used are discussed, starting with an overview of reflexivity and insider perspective in order to better understand the researcher's role within the study. This leads into an in-depth description of the two phases of the research.

### **4.2.1 Rationale for the study**

#### **The study: Gender and Entrepreneurship in Creative Industry Career Journeys**

The interest in pursuing this line of enquiry stems from the researcher's personal experience of an art and design education and subsequent career within the creative industries sector. This experience and career history included being a self-employed: 'new media' artist, freelance Internet consultant, lecturer and small business owner and could be described as 'portfolio' working (Bridgestock, 2005a) i.e. engaging in multiple activities. The researcher's perception was that this personal trajectory was curtailed following parenthood that her chosen creative industry sub-sector (Software, computer games and electronic publishing) was changing so rapidly that the period of maternity leave taken, had rendered her at a disadvantage and with a significant knowledge gap. Significantly, this view was a personal perception and it was the personal perceptions that were of interest when capturing the career stories of the sample group. Along with this, the researcher's personal history provides an 'insider's perspective', which, it has been argued, offers "a more nuanced and complex understanding of experience" (Burke and Kirton, 2006:2). This is explored in greater depth later in this chapter (see Section 4.2.3).

#### **4.2.2 Aims and objectives of the study**

**Aim 1:** To consider and develop an understanding of the literature, research and policy context associated with this field of study (see Chapters Two-Four)

**Aim 2:** To develop an appropriate methodology in order to capture the career destinations, choices, opportunities and outcomes of a sample of female and male graduates who graduated in 1994 from the same creative discipline course.

**Aim 3:** To carry out an analysis of the gathered data in order to identify common themes relating to gender and entrepreneurship within the creative industries sector.

**Aim 4:** To carry out a qualitative exploration of the relationship of gender on post-graduate participation in creative industries entrepreneurship

These aims gave rise to the following research objectives:

- To develop an in-depth understanding of the tensions and motivations within the careers of fine art graduates
- To identify how, when and why entrepreneurship manifests within the careers of fine artists
- To develop an understanding of how entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial activity are perceived by fine art graduates
- To identify internal and external factors impacting on careers and entrepreneurial outcomes for fine art graduates
- To identify and provide an explanation for gender differentials within entrepreneurial participation of fine art graduates

## **Research questions**

- This study aimed to address some of the following questions:
- What is understood by entrepreneurship in terms of the participants' own perceptions of their own entrepreneurial activity?
- Does art and design education prepare students for employment/self-employment?
- Does the gender of a student's lecturer/other notable professional individuals (e.g. guest speakers) have an influence on an individual's sense of future employment/self-employment/entrepreneurial activity?
- Are there any specific barriers or opportunities that are gender specific, for example, making entrepreneurial activity any more or less likely?
- What unpredicted factors (internal and external to the participant) influence entrepreneurial activity?
- Tacit knowledge relating to creative industries careers: who has it?

### **4.2.3 The role of the researcher/reflexivity and the insider perspective**

As an introduction to this section it is important to first acknowledge the researcher's role within the study. As described later in this chapter (Section 4.2.4), the researcher's previous role and the nature of the desired sample group offered an 'insiders' perspective. From the early design of this study, the researcher was aware of how this might impact on a number of areas related to the approach and analysis. To this end, being able to take a truly grounded approach to this research would be hard. However, the role of the researcher within research has been attracting interest, as Reinharz asks, "if 'self' is a 'key field-work tool', why, then, does so little methodological literature on fieldwork actually concern itself with self?" (Reinharz, 1997). In traditional and scientific research, the position has been that the researcher should remain distant from the research. When considering this traditional



view, Gergen and Gergen suggest that the “scientists can avoid disfiguring the picture of nature with their own finger prints” (Gergen and Gergen, 1991). They suggest that reflexivity can be used in order to frame research. Finlay (2002) draws upon this work emphasising the “researcher-researched relationship which is seen to fundamentally shape the research results” (Finlay, 2002: 534). Archer (2007) defines reflexivity as: “reflexivity is the regular exercise of the mental ability, shared by all normal people, to consider themselves in relations to their (social contexts and vice versa” (Archer, 2007: 4). Dowling (2006) offers a useful framework for considering reflexivity within qualitative research, identifying four forms of reflexivity: Reflexivity aimed at sustaining objectivity, epistemological reflexivity in terms of considering the broader perspective of “how the research question was defined and limited what can be found” (2006:13), reflexivity and the critical standpoint, which highlights the need to consider broader political and ethical influences and reflexivity from a feminist standpoint. Here she highlights that “as the researcher identifies with the women she is researching and must therefore constantly be aware of how her values, beliefs and perceptions are influencing the research process” (Dowling, 2006:14). This is a useful reminder within this research, although arguably, all researchers, regardless of their gender, political bias or gender should be mindful of their own position.

Hertz describes reflexivity as ubiquitous, in that it permeates all aspects of the research process, describing the act of reflexivity being the researcher considering the “scrutiny of ‘what I know’ and ‘how I know it’” (Hertz, 1997:viii). This suggests that the reflexive process is one of questioning how one goes about constructing interpretations of data as a continual process, which assumes a certain level of self-awareness. It is important for the researcher (and pertinent to this study) to be aware of their situation in relation to the participants (Hertz, 1997). Reinharz (1997) provides a useful framework for considering the role of the researcher within the study and refers to ‘multiple-selves within the research field’, acknowledging how each version of one’s self impacts on the outcomes of the research, but also the perceptions of the research by participants. For example, she highlights three major categories of researcher: ‘researched-based selves’ which suggests a number of characteristics which might include being sponsored, being a researcher. The second is ‘brought-selves’, and

addresses all of the personal attributes one brings to the research. In the instance of this research project, this would include the personal history and the relationship the researcher has to the other participants, her gender, age and job status amongst other factors. The third, which is also pertinent to this study is 'Situationally created selves': this refers to being part of the given situation or having experienced the same situation (Reinharz, 1997:5). In any given piece of research, each of these selves is present and, it is argued, has a bearing on the eventual analysis and findings of the research.

Developing from this multiple selves work is the related 'insider/outsider' methodology, often considered a neglected form of research (Coghlan, 2003), but characterised by the researcher researching their own organisation. This offers many benefits in terms of 'pre-understanding'. Neilson and Repstad (1993 cited by Coghlan, 2003) describe characteristics of pre-understanding as having, for example, implicit knowledge and understanding of everyday jargon and taboo phenomena. Insider perspective however, is not without flaws, and it could be argued that the researcher is unable to maintain sufficient distance in order to remain objective (Pugh *et al.*, 2000). Perhaps a better description of this type of research is 'self-ethnography'. As identified by Alvesson (2003), self-ethnography occurs when the researcher has 'natural access' and is more or less on equal terms with other participants of a research study (Alvesson, 2003:174).

#### **4.2.4 Research sample group**

The study intended to capture the career journeys and destinations of a cohort of students all of whom graduated at the same time and from the same course. The sample was made up of the alumni of the researcher's own course of study (those who graduated in 1994, in Fine Art, from Wolverhampton School of Art and Design). The proposed sample offered the following benefits: first, a significant amount of time had passed since graduation; in turn the participants would be at a point in their lives where personal responsibilities might have had an influence over their careers, e.g. parenthood, home ownership or other caring responsibilities. Secondly, their careers would be reasonably established. Thirdly, having all emerged from the same institution at the same time, the sample would have been exposed to the same education, government policies (related to developing entrepreneurship in the creative industries) and political environment. It could also be argued that fine art is potentially the

least vocational of the creative disciplines, and in turn the scope for creating one's own opportunities, for example, self-employment, is greater. Finally it was acknowledged that the researcher had a historical relationship and potentially empathy with the sample group, this, it was anticipated, offered a useful insight into their situation and an 'insider's' perspective.

All reachable participants of this course were approached to take part in this study. An attempt was made to trace all of the original 60 graduates, and of those traced each was encouraged to participate in a 'career destination survey' in order to establish some quantitative baseline data. Of these respondents, it was anticipated that a sample of approximately 20 case studies (10 female and 10 male) would be developed. Although it could be argued that this approach might be a 'sample of convenience', it should be noted that this was not a sample that was arrived at easily. Other options were considered: for example, tracking a group of recent graduates who would, to an extent, be easier to make contact with, or manufacturing a sample group from the local, regional or national sector. However as described before, recent graduates would not necessarily have encountered some of the potential barriers in employment as yet, and a manufactured sample would have had varied entry points.

A well-established feature of career destinations for art, design and media graduates is self-employment. However, recent research (see Section 3.4) suggests that there is a shortfall of women setting up, creating and growing businesses within this sector. The cohort of graduates described were all encouraged to participate in the 'career destination survey', to establish quantitative baseline data (see Section 4.3.1). It is important to note that during this phase, when the considerations and development of the desired sample group and approach were being considered, an appropriate ethical framework, strategy and statement was developed.

#### **4.2.5 Ethical considerations**

The size and sample of this study was considered not to be unjustifiably large. It was anticipated that the scale of the in-depth study would be to an extent dictated by the quantity of participants, however

it was not envisaged that an unduly large sample be taken and that 10 male and 10 female participants would be adequate for the nature of the study. It was hoped that these would be selected from a wider group (up to 60) who had responded to the initial survey. It is important to state that in terms of sample size the intention was that the sample would provide indicative outcomes as opposed to transferrable outcomes. As all alumni are from the same university, the university was contacted in order to make sure that they were aware of the study and had the opportunity to contribute their own perspective on issues relating to their graduates.

As described, a significant aspect of this study was the researcher's 'insider' perspective and it was considered early on that this might have a number of implied ethical issues. For example, the line of enquiry could cross over into what might be considered personal life. Although it was perceived that personal life and circumstances may play a part, and have an influence over the participants' career destinations, the research, survey questions and interviews were conducted so that all lines of enquiry should remain pertinent to the study and not cause undue distress to the participants. Some simple measures were used in order to be as transparent as possible with the data collection. For example, participants were required to complete a consent form, giving their explicit consent to participate in the study: this consent form fully described the true nature and purpose of the study (including likely publishing opportunities and dissemination routes). Participants were made aware of and given the option to opt out and remove their data from the study at any time they saw fit, with no pressure placed on them from the researcher to continue. The participants remained anonymous throughout the study and the following steps were taken to ensure the participants' anonymity:

- Transcriptions were anonymised using coded identifiers
- Individual identifiers were kept separate from the transcriptions
- Transcriptions of interviews are stored in a locked cabinet within the university
- Original recordings of interviews have been destroyed
- In line with the Data Protection Act, individuals' details will not be shared and will be stored only for the period of research

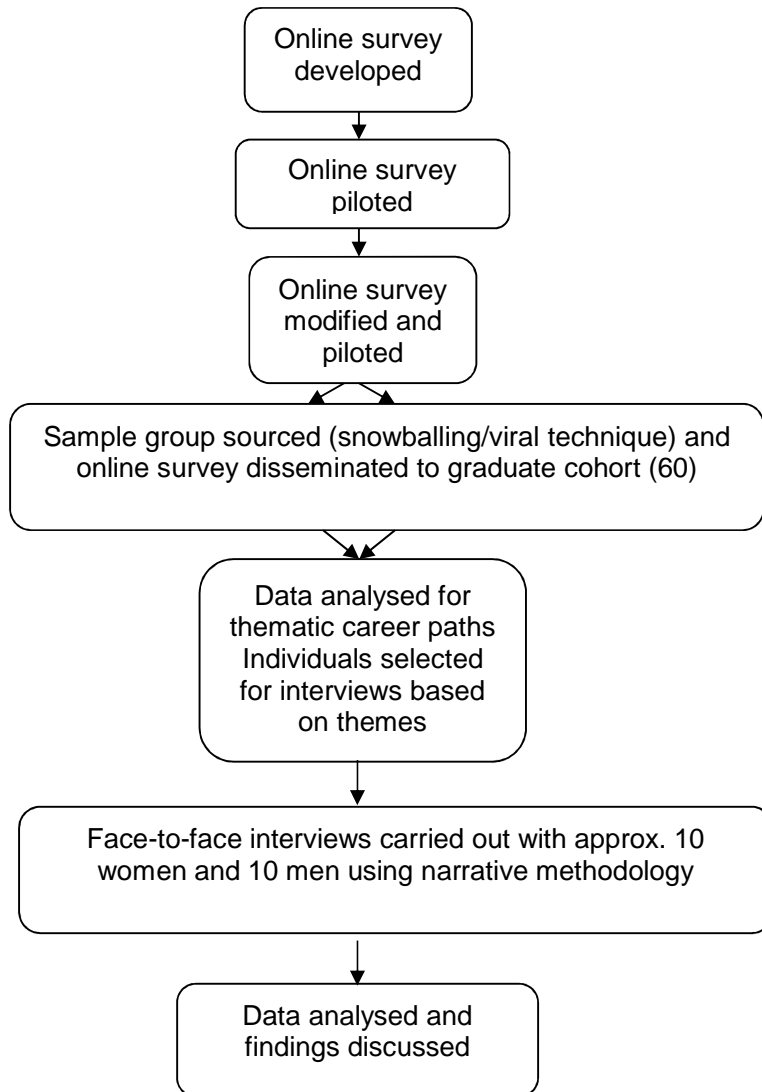
• 4.3 Methods deployed

**Phase one:**

- Online career history survey of a cohort of graduates
- The sample is the cohort of graduates that graduated with the researcher (same course/same discipline/same time/same institution)
- Analysis of initial dataset

**Phase two:**

- Face-to-face interviews using a narrative methodology with 10 women and 10 men selected from the original set, based on analysis and the identification of particular career themes.
- **Analysis of data**



**Figure 4.1: Methods adopted for this study (at-a-glance)**

### **4.3.1 Method one: Online career destinations survey**

Figure 4.1. provides an overview of the original research design and the steps which were planned to take. The following section explains in detail and provides a rationale for each stage. The first phase of the study was to develop and disseminate an online survey, which would capture the career journeys of the sample group. This study aimed to reach the described cohort of graduates and experienced varying degrees of success. In the first instance an approach was made to all graduates from the given course using a number of means, for example, use of Internet social networking sites (e.g. Facebook: a Facebook group was established), word of mouth and peer-to-peer contact using a 'viral marketing' approach (Datta *et al.*, 2005). The online survey was developed in three stages: 1) Developing and reaching the sample group; 2) Designing and piloting the survey; 3) Developing and disseminating the survey to the wider group and capturing this empirical, quantitative data.

#### **4.3.1.1 Developing and reaching the sample**

Initially a list was developed of all of the participants of the course; this was gained through the original catalogue. A characteristic of creative discipline education is the final degree show (Carey and Matlay, 2007) and students frequently come together to produce a catalogue to accompany the exhibition. Although the data within this catalogue was incomplete (of the possible 60 participants only 30 had contributed) and also out of date (the course had finished some nineteen years ago) it did offer a baseline of data with which to start the process.

It should be stated that an assumption related to this work was made. As a member of this group of alumni, the researcher had retained good close contact with two of the other participants. It was assumed when considering reaching the further 60 that this would be the case for the majority of other participants (see Figure 4.2).

N.B. The University of Wolverhampton was contacted, and while contact details of graduates were not provided, they expressed no objection to the study going ahead.

The second stage of the process was to establish how many people were in contact with the two people who I knew. This began the viral/snowballing effect described above. The third stage was simultaneously to make contact with individuals by searching the web (via Google) and the social networking groups, Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn, to try to reach individuals.

#### **4.3.1.2 Designing and piloting the survey**

The survey was developed using Wufoo, online survey software which allows forms to be developed and distributed via the web (see <http://www.wufoo.com>). The development of the survey constituted several stages:

- Firstly ideas were scoped out about the intended outcome and the type of data required
- A written version was developed; this was then translated onto the online version. The questions were initially grouped into three sections:
  - General data
  - A career mapping tool
  - Enterprise education

The survey was developed and piloted twice, first with a sample group of five, and second, with six individuals. Of the six, each agreed to be interviewed for the deeper data collection (see Section 4.3.2). The first pilot highlighted many issues with the design of the survey. For example, the individuals were not explicitly asked what they perceived their job roles to be at a given time. The participants had been asked to tick boxes to identify the type of work they had been involved in, for example, the question below aimed to capture work life history at four specific points (1994, 1999, 2004, 2009). Acknowledging that careers with their routes in a creative discipline' are often varied and of a 'portfolio' nature (i.e. you may well do more than one thing) these questions allowed multiple selections.

e.g. December 1994 (the same choices for each time period)

- Unemployed
- Not working (care responsibilities /maternity leave)
- Education (creative discipline or related)
- Further education (non-creative/retraining)
- Self-employed (artist/creative)
- Self-employed (other)
- Employed (artist/creative)
- Employed (other)
- Employed (teacher/lecturer)

However, the question failed to ask what their perceived job roles/titles were. This was altered in the second version of the pilot. Other fields were also altered and deeper questions were asked relating to the individuals' experience of any enterprise education. Specifically, additional questions were added relating to the nature of creative discipline education, the types of lecturing staff, whether the individuals had undergone any enterprise education, and if so when (i.e. during or post undergraduate studies).

Other issues resolved within the first pilot related to proofreading issues, and the survey was peer-reviewed by academic colleagues. This resulted in issues around the wording of questions being resolved.

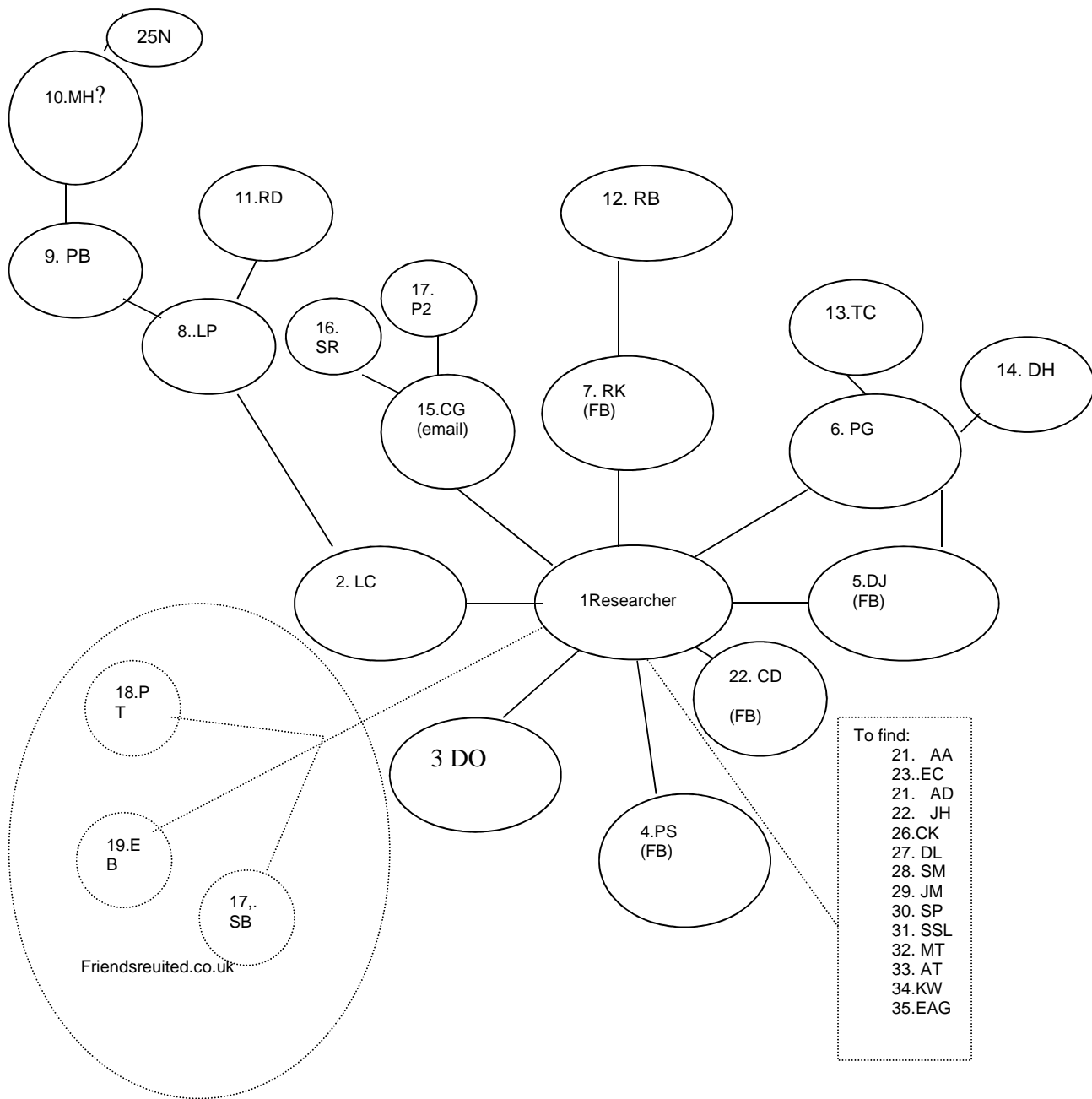
Feedback was also sought from the individuals who participated so that they could directly comment on the design of the survey. A strong theme that came from participants was that they appreciated the more open and qualitative aspects of the survey and found the questions, which enabled them to



expand on their career stories, most satisfying. Other aspects were related to information which participants felt might have affected their careers, for example, one suggested sexuality.

#### **4.3.1.3. Developing and disseminating the survey**

The second survey, albeit longer, resulted in more positive feedback and data collected. Although Wufoo proved to be a useful tool for acquiring, managing and analyzing the data there were some issues around its general usability. For example participants complained about not being able to save the form and return to it, a potential usability issue which might have in some instances deterred participants from fully completing the survey.



**Figure 4.2 The viral/snowballing technique used to reach participants (each number is an individual)**

Figure 4.2 highlights the viral/snowballing approach that was taken. All links directly to the researcher (centre) express individuals who made contact with the researcher during the course of the study or who were known in the first instance. An issue that arose during this piloting phase was that it was harder than anticipated to reach the individuals. A number of reasons emerged, including:

- Too much time had gone by
- Individuals had changed their names due to marriage
- Careers and geographical locations had changed so search criteria were limited
- Apparent lack of use of the Internet of this group

As this diagram describes, the best route to these people was via viral methods or ‘snowballing technique’. The snowballing technique, as Fink (1995) describes, is “a type of sampling that relies on previously identified members of a group to identify other members of the population” (Fink,1995:70), whereby if someone was contacted through, for example, Facebook, they would lead to potential multiple other individuals (from the sample).

One aspect that this study revealed was that reaching such a dispersed group of individuals is hard and time consuming. Although the initial hypothesis was that viral techniques would help to reach those individuals, it became clear that the process was far more time consuming than initially anticipated. Even though these routes proved to be successful, and it would seem that the initial assumption related to numbers of people in touch with each other was correct, the process itself took significantly longer than was hoped.

A question that arose in relation to the sample group is how big does the sample group need to be? Ultimately it was limited to those 60 individuals and then within those, recognising that some proved difficult to reach, an approach of looking for theoretical or data saturation was taken. As Guest *et al.* (2006) suggest, “size (sample) typically relies on the concept of ‘saturation’, or the point at which no new information or themes are observed in the data” (Guest *et al.*, 2006:59). Elsewhere, data

saturation is described as an ‘obvious’ point at which the researcher has exhausted the process of exploration: “In practice, the number of required subjects usually becomes obvious as the study progresses, as new categories, themes or explanations stop emerging from the data (data saturation)” (Marshall, 1996: 523). Although a useful starting point for the analysis of this data, ideas around data saturation are also considered problematic, as although they are widely used within qualitative research methods, there are few guidelines available to suggest when one has enough ‘interviews’, although research has suggested that thematic saturation occurred at between 6-12 interviews (Guest *et al.*, 2006). Other issues relate to the ability of the researcher to interpret the data and to identify themes. Morse (1994) referred to the concept of identifying themes as being ‘elastic’, noting that different researchers will have a different perception of when saturation has occurred. Thematic saturation was drawn upon later in this study (see Analysis).

It appears that the discussion on sample size, thematic saturation and identifying themes has a lengthy history. For the purpose of this study it was decided that, given that the sample had some level of homogeneity, having all stemmed from the same course (homogeneity of the sample group is an important criterion in arriving at thematic saturation according to the work of Guest *et al.* (2006)), and assuming that all those reached completed the initial survey, this data would offer sufficient depth to see specific themes relating to career types. This would then be used to identify individuals who would be interviewed in order to gather a deeper insight into their career stories. This led to the second phase of the research. The eventual outcome and relative success of this survey is discussed later in the chapter.

#### **4.3.2 Phase 2: Narrative in-depth interviews**

The second phase of the research was the development of narratives. These were captured using a narrative methodology. The original rationale was that a sample of the participants of the online survey would be interviewed and their career stories captured by way of semi-structured interviews. Initially interviewees were asked to detail the journey they had gone through from student to their current situation. These accounts were then explored as a story, with key themes, issues, tensions and

lessons learnt drawn out through further semi-structured interviews using differing forms of questioning.

#### **4.3.2. 1 Narrative elicitation as a research methodology**

The use of narrative within research methodology in business management, entrepreneurship and organisational studies is growing. It allows the researcher to get close to the 'real, lived experience' (Rae, 2000:157). Johansson suggests that narrative methodology also transforms the interview space into a 'storytelling arena' rather than that of an interrogation, thus potentially opening up the interviewee and limiting the restrictions on the interview (Johansson, 2004a). Czarniawska (1997) highlights that "making use of stories as a vehicle for capturing knowledge is one of the main carriers of knowledge of modern times" usefully for this study she highlights the benefits for to the interviewee "narrative and storytelling also offer the interviewee the opportunity to make sense of their situation, giving them the capacity to explain a series of events or an outcome" (Czarniawska, 1997: 35). Rae (2005a), however, identifies certain challenges and issues arising from using a narrative methodology: maintaining the participants' engagement in documenting their story; reflexivity, in making sense of the researcher's own interaction with the research participants' material and process; and interpretive, in creating meaning of wider relevance from the study (Rae, 2005a: 325).

#### **4.3.2. 2 Narrative and entrepreneurship research**

Johansson suggests that narrative is more than just a means of offering an illustration, i.e. secondary information/case studies. It has been recognised as a fundamental means of knowing something (Johansson, 2004b). Storytelling is a significant element within workplace learning (Denning, 2000). The role of storytelling between small business owner managers within management and business development has been studied (e.g. Sparrow and Goodman, 2000; Barnett and Storey, 2001; Johansson, 2004). In a study of entrepreneurs and their use of stories, McKenzie (2005) identified that not only do entrepreneurs use stories to uncover opportunities, but they also tend to use versions of

the narratives they have created to convey the opportunity to others (McKenzie, 2005:4). Larty and Hamilton (2011) provide a detailed account of their approaches to analysing narratives, related to family business, and point out how the structure of the narrative can provide useful insights as to how “the incidents were structured to make a coherent to make a coherent storyline that made sense to the audience” (Larty and Hamilton, 2011: 229).

Narrative is frequently used as a learning tool, albeit under different headings, for example, the academic world frequently makes use of ‘case studies’ in order to illustrate points relating to business planning. Storytelling is implicit within entrepreneurship research, through use of stories and case studies (Johansson, 2004b). Johansson goes on to describe “storytelling as often the most natural way to describe past experience” (Johansson, 2004b:275). In terms of narrative being taken seriously as a learning tool, McKenzie goes as far as to suggest that entrepreneurship educators should integrate storytelling into their curriculum, in terms of passing on expertise but also as a business tool in its own right (McKenzie, 2005:6). Adamson *et al.* (2006:37) argues that “stories place the reader/listener at the centre, connect to the reader/listener emotions, and inserts its (the story’s) meaning into the reader/listener memory”. Storytelling has been identified as a useful approach to, for example, humanising a new approach, identifying and sharing good practice, enabling all levels of an organisation to be involved in a change, communicating complex ideas and managing change (Collison and Mackenzie, 1999). Different types of story are described as having different levels of effectiveness in terms of inspiring change or ‘sparking action’. For example, Denning identifies that “stories to spark action need to be positive in tone and told in a minimalist fashion with little context” (Denning, 2006: 45) and, usefully to this study, “stories offer a vehicle for transmitting otherwise intangible yet crucial life lessons that might otherwise be lost” (Randell and Martin, 2003:4).

#### **4.3.2.3 Narrative and gender studies**

One of the main areas focused on in literature related to narrative and gender is narrative within careers and gendered career narratives. For example, Kargwell (2008) makes use of narrative in analysing interview data from Sudanese female managers on issues relating to work/life balance and

career progression. Likewise, Xian and Woodhams (2008) draw upon narrative methods in order to capture women's careers in the Chinese IT industry. Of interest to this study, they highlight the fact that caution is required when capturing career histories retrospectively, and hint at editing that occurs, however they also concur that people "can only know what they have done once they have done it" (Xian and Woodhams, 2008:414, citing Weick, 1995:128).

Elsewhere, Millman and Martin (2007a) make use of narrative to explore the role women play in the set-up of businesses within a given sector. Huse and Greth Solberg (2006) make use of narrative in capturing women's experience of boardroom 'contributions'. They highlight the richness of data that narrative allows the researcher to capture, while identifying that, by using narrative as an analysis tool, stories are ultimately about perception. They were, through analysis, able to identify different story types including myth, real-life and 'wishful thinking' story types (Huse and Greth Solberg, 2006).

#### **4.3.2.4 Narrative and creative industries research**

Narrative methodologies amongst researchers looking at the creative industries are also evident, specifically those looking at entrepreneurship within the sector. Rae (2005a) carried out a study examining entrepreneurs within the media sector and used narrative to capture 'in-depth life stories' (Rae, 2005a). Elsewhere, narrative is used as a means of providing insight for would-be entrepreneurs within the sector. Kellett builds upon Rae's ideas of cultural diffusion, whereby entrepreneurs within the sector learn from each other's stories, through her work with 'Creative Warriors': here stories of creative entrepreneurs are used as to provide "snap-shots of entrepreneurial stepping stones" within art and design education (Kellett, 2006:2).

#### **4.3.2.5 Narrative and careers research**

Narrative is widely recognised as a tool within careers research. Rehfuss (2009) refers to narrative career theory and highlights the fact that career theorists have "embraced" narrative. He suggests that this is due to narrative offering a "holistic understanding of an individual's vocation and career"

(Reh fuss, 2009:82). This is set within the context of career counselling and the practitioners surrounding career development. Much work related to the use of narrative within careers refers to using narrative to change an individual's story through some sort of intervention (Reh fuss, 2009). Further to this, Severy (2008) details methods used in 'narrative career counselling', asking individuals to narrate their past and future careers (Severy, 2008).

#### **4.3.3 The interview process**

The use of narrative and storytelling within careers research has been widely discussed, and within this the methods of eliciting stories and methods used. Semi-structured interview techniques have been suggested as the best means of exploring career histories, as they provide a "rich source of data as individuals reflect on their careers" (Clarke, 2009:13). Cohen and Mallon (2001) identify multiple means of eliciting career stories, drawn upon by earlier researchers: these methods included the use of diaries, case studies and critical incident interviews, amongst other tools. However, in their own research, which looked at career transition, they made use of semi-structured interviews in order to capture career biographies (Cohen and Mallon, 2001). Again, research within careers of creative discipline graduates takes the form of an initial questionnaire and then in-depth interviews in order to gain a better understanding of individuals' career stories (Oakley *et al.*, 2008). When looking to collect narratives, Saunders *et al.* (2003) suggest the use of in-depth interviews as the primary data collection method, making use of the following definition: "A narrative is broadly defined as an account of an experience that is told in a sequenced way, indicating a flow of related events that, taken together, are significant for the narrator and which convey meaning to the researcher" (Saunders *et al.*, 2003:401).

#### **4.3.4 The role of the researcher**

One aspect of research in to careers is that of the internal and external narrative. Here we see that two versions of an individual's career history emerge. The external career includes all publicly available information about the individual in terms of job roles, formal structures, salaries and titles, whereas the internal career relates far more to the individual's own sense of their career in terms of subjective feelings, for example sense of success, future prospects and career satisfaction (Hay and Hodgkinson,



2006).

Prior to the interviews, a great deal of work was carried out to establish and consider the researcher's role within the study and issues related to individuals offering retrospective narratives of their own career stories. In this section, the researcher considers the story-making process, how individuals go about 're-storying', issues related to capturing stories in hindsight as opposed to recording events in real time, and notions of objectivity and subjectivity within the study. The development of this methodology chapter has led to many questions being asked and within this section an attempt is made to answer these:

- What does the researcher hear?
- How are the stories told?
- How does the researcher interpret the stories?
- How does the perception of the participant affect their ability to narrate their story?
- How does the participant's ability to tell a story impact on what the researcher hears?
- What are the researcher's feelings towards the participants and does this influence the interpretation of the story?
- What are the researcher's feelings towards the story?
- How do the researcher's feelings towards her own career impact on their interpretation of what she hears of the participant's stories?
- Does the researcher's existing relationship with the participants influence the story being told or the interpretation of the story being told?

These topics are discussed within the framework of a set of pilot interviews and reflections carried out by the researcher, prior to the main set of interviews with the sample group. Later in this chapter, the role of the researcher is explored, in terms of her own sense of career success and her own objective and subjective interpretation of the stories offered.

### **4.3.5 Piloting of interviews**

Prior to carrying out the interviews, the questionnaire and interview approach were piloted. At this stage, four interviews were carried out using the proposed interview questions and narrative approach. The pilot sample was made up of four mid-career creative industries individuals: two women and two men. Two of the individuals were known to the researcher (through previous professional encounters); the other two were recommended to the researcher via colleagues. They were not part of the main sample group but had characteristics in common in terms of age range, time of graduation and educational background. The rationale for these interviews was to test the questions in terms of the responses they engendered, to gain an indication of the likely length of interview time, and to ascertain a number of issues related to the researcher and her interpretation of the data and response to the interviewees. These issues are discussed in the following section: firstly in Sections 4.3.5.1-2, the researcher discusses observations of her approach to capturing the data and reflections on her input; secondly 4.3.5.3 considers how individuals go about describing past events and how these are interpreted. Within this, the act of re-storying is considered. Next, the researcher looks at her own role within the interview and considers the role of subjectivity and objectivity. Finally, the researcher reflects upon the lessons learnt through the pilot interviews and how these went on to influence the eventual approach to interviews.

#### **4.3.5.1 The procedure**

The interviews took place at the offices or workplaces of the interviewees. Two approaches were taken to capturing the data. The interviews were recorded on tape and the researcher took detailed notes based on what was said and observations from the interview. Mindful of the discussion on analysis, the researcher also highlighted notes and times within the interviews where she felt salient or potential themes emerged (see analysis and on-going analysis). As described, participants of the pilot were asked to tell the story of their career from the point at which they graduated through to the current day. The interviews took between 1 and 2.5 hours. The majority of the time was taken up with the detailed stories offered by the participants. The second part of the interviews dealt with examining the stories and interrogating them with questions intended to uncover significant events and issues that had emerged (see Appendix 1: Interview questions) following the procedure:

1. Interviewees were given a copy of the ethical statement associated with this study and asked to complete a consent form. A brief overview of the study was offered and the researcher offered a brief overview of their own situation and the motivation for the study. It is important to note at this stage that the participants and researcher were already known to one and other, so offering some explanation for the study and their participation was offered. The researcher was also drawing on Johansson's (2004a) observations of a narrative methodology transforming the interview space into a 'storytelling arena': with this in mind, it was deemed appropriate to offer a story to help initiate the discussion.
2. The interviewees were asked to think back to the time at which they graduated and then to tell the story of their careers from that point to the current time. The time taken to tell these stories varied from approximately 20 minutes to 1.5 hours. If the interviewee struggled or seemed to get stuck, or the researcher required elaborations, then the researcher offered further prompting questions.
3. When the interviewee had completed their story and this had been confirmed to the researcher, the researcher briefly summarised and a set of further questions were asked in order to interrogate the story. These questions were designed in order to better understand key features of the story, for example any other central characters, tensions that arose and key events. Wengraf and Chamberlayn (2006) recommend a three-stage interview process whereby the researcher elicits the initial story with one question, the second phase goes back and asks questions related to the story in order to elicit further stories, and then they suggest an optional, further third stage where the researcher can go back to ask some questions directly relevant to their research topic (Wengraf and Chamberlayn, 2006:16). The interview process undertaken here borrows from this model, but stage three was incorporated into the first interview meeting in most instances, in recognition of the difficulty of reaching and scheduling meetings with such a dispersed group.

#### **4.3.5.2 Observations from the pilot interviews**

Some general observations were drawn from the experience of undertaking the pilot interviews.

**Making sense of a situation:** How people make sense of their situations by reflecting upon their various influences – “I come from a family of teachers” (Pilot Interview 1). It was observed that by leaving the interviewee to tell their story, they offer their understanding of the decisions they have made and volunteer information.

**Volunteering trigger points/tipping points:** A second observation from the pilot interviews was that participants volunteer tipping points or specific events, which triggered their next step within their careers. This suggests a benefit to this retrospective approach, as these tipping points were often events or experiences which were unplanned for example: “I observed while teaching in art schools that the majority of students were white and middle class, this led me to...” (Pilot Interview 3). Here, the researcher allowed the interviewees the space to explore their own narratives, as suggested by Wengraf and Chamberlayn (2006), with this first stage of the interview process devoted to the telling of the story. It was observed that there were narratives within narratives and, in line with the narrative tradition, the researcher was mindful not to interrupt or re-direct at this stage (Elliott, 2005).

**The role of the interviewer:** Some brief observations of the researcher were that she communicated throughout the interviews with sounds, was mindful of body language and engaged in active listening. Larty and Hamilton emphasise the importance of reflectivity when carrying out narrative research (Larty and Hamilton, 2011). Listening back to the tapes, there was also a tendency for the researcher to interject with her own narratives, which although encouraged by Johansson (2005a), in retrospect occasionally led to unhelpful tangents being taken.

**Discomfort at questions:** One question which the researcher had a certain amount of discomfort in asking was related to the ‘Title’ of the story. In the first instance, this had seemed to her to be a pretentious question to ask. However the experience of carrying out the pilot interviews led to the

view that in fact it was a useful mechanism for reaching the salient aspect of the story, and the participants did not respond in any sort of negative way to this question, other than at times to suggest that it was a hard question to answer – however, it always resulted in a useful response.

Other observations were made which the researcher considered requiring further investigation. At this point, the narrative interview technique seemed to be working well, and it did lead to further questions. These are responded to in the following sections.

#### **4.3.5.3 Recording events and hindsight**

The researcher had investigated in detail the nature and benefits associated with using a narrative methodology. One area that had not been looked at, however, and which the pilot interviews enabled the researcher to consider, was the reliability of the method. In collating data related to longitudinal studies, there are two obvious approaches. The first and perhaps the most ideal would be to capture the data as it happens – i.e. to have the participants report on activity as it happens. This method is referred to as fixed-interval-time sampling. The second is retrospective time sampling, or what is sometimes referred to as the ‘yesterday interview’ (YI), where participants report back on previous events or periods of time (Klumb and Perrez, 2004; Klumb, and Baltes, 1999).

There are a number of issues associated with recalling events, as pointed out by Joshi *et al.* (1981): “Attitudes, expectations, income, childhood circumstances are examples of variations that cannot be collected retrospectively, but which may contribute to the understanding of the unfolding life course if they can be collected prospectively and linked to subsequent events” (Joshi *et al.*, 1981:5). It is argued that the reliability of retrospective self-reporting also depends to an extent on properties of the participants such as their gender and other factors. Klumb and Perrez (2004), for example, reported on a study which evidenced the self-reporting of housework duties by men and women. The study found that although both genders exaggerated the amount of housework they carried out, men were much more likely to do this, and to a greater extent. Although this observation is not to make any judgement

on those participants, it does require the researcher to be mindful of the accounts offered and acknowledge that there are other factors at play (not least gender) which might influence how a story is told.

Other issues with this sort of self-reporting include the idea that when reporting on their career, participants might be inclined to over-report issues that are socially desirable and in turn give a biased account of events. Klumb and Bates (1999) also highlight that short and rare events are likely to be misrepresented.

#### **4.3.5.4 Objectivity vs. subjectivity**

Kleinman and Copp (1993) discuss the role of the researcher in 'Emotions and Fieldwork', drawing upon examples of their own research work and identifying instances where they have not fully explored datasets or been able to tell the full story based on their own prejudices or views of the world. They suggest that "we must consider who we are and what we believe when we do field work. Otherwise we might not see how we shape the story" (Kleinman and Copp, 1993:13). As previously discussed in work looking at reflexivity and the position of multiple selves within the field (Reinharz, 1997; Gergen and Gergen, 1991), the position of the researcher within the study is considered here. Moreover, when discussing objectivity, Kirk and Miller (1986) suggest that objectivity is an ambiguous concept which is a common concern of most natural scientists, however social science is more concerned with inner existential choices when trying to decipher why individuals behave or act in a certain way.

Important for this study and as discussed in detail in the section on reflexivity (see Section 4.2.3) is the role of the researcher. As a graduate from the same cohort as the sample, the researcher came to the research with a body of knowledge or insight into careers within the sector as well as issues related to the type of education the participants had received. The pilot interviews enabled the researcher to consider this prior knowledge and to acknowledge the impact it might have on the

interpretation of the data offered. In terms of the approach to analysis of the data, it was deemed necessary to acknowledge this potential impact and likely subjectivity at each point. Here, the goal was to tell the whole story, including the researcher's interpretation. Kleinmann and Copp (1993) emphasise that researchers frequently defer from including their own emotional response to fieldwork, preferring to carry out 'confessionals' where they are less likely to be feel vulnerable (i.e. not in published articles). They suggest that in order to appear scientific and objective, researchers might exclude their emotional response; they argue, however, that this might in turn preclude useful insights or limit the interpretation of the data (Kleinmann and Copp, 1993:17).

#### **4.4 Approach taken to analysis**

There are different approaches to analysing qualitative data. These include manual thematic analysis; general and theme based, structural analysis; How the story is told, narrative devices deployed, interactional analysis; Between teller and listener discourse analysis and grounded theory analysis (Reissman,1993).

Dey (1993) provides a useful model for qualitative analysis, describing a circular process including three main points of analysis: 'describing' the data, here one lays down the situation, provides context and a description of any intentions of research participants and the process by which the data is collected; 'classifying', providing a conceptual framework with which to help interpret the data, this also aids making comparisons within the data; and 'making connections' once one has classified the data, when it is easier to see correlations and patterns within the data and infer some connections (Dey, 1993:31-33). Elsewhere, qualitative data analysis has been described as very diverse, acknowledging that there are potentially multiple methods of data analysis. Saunders *et al*, (2003) suggest that it can either be 'highly structured' or have a lower level of structure, suggesting that approaches can either be deductive, with data analysed and themes arrived at via existing theory, or inductive, in that a theory is arrived at through the analysis of the data (Saunders *et al.*, 2003).

As described, this study constituted two phases. Phase one was the collection of baseline career data collected via an online survey. Initially it was assumed that the study would take a manual thematic approach, involving codifying the data collected. Through a series of common threads, trends and issues would be identified, i.e. the data would be classified (Dey, 1993). As the study emerged, a variation to this approach was taken. As described in Section 4.2.4, it became evident that it would be hard to reach the full 60 members of the cohort. However this also led to the question “How many individuals needed to participate in order to have sufficient data?” As described, this led to a process of seeking thematic saturation. To this end, the approach to the analysis did not begin when ‘all’ of the data was collected; rather the analysis was on-going and the researcher continually visited the data in order to identify the point at which thematic saturation was reached. As described by Strauss and Corbin (1998), one approach to developing a sample can be through theoretical sampling: here the process is about making comparisons within the data until one gets to the point where theoretical saturation has occurred and there are apparently no new theories to emerge. This on-going approach to analysis is discussed at length elsewhere. Bryman and Burgess (1994), when summarising the chapters in their edited collection ‘Analysing Qualitative Data’, highlight a recurring theme related to qualitative analysis: “qualitative researchers have frequently suggested that research design, data collection and analysis are a simultaneous and continuous process ... a recurring theme in this volume, is that analysis is not perceived as a separate phase” (Bryman and Burgess, 1994:217).

A view was taken that, at the point of thematic saturation, the researcher would relax efforts to try to reach the potential respondents (i.e. the full 60 of the cohort) to participate in the online survey, and having carried out pilot interviews, the second phase of data collection began. Moreover as efforts to reach and engage the full group were also proving less successful than anticipated a view was taken to limit the time spent on searching for and engaging the group: eventually a reasonably concentrated period of 18 months was spent on this activity. For practical purposes it was decided not to focus as heavily on the survey and instead concentrate on collecting the narratives of those who had been contacted. As previously described, a smaller sub-group of the participants were selected to be interviewed, using a narrative methodology. Here, in-depth narratives of their career stories were



collected. As well as a further analysis of the themes that emerged through these narratives, a secondary approach was also taken. Here the data collected was considered from a narrative perspective. To this end the stories were analysed to look for types of story, in terms of how people go about re-telling their career stories, what they have understood to have happened and whether any key narrative styles were related to the participants. In other words, rather than just accepting their account of events as fact or a sequence of facts, the 'frame of explanation' used by the participants was also examined (Glassner and Loughlin, 1987:35). This enabled the analysis to 'make connections' related to how careers within the sector develop but also how the stories were told. This initial analysis offered two sets of data on which to draw, and some initial insight into the external as well as internal career as perceived by the participants. The in-depth narrative interviews are a means of exploring these internal careers.

#### **4.4.1 Analysing narratives**

Citing White (1989), Riesman suggests that storytelling is a natural way to get over the problem of "translating knowing into telling" (White, 1989, cited by Riesman, 1993). She goes on to describe a scenario whereby within an interview situation, a respondent might choose to tell a story in response to multiple questions or each question. This in turn suggests a potential impact on the way one might go about carrying out analysis and, it is argued, raises an issue related to traditional forms of analysis, in terms of the role of the researcher and the decisions they would normally make, based on breaking up data in order to form generalisations or to interpret the data (Riesman, 1993:3). Through the development of this methodology chapter, a number of questions arose, for example, did the stories need to be considered in their entirety or was it 'okay' to break them down into sections, in order to form the sorts of generalisations otherwise associated with qualitative research analysis? This theme is also picked up upon by Saunders *et al.* (2003), who suggest that analysis within traditional grounded theory involves fragmentation of data, but that actually taking a narrative approach to the data analysis i.e. actually seeing the data as a narrative, suggests that it should be dealt with as a verbatim text, suggesting that these approaches are often taken when dealing with research that looks at life stories or accounts of particular events (Saunders *et al.*, 2003). Stories are made up of structural elements, which potentially enable them to be analysed and comparisons potentially made across

these structural elements. In this respect, narrative analysis techniques could be adopted when analysing interview data, which had not been set out to deliberately elicit a story.

Another issue related to the analysis was the question of whether or not the stories were true, and what is understood by truth. This is an issue that has been discussed by others, for example Cohen and Mallon (2001) draw upon the work of Benjamin (1968), who made a distinction between 'fact-as-information' and 'fact-as-experience' (Benjamin, 1968, cited by Cohen and Mallon, 2001:61). They went on to suggest that the latter was more relevant to the storyteller "who is concerned with sense-making, interpretation and emotional response" (Cohen and Mallon, 2001:61). With regard to this study, where the perceptions and experience of the participants are central to the findings, this is a useful understanding of what is accepted as truth. This gave rise to further questions, namely knowing how much of a story has been told. How can one be sure that one has understood all the various nuances being communicated? Todorova (2007) like many authors recognises narrative as a fundamental means by which humans make sense of their situations. However, within the analysis of stories, she offers a different method of analysis, looking to the silence, breaks in communication and incoherence within the stories offered. She offers an analysis method that takes a look at multiple perspectives, analysing both the 'said' and the 'unsaid' (Todorova, 2007).

Like the question before, this leads to another: the stories elicited take the participant back to the time when they graduated and they are asked to tell the story of their career from that point on, however, if the story is being told in retrospect, how is this truth experienced, and in what way has the story evolved? This gives rise to questions of validity. Elliott (2005) suggests that within research lie two differing perspectives relating to narrative and validity, describing the use of narrative interviews and the validity of the information gathered. One viewpoint she suggests is that, as Todorova (2007) suggests, stories are not "simply reports of experience, rather they make sense of and therefore inevitably distort those experiences ... there is a real advantage perceived by some researchers as the focus of interest is on individual's subjective interpretations and the meaning they make of their lives" (Elliott, 2005:28). However, alongside this she identifies a counter perspective that others view

narratives as a means of obscuring otherwise clear descriptions.

#### **4.5 Summary and conclusions of chapter**

This chapter has provided an in-depth discussion of the methodological position taken by the researcher. Included in this has been a description of and justification for the methods used, insight into and details of the sample group, and the role and relationship of the researcher to the research and the participants. This has included discussion on a number of important aspects that have shaped this study particularly the: participatory nature of the study, the researcher's close connection to the participants and relative importance of reflexivity as well as insight to various types of analysis considered. These discussions are developed in Chapter Five where a detailed description is provided of the approach taken to analysing the narratives which emerged.

Having started out as a mixed method study, the quantitative methods devised were eventually rejected as they were proving least productive in terms of engaging the sample group, to the point where they, or at least the researcher's persistent attempts to engage participants, were considered to be potentially compromising to the study. This again highlighted the existing relationship the researcher had to the sample group, the finite number of potential participants and the ultimate goal of engaging participants in interviews. The eventual methods that became the focus of the research were the use of in-depth interviews to elicit participant's in-depth career stories and the use of grounded theory to analyse and build theory from those narratives.

Chapter Five provides a breathing space between this and the findings and discussion of this research. The following chapter provides further detail of the eventual outcome of the research, describes in detail the approach taken to analysing the data and provides insight and reflection from the researcher.

## **Chapter 5: Reflections, analysis and self**

### **5.0 Introduction**

Based on the personal nature, insider perspective and reflexive nature of this study (described in the methodology chapter), the researcher considered it important to pause and reflect on the interview process and how it had impacted on the research and research findings. This chapter aims to provide the link between the literature and methodology chapters and the following chapters, which discuss the findings. Throughout the process of interviewing and analysis, the researcher kept a 'research diary', noting down feelings and responses to the research. "There is little information available to the qualitative researcher about how to 'do' reflexivity in practice" (Nadin and Cassell, 2006:209) - through their own work they established a process of keeping research diaries in a bid to establish "a commitment to render as transparent as possible the subjectivities inherent to the researcher and the research process which influence the interpretations generated" (Nadin and Cassell, 2006:210). Diaries were kept in notebooks as well as, typed, emailed and blog postings which the researcher recorded in a frequent but ad hoc way her feelings, thoughts and reflections on the research process. The keeping of the diaries intensified throughout the interviewing of participants, and this enabled the researcher to reflect on both the methods used and emerging themes from the interviews. The habit of keeping this type of diary lent itself well to the analysis stage where, when using grounded theory, the researcher is encouraged to create 'memos' (this is discussed in more detail later in this chapter).

These reflections are drawn within this chapter here in order to help to frame some of the struggle, tensions and moments of discovery felt throughout the research process. Also described here is the process taken to analysing the data and how this evolved. This draws heavily on the work of Strauss and Corbin (1998).

This chapter is broken down into three main sections. First, discussion relates to the sample group, including the process by which they were reached and the inherent problems associated with searching for, finding and engaging a potentially disparate group of people, some of whom were reluctant to get involved. Second, the approach taken to analysing the data is detailed with a step-by-step description of the approach and process adopted and developed by the researcher in analysing the

data gathered. The third section of this chapter reflects more broadly on the insider perspective and auto-ethnographic aspects of this study, and how these have positively influenced the direction of the research and at the same time proved a constant source of tension for the researcher.

As described in the methodology chapter, the study was in two parts, but initially a cohort of graduates from a 1994 fine art course were decided upon and targeted for participation. This potential cohort was made up of some 60 individuals. A long process of identifying and finding these individuals began, with the hope that each would participate in an online 'career mapping' survey. Initially the intention, and in retrospect naive assumption, was that all 60 would be found, all 60 would engage in the survey and the researcher would have the luxury of selecting 10 women and 10 men, based on types of career patterns, to be interviewed using a narrative methodology. What happened was quite different. Finding the individuals proved to be extremely difficult, finding them and then having them complete the survey was harder still: this meant that the approach needed to be reconsidered. How many was enough? How would this affect the data? How would the study be affected? A decision was made to concentrate on arriving at thematic saturation (as discussed in the methodology chapter) and to progress with the interviews, interviewing those who had agreed to this on the basis that the likelihood of reaching 10 men and 10 women was looking increasingly slim. What emerged from this somewhat messy phase of anxiety and doubt related to the sample group, sampling methods and general approach was rather unexpected.

The narrative interviews gathered were deep and rich and told complex stories of individuals who had struggled and prospered within their careers, identity and lives, having been educated to be artists. This chapter is concerned with reflecting on the process of gathering these stories and how they have been analysed. It provides the background to the chapters which follow which discuss the findings in detail.

## 5.1 Access to the sample group

As discussed within the methodology chapter, the participants of the study were individuals who graduated with the researcher, i.e. they all took the same course, in the same year, from the same university. A variety of means were used to reach them, as described in the methodology chapter. The initial snowballing technique proved rather fruitless, or at least the hypothesis that most of those who could be reached would still know at least two others seemed to an extent to be true; however there seemed a reluctance to pass on the information about the study or for individuals to engage if it was. An example that illustrates this dichotomy was found in a small cluster of graduates in the West Country, who all appeared to still know one another. In this grouping, the first person contacted completed the online questionnaire without much prompting and happily agreed to pass it on to two others. These two others were not forthcoming in their completion of the survey. Some months later, a fourth individual in the same area was identified by the researcher and contacted; this individual duly agreed to complete the questionnaire and to pass it on to a further person, but neither completed the survey. However, it was interesting that this fourth person had heard about the research from one of the two people who had been identified by the first person in that geographical location. This suggests that word of the research had spread amongst the group.

These were interesting observations and at this point the researcher needed to consider a number of things: Were individuals trying to sabotage the study? Were unknown factors from the past influencing the study? Or was it a simple case of individuals simply not 'getting around' to completing the survey? The researcher also considered the following as potential barriers to prospective participants completing the online survey:

- As a senior lecturer in a university carrying out a PhD there was a need to consider what this means to the person reading emails or letters with regards to the study. These might be perceived as someone with relative success enquiring as to everyone else's success or lack thereof.
- The survey was reasonably long and might appear to be too onerous.

- The contact had with prospective participants did not ‘sell’ the survey or research or make it compelling enough
- There were some personal feelings towards the researcher that were ‘off-putting’ to prospective participants
- Prospective participants were busy and had ‘moved on’ - this was not their priority

A step was also taken to ask those participants who were subsequently interviewed what their view was of the study as a whole and to glean further feedback. From a reflexive point of view, looking back at the research diary reveals that this process was having an impact on the researcher:

*This was a really interesting process. Initially I took the approach of searching for people based on the people I know. So I knew two people, who in turn knew two people. This was the premise that the sampling began with. It soon became clear that although most people did know at least two others, that they were reluctant to pass on contact details. Again this was almost not through any malice or ill will more than through this not being the priority for those people, Often the case was that they didn’t do the survey even themselves. (Research log, 12/08/2010)*

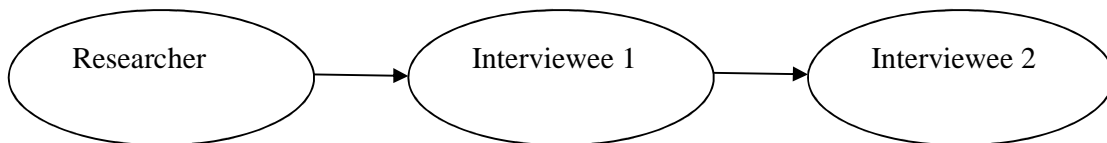


Figure 5.1: Illustration of interviewee link to researcher

Take for example Interviewee 2 who was only once removed from the researcher. Contact was made and a verbal agreement to participate. The participant was then repeatedly contacted and reminded of the survey and continually agreed to do it but simply “didn’t get round to it”. A number of factors were known about the individual: they were a parent to young children, in the midst of a career break and otherwise leading a very busy life. On initial contact they had been enthusiastic and volunteered other names so that the ‘snowballing’ technique seemed promising.

*One of the things that I had sort of proved to me today was that whether people participate or not depends on when you happen to get in touch in terms of what is happening in their lives. One of the interviewees today said that if I'd contacted her 18 months ago (and I did try as it happens) then she would have said "no" to being involved. It was because at the time she'd been at home looking after children for near on ten years and felt that she would in some way be negatively judged for this. (Research log 03/03/2011)*

Other reasons given for not participating in the study or for potential reluctance were noted by those who were interviewed. On two occasions individuals suggested that the approach taken by the researcher was too formal, that it appeared that the approach was coming from or on behalf of an institution rather than an 'old friend', and this in some respects was further compounded by the presentation of a written consent form (See appendix 2 ). This consent form, provided to protect both the interviewer and interviewee and described in the ethical statement associated with this study, presented an additional layer of formality. However all participants signed this and understood its role. In another instance, the participant when asked about their involvement in the study said:

*You're right, I was ignoring your emails ... I felt it was odd as you've not contacted me since (graduating) and just hearing from you out of the blue... (Interviewee 11)*

It should be said that there was also another block or issue associated with reaching the sample group and this came from much closer to home. The researcher, as well as working full-time and being otherwise busy in her life was aware that there was a personal block to reaching out to these people. The activity of reaching them was over a period of some 18 months. They were contacted, often multiple times in a staged approach.

*What I'm doing is I am using every means possible to reach them. So I go through this really lengthy process of searching for people. I've developed a list of all the students\* and I email them, if there's a phone number I call (although this isn't very often), I've written to them letters with self-addressed envelopes if I have their addresses. I've emailed them on Facebook, 'friended' them on Facebook, I've followed them on Twitter and direct messaged them and @ed them on twitter, I've emailed them on Friends Reunited - literally every which way I can think of I've tried to reach these people. I am looking every few months and repeating the process. Sometimes people who weren't there or not coming up on Google or Facebook originally appear and so I then contact them. (Research log 26/05/2010)*

This repeated 'sweeping' of the contact list, looking for people and trying to engage them in the study was having a slightly detrimental effect on the researcher's outlook.



*It's been a little bit stop start depending on my teaching commitments but also I'm aware that I get really embarrassed if I think about it too long and anxious that they (the sample group) won't respond. This got particularly bad last summer, I'd made a third massive effort to reach as many people as possible, I'd sent out 10 letters, multiple emails, had a lot of activity on Facebook and had disappointing results. I then had a really tough term of teaching and was feeling pretty hopeless about the prospect of getting any interviews done. It started feeling like a block in itself. I mean the survey had had about 12 people complete it at this point and I had carried out 2 interviews but I just felt like it was impossible. (Research log 14/04/2011)*

However, the method was not unsuccessful, and with a final major push to reach people, lasting for 4 months from February to May 2011, the researcher was able to secure and carry out a number of interviews with the sample group. The following diagram (figure 5.2) illustrates the different stages of the process and numbers of people identified and participating in the study. All in all, the data collection took over 18 months, from the establishing of the initial online survey to reaching and interviewing the participants. This had, as described, been somewhat in fits and starts, but broadly speaking had involved four major attempts, (i.e., the researcher's research time devoted to searching for and contacting, liaising with the individuals (lasting approximately 2 months at each attempt) to reach the sample group).

Although there was initial anxiety about potential for participant shortfall, once interviews were underway and the richness of data became evident, this anxiety was alleviated. An interesting aspect that emerged was that those participants who had been reluctant to complete the survey seemed more inclined to be interviewed. One explanation for this might be attributed to 'survey fatigue'. Eventually 22% of the original cohort participated in the interviews.

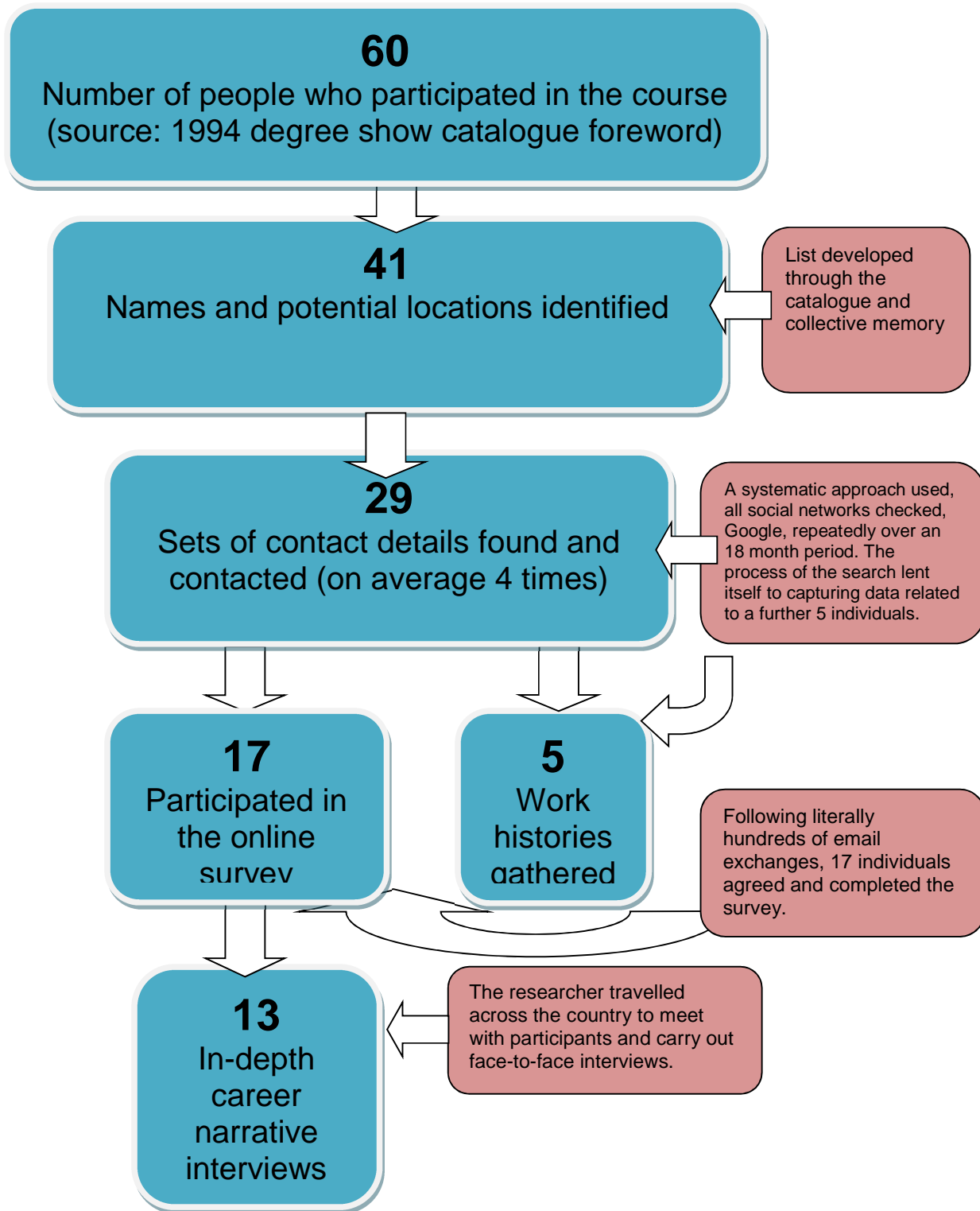


Figure 5.2: The process of sample selection

## 5.2 The Process

### Step-by-step process of interviews and analysis

1. The interviews were on-going over a 12 month period, the majority taking place between August 2010 – May 2011. As described, the participants were relatively hard to reach and once they had agreed to be interviewed the researcher was quick to make arrangements. The location of the interviews was always at the convenience of the interviewee, so as not to put any further barriers in the way of the participants. In order to provide consistency, the researcher tended to wear the same clothes and was careful to not look overly formal. This was linked to feedback that the initial approach had been somewhat overly formal. As Goulding suggests, “whether the researcher presents him/herself as an academic, a learner or a fellow worker, need to be thought through carefully beforehand” (Goulding, 2002:60). There were issues of trust and disclosure: again, Goulding suggests that “trust and confidentiality need to be established right from the start” (Goulding, 2002:60). The majority of interviews took place in the participants’ homes, some were at their workplaces and a couple were in public spaces, e.g. cafés. As described in the methodology chapter, participants were first given a detailed account of the research including why this topic and who is the audience; they were then offered the ethical statement to read and asked to sign a written consent form which highlighted what, if anything, the data might be used for and guaranteed confidentiality. The researcher also took time to give her own background in order to help build rapport.
2. Throughout the interviews, detailed notes were taken and areas of interest highlighted by the researcher to follow up when analysing in more detail. This allowed for the on-going analysis to start immediately. Where themes arose or ideas emerged within the interview these were noted. Approximately 20,000 words were captured in terms of research notes made within the interviews. The rationale for taking such detailed notes was also that it aided the researcher in making sense of the data as it was revealed.

*The interviews are underway and I am trying to carry out on-going analysis. Linked to my personal involvement in the research there is a certain amount of analysis taking place 'on the hoof', for example part of my approach to the interviews is to take detailed notes. When I feel there is an issue or point of particular interest to the various themes of the research I will indicate this in my notes or when something unexpected emerges. (Research log, 12/04/2011)*

3. As discussed, a secondary source of data which accompanied the interviews was a research diary. Here the researcher kept handwritten, typed, emailed and blog postings throughout the period of the research, all with reflections of the research as it was happening. These are drawn upon heavily in this chapter.
  
4. The interviews were recorded and then transcribed. The majority of interviews lasted 2-3 hours: this was considerably longer than the pilot interviews which had been 1-1.5 hours in length. On reflection, this could be attributed to the researcher's enhanced interest or the participants' deeper interest in the study. Each interview resulted in approximately 20,000 words of transcribed text. The total of 13 interviews resulted in approximately 260,000 words to be analysed. All interviews were audio recorded. Issues around whether or not to analyse pauses and silences were considered. This had an impact on the type of transcription to undertake, for example, the 'Intelligent verbatim technique', whereby verbal pauses are removed from the transcription, and the 'verbatim technique' whereby the entire content of the interview is transcribed. Oliver *et al.* (2006) refer to 'naturalism' in transcription, where every sound is captured, versus 'denaturalism', which takes the 'intelligent verbatim' technique. In their paper, 'Constraints and Opportunities with Interview Transcription: Towards Reflection in Qualitative Research' Oliver *et al.* (2006) explain and explore these two different approaches and how they might be best applied depending on the theoretical perspective the researcher is taking. They also emphasise the need for the researcher to take time to reflect on the method which best suits their own research prior to starting the transcription process.

When discussing critical discourse analysis and transcription, Kitzinger and Firth (1999) describe difficulties in capturing everything that happens in an interview, suggesting that the most appropriate form of transcription when taking this sort of approach is one of denaturalisation

(Kitzinger and Firth, 1999). Oliver *et al.* (2005) argue that if the research objectives are concerned with meanings and perceptions and take a more grounded theory approach then this approach would be more useful. As this study is concerned with capturing perceptions of, for example, an individual's enterprising behaviour, then a denaturalised approach was deemed most appropriate. Throughout these interviews, detailed notes were taken, and following the interview the digital recordings were transcribed, along with this the data from the online survey (if available), so that a reasonably detailed picture would emerge from the data. The interviewer's notes and diary were considered the appropriate for capturing and on any observations in terms of participant behaviour and/or body language for example: if they were friendly, open, forthcoming, reticent or anxious.

5. The transcriptions were then brought into Nvivo, a computer-supported qualitative data analysis software program. The first step of analysis in Nvivo was to take the transcript of the very first interview. This had been manually coded previously prior to the decision to use Nvivo. This offered some interesting comparisons when comparing the two 'coded' transcripts (the manual and first attempt open coded Nvivo transcript). It also offered the researcher clear evidence of the benefits of using software to manage the analysis phase. Nvivo enabled a less cumbersome approach to looking through and fine tuning the coding applied, as well as being able to highlight links and collections of coded data, please see appendix 3 for an example of a transcribed and coded interview from Nvivo.

As suggested in the methodology chapter, the methodological approach taken was grounded theory. Briefly, with grounded theory, the theory emerges from the data rather than an existing theory being tested. The use of narrative was a means of capturing the stories and career histories of the participants as they perceived them. The process of collecting the data was, however, influenced, to an extent, by the grounded approach. In grounded theory the approach suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1998) is one whereby there is an on-going process of data collection and analysis. This was interpreted as meaning that the nature of the interview process might evolve as issues such as 'thematical saturation' arose. They suggest that the process of analysis is not one

whereby one simply codes a source of data then moves onto the next: “rather we want to know what this case teaches us about the other cases” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 88).

The initial phase of coding was open, although some key themes which related to the literature review were sought: creative industries, entrepreneurship and gender – these acted to an extent as top level hierarchical themes, with many sub-themes emerging. Throughout this process, memos were written associated with the codes and themes created. As Scott (2009) suggests, “The development of your theory is captured in your memos; few memos = thin theory. Method memos chronicle tussles with the method and help write the chapter on method. But most importantly theoretical memos are written about codes and their (potential) relationships with other codes” (Scott, 2009:3)

5. Following this initial process of open coding, the process moved on to axial coding. Axial coding is the stage in grounded theory where links are made between various open codes which have been identified. Throughout this stage, detailed memos were kept relating to the codes identified. Strauss and Corbin (2003) refer to memos or code notes as representing “ideas for further data collection and different ways of thinking about the concepts that emerge from the data” (Strauss and Corbin, 2003:233). This process was considered in the on-going analysis and coding of the data gathered in this study. This process could be referred to as theoretical sampling. However, in terms of ‘where to look next for the data’, this was interpreted as not where to look in terms of the sample group, but rather in terms of what questions to ask in order to gather the data required, as Strauss and Corbin indicate: “It might suggest questions to ask in subsequent interviews or remind the analyst of categories to focus on in the next analytic session” (Strauss and Corbin, 2003:233). They suggest that the process of axial coding is greatly aided by memos and the use of diagrams. This led to the continued and further creation of memos relaying thoughts and ideas related to the data, and creation of diagrams where links in the data were evident.

*My approach to this is taking a grounded theory approach and where I am seeing new themes emerging these are feeding into the future interviews. For example a recurring and reasonably strong theme is around identity. This is not something discussed in any real detail*

*in the literature review but will be looked at potentially in some detail within the findings.  
(Research diary, January, 2011)*

In terms of how this process impacted on future interviews, the researcher was keen to have a consistent set of questions (please see appendix 1) which framed the semi-structured interviews. However, as new themes emerged, additional questions were asked. For example, as described, issues related to artists' identity were highlighted and this in turn became an area to look at in the interviews, but also to focus on within the analysis of future transcripts. A second example was where issues of gender and gendered roles were highlighted in subsequent interviews: this specifically highlighted the role of the 'man as provider/breadwinner' and the apparent link this had to a sense of compromise in terms of pursuing a career as an artist. Taking the grounded theory approach, this was again highlighted and sought out in further interviews with male participants and focused on in future analysis sessions. Borgatti suggests that memos fulfil a number of functions. One important aspect is that they potentially provide the framework for the emerging theory: "Memos are short documents that one writes to oneself as one proceeds through the analysis of a corpus of data ... A theoretical note is anything from a post-it that notes how something in the text or codes relates to the literature, to a 5-page paper developing the theoretical implications of something. The final theory and report is typically the integration of several theoretical memos. Writing theoretical memos allows you to think theoretically without the pressure of working on 'the' paper" (Borgatti, 1996:7).

In terms of this study, this stage enabled the researcher to analyse all of the interviews, being careful to go through them one at a time, in the first instance in the order that the interviews were carried out, in order to fulfil the grounded approach and the on-going analysis (i.e. the analysis had begun before all of the interviews were complete).

6. The final stage of coding which has been applied here is referred to as 'selective coding': this refers to selecting one or more of the categories to focus upon. Strauss and Corbin, (2003) refer to this as "the integration of concepts around a core category" (Strauss and Corbin, 2003:236) and again refer to the need to write memos and create diagrams: they also advocate the use of

'storytelling memos' used to help make sense of the research, data and understanding of what is being found out. Within this research, in this phase of the analysis, "selective coding is the process of choosing one category to be the core category, and relating all other categories to that category. The essential idea is to develop a single storyline around which all everything else is draped. There is a belief that such a core concept always exists" (Borgatti, 1996:5) see appendix for a full list of open and selective codes.

7. A final aspect of the analysis was to look at the types of stories that had emerged. To see the stories as whole, as described in the methodology chapter, and to try to identify them as types of story, which might help to understand the narrative position that the participants were taking: for example 'tragedy', where the protagonist ultimately fails, 'epic' stories which carry a plot line which has many twists and turns but broadly end up positive (Brown and Humphreys, 2003). 'Salutary tales' are part of the tragedy genre (Brown, 1986). Comedic, satiric and romantic are traditional 'poetic-plot' types (Boje, 2006).

*I am capturing these stories and always wanted them to be considered from the perspective of a set of stories as well as looking at them as a source of data. There is something about how people tell their story. Some are better story tellers, they could make the most ordinary of circumstances interesting, vivid; some have little confidence in their story or have suggested while I'm interviewing them that "it's not that interesting". Some tell their stories in really long-winded ways with so much detail about the minutiae of their working lives, while others are fast, to the point with little in the way of highlights. I think it will be really important to have a look at the stories from the perspective of how they've been told and in turn what this tells us about how the participant perceives their career. (Research log, 18/02/2011)*

### **5.3: Insider perspective and auto-ethnographic issues**

It is important not to forget the role of the researcher within this study. With high levels of prior knowledge of the participants and a shared history, the interviews were without doubt emotional experiences. In the majority of instances, the participants were identified by the researcher as individuals who had been part of her wider milieu rather than close friends, apart from two who she had remained in contact with since graduating. However, the interviews held a great deal of emotion,



and the interviewer attributed emotion to these, describing them as 'wonderful' 'sad' and so on. In terms of the process of analysis, this level of closeness to the data made it even more important to try to provide a little distance between the interviewer and interviewees. There was a balance to be achieved in terms of not being overly objective or distant and recognising that there are benefits to the insider' perspective. An already recognised issue with grounded theory is that by its immersive nature there is already a danger that the researcher becomes so immersed in the data that they lose objectivity.

As described, the researcher had developed a method for analysing the data. To an extent, the approach was heavily based on that advocated by Strauss and Corbin (1998) in terms of grounded theory. For example, they stipulate that "personal experience can increase sensitivity if used correctly". Recognising the issues associated with this, they go on to suggest that "the essential process to keep in mind is keeping a workable balance between objectivity and sensitivity" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:48). The following quotation highlights these intense emotional feelings:

*I am travelling back from the South, what a couple of days, so shattered but also feeling full up of folks' stories and so much to think about. There was a really funny moment when I left one of the interviewees, she held my shoulders and gave me some words of encouragement (I forget exactly what) but I felt really overwhelmed. Partly I suppose it was great to see her, partly she was I think rather inspirational in the way that she spoke and partly because I guess I may not see her for another seventeen years (now nineteen) or ever I guess ... (Research diary, 03/03/2011)*

As discussed in the methodology chapter, the work on multiple selves and work related to insider/outsider methodology, characterised by the researcher researching their own organisation (Coghlan, 2003), came to life throughout the process of carrying out the interviews. The researcher had to wear a number of hats. At the same time she was the researcher, an academic, in some instances she was an old friend visiting after a long time, a house guest, most importantly someone who had shared the experience which all of the participants had in common. The potential benefits in terms of 'pre-understanding' (Neilson and Repstad, 1993) were felt throughout the interview process: having experienced similar feelings about her own career options and choices, the researcher was able to empathise with the participants, and this also led to some interesting conversations around some of

the themes of the research and enabled the questioning of the narratives to be examined on what was perceived to be a deeper level. Potentially there were downsides to this where this empathy went too far. For example:

*A recent development having carried out now the eleventh interview. This one made me feel really odd. The personal nature of the interviews, the slight feeling of being outgunned by the interviewee, all left me feeling really unsettled. I suddenly felt very aware of the feelings of not wanting to delve into people's pasts anymore. What so recently seemed to be a fascinating study of the development of careers suddenly seemed nose, voyeuristic and in some instances scary? As someone who has reasonably high levels of empathy the process of re-living with the participants their story from when our paths last crossed has been a real mix of pleasure and pain and I am mindful that I need to strike the balance between my own objectivity and drawing on my own understanding of their situations in order to make sense of their stories and interpret the data. (Research diary, 15/04/2011)*

From the earlier section related to the process of analysis it was considered important to put a little distance between the researcher and the data. This is where Nvivo was particularly useful, as it offered the researcher the chance to look at the data from a slightly more clinical or objective perspective.

#### **5.4 Summary and conclusions of chapter**

This chapter has offered insight and reflections on the process that the researcher underwent. It describes in detail the issues related to the sample group and reaching them. It looks at the tensions and benefits of having the researcher so closely aligned with the participants and also describes, in detail, the process of on-going analysis and interviews which the researcher undertook. It was seen as important to discuss these issues prior to the more detailed findings of the research, in order to provide some insight into issues affecting the process of how the findings were arrived at. The following chapters (Chapters six, seven and eight) provide these detailed rich descriptions and discussion of the findings.

The approach to writing up the findings from the analysis is as follows: several core themes emerged through the analysis these are presented over the following three chapters and discussed thematically.

Broadly these have been grouped into:

- Internal and external factors informing artistic identity in the fine art graduate
- The nature of enterprise and entrepreneurship within fine art practice: the tensions and motivations within the working life of a fine art graduate
- Gender and parenting and its impact on fine art careers: the male and female perspective

#### 5.4.1 How were thematic headings derived?

The data was analysed using a grounded theory approach as discussed, following an accepted three-stage approach to of first open coding, second axial or closed coding, then selective or theoretical coding. Strauss and Corbin suggest that in order to help make sense of an often “complex body of data” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:251), and to help aid the structure and clarify what to include in the writing up the researcher should first develop a ‘clear analytic story’ (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:249). Here the researcher has made use of this strategy, and a brief overall analytic story is provided, highlighting a selection of core nodes or themes established through the analysis in NVivo:

<b>Brief analytic story</b>
<p>A group of Fine Art graduates who all graduated from the same course had their careers explored. It is now 18 years since they completed their studies. Many have moved around the country, most are settled with families and jobs. The majority attempt to lead a life where they are able to use their creativity and this is a characteristic of their careers: they frequently describe a strong need to be creating. In most instances, repeated attempts with varying degrees of perceived success have led to work as practicing artists. There is in all but two cases the desire to be creative and in the majority of cases a desire to make art.</p>
<p>Linked to the sense of wishing to create work is a strong sense of identity as an artist or affiliation with the arts world. This sense of identity seems to move and change as other factors influence the course of the participants’ lives and careers. Interestingly, it is also informed by those with whom they come into contact, from family to the wider arts milieu. On-going attempts are made, with varying degrees of perceived success. Ambitions related to creative sector careers remain strong, with renewed efforts to make and exhibit work taking place throughout the time period.</p>
<p>There is a strong tension felt by the participants in terms of the potential commercialisation of their work. Paradoxically, linked to this themes</p>

emerge related to a number of participants' perceived ability to commercialise their work. Within this context, 'making a living as an artist' is perceived to require business skills: generally speaking, a perceived lack of these, a discomfort with 'networking' and ultimately a lack of confidence present blocks to realising these ambitions. The situation is made more complex again by the influence of external factors, for example partners and family life and the need to make a living. Here we see varying degrees of enterprising and entrepreneurial behaviours and acceptance and rejection of those traits.

The complexities of gender and gendered roles are also apparent and the final part of this story relates to how the participants experience their careers from the perspective of their gender. Specifically, a strong factor which emerges relates to parenting. This is not a straightforward case of careers being sabotaged by parenting: in several cases, children have inspired and made the need to create even more acute. A secondary aspect is the role of the provider and the difficulties that a career as a fine artist presents in that instance. Work on identity is a recurring theme throughout the analysis.

As the story above evidences, albeit in its simplest form, many themes emerged, many of which are linked. In writing up these findings, the story has been broken down into three distinct sections, provided in the following three chapters.

## **Chapter 6: Findings and Discussion; Internal and external factors informing artistic identity in the fine art graduate**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides a detailed exploration into the complex situations in which the participants of the study found themselves and offers deeper insight into the first section of the story. It establishes a conceptualisation of their relationship with their creative practice and the internal and external factors which have helped to shape and steer their artistic identity.

A group of fine art graduates who all graduated from the same course had their careers explored. It is now 19 years since they completed their studies. Many have moved around the country; most are settled with families and jobs. The majority attempt to lead a life where they are able to use their creativity and this is a characteristic of their careers: they frequently describe a strong need to be creating. In most instances, repeated attempts, with varying degrees of perceived success, have led to work as practicing artists. There is a desire to be creative in all but two cases, and in the majority of cases a desire to make art.

Linked to the sense of wishing to create work is a strong sense of identity as an artist or affiliation with the arts world. This sense of identity seems to move and change as other factors influence the course of the participants' lives and careers. Interestingly, it is also informed by those with whom they come into contact, from family to the wider arts milieu. On-going attempts are made, with varying degrees of perceived success. Ambitions related to creative sector careers remain strong, with renewed efforts to make and exhibit work taking place throughout the time period.

#### **Figure 6.1: Section One of brief analytic story**

This chapter is structured in the following way: first, the apparent 'physical' need to be creating is considered, next aspects of identity are explored, specifically the participants' identity in terms of being an artist, this is viewed from a number of perspectives including the participants' artist identity in relation to other people; the often multiple, identities they may hold; their partners and roles as parents; their confidence or lack thereof; and their perceived role within the wider artists' communities. Within this chapter the researcher makes connections between the findings and the

existing literature within the field. Having taken a grounded theory approach to analysis, the inductive nature and discussion presented here are done so within the context of new (to the study) areas of literature, these are drawn upon in order to contextualise and conceptualise the emerging theory. This model is developed and visualised within this and the following two chapters.

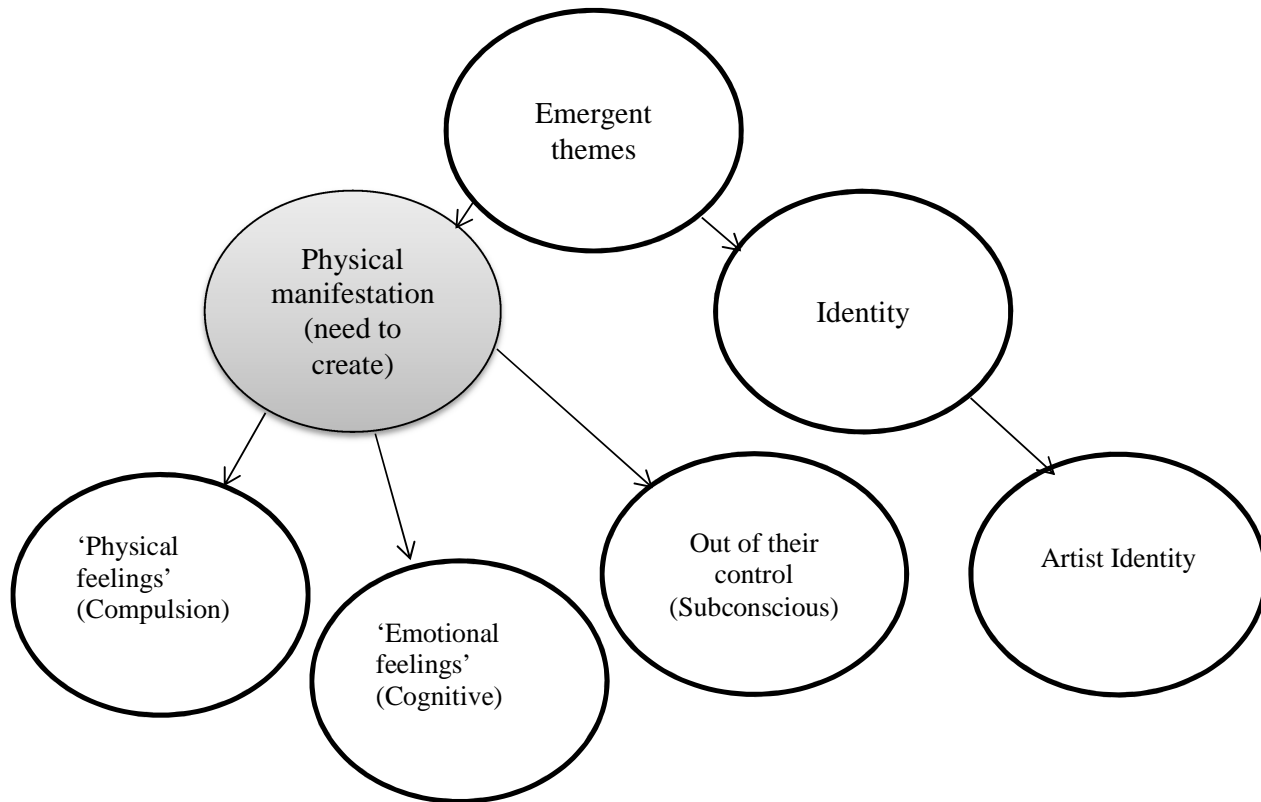
## **6.2 The physical ‘need’ to be creating**

The majority of participants had experienced a complex combination of emotions related to their current situation, their youthful expectations and the realities of making a living from their fine art practice. This initial section offers insight into the characters of these individuals.

What is actually driving these individuals to want to be artists? Within that question lies the assumption that they do want to be artists. This and other questions relating to what constitutes an artist are important to this discussion and have been dealt with in the following way. The participants were asked: “what is creativity? What does it mean for them and how has it evolved throughout the twenty year period since they started their Fine Art degrees?” It became clear from these interviews that there was, in all but two instances, a strong need to be making or creating art work, this was accepted as to mean anything which covers fine art practice as defined by Oakley *et al.*, to include “those who have studied painting, sculpture, fine art photography, fine art, film and video or combined arts” (Oakley *et al.*, 2008:4). Interestingly, it should be noted that those participants who did not describe these feelings felt that they were otherwise able to be creative within their work.

Within the chapter this has been referred to as a ‘physical need’ to be creating. What emerged from the interviews were a number of apparently physical and emotional responses to not being able to create or in relation to the desire to create. These have been analysed in order to seek common descriptions. Broadly speaking, they can be broken down into three key areas: ‘physical feelings’, described as a ‘compulsion’ to create; ‘emotional feelings’, described as cognitive; and feelings of being ‘out of control’ or subconscious feelings. These are based upon an analysis of the description offered by the participants. As described, the analysis took a three-stage grounded theory approach. Figure 6.2 illustrates a portion of the initial open coding phase linked to this theme (please see

appendix 4 for full list of open codes). Alongside the coding, memos were made, as advocated by Strauss and Corbin (1998), to help to formulate ideas about how these themes might be related to each other. These memos are drawn upon extensively within this analysis.



**Figure (6.2) Open coding: Nodes associated with internal and external factors informing artistic identity in the fine art graduate**

### 6.2.1. Discussion of the ‘physical need to create’

Table 6.1 offers a selection of quotes from the participants, these have been categorised within the analysis within a ‘tree node’. Nvivo offers the user the ability to organise the themes or nodes into a hierarchy. This proved to be useful in this study, as new and emerging themes arose and themes converged, particularly at the stage of axial coding. The headings applied to the nodes or themes described (above) were those which were arrived at during the analysis phase. Under one common

theme, that of ‘the physical need to be creating’ came three different categories related to ‘physical feelings’, ‘emotional feelings’ and feelings of being ‘out of control’.

<b>Table: 6.1 Feeling associated with the need to create</b>		
<b>Physical feelings (Nvivo node name) (Compulsion)</b>	<b>Emotional feelings (Nvivo node name) (Reward)</b>	<b>Out of their control (Nvivo node name) (Cognitive, subconscious)</b>
<p><i>it's like an itch that I have to keep having to scratch.</i></p> <p><i>dying to like start making something or destroying something, you know, to make something else, something, I've got totally impelled to do something like that all the time. It's quite exhausting really.</i></p> <p><i>It's like a gnawing thing and that's what I mean about the disease, it's always there..</i></p> <p><i>minute my last child, went to school, that was it and it's like you're just now, you have this huge driving force which is, I've got to make up lost ground.</i></p>	<p><i>I know, for me, making stuff makes me feel a lot happier, makes me feel a lot more settled and balanced and better within myself and I suppose, in a way, that fuels, you know, my belief in the work that I do, that there is something.</i></p> <p><i>you feel like it's fulfilment</i></p> <p><i>I loved most aspects of the journalism, but actually I felt the whole kind of betraying myself, by doing something different.</i></p> <p><i>it's a complete kind of mental illness [considering oneself an artist], in a sense, it's going round thinking of one thing and actually, you're not, you're something else.</i></p> <p><i>Yeah, there is a creative aspect to it, so at least I've got that and you know, it's quite important, 'cause I did the office job and it just bored me to hell, nice company but I have to be doing something creative, otherwise I'll go spare.</i></p>	<p><i>And I still kind of think that, you know, that you don't have any choice, you know and I feel driven to constantly make things and create things and I can't really get away from it if I wanted to.</i></p> <p><i>I feel compelled to be involved in creative industry in one way or another; I can't imagine doing anything else ever...</i></p>



Although this set of nodes have been divided into these three distinct fields, further research within the literature suggests that they could be interchangeable (Williamson, 2011; Brinck, 2011) and attributed to other factors, for example health and well-being (Hagman, 2009). The following discussion develops the understanding of this apparent ‘need to be creating’ within the context of the literature.

One of the striking aspects of these quotes (and the many more that accompanied them) was that these individuals happen to have participated in the same undergraduate degree course at university: they were not selected for interview based on their current career. The majority have careers related to their study, albeit not as artists, one is a practising artist and three identify themselves as not working in a related field. Yet the sense of needing to create and make art has remained strong with the majority of participants.

This is an important element relating to the conceptualisation of the careers of these individuals and forms an initial pressure or ingredient that frames their career. It is perhaps important to explore how important it is for this physical need to be met. It could be argued as Pratt (2004) has previously, that by their very nature, all human beings are creative, and one needs to question whether what these individuals experience is any different from any other person from any other discipline. In this context, it has been noted that the creative industries may potentially be no more creative than others (Pratt, 2004:119). However Howkins suggests “We are all creative in our way .... a few people go further and make their creative imaginings the core of their working life.” (Howkins, 2002:4). Further to this, early research suggested when looking at the difference between arts and science, that there were marked differences in, for example, problem solving techniques. However recent research, seeking to establish whether this was still the case found that there was very little difference between the ways in which arts and science graduates think in terms of “convergent thinking, divergent thinking, preferred learning style and creative problem solving skills” (Williamson, 2011:31). The study found that this change was due to the new ways in which all courses were now taught, to emphasise the benefits of both creative and scientific approaches to problem solving. Elsewhere, Brinck (2007) suggested that art and its creation are set within a given context, such that what is

created and how it is appreciated by both the artist and audience is, to an extent, governed by a particular context, be that social or political. She went onto argue that the artist is no more creative than others and advocates “a new, evolutionary perspective on creativity: it is something that all humans are born with, in the same way that we are born with the ability to remember and to dream” (Brinck, 2011:website).

If we assume, then, that this need for creative output, to make something, is as strong with this group of people as with the rest of the general population, perhaps other forces are influencing their apparent ‘need to create’, or at least emphasising it. A number of academic fields explore creativity and the ‘need to create’, most notably research related to psychoanalysis. The ‘physical feelings’, it could be argued, are descriptions of feelings of compulsion, i.e. the participant felt compelled to make something. Here participants describe feelings related to having a “disease”, “a gnawing feeling”, a “huge driving force” - similar descriptions are offered in research related to both writers and musicians. Anderson (2004) offers two distinct reasons why people make art by dividing art makers into two groups: essentialists, those who make art for pleasure, for themselves; and contextualists, those who wish to communicate something to others. He argues that these two sets of motivations, while not mutually exclusive, are behind most art makers. Mithen (2006) linked a similar human compulsion to make music to our need to communicate, and linked this to the evolution of language. Elsewhere as the work of Dissanayake (1992), who also looks at art and creativity from the perspective of evolution and makes the link between the ‘pleasure of creating’ and, amongst other things, ‘play’ (Dissanayake, 1992). This could be linked to the ‘emotional feelings’ described and could be argued to be better categorised as ‘reward’: in this instance the reward is the experience of pleasure. An alternative reward could be linked to recognition, either from peers or family – this is explored in more depth in Section 6.3.5.

Writing from a psychoanalytic perspective, Kavalier-Adler’s (1993) book, ‘The Compulsion to Create: Psychoanalytic Study of Women Artists’, suggests with regard to female writers that the ‘compulsion to create’ is linked to their mourning their potential relationship with their mothers and fathers. This is

based on 'object relation theory' where, in this instance, the parent is the object (or missing object). In her critique of this work, Markotic (1996) summarises Kavalier-Adler's theory: "She [the female artist] creates and keeps creating because this is her only way of both expressing herself and maintaining contact with the world. In addition, the intensity of creativity can be narcissistically flattering" (Markotic, 1996:158), and it could be argued that this only serves to perpetuate the compulsive quality of art making. It would seem that this follows a Freudian hypothesis which linked creativity to his classical 'Oedipal heterosexual model', and "Freud's fundamental assumption is that the sublimation of the artist's unsatisfied libido is responsible for producing all forms of art and literature whether it be painting, sculpting, or writing" (Cross, 2003:1).

On a number of occasions, participants spoke about the practice of making art from the perspective of their health. Participant 1 spoke of it "making me better" and it "being good for me" and Interviewee 9 talked about "creativity being an illness" – see full Table 6.1. The sense of the creative process being linked to the physical self and to physical health is found in the literature, as Hagman (2010) identifies: "The desire to create is driven by this longing for reunion and healing, and the enjoyment of art appreciation is the joy of experiencing this restoration as embodied in the artwork" (Hagman, 2010:19), elsewhere Segal suggests that "artistic impulse is specially related to the depressive position. The artist needs to recreate what he feels in the depth of his internal world. It is his inner perception of the deepest feeling of the depressive position that his internal world is shattered which leads to the necessity for the artist to recreate something" (Segal, 1991:177). Interestingly, both of these positions contradict Kavalier-Adler, who refutes creativity's healing power, by suggesting that it rarely heals, rather perpetuating a cycle of mourning (Kavalier-Adler, 1993).

This initial focus on the 'need to create' is clearly complex, with many attempts made by academics from different disciplines to try to understand it. In order to help develop our understanding of the sample group, the researcher provides further insights that are arguably related to this 'need to create' to build our understanding of what may lead to a creative and artistically fulfilling career.

### 6.2.2. Sense of self as an artist

Further exploration and analysis of the data reveals that other strong characteristics are also shared by the group. One is their sense of themselves as artists. It became clear that this sense of oneself as an artist is shaped by many factors.

*In terms of when we were educated in that way, 'cause I mean, there are a hell of a lot of kind of self-taught artists around and in terms of kind of critical dialogue, it's extremely weak. It's almost like there's a massive divide between the people that went through the kind of funny situation, environment, that we were at and part of and engaged with and the kind of dialogue that we were kind of working with has carried on in other forms, through other media. For me, I know, since then if you haven't been through that, there's a massive difference, in terms of the way people work and operate and think. (Participant 2)*

Here a differentiation is made between practising artists who have been through the art school process and those who have not. This reveals a potential difference in terms of attitudes and expectations towards life as an artist: perhaps those who have been educated as artists are then somehow professionalised over those who have not. This is also indicative of an emerging sense of self. It could be argued that one's 'need to create' may have its foundations within the arts education system, as Participant 1 suggests:

*I wasn't really allowed to [do anything different, from being an artist], because I'd been to art college and engaged ... there is that kind of huge engagement, in lots of different ways. (Participant 1)*

Multiple factors influence the participants' sense of themselves as artists, for example the perceptions that other people have of them and, more obviously, having had a specific fine art training/education, potentially contribute to their sense of themselves as creators and artists. It is of interest that these factors continue to remind them that their 'role' is that of an artist, even years after having studied and in some cases a long time after they have called themselves 'artists' or produced any work. In other words, this is a situation where the individual's sense of themselves is frequently reinforced by both internal and external forces. It could be argued that this contributes to their sense of themselves as creators and their need to create; it also leads to the subject of identity and specifically their sense of their artistic identity.

*Everyone called me ‘art teacher’ in the news room, because I’d come in ... I even dressed artily and of course ... Canary Wharf, people don’t dress like that, they’re all in black pinstripe suits and I was arty, I suppose, so they called me ‘art teacher’ and so, it really felt that somehow I didn’t belong, but maybe my brain belonged there, but the rest of me didn’t.*  
(Participant 2)

### 6.2.3 Developing a model of understanding – stage 1

It is evident that firstly, there are multiple potential explanations for this sense of compulsion to create, and secondly, within this group the feeling is strong. Figure 6.2 represents the first stage of the model being developed through the analysis of the data. The research findings suggest that not only do these individuals have a strong ‘need to create’ art but that this compulsion also helps to shape their sense of themselves as creative individuals. So the model being developed in this first stage suggests that this sense of needing to create, a compulsion, a physical drive that is beyond their control, informs their sense of themselves as creative individuals.

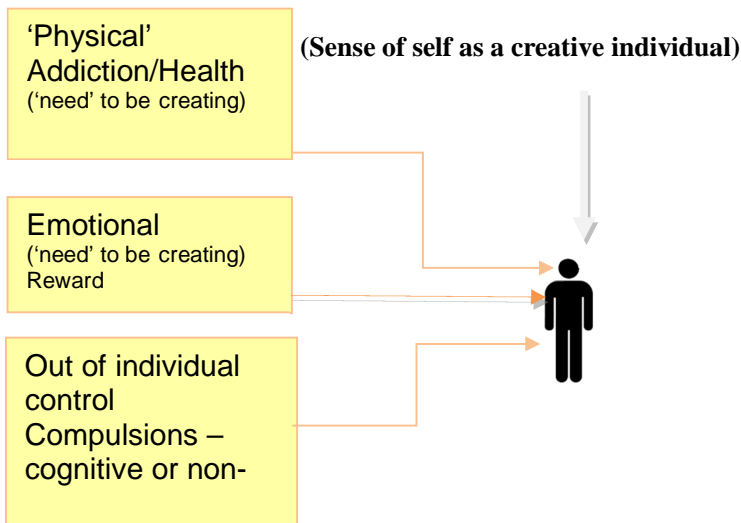


Figure 6.3 Integrative model: stage 1

In order to explore this further, the researcher went back to the data to seek clues about the drivers for these individuals and their ‘need to create’. Although this research was based on the stories of their careers, frequently the participants revealed a longer history, describing a childhood and early life as

the ‘artist in the family’ or that they felt they had always had some sort of artistic ‘skill’, ‘talent’, ‘ability’ or ‘gift’. Perhaps in this sense their ‘need’ to be creating was quite real and stronger than that felt amongst the wider public. This was an idea that was frequently reinforced by parents or teachers. This is explored in more detail next.

### **6.3 Artistic Identity**

Having used the on-going grounded theory approach to analyse, i.e. the earlier interviews were analysed, new and emerging themes were explored in subsequent interviews, ‘identity’ was a theme which came into the category of ‘emerging themes’. A number of individuals discussed notions of identity, in terms of their identity as artists but also in terms of their other multiple identities as, for example, mother, parent or provider, amongst others. This section explores ideas of identity and an additional layer is added to the conceptualisation of the factors influencing the careers of these individuals. The following section looks specifically at the factors that potentially contribute to the individuals’ sense of their identity as artists.

Here four different participants talk about their sense of being an artist, their identity as an artist and tensions surrounding it:

*I realised I’m completely mental, because I hadn’t done any work for, what, 10, 15 years and I still pictured myself as an artist. (Participant 2)*

*It is strange but I was thinking of it this morning 'cause I thought about what I was going to say and I guessed you'd say, well, what is your job and I thought, well, straight away I said technician in my mind, then I thought, oh actually, I am but honestly, I don't see that as my full thing, I am, don't know what you call it, but like a sort of the furniture maker as well, you know, even though I don't get loads of, well, hardly any money from it. Mentally, it's still part of my job, I'm still trying to push it. (Participant 1)*

*I feel like it's gone through waves, you know, I've been doing my degree when I thought, oh this is really my identity as somebody who makes art or whatever. (Participant 4)*

*I still feel that I'm still practising, but not making work. (Participant 7)*

This presents an interesting question: is the identity as an artist one which was developed through these participants’ undergraduate programme? Is their identification with the subject any stronger than

graduates from other disciplines? Is there something inherent within this group of individuals, or is this an issue with higher education, in this instance, not managing the expectations of the students? The following discussion on identity goes some way to answering these questions.

*When are you an artist ... it's like, I mean, when the kids ask me do you still do your own art, I always say, yes, I do, 'cause I do, but I wouldn't say maybe I was an artist either, I'd probably say I'm more of an art teacher or a print maker, I wouldn't say I was actually an artist, I'd just say, it's weird, isn't it? It's 'cause it's actually quite a loaded thing, an artist, isn't it...? (Participant 5)*

*I'm not an artist, I don't think, but I mean, yeah, I do make art. (Participant 12)*

*I've only been working as an artist again for the last three years. (Participant 3)*

As these last quotes suggest, it is not clear cut and there is also a certain amount of embarrassment associated with even describing oneself as an artist – although this may be linked to some of the issues of confidence and self-consciousness described later in this chapter. The data analysis highlighted a number of factors that the participants associated with this sense of themselves as artists and which, it could be argued, contributed to their ‘artists identity’. These are described below and illustrated in Figure 6.3.

Looking at the literature, some interesting work by Preece (2011) around artists’ identity and their sense of self, points to work on the ‘boundary less’ career (Lips-Wiersma and McMorland, 2006; Dobrow and Higgins, 2005), whereby artists often lead lives where the boundaries between their personal and working lives are somewhat blurred, they also argue that within that framework there is a need for a strong sense of personal identity. Part of Preece’s work considers identity from a branding and marketing perspective. Ibarra (1999) talks about the provisional self and the ways in which people develop their own sense of identity based on the groups and networks they are part of. What became clear here, was that these individuals still (nineteen years later, at the time of writing) had a sense of themselves as artists or creative practitioners to a greater or lesser extent. Frequently it was a fleeting feeling, something that came and went; sometimes it was something they had lost and then reclaimed when their circumstances had changed. Although it was not explicitly detectable through the analysis, arguably, it was the age of the participants while studying that is a factor in the

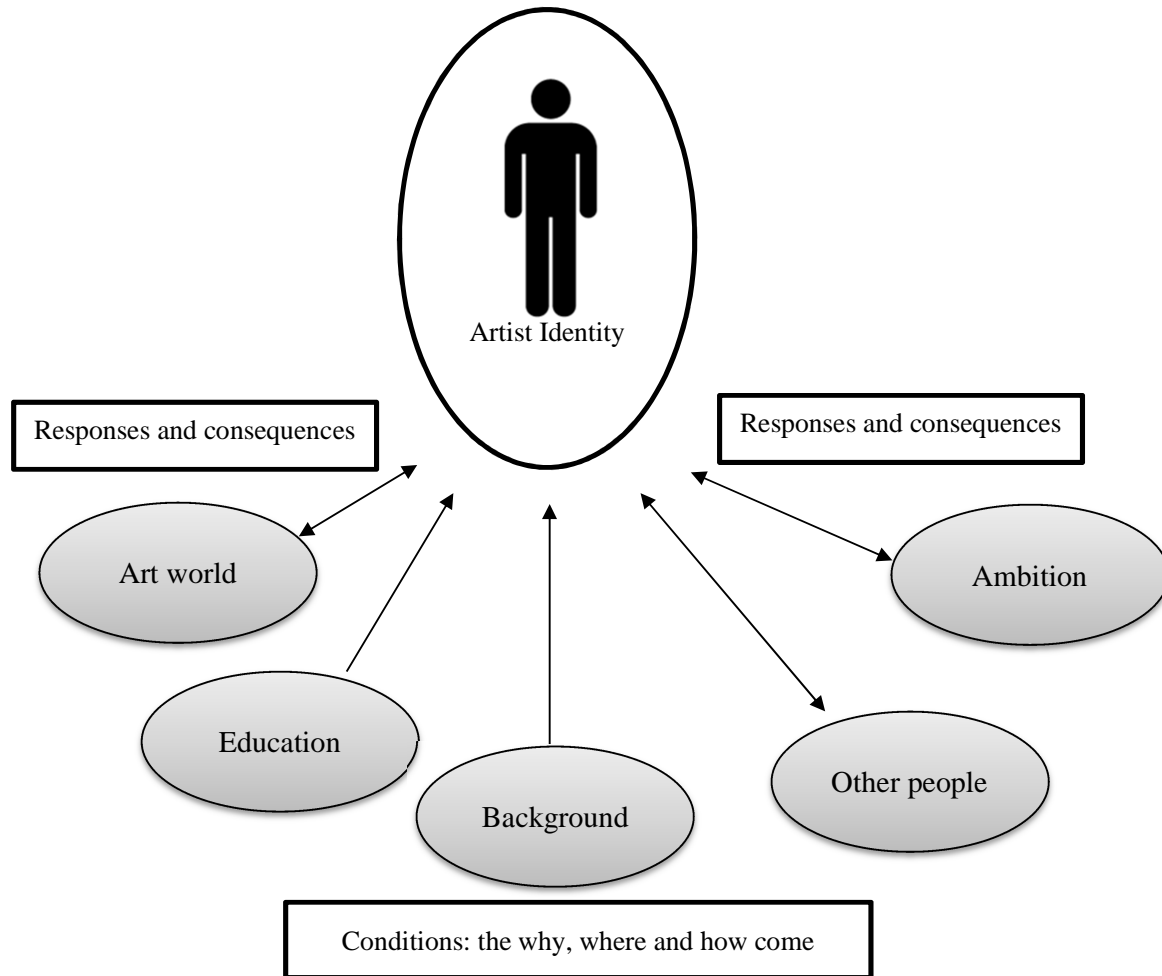
formation of their artistic identity. Late adolescence has been identified as the point at which the 'identity formation process' is undergone (Kroger, 2003:207). Kroger identifies and discusses a number of different theories relating to identity formation, including, "historical, structural stage, social cultural, narrative modelling as well as psychosocial" (Kroger, 2003:206), but highlights the work of Erikson (1963) who devised the term 'ego-identify'. The formation of this process follows a specific route which starts within childhood: "during childhood 'being like' admired others and assuming their roles and values reflects the mechanism of *identification* as the primary means by which the self is structured. It is only when the adolescent is able to select some and discard others of these childhood identifications in accordance with his or her interests, talents and values that *identity formation* occurs" (Kroger, 2003:20).

Elsewhere, when discussing identity and agency, Holland *et al.* (1998) highlight several different approaches to considering how and when identity is formed. They provide insight into two conflicting schools of thought: one position is that of the 'essential self' described as a "durable organisation of mind and body" - they also refer to a 'culturalists version', which is "pre-constituted, culturally" given, self which similarly is "set in place by the end of childhood" (Holland *et al.*, 1998:13). The conflicting position is that of the 'socially constructed self' which, it is argued, is shaped by whichever powerful discourse the self may happen to encounter (Holland, *et al.*, 1998:27).

This next section undertakes a deeper exploration of the factors which lead to or informed the sense of artistic identity. Anderson points to narrative: the ways in which people narrate their selves "by assembling the bits and pieces of our narratives into viable 'storified' versions influenced by memory, context and intention" (Anderson, 1997:214). This narrated view of self has been heavily drawn upon within the field of psychoanalysis, but has a resonance with the research and approach taken here. The diagram below shows how these terms were linked to within the analysis: it illustrates the 'hierarchy' of the identity theme. Strauss and Corbin (1998) highlight three aspects that can be drawn out at this stage of analysis. They suggest that findings should be presented as a "set of interrelated concepts not just a listing of themes" (Strauss and Corbin, 1997:130) and that one method that can be deployed to aid the researcher is to seek "conditions; the why, where and how come. Actions and interactions –



strategic or routine responses and Consequences – Outcomes of actions and interactions” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:130).



**Figure: 6.4 Axial coding: Contextual conditions, external factors that influence artistic identity**

### **6.3.1. Factors influencing or informing artist identity**

Figure 6.3 aims to identify the factors which have influenced or shaped the participants’ sense of themselves either as artists or creative practitioners. These are described as ‘external’. It is interesting that this appears to conform to the position which Ibarra (1999) refers to in terms of the external factors (people, networks), and through the analysis of the data we are able to build up a picture of how the various areas have contributed to this.

### 6.3.2. Artist identity: Background and perceptions of talent

Earlier, this chapter discussed a specific characteristic that the individuals involved in this study share: their apparent 'need' to be creating. Perhaps an obvious link is that all of these individuals went to art school: at some point they considered themselves to be sufficiently talented to gain a place within a school of art and design and to study fine art.

Participants were requested to provide career stories from the point at which they graduated, however, a number proffered stories or instances from their childhood and made reference to their younger selves. Emerging from the data was a sense that the participants perceived themselves as artists, or the 'arty one' or 'talented at art' prior to their time at university and a long time before they graduated. This arguably concurs with the view that their artistic identities forming prior to this time suggests some element of both the narrated self (Anderson, 1997) and in some instances the culturalist essential self (Holland *et al.*, 1998): this second view, it could be argued, would be dependent on cultural norms that the participant has internalised and how their parents related to them and their talent.

*Right from the beginning of school, she said [his mother] ... unlike a lot of parents, she wanted me to go to art college and she's really proud of me that I've kept something going and I'm not like some, you know, either accountant or drug addict. (Participant 1)*

*I'd always considered myself to have ... a natural talent, but when I went to uni I realised there was something different that made everybody different. (Participant 6)*

Robinson and Aronica (2009) argue that all children are creative and inventive and that the western education model educates children out of creativity. In some instances, the role of parents appears to have helped and encouraged participants. In other cases it seems that when coming to art school there was a realisation that no longer were they the 'talented one', rather they were amongst a large group of equally and often more talented individuals. This theme of 'other people' and one's situation in relation to other people is explored in more detail in Section 6.3.5.

### 6.3.3 Artist identity: Ambition

Another aspect of identity is the on-going ambition to be an artist. This was examined from two perspectives. Explicitly, the participants were asked, retrospectively, what their expectations of their careers had been when they first graduated. It could be argued that this is a flawed question, as ultimately they are remembering their younger selves and it is impossible to quantify how much, if any, of their actual subsequent experience would influence the answer to this question. The well-known limitations with retrospective accounts, discussed in the methodology chapter, are often attributed to the limitations of human memory leading to ‘constructions and projections’ as opposed to ‘objectively accurate reports’ (Domy *et al.*, 2006:3). Wolfram *et al.* (2007) suggest that “these occur due to faulty memories, oversimplifications and rationalizations, subconscious attempts to maintain self-esteem due to needs for acceptance, achievement and security, and social desirability” (Wolfram *et al.*, 2007:477). It could be argued that these are not in fact the participants’ direct ambitions or accurate portrayals of their original ambitions. However if we take them at face value the responses highlight a common theme. Table 6.2 provides these initial expectations in the words of the participants.

<b>Table 6.2 Expectations of career as recent graduates</b>
<i>Totally, yeah. Yeah, they're probably still the same now, it's always, I wanted to be an artist and I wanted to be ... a respected artist, I suppose and that's what I still want to be, so yeah.</i>
<i>I think when do you get to the point and I think, you know, when we were all art students it was like, oh, whether I'm going to be a famous artist or not, you know, that's all ...</i>
<i>At the time, I was working in Birmingham in a clothes shop, I always thought I'd do some crappy job and be an artist on the side, which again is what I'm doing. It's what I've always done, I suppose.</i>
<i>I wanted, when I left, I wanted to do an MA in Fine Art and I wanted to go and lecture at a university [in fine art]</i>
<i>I thought I might go into something like interior design sort of area, but that was as far as my plan</i>

<i>went.</i>
<i>I think in some sort of pie in the sky way, I thought, oh I might just be a practising artist.</i>
<i>I did art because it's something I enjoyed basically at the time, yeah. I suppose I had vague thoughts of actually doing something in it in the future, at the time.</i>

What emerged was that these early ambitions frequently remained with the participants. Further analysis of the data highlighted a striking aspect across the interviews: all but three of the participants described still having ambitions to be 'showing artists' (i.e. exhibiting and possibly selling work):

*It's quite hard to give up, but then ... well, what is it, 18 years after we graduated, it's quite hard to say, yes, I have an identity as an artist when, you know... (Participant 4)*

*No, I mean, every day, I think, I thank my lucky stars and think, God, I'm so lucky and everything, but there's still a part of me that has that sort of burning desire to have my paintings or my prints up and you know, Tate or whatever ... that's just like a dream though. (Participant 5)*

*I'm wondering about a possible change. I'd really like to work with children and do my own work (art work). I think the thing is I didn't expect not to be making; I thought I would be making. (Participant 7)*

It is clear here that there was still a strong desire to be 'making' (making art) and to be exhibiting. It could be argued that this is all linked to the individuals' sense of success and whether they have failed or succeeded in having a career as an artist, something which is well known to be difficult to achieve (Bridgestock, 2011; Reid *et al.*, 2010; Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009). This was highlighted through the words of the participants, who were frequently curious about what had become of the other members of the group. Key to this were questions related to the success of the participants and who, if anyone, had managed to sustain a career as a practising artist:

*You judge yourself against your peers, you judge yourself against the people that were with you. I think we all do it. It's not that you're competing with them, it's you think, oh my God, we both had the same starting point, how have they ended up there and I've ended up here. (Participant 3)*

*I was 40 last October and there have been times, I've thought, God, I'm such a like, everyone around us seems to have these really big careers. (Participant 1)*

*I would say that I had a huge kind of identity crisis going into writing and actually always wanting to go, and feeling that I was betraying the whole kind of art thing. (Participant 13)*

However, as identified in the literature review, it is a well-known phenomenon that careers in the creative industries, and specifically the fine arts sector, are notoriously difficult to establish and build, with the literature highlighting the phenomenon of the 'difficult first year' (Blackwell and Harvey, 1999). This theme is picked up again in the following chapter, which explores in depth the practical issues around developing a career and working life within the creative industries sector.

#### **6.3.4. Artist identity: Art school education**

Leading on from the discussion of ambition it is perhaps pertinent to explore one area which emerges through the research: the role which the participants' time at university played in their sense of identity as artists. It is evident that in the majority of cases they may have already had a long-held sense of themselves as 'creative', but this appears to have been reinforced through their time at university, specially within the school of art and design. The following four quotes were coded under this category 'Artists identity: Art school':

*I think there is something about people who do Fine Art degrees. It's just something about an identity as an artist. (Participant 4)*

*Cause we expect a lot of ourselves, from having got that art school label on us, which is maybe what we're going back. (Participant 2)*

*I suppose you are as an art student, you're a bit like above it all, 'cause you're an art student and you're a creative being. (Participant 1)*

*Because I think you talk to people outside of Fine Art graduate ... people who do, I mean, maybe it's the same for people who do other degrees, I don't know, but I think there is something about people who do Fine Art degrees. It's just something about an identity as an artist. (Participant 4)*

It could be argued that there is a sense that there is a 'type' of individual who does a degree in fine art, including a sense that the identity of the individual as an artist has to an extent been established prior to getting to art school.

A number of studies have looked at fine art practice with a focus on the participants' art school education and various perspectives have come to light relating to its positive and negative impact on artists' careers. Arguably, their identity as artists, for example, is reinforced at this stage. Oakley *et al.* (2008) highlight "Willingness to put one's work on show, to accept constructive criticism and to let that feed the development of future ideas, are obviously part of this process" (Oakley *et al.*, 2008:28). It could be argued that, unlike many higher education courses, art school education addresses the individual, that it is learner-centred (Penaluna and Penaluna, 2009): much of the work is self-managed and initiated, and unlike other disciplines, careers begin prior to graduation (Blackwell and Harvey, 1999). Ball *et al.* (2010) discuss this: "creative practice (within education) provides the context for personal and professional development and our findings ... that students continue to adopt this model after graduation in their portfolio careers – they continue to combine practice, further study and informal learning" (Ball *et al.*, 2010:11). Elsewhere, researchers have sought to make links between the pedagogy within schools of art and design and its potential link with entrepreneurial outcomes (Carey and Naudin, 2006; Penaluna and Penaluna, 2006, 2008; Carey and Matlay, 2007, 2010).

*Our head lecturer was very dynamic and enthusiastic about his practice and he organised lots of talks and presentations of art practice very regularly by artists, i.e., non-lecturers or teachers and encouraged us to present our ideas and discuss our art practice with each other which kept things alive and encouraged hungover students to attend college, bounce ideas off each other. (Participant 13)*

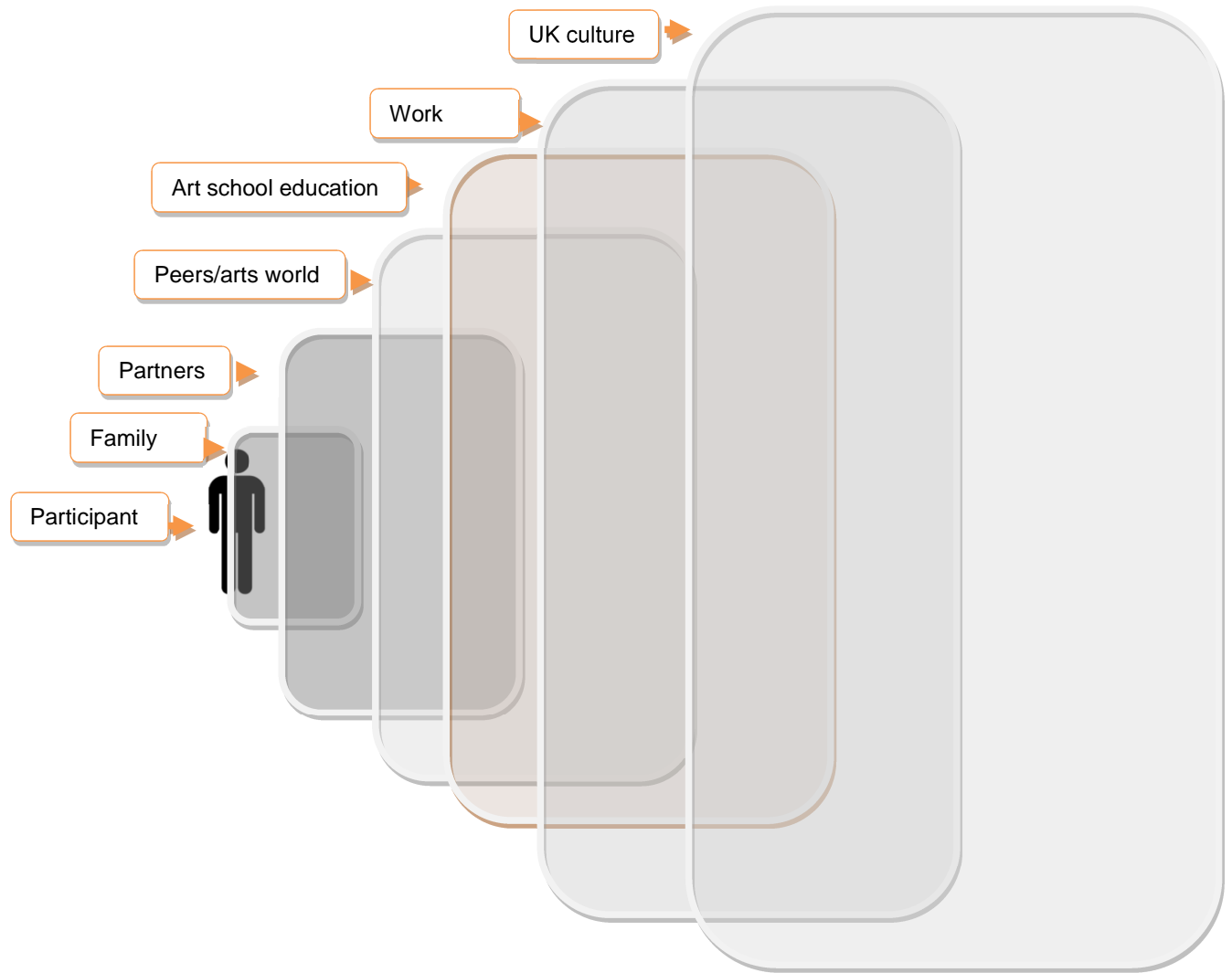
Here we see the link being made between the teaching methods and arts practice. The lecturers were also practitioners, as has been noted within the literature (Carey and Naudin, 2006; Penaluna and Penaluna, 2006, 2008; Carey and Matlay, 2007, 2010; Ball *et al.*, 2010). It could be argued that their teaching styles, which arguably emulated the practice of an artist e.g. presenting and discussing work with peers, led to the participants viewing themselves within this professional context or as peers to their lecturers.

*I enjoyed my fine art degree but could not see how I was going to succeed as a fine artist and generate an adequate income to support myself. I thought teaching art would give me job security and involve my interest but found it a very stressful and non-rewarding encounter. (Participant 12)*

However, it would seem that in some instances this was not sufficient in terms of sustaining a career. As the quote above suggests, there was a potential gap within the provision for helping these graduates develop a career and secure paid work for their arts practice. This is explored in greater depth in the next chapter. What is evident is that the art school education reinforced, to an extent, the sense of the participants' self as an artist, through its pedagogical approach, and arguably the relationship between the practitioner/lecturers and students.

### **6.3.5 Artist identity: Other people**

Having told their stories the participants were asked to identify key characters within their career stories. As with much of this research, at the point of analysis it emerged that there were often strong characters who featured heavily within the story, but were not mentioned when participants were explicitly asked this question. Frequently the participants referred to other people who had in some way influenced, shaped or reinforced their identities in terms of seeing themselves as artists. This ranged from those close to the individuals to those who they worked with or who are, arguably, peripheral to their lives. The interviews, as established, were very much focused upon the period of time subsequent to the completion of their degrees, but a number of characters emerge from prior to this point. When the participants were asked to provide key characters from their story, these could be anyone who they identified as being a central figure within their story. In addition, groupings of people emerge (see Section 6.3.6) from within the sector or outside of it.



**Figure 6.5 The hierarchy of influence over attitudes and artist identity**

Figure 6.5 provides a visual representation of the hierarchy of influence with regard to the artistic identity of the participants. It is intended to highlight the multiple influences informing and shaping the participants' sense of themselves as artists. When exploring this, the impact of other people was clear, and the following section develops highlights and discusses these findings.

The majority of the participants expressed a tension which related, perhaps obviously, to the need to earn a living. Frequently this was characterised by and expressed in relation to their role as a provider or pressure from their partners. Often it would seem that these close relationships worked to either undermine or strengthen the participants' sense of themselves as an artist. It might be that either the



role of an artist, the characteristics of artists' careers or the earning power of the artist was misunderstood or potentially not valued. Table 6.3 provides examples participants highlighting these.

**Table 6.3: Positive and negative impact of partners and family on artistic identity**

Positive	Negative
<p><i>My wife, 'cause she's very supportive,... she wants me to sort of do my thing and she's the opposite of my previous girlfriend, who wanted me to get a career quickly.</i></p> <p><i>But right from the beginning of school, she said [his mother] ... unlike a lot of parents, she wanted me to go to art college and she's really proud of me that I've kept something going and I'm not like some ... either accountant or drug addict.</i></p>	<p><i>Yeah, it is hard and for them [partners] to let you be who you are and you know, credit to him, he is, and it's hard for him to let me grow because, you know, when you've had someone at home and they've been doing stuff and he's had to learn.</i></p> <p><i>She [his then partner] was kind of pushing me to try and do something else, like maybe change to be an architect or something, something like that, so it put a lot of sort of strain in that relationship.</i></p> <p><i>I remember my step-dad asking me when we are the pub, he was like, ... what the hell are you doing at art college (and he was like you're not an artist one bit ?)</i></p>

Likewise, roles within the workplace, which were frequently outside of an artist's studio, also set about reinforcing these individuals' sense of themselves as artists, or at least stereotypes of artists.

*Everyone called me 'art teacher' in the news room. (Participant 2)*

*The museum were so excited that they'd had an artist on their staff, that they did like this little press release in their local kind of thing, just because like this ex museum staff has their own exhibition. (Participant 5)*

It could be argued that this continual either positive reinforcement or negativity towards the role of the individual, as an artist, has had a profound effect on these individuals'. Both in terms of their ability to operate and make work without feeling that there are expectations of them otherwise or that they are in some way out of their depth. It has been suggested that a career as an artist is frequently not taken seriously by society. Robinson and Aronica (2009) argue that within the western education

system the arts and creativity are not valued as highly as, for example, English and Maths. It could be argued that a career within art is not valued as highly as more conservative careers. What is interesting from the narrative extracts above is the observation that these individuals are potentially receiving very mixed signals about the role or their role as an artist. From the supportive parent who acknowledges and wants their child's talent to flourish to the 'dissatisfied' partner who wants a more conventional career for their partner in the work world, the mockery of the news room to the adulation of the museum staff. This resonates with ideas about how artistic career identities are formed, as Bain (2005) suggests, 'myths and stereotypes' are central to this formation, as opposed to more traditional forms of building an 'occupational identity'.

### **6.3.6 Artist identity: Arts world**

A large influencing factor for the majority of participants, in terms of their sense of themselves as artists, but also in terms of their practice, was what is referred to here as the 'arts world' within the coding, and during the analysis it became apparent that the wider arts community was hugely influential. For the purpose of this study the 'arts world' referred to any reference to the wider arts community in terms of groups of artists: sometimes it referred to an almost ephemeral sense of a higher arts 'scene'. Initially the term 'community' was adopted within the coding, but this perhaps suggested something wholesome and supportive and this was not always the case. Then the term 'arts milieu' was used because it encapsulated a type of undefined and sometimes ephemeral wider group of people. This mixed view was evident when looking at the role of the wider arts milieu on the participants' sense of their identity and role as artists. Elsewhere, this is described as the 'art world', a definition provided by Becker as "all the people whose activities are necessary to the production of the characteristic works which that world, and perhaps others as well, define as art" (Becker, 1982:34), and ultimately this term was adopted within this study.

It could be argued that this arts milieu was powerful because it helped to shape, in terms of undermining or boosting the participants' confidence, the individuals' sense of themselves as 'an

artist', because of its relationship with identity, i.e. one is recognised as an artist, one is embraced and part of a community.

*I work predominantly in the arts and in the creative arts, there's always tensions between individuals as well, there's always competition, fierce competition between personalities. (Participant 9)*

The creative industries are generally characterised, as established within the literature review, as a highly networked sector (Ball *et al.*, 2010; Carey and Naudin, 2006; NESTA, 2003; Pink, 2002; Florida, 2002; Baines and Robson, 2001, Blair *et al.*, 2001a). The nature of these networks is considered to be important to practitioners as a source of securing work, making contacts and establishing projects. Fine art, although generally practised on an individual level, is also heavily reliant on its network. Here practitioners meet and find collaborators or hear about exhibiting opportunities (Bridgstock, 2005). There are also a number of specific networking events associated with fine art practice, most commonly the private view or exhibition launch. What emerges through the data is a less than comfortable situation for a number of these individuals. Partly this is associated with the need to network and the need to sell their own work. What also emerges, as the quote above suggests, is that there is a great deal of competition. That competition might be made up of individuals who are otherwise friends, colleagues or part of your network.

The literature points heavily towards the idea of the 'boundary less career' (Bridgstock, 2011; Arthur and Rousseau, 1996), a number of interpretations point to the less traditional career paths of creative industries practitioners who arguably have a "career sustained by external networks" (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996:6). Elsewhere, there is evidence of blurred boundaries between colleagues and friends within the creative industries (Peottshacher, 2005). This was not always a natural, or comfortable, position for these participants:

*I used to find the whole networking thing of fine art really difficult and that was part of my business and I couldn't do it and so that's why I went into illustration. (Participant 3)*

*I think as life gets easier and I get older and all the rest of it, it kind of fades a little bit and it gets, I don't know, last year we did alright, but then I just find it so uncomfortable, the whole exhibition thing and networking and all the rest of it... (Participant 5)*

Alongside this, there appear to be several odd dynamics within the wider arts world. One area explored in the following chapter is that of the tension surrounding commerce and art. An aspect related to this and identity is: what happens if an artist chooses to work outside of accepted (by the arts world) methods or draws upon what might be perceived to be commercial type approaches to marketing? This, it appears, can lead them to feel that they are not conforming to a true image of an artist as perceived either by themselves or how they feel they are perceived by others within their artist community:

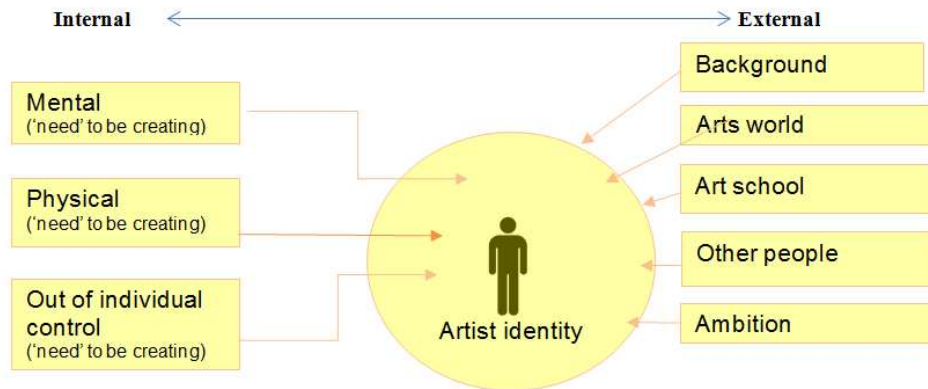
*There's a lot of snobbery about it here, a lot of inverse snobbery, because I use Twitter and Facebook and people really ... I've got quite a backlash against it [from other artists]. (Participant 2)*

Perhaps a useful way of understanding the impact, not just of the arts community but society at large, on the participant's sense of artist identity is provided by Bain (2005). Burke and Stets (2009) describe "an elaborate system of mutual influences between characteristics of the individual and characteristics of society" which informs the identity of both society and individuals (Burke and Stets, 2009:2). Bain (2005) suggests that the identity of the artist is informed by 'myths and stereotypes' as opposed to more traditional forms of building an 'occupational identity', owing to the isolated nature of the artists' work life and working away from the 'shared work place culture': she goes onto to identify how these myths have emerged:

*Although myths of marginality, alienation, 'outsider' status and creative freedom remain potent and have a strong hold on artists themselves, the reality of marketplace requirements currently dictates a different set of demands. (Bain, 2005:29)*

This raises interesting questions related to the participants of this study. If they are not practising artists, are they still artists? If they are not selling artists, are they still artists? Indeed, Bain highlights the lack of value placed on artists generally within society in terms of the 'realities of the marketplace', which demand they behave in a way which they may be uncomfortable with or simply be ill-equipped to cope with. Linked to this are the terms by which academics define artists. As Oakley *et al.* (2008) point out when discussing an Australian study looking at the careers of visual artists, "The study is notable for its methods of selecting artists: 'practising professional artists' are

self-defined and must have been artistically active in the previous three to five years. They are not, however, required to have earned income from this practice” (Oakley *et al.*, 2008:18-19).



**Figure: 6.6 Integrative model stage 2: Factors influencing or informing artist identity**

Earlier in this chapter a number of questions arose in relation to the ‘compulsion to create’: is the identity as an artist one which was developed through these participants’ undergraduate programme? Is their identification with the subject any stronger than graduates from other disciplines? Is there something inherent within this group of individuals or is this an issue with higher education, in this instance, not managing the expectations of the students? The findings from the research go some way to answering these questions and explaining the multiple factors which inform and influence artistic identity. The findings identified a number of internal and external factors which influenced the artistic identity of the participants. These have been explored within this chapter. Figure 6.4 provides the second stage of the integrative model. It highlights the internal (compulsion to create) and external factors informing artist identity.

The relationship of the wider arts community and creative industries sector is further explored and discussed in more detail, in terms of its impact on the individual practitioner and how they go about developing their practice, in the next chapter.

## 6.4 No artistic identity

This chapter has focussed heavily on the idea that those who participated within the study had a strong sense of identity as artists or as creative individuals. However, it is important to recognise that not all of those who participated saw their lives as linked to the sector or viewed themselves as creative practitioners. Two of the thirteen participants, identified themselves as no longer connected in any way to the art world. However it is evident that there is still a residue of this past experience. For example, when commenting on their current career, Participant 6, who is now a ‘facilities manager’, suggested that:

*I have to do a lot of project management and when doing so feel like the design process and creativity are really drawn upon. (Participant 6)*

They further describe this:

*I still consider myself creative. My entire outlook comes from a creative perspective, For example I am really big on sustainability and ‘front of house’ appearance of buildings ... it’s all very creative. I’ve also designed and built, well overseen, two sustainable houses in New Zealand. (Participant 6)*

And while accepting their life and career outside of the creative industries for the perceived benefits it has, Participant 12 described with some sorrow their experience following their fine art degree:

*I enjoyed my fine art degree but could not see how I was going to succeed as a fine artist and generate an adequate income to support myself. I thought teaching art would give me job security and involve my interest but found it very stressful and not rewarding. I guess location was the main factor here and I was not prepared to move to London to see if I would sink or swim as a practising artist. I was content with the idea of having art as a hobby, I moved away from a creative role and focused on regular, secure income. My peers/circle of friends etc. have no connection with art and so, it is with great regret that I have not even pursued it as a hobby. (Participant 12)*

Within each interview, the participants, having told their story and having had that explored through further questions, were asked specific questions related to the study. This included being asked about their view on creativity and if and how it had evolved throughout their career. Although explored in more detail in the next chapter, it is clear in the first narrative extract within this section that the sense of creativity and ability to be creative is alive and well. However, the resigned tone of Participant 12

suggests and highlights the difficulties of turning one's desire to create art into a sustainable way of making a living.

## **6.5 Summary and conclusions of chapter**

The aim of this chapter was to offer an in-depth insight into the internal motivations and tensions which have been experienced and described by the participants of this study in relation to their sense of themselves as artists. Throughout the chapter, the stages of analysis have been drawn upon: first the open coding, which gave rise to the themes that have emerged, then the axial coding, where the relationships between the different codes were found. This has resulted in discussion: first, an exploration was made into the participants' 'compulsion' to create, described as internal factors, and second, the internal factors that impact on their artist identity. Throughout this chapter the researcher has been careful to break down, through the process of analysis, the factors that have contributed to the participants' sense of themselves as artists and where potentially there are barriers to their perception of success. Within this chapter it is worth recognising that the factors which have been discussed have been characterised as 'internal' and 'external'. However, the focus is the participants' perceptions of themselves and their reaction to those 'external' factors which have informed their sense of artistic identity and have helped shape their success, perceived or otherwise as practising artists, and it is this that is of interest.

The findings and discussion have led, through analysis, to the beginning of a progressively developing integrative model. This chapter has provided the first two stages of this model. A number of issues have arisen within this chapter that are explored in depth in the following chapter: the nature of enterprise and entrepreneurship within fine art practice; and the tensions and motivations within the working life of a fine art graduate. Here we will see how these sometimes fragile identities fare in the external world, and how the realities of selling and marketing their own work have impacted on their identities and careers.

## **Chapter 7: The nature of enterprise and entrepreneurship within fine art practice: The tensions and motivations within the working life of a fine art graduate**

### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter is structured in the following way. First, a discussion of the analysis process is provided in terms of the how the theoretical coding that underpins this chapter's findings is provided. Second, the practicalities of being an artist are considered: the resources required, the need to sell, marketing and operating a business. This is discussed from the perspective of the participants and their experience and feelings towards these practicalities and how they have impacted on their careers. The third aspect looks more explicitly towards how these individuals feel about the idea of being 'enterprising'. Since the incoming 1997 Labour administration first coined the term 'creative industries', much emphasis has been placed on the role of the sector and the creative entrepreneur. For example, Rae argues that "the creative entrepreneurs are key stake-holders" within the context of the 'creative economy' (Rae, 2008:58). This represents a significant proportion of the period after the participants' graduation. Their experience offers insight into the actual lived experience of these potential 'creative entrepreneurs'. This chapter contributes to the model developed within Chapter Six.

Where Chapter Six established factors that shape the participants' sense of themselves as creative individuals or artists (referred to 'artistic identity'), this chapter is concerned with the actuality of life as an artist, specifically a career following a fine art degree, exploring the practical and real-lived experience of these individuals in their attempts to build careers. Through the analysis process, core themes were identified to determine the drivers, blocks and characteristics of these individuals' careers. As with Chapter Six, the findings and discussion are integrated and presented thematically.

It is well documented that there are few jobs for fine artists (Oakley *et al.*, 2008; Blackwell and Harvey, 1999). Because of this lack of work or at least jobs, it has been argued that artists are pushed to be more entrepreneurial or enterprising, and high instances of self-employment are evident. Aggestam describes the 'Art-entrepreneur' as an individual who is a "holder of tacit knowledge that



is realised as part of human capital and includes individual skill, competence, commitment and creativity based mindsets” (Aggestam, 2008:30). Ultimately, in order for artists to make money from their art, they are required to sell their art: this, it could be argued, requires business skills from marketing through to finance and accounting skills.

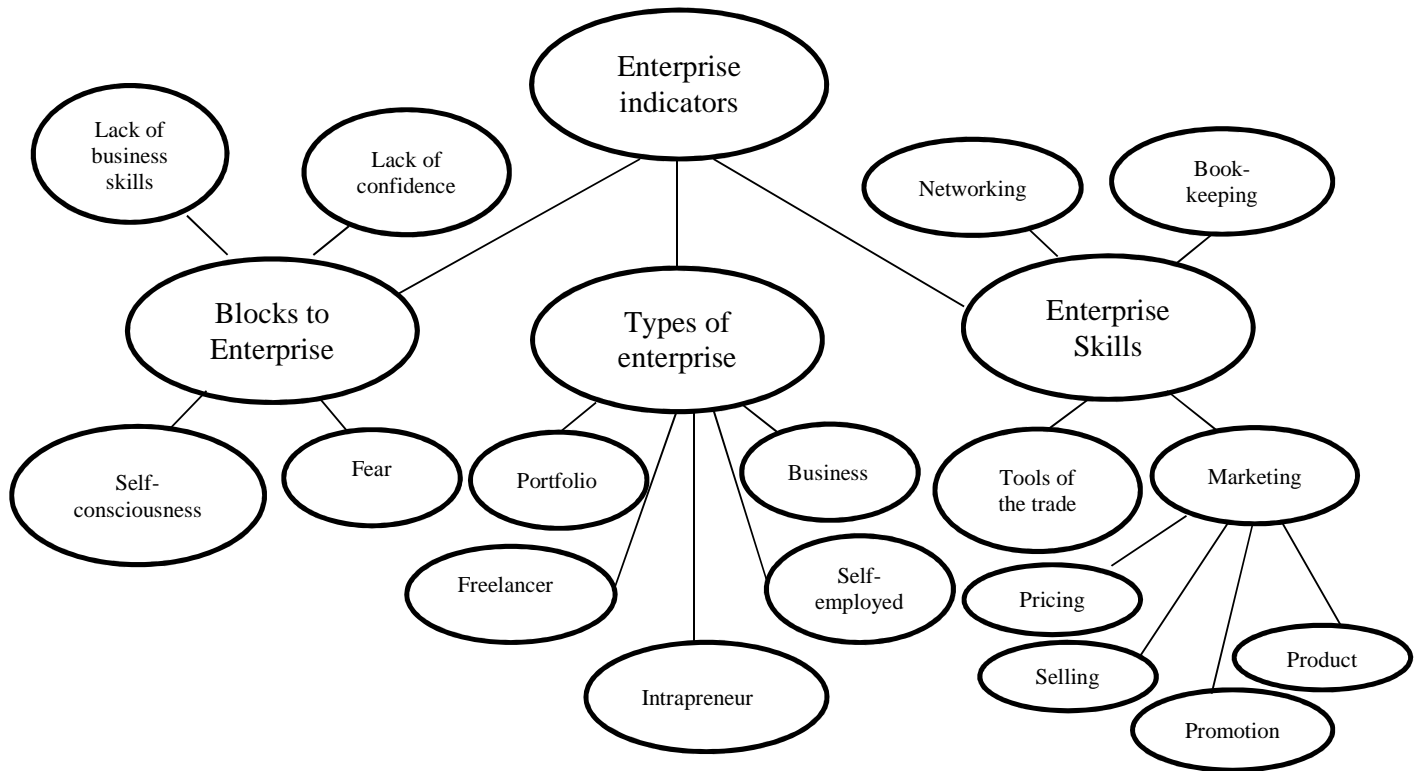
### 7.1.1 Analysis

As with the previous chapter, a brief ‘analytic story’ is provided, as recommended by Strauss and Corbin (1998, 2003). The analytic story aids the researcher to articulate and formulate their analysis. Selected categories from the analysis are shown in bold; this is developed in Figure 7.2, which illustrates the open coding which forms the basis of this chapter.

There is a strong tension felt by the participants in terms of the potential **commercialisation** of their work. Paradoxically, linked to this are themes which emerge related to a number of participants’ perceived **ability to commercialise** their work. Within this context, ‘**making a living as an artist**’ is perceived to require **business skills**: generally speaking, a lack of these, a discomfort with ‘**networking**’ and ultimately a **lack of confidence** present blocks to realising these **ambitions**. The situation is made more complex again by the influence of **external factors and internal factors**, for example external factors: **partners** and **family life** and the need to **make a living**; and **internal factors: fear, self-consciousness, luck, persistence and resilience**. Here we see varying degrees of **enterprising and entrepreneurial** behaviours, and acceptance and rejection of those traits.

**Figure 7.1: Section two of brief analytic story**

As described, the analysis took a three-stage grounded theory approach. Figure 7.2 illustrates the portion of the initial open coding phase related to enterprise indicators.



**Figure: 7.2 Open coding associated with enterprise indicators**

Figure 7.2 illustrates the coding that was arrived at within the open-coding phase. To reiterate, the open coding phase enables the researcher to code freely. A number of themes emerged through the data during the open coding phase. The researcher was specifically looking for enterprise and entrepreneurship, and so ‘enterprise indicators’ became a core theme within this phase. This referred to any instance where a participant showed evidence of enterprising behaviours, working patterns or blocks to enterprise. When this field was broken down and examined in more detail, more explicit areas emerged under the three headings above: ‘Enterprise skills’, ‘Types of enterprise’ and ‘Blocks to enterprise’. These were then further explored for detail and explanation on: for example, what were the blocks to enterprise? What types of enterprising experience did the participants have? What specific issues might relate to enterprising skills? This led on to the next phase of the analysis

### **7.1.2 Axial coding**

As described, axial coding is the process of making links between the themes that have been generated, with a view to seeking within them an overall or core theme or category. Figure 7.3 illustrates the links made within the process of axial coding. Strauss and Corbin (1998) highlight three aspects that can be drawn out at this stage of analysis. They suggest that findings should be presented as a “set of interrelated concepts not just a listing of themes” (Strauss and Corbin, 1997:130) and that a method to aid the researcher that can be deployed is to seek “conditions; the why, where and how come. Actions and interactions, strategic or routine responses and Consequences – Outcomes of actions and interactions” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:130). This diagram represents a number of factors which interrelate with each other.

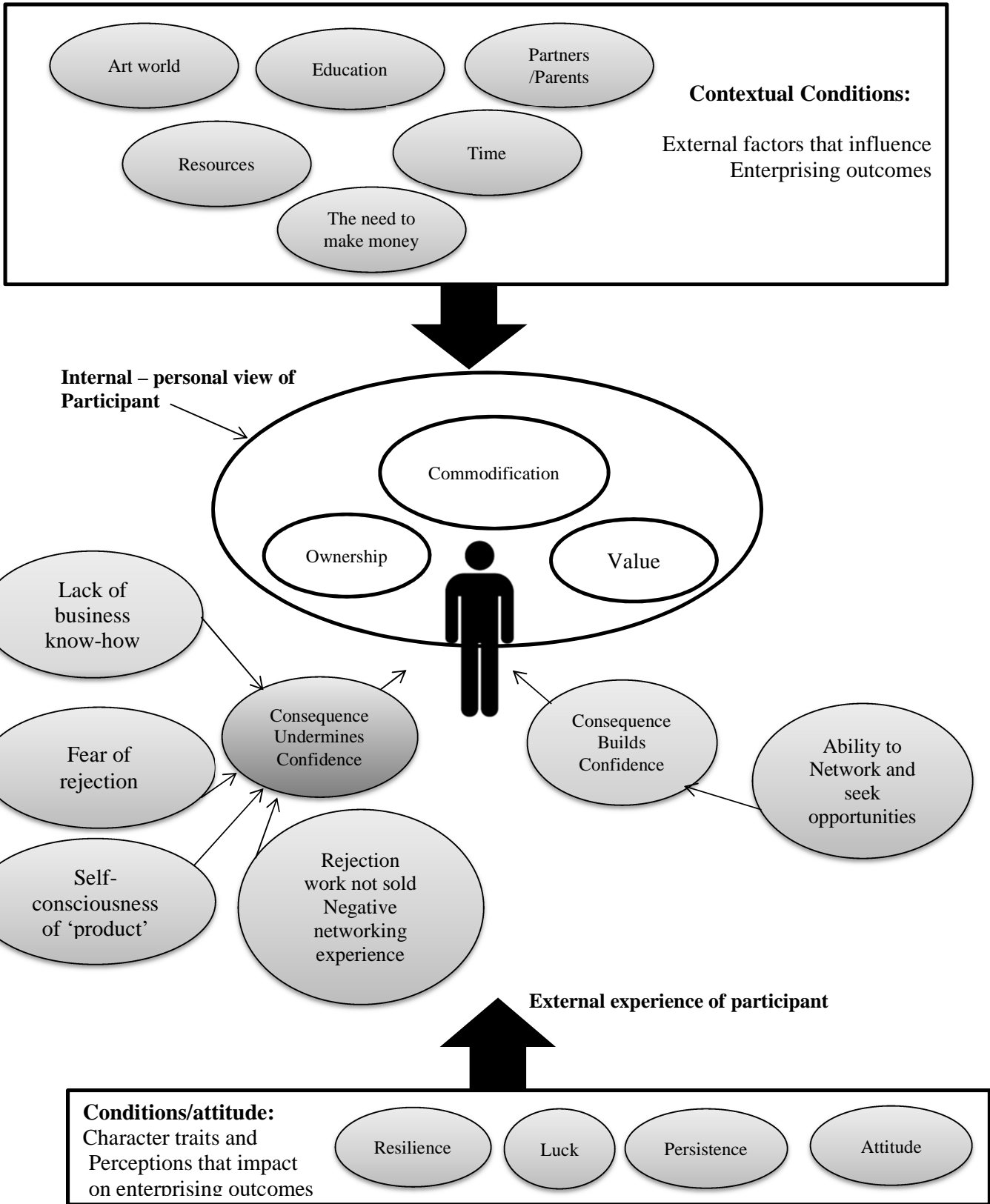


Figure 7.3 Axial coding category relationships to explain the relationship with value to artistic endeavour

Central to the analysis at the axial coding phase was the relationship that the individuals had with the outputs of their creative endeavours. This is a complex issue as there are, as Figure 7.3 indicates, a number of relationships between the different factors. The top and bottom strips highlight the contextual conditions that the participants faced in terms of the external forces which impact on the participant and their sense of themselves. The lower sets of conditions are character traits and perceptions which the individual holds. Conditions, as Strauss and Corbin identify, shift and change over time and affect one another (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:131). Surrounding the individual are concerns that the artist might have over the artefact. What is its value? Is it a product? Should it be sold? Is it precious? Who owns it and do I want to sell it? This part of the diagram illustrates the transition that the object and the artist make from their private world to the public sphere. At this point other factors and inter-relationships come into play. For example, a lack of 'business know-how' and 'fear of rejection' undermines confidence.

Broadly speaking, this chapter is focussed on the theoretical coding: Tensions of art and commerce informing value of work. The following sections detail the findings and arrive at the development of the model that relates this theoretical code to the core theoretical code of artistic identity discussed within the previous chapter.

### **7.1.3 Part one: Practicalities of developing a career as a practising artist**

A common set of issues experienced by a number of participants emerged. Each of these should be considered within the context of the aforementioned sense of identity and physical need to be creating (see Chapter Six). Bearing this in mind, it is clear that regardless of this 'need to be creating' there were and remain issues around how to go about selling, marketing and being entrepreneurial about one's arts practice. In order to first contextualise this situation, a brief overview of the ways in which artists make a living is provided.

Artists make money via a number of means, as identified by Markusen *et al.* (2006). They are often engaging in what in the entrepreneurship literature refers to as 'portfolio' working, i.e. they might have a number of different jobs or types of work either to fulfil or to enable (financially) their artistic

activity. In the UK, there has historically been a system of securing public funds for artists through, amongst others, the Arts Council. Markusen *et al.* (2006) highlight three specific fields where artists are able to find work that is artistically fulfilling while also being paid work: working for the commercial sector, typically in a self-employed capacity; in the not-for-profit sector, where they might be commissioned; and within the community sector. Interestingly, recent surveys of artists reveal high levels of self-employment “amongst artists (72%) than in the creative industries as a whole (41%)” (Jones, 2011:2). Elsewhere, Throsby (2007) highlighted “three alternatives: creative work, arts-related work and non-arts work” (Throsby, 2007:395), in all of which an artist might find themselves engaged at a given time.

However, for many artists including, as established, the participants of this study, the selling of one’s own work and making a living from one’s art is a key aspiration. Traditionally, artists sell their work through exhibiting at an art gallery. The exhibition will have an opening night or private view: collectors and the buying public are invited to attend and commonly it is at the private view that the majority of sales are made. Art galleries frequently take a large commission from any work sold. An artist may engage an agent to help secure exhibiting opportunities. The agent will take a commission of any work sold. Other exhibiting and selling opportunities are provided by arts markets, open studios, selling online via the artist’s own website or online gallery spaces (Branagan, 2009). New models have emerged in recent years, for example ‘Etsy’ the online social networking hand-crafted marketplace: “Etsy is the world’s handmade marketplace” (Etsy, 2011). From a marketing perspective, these would all be referred to as ‘routes to market’, i.e. the different potential sales avenues that a company might use in order to put their product in front of their potential customers. In this situation it is worth remembering that the individual artist would potentially be working at other jobs simultaneously, as described by Markusen *et al.* (2006). They might well be self-employed, and they might have limited knowledge of marketing concepts. However, there is evidence to suggest that either via their education, their experience or some other tacit knowledge, these individuals knew that in order to be make money as an artist they would have to sell, and they knew that this required a set of skills which they did not necessarily perceive themselves to have.

As established, one important issue which emerged from the participants was an on-going desire and compulsion to create. For a number of the participants, multiple attempts at being self-employed were made and continue to be made. Anecdotally, business support and enterprise development for the creative industries has by and large been focused on recent graduates and aimed at young enterprise. The participants have made multiple attempts, and particularly recent attempts, at either 'going freelance' or setting themselves up in business. These 'businesses' are all what could be referred to as creative businesses and are linked to their original studies in some way. For example:

- Freelance art therapist (and artist)
- Freelance furniture maker
- Freelance artist (x2)
- Freelance artist and writer
- Freelance illustrator

This is an interesting finding from this research. Nearly twenty years after graduating, a number of participants from the study continue to seek out what could be described as entrepreneurial opportunities. To be clear, this is not those who are making 'art for art's sake': they are specifically planning to or are in the process of making some or all of their living from their creative pursuit, as self-employed/a small businesses. If this small sample group are representative of fine art and creative graduates, this suggests an untapped creative and possibly entrepreneurial pool.

The following section goes into depth about the experiences of the participants and goes some way to explaining the career outcomes they have had and the role that enterprise and entrepreneurship have played.

#### 7.1.4 Art World

*Everyone loves a Fine Artist - apart from other Fine Artists! (Participant 9)*

Another important aspect which arose in the previous chapter, when looking at identity, was the influence of the wider artist community, or milieu. Previous research acknowledges that the arts world has an influence on artists (Bridgestock, 2005) as well as artists as consumers of art and in setting taste in art (Throsby, 1994). It is argued this provides them with context and insight to the market place. Oakley *et al.*, highlight there are very few creative discipline graduates who work on a “totally autonomous basis” (Oakley *et al.*, 2008:2). Similarly, the participants’ sense of themselves as artists, the relationship they had with selling their work and the commodification of their work was also heavily influenced by this sense of a wider artist community. There appears to be a set of unwritten rules of engagement.

This section explores factors which the participants identify as influencing their relationship with their work. As shown in Figure 7.3, these could be described as part of the contextual conditions in which the participants find themselves. What they describe is an undercurrent of feeling that in some way they are being disloyal or improper by wanting to make money or commercialising their work. This is a theme that has been identified by others. Taylor and Littleton found in their 2008 study that “art and money-making are discussed as incompatible and even directly opposed” to one another (Taylor and Littleton, 2008:280).

*I think the link between art and commerce, well I was just completely lost when I first graduated in terms of how to make money and it's weird with art I sometimes feel like the act of doing it is like a luxury. But if you go and try to sell your work or appear too commercial, I don't know but I think definitely it is sort of frowned upon by the wider artist community. (Participant 2)*

This highlights a number of factors. First we find a strong sense of the role of the wider artist community, inasmuch as the idea of selling work is in some way frowned upon, there is something wrong with being commercial and a point at which one might be considered too commercial. Savage (2006) argues that the role of the artist changed in the period following the Renaissance, suggesting that the “Bohemian artist offered an attractive alternative to the bourgeois lifestyle of the time”, and



this has remained the status quo: “In effect a line was drawn between the ‘commercial’ and the ‘non-commercial’ artist, which states that one is looked down upon and the other is held in the highest esteem” (Savage, 2006:3). Perhaps the ‘fantasy’ described below is that of the ‘bohemian artist’.

*I suppose I've not really put into practice ever really sort of pushing to make any sort of living out of being a practicing artist, but maybe I haven't because I want to protect it, my fantasy of it. (Participant 4)*

Linked to this is the apparent snobbishness of the arts world. Participants experienced this towards the commercialisation of their art work and it extended to the use of social media and other methods of what could be considered marketing communications.

*There's a lot of snobbery about it here, a lot of inverse snobbery, because I use Twitter and Facebook and people really ... I've got quite a backlash against... (Participant 2)*

*Artists have to eat, at the end of the day ... and there needs to be that tension, because it's just not enough now ... absolutely, you have to feed creativity in every possible way, but why can't we be commercial at the same time or have some kind of idea of how to manifest what we want to do. (Participant 5)*

This leads to discussion of the importance of networks and the need to be accepted by the wider artist community. It also suggests that some level or marker of success might be represented by how one is perceived by the artist community. This is a paradox, given that this community is unable to offer any financial rewards. It also raises questions about what the benefits are, then, as experienced by those who feel accepted by their artist community. Kubacki and O'Reilly (2009) present a useful critique of the literature within this area and point to two opposing schools of thought. They acknowledge literature which highlights the ‘conflict between commerce and creativity’ where the commercialisation of the art world and its need to comply with models of ‘supply and demand’ is damaging, contrasted with ideas of the opportunities presented: “... commercial considerations in the production of art may give artists more freedom of expression than employer-patronage or public subsidy; there is a place on the arts market for all artists, even if it may be a very small niche” (Kubacki and O'Reilly, 2009:59). Elsewhere, when discussing these tensions within arts marketing, Hill *et al.* (2003) argue that commercial and arts marketing are more similar than arts organisations would, perhaps, like to think, suggesting that the arts (although focusing more on performing arts and

arts organisations as opposed to individual artists) have traditionally relied upon public and media relations. They argue that the link to an event offers the arts marketer ‘something newsworthy’, but go on to describe how, like other areas of marketing, it has moved to a more ‘transactional model’, i.e. databases and customer relationship management approaches. The relationship to the wider arts world and networking is discussed in detail later in this chapter. However there is a suggestion that entrepreneurship is a hidden, unacknowledged attribute of the successful artist amongst the arts world.

## **7.2 Business skills associated with fine art practice**

This section discusses business skills as perceived by the participants and their wider implications for artists. The participants recognised that there is a specific skill set associated with enterprise within the creative industries.

*Even if you're artistic, you need to get to your audience and if you can't reach them, if you don't know how to write a covering letter or how to do your CV or how to even articulate your practice. (Participant, 9)*

However, in most cases, the participants felt that their own ‘business’ skills, were weak, limited or missing. One participant gave an indication of how they felt about their own employment skills and how they feel they measured up to the subsequent experience they have had, witnessing undergraduates while on a post-graduate master’s programme:

*I didn't have those basic skills of CV, filling in, well, I think I could have done a job application, I think my first job application I filled in by hand ... not even like a photocopy, I just filled it in, I mean, you look back and you think, how is that possible and when I look at the degree courses now down in Falmouth, I mean, those kids are absolutely, it is a business that you're in, but it's the artistic business and they're taught that. (Participant 3)*

Likewise, participants seemed to struggle with the notion of a product through their fine art practice. Here, being able to sell something that was not clearly a product proved to be difficult, especially given the assumption that it was imperative to be good at networking in order to sell work. Throughout these interviews, the participants made repeated reference to business terminology and processes. There was an acceptance that in order to make a living through selling one’s work, one would need to deploy some basic business principles, namely marketing and selling, finance and

accounting and business operations, each of which presented obstacles to the participants. As is described in Section 7.2.2, the participants experienced a struggle related to the selling of and ownership of the work they produced.

### **7.2.1 Marketing**

When looking at marketing theory, marketers and marketing education frequently refer to the ‘marketing mix’. The marketing mix provides marketers with an easy to remember checklist of areas to consider when developing marketing strategy. These were originally referred to as the 4Ps (Product, Price, Promotion and Place): more recently this model has been further developed in order to accommodate the more service orientated industries which make up the modern economy, so the 7Ps include Process, Physical Environment and People (Shahhosseini and Ardahaeym, 2011). The marketing mix enables the marketer to develop a product, consider its price, how it will be promoted and the ‘place’ where it will be purchased. The wider 7Ps are concerned with the augmented product, i.e. the service the customer receives, in terms of the people they come into contact with, the processes surrounding their purchase and the physical environment. The marketing mix theory suggests that if you treat these as ingredients and get the correct balance of the four or seven, your marketing strategy should work. If nothing else, these work as a useful checklist to make sure the marketer has considered each aspect that might affect their marketing activity.

Within the analysis, it was apparent that, although the participants might not have ever explicitly considered these aspects from a marketing perspective, each was significant in terms of how participants experienced the selling of their work. The marketing mix has been partially used here to help to frame the discussion and explain the role of marketing for the participants of the study.

### **7.2.2 Product and price: the value of art work**

Related to the tensions of being ‘too commercial’ and of ‘trying to make a living’ as an artist, is how the art work is priced and the perceived value of the work, as perceived by the artist, the buying public and the commercial art galleries. One participant links the lack of ability to price and attribute a

financial value to a work to the feelings of compulsion to create. They are referring to a ‘creative disease’ which was discussed in the previous chapter, in terms of the participants’ ‘need’ to be creating. Here we can assume that the artist is unable to recognise or establish a monetary value for their own work, as it has stemmed from a need within them, as opposed to a need within the marketplace.

*I mean, I almost feel like saying, this is probably part of the sort of being creative disease side of it, by saying to people, just give me whatever you think it's worth, you know. (Participant 1)*

There is a sense that there is no monetary value, or no value will be recognised by the customer. One participant, who has predominantly made their living as a writer and journalist and subsequently returned to art, talks about their ability to sell her writing but not their art work. Potentially this is linked to the writing work being commissioned, as opposed to the art work, which comes from this internal compulsion to create:

*Yeah, it's almost like a guilt thing, isn't it? that I'm doing this for myself ... whereas if I'm writing something, there's a publisher that will benefit and an agent who'll benefit and the readers that will benefit ... whereas actually with art, you know, I think it's very much about a self-expression. (Participant 4)*

Likewise, another participant who also had struggled with the idea of selling their own work felt far more comfortable doing so when they changed the focus of their work from visual art to illustration:

*That's why I went into illustration, because I thought I could let my work kind of promote itself and be its own sort of thing and now I realise that, I suppose I am becoming more enterprising in that I am making a product that I want to put out, that I now know the audience that I want to reach and I know what I want from my work. (Participant 3)*

It is evident from this last quote that the participant feels more able to sell their illustration work than their other art work. Their perception is that their illustration work is a product and can be treated as such. For the record, their ‘other’ artworks are paintings and prints using a similar illustrative and aesthetic style, and arguably there is a market for these. However, as there is a clearer market for the participant, in this instance authors and publishers, the participant feels more confident and clearer about what the customers expect from their work. The participants did not just feel more at ease

selling something that they perceived to be a product, but they perhaps did not have the very personal relationship with work that was commissioned that they frequently had with their 'own' art work .

*I think from the fine art perspective, there's a nice sort of self-indulgent, or there was a thing of I'm doing it 'cause I'm doing it and if it's not reaching people, so what, it's out there, 'cause it's about me. (Participant 3)*

### **7.2.2.1 Discussion of product and price: the value of art work**

This sense of self-expression, of the work being too close to the individual or them having to 'sell themselves' has acted as a barrier (for some participants) to behaving as practising artists. From a marketing and product perspective, it could be argued that they have good reason to be concerned: after all, as Kotler *et al.* (2005) suggest, the market-led route to product development is one of looking to solve a problem that the market has: "when designing products, marketers must first define the core of benefits that the product will provide to consumers" (Kotler *et al.*, 2005:540). The product directly responds to this need or problem. This represents a tension for these individuals and their ability to sell their work in terms of whether there is a market for it. However this is not clear cut: the market orientation to product development, it could be argued, is a phase, and others argue that artists are potentially in a position to take a 'product orientation' to product development, citing the artists Tracy Emin and Damian Hirst as examples of artists whose work has a guaranteed audience (Fillis, 2010). There is an odd tension here, as expressed by Kubacki and O'Reilly (2009): "Indeed, artists have a reputation, not always deserved, for being focused on their inner processes and their products, and therefore being out of touch with the marketplace" (Kubacki and O'Reilly, 2009:57). However, Fillis argues that there has been a tendency to draw heavily on traditional marketing theory when looking at arts marketing, but that perhaps this is misplaced and the situation is more complex. Participants expressed anxiety in terms of making their 'product' fit with the market. Moreover, Oakley highlights a suspicion from artists of business generally "as promoting commercial gain at the expense of other values" (Oakley *et al.*, 2008:3).

When discussing the value of art work, a plethora of studies and philosophical positions relate to how art is valued both by society, the art world, art collectors, investors and artists, all of which, it could be

argued, are also contributing to the ways in which these individuals perceive themselves and their art work. It could be argued that, from the artists' perspective, the three values they are concerned with can be categorised as emotional, aesthetic and financial. Guest (2002) offers a compelling discussion on the value of art, highlighting a number of factors: he considers how we 'approach' art and suggests that the viewing public might attach some 'personal values' to a piece of art. He refers, as others do, to the intrinsic value of art and questions whether this is due to its uniqueness or 'sacred qualities', as well as considering its role in the "enrichment of a community's life" (Guest, 2002:316). Meanwhile, Fenner (2004) refers to the "location of the value" and how this can confer some level of value. When discussing the use of 'ready-mades', he gives the example of du Champ's use of an 'off-the-shelf' snow shovel and discusses how its value is altered once it has had artistic value attributed to it by the artist. Perhaps more cynically, Mandel (2009) refers to artworks as 'luxury goods', highlighting the somewhat fickle nature of the art market.

What emerges, then, is a set of complex relationships with art from the various stakeholders with whom the artist may come into contact, with a combination of values which they may or may not attribute to their art work, especially given that some artists are seen as 'fads' (Mandel, 2009). This is not lost on the participants of the study:

*I think there's an on-going sort of having to sell oneself and having to make what one's selling kind of seem palatable to the people who are buying it. (Participant 4)*

In most cases, although the participants had not had huge perceived success with selling their art work, there was a sense that they knew something of what was required of them to do so. It is evident from this last narrative extract that an important aspect of the situation these individuals felt was this need to 'sell themselves'. This brings into question what the role of the artist is within the value of the artwork. Emin and Hirst offer good example of artists "using their celebrity status to further shape demand for their work" (Fillis, 2010:38). But what of these individuals, in fact all of the fine art graduates that graduate each year? The participants of this study are describing a situation whereby they feel that in selling their work or putting their work up for sale they are in some way selling part of themselves. Arguably, the underlying commodity is the artist (reputation) and not the artwork.

Graduating not long after Emin and Hirst, the participants would have been starting their careers within the time period when the YBA (Young British Artists) were in full effect. They may well have been influenced by or felt the need to emulate the methods those artists used to build their own celebrity:

*I was influenced by the art scene in London, i.e. Damian Hirst and the like. (Participant 13)*

However, there is a broader sense of the value of the art work to the individual and their sense of it being a part of themselves which goes beyond the prospect of selling the work. There are two parts, then, to this discussion. On the one hand there has been and continues to be an increasing cult of personality in society generally and amongst artists specifically, and on the other hand there is the sense from the participants of this study, that there is an inescapable issue of selling oneself, when selling one's work. Perhaps this is strikingly witnessed through the work of Emin, as Gauntlett (2007) suggests: "Emin has become a significant 'celebrity' in the UK – attracting attention from the tabloids, unusually for an artist – but (or perhaps, *therefore*) much that has been written about her seems to dwell on her personality rather than her work" (Gauntlett, 2007:10). Indeed, Emin provides a key example not only of an artist who has wide celebrity status, but whose autobiographical art works are such that she could be argued to be selling very intimate insights into her private world. Of course, Emin is not the first artist with this celebrity status; indeed, Walker (2003) points to another significant period of art history when discussing artists and celebrity, looking at pop art and Andy Warhol and Jeff Koons. There are a number of issues here. It is not that the individuals within the study are desperate for celebrity status: however, they graduated and worked through a period where there were significant art celebrities. There is some evidence to suggest that this has informed how they feel towards success and what constitutes success. They also have identified that in selling their work they are in some way selling themselves, and so they, too, need to be an attractive proposition. This leads to mixed emotions and a complex relationship with their practice.

### 7.2.3 Promotion; Networks and networking

One striking aspect of the findings, when talking about enterprise and entrepreneurship, was related to participants' confidence: this seemed to centre on feelings of embarrassment and self-consciousness about selling their work. It manifested itself in two ways: the individuals were unable to perceive a monetary value of their own work and believed that no value would be recognised by others. There is an odd tension here. In one way the maker wants to make art, wants to be able to do that for their living, and there are already tensions around potentially 'selling out' by being too commercial, but there is another issue too – fear that the work might not sell and a wider fear of rejection. There is a level of embarrassment/self-consciousness associated with the work. In turn, this appears to present a block to the artists and ultimately prevents them from getting started, selling and creating the virtuous cycle of feedback that is initiated when someone buys something.

A number of themes are linked here, as illustrated in Figure 7.3. The participants frequently experience anxiety or discomfort about networking, but as we have seen this is considered to be an important aspect of securing work and marketing one's own work. One part of this was a sense of embarrassment and a feeling of self-consciousness about their work expressed by the participants. Unlike entrepreneurs, it could be argued that creative individuals and artists are offering something of themselves when they sell their work. Howkins (2002:128) describes the creative entrepreneur as someone who uses their "creativity to unlock the wealth that lies within themselves". It could be argued that this leaves the artist more vulnerable to rejection and criticism. As illustrated in Figure 7.3, this sense of fear appears to fall into two areas: first fears of general rejection, of the work not being taken seriously; and second, a fear of being rejected by the arts world.

*I mean, the last time I tried to go off by myself, I ended up getting a job instead, you know, probably through a fear of it not working out or trying to get the money off people and all that sort of thing, so no, that's a side of it I need to work on really. I mean, I've got a website. (Participant 1)*

*It's something I aim to do ultimately ... I love the idea of showing and selling my work, I like the idea of it, but I don't do it and I'm really, really crap at pursuing it. (Participant 4)*



Linked to the idea of self-promotion are other issues related to marketing and some of the practical aspects of getting started: how to go about getting work exhibited and how to behave as a professional artist. Small incidents can act as huge stumbling blocks to individuals just getting their work exhibited in the first place:

*I sort of sent a load of images round and they said, oh we'd be quite interested in some stuff and when I went down, they said, oh could you bring your CV and I was, like, I haven't really got an art CV and then I kind of felt like that then meant that what I was trying to show wasn't legitimate in some way and then that became a block in its own right. (Participant 1)*

Networking is a strong feature of 'doing business' within and characteristic of the creative industries (Carey and Naudin, 2006; NESTA, 2003; Baines and Robson, 2001). The importance of the network and the need to be accepted by the wider artist community is a source of anxiety for some of the participants of the study. This offers a route to hearing about opportunities, making connections with collaborators and other artists. As with the entrepreneur, certain traits are considered essential for creative individuals, as Ball (2003) highlights: the basic requirements are for creative individuals "who can work flexibly with good interpersonal and research skills as well as having excellent communication, networking and team work skills" (Ball, 2003:14).

However, networking although considered by both the participants and the research community to be an essential element or 'tool of the trade' for artists, was something that the majority of participants felt uncomfortable doing or lacked confidence at.

*I used to find the whole networking thing of fine art really difficult and that was part of my business and I couldn't do it. (Participant 10)*

#### **7.4 Finance, earning a living**

A tension was expressed by the majority of the participants which relates, perhaps obviously, to the need to earn a living. Frequently this is characterised by and expressed in relation to their role as a provider or related to pressure from their partners.

A significant factor highlighted by many participants is the need to make money. What is interesting about the narrative extract below is that it initially identifies an idea of being 'disconnected from

making money’, suggesting that making money is not a priority or motivating factor for artists. However, it is clear that this is only sustainable for a limited period, as the realities and responsibilities of living and providing increase along with the desire for more financial security.

*Because of being so disconnected from the whole idea of making money, being an artist, I think that is actually the whole basis of the kind of change of career plan and I think that I'm sure that if it comes down to it, a lot of people who are now not working as artists, that the reason they've diverted off is simple economics. (Participant 2)*

However it was not as simple as the participants not making money (from their artwork sales): there was also a clear factor, related to finance, which was ‘a fear of finance and managing money’. While participants recognised that they would almost certainly have to be self-employed in order to make a living as an artist, the associated aspects of managing their own finance and accounting systems also proved to be a barrier:

*I hate dealing with money and I always have, for example, in the past, I hate the idea of ripping people off, which is not very good for business, is it really, so I'm quite sort of fearful of it and I suppose that's the biggest thing that puts me off, is dealing with that side of it, the financial side of it. (Participant 1)*

The ‘fear of ripping people off’, links to the value, or perceived value, of artwork. How artists feel about pricing their work is discussed earlier in this chapter but this highlights another aspect of this study: their education. This group of individuals had no explicit business education. This is discussed in more depth in Section 7.7 but arises here, too:

*I never had any experience, sorry, I never had any taught experience of business, it was learnt through trial and error and I wouldn't say I'm a very good businessman. (Participant 9)*

*The next job I had ... I'd met lots of people in the business by then, so I was doing lots of little sort of pop videos and things like that, working for different people doing prop making, doing the scenery in the background and then, for some reason, I got a job in a record shop and I think it was just 'cause I had a year of declaring my tax and it all got a bit scary, it got a bit scary, you know, it's like running your own business, I freaked out a bit and I decided that I needed a bit of a nine to five job for a bit. (Participant 5)*

These narrative extracts highlight some interesting aspects: they point to the practical skills of managing a business and business operations as well as some of the specifics of artist practice: being able to network, price work, manage turnover and sell and market work. In some respects it would be

easy to say that these are skills which could and potentially should be taught within schools of art and design. This has not gone unnoticed by the enterprise education research field. Fuelled by government policy (Gibb *et al.*, 2010), there is a growing body of research that looks to the importance of teaching enterprise and business skills across Higher Education and specifically outside of the business school domain, as discussed within the literature review. An emerging field looks specifically at teaching enterprise in schools of art and design (Penaluna and Penaluna, 2008; Carey and Naudin, 2006), however, is the answer as straightforward as this? Forgetting arguments around art schools being for teaching art, there are other issues at stake here which are deeply personal to the artist and participants but relate to their sense of worth and the notion of selling, perhaps, a little bit of themselves. There is also a tension described well by Preece (2011): “Artists’ careers can provide a further understanding of this as they are caught between two worlds, the critical world from which they derive psychological success and the financial market from which they derive economic success” (Preece, 2011:2). This highlights the tensions which these individuals experience: the need to be doing ‘the right thing’ in the eyes of the arts world, and the requirement to make money. These forces that fight against each other and around the individuals are illustrated in Figure 7.3.

### **7.5 Place, time and resources**

Linked to the financial aspects of pricing work and managing accounts are a number of factors that also influence and seem to have impeded the participants. A strong linking feature to the compulsion to create (as described in the previous chapter) was the place and space in which to create and the place to exhibit. In this section, the concept of ‘Place’ (from the marketing mix) is discussed from the perspective of the participants and their experience. Typically an artist’s place in terms of their channel to market is through the gallery and exhibiting their work. This is not always a straightforward proposition. As has been identified, these individuals are frequently self-conscious about ‘selling’ their work. They find it difficult to attribute a monetary value to it. They sometimes struggle with the social side of the arts world and the networking. In some instances, their work might not be easy to buy:

*I mean, I was painting and I've moved away from that now and of course, you know, with a painting, at a gallery and someone walks in and they buy it and so that's fine, there's that, it's a really simple commercial relationship, but now I'm not, I'm doing installation again, so I'm stuck and yeah it costs a lot of money to do... (Participant 2)*

What this narrative extract highlights, in addition to the potential problematic nature of selling some art work, or in marketing terms reaching the right target market, is the actual cost of creating work.

This participant continues:

*... putting on exhibitions, there's huge expenses involved, simple as that really and it has to be paid for. I mean, I'm at the point now where I need to be earning properly again, in order to fund that side of things, until it's making proper money ... (Participant 2)*

A picture emerges of the struggling artist who has to self-fund their activity if they wish to secure the outlet for their work. This potentially presents a barrier, and as has been highlighted previously, the lack of funds to pursue artistic work had led to the downfall of some. However this is not to say that this is an entirely negative situation. There is also evidence of a great deal of collaboration and trading amongst those who are immersed in the arts world:

*We're all working for free, so my film maker's working for free, the director, the runners, everything and I'm making everything for free for it and so it's just one of those things that's kind of happening. That actually is what's really brilliant about being here, 'cause people are really open to just doing stuff for the creative hell of it, so you can really sort of develop stuff, but again coming back to, in the end, it's all about it all has to be paid for somehow... (Participant 2)*

Here lies one of the fundamental issues of making a living as an artist. It costs money either in time lost to other paid work, the expense of materials and space to make work, or the costs associated with exhibiting, all of which can be detrimental to sustaining arts practice. All of the participants who were still practising were in some way working outside of their practice to greater or lesser extent. In the majority of cases, this 'other work' was either related to their original degree or subsidised their practice.

*Planning's the bit I don't do and I don't think many designers or creatives are great planners and that would probably just sum up the business acumen for me as well, because it's about financial planning, so the university career has been a real solid thing for me, because it's protected me from having to kind of worry about those things in terms of my pension's paid for... (Participant 9)*

This appears to have been an issue for most of the participants and is dependent on how long they are able to sustain being hard up and how long it takes for the pull of a more secure source of income to prevail:

*We had like group exhibitions and not many people came, apart from our Mums and Dads, but it was good fun, we had some good parties there, but like I say, you had to be on the dole, so that was, you know, it felt like you weren't really getting anywhere and you didn't have a job to go to. (Participant 1)*

*I'm really frightened of getting pulled back into something else [away from art] cause it's a high earning thing, you know, it is really well paid basically and you know, so I've been working as an artist for two or three years ... I've got no trouble at all with getting the exhibitions and getting the work out there and things are going great guns, but it costs a bloody fortune ... (Participant 2)*

It should be noted that Participant (2) is referring to a relatively recent return to being a practising artist. As highlighted in the previous chapter, the need to create, the compulsion to make art and to pursue a career as an artist, seems to have remained with the majority of participants, and as such this is not a static situation. Indeed there is evidence to suggest that they may have numerous attempts, with varying degrees of success and that this is ultimately an accepted part of their lives and who they are.

*I had some work out in a commercial gallery last year, there was work in a commercial gallery but that didn't sell, but it's nice to know that you can still get into a gallery and show your work and I'm doing a commission piece as well, but that's something that I don't really want to do but I'm doing it, it's a weird subject anyway. So, it's still good, 'cause it's still kind of ticking over and I still feel that I've still got that little aspiration burning. (Participant, 5)*

The tensions and motivations within the working life of a fine art graduate have been discussed in this first part of this chapter. In the previous chapter several stages of a model were developed and this model has been revised in order to illustrate the findings discussed so far in this chapter. Figure 7.4 highlights the tensions discussed in terms of the business skills that the participants perceive to be required in order to sell their work; the tension that this creates with their sense of what they are selling. Here the difficulty in pricing work, issues with the monetary, aesthetic and emotional values of the work are considered. Figure 7.4 illustrates Stage 3 of the integrative model. This is the extension to the model developed in Chapter Six, which acknowledges these forces and tensions for

the participants. This goes some way to explaining the nature of the careers, where the skills (or lack thereof) associated with enterprise and entrepreneurship have impacted on these individuals, and the tensions they have experienced while attempting to operate as artists.

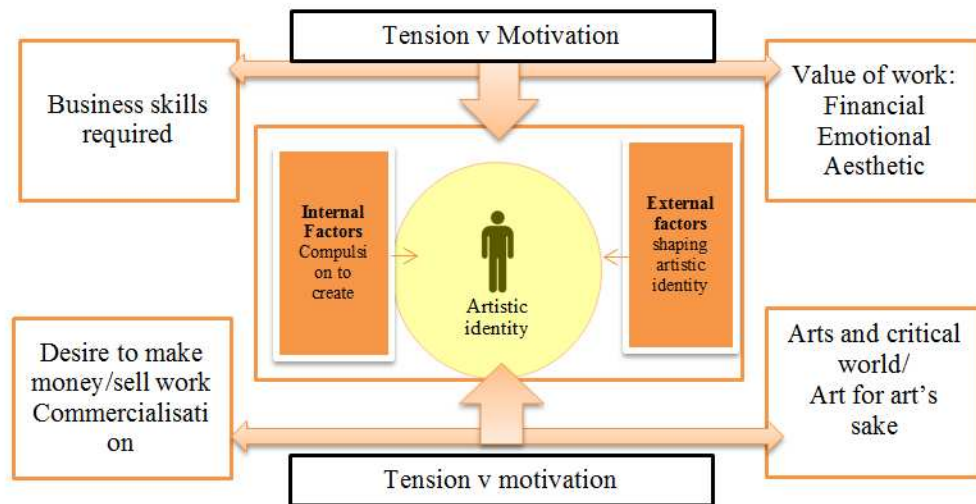


Figure 7.4 Stage 3 model development: Tension surrounding individuals experience of operating as an artists

## 7.6 Part two: perceptions of enterprise and entrepreneurship

Multiple barriers associated with entrepreneurial activity have emerged through the analysis. But this was not the case for all participants. Some participants' careers have been built upon multiple episodes of entrepreneurship and running businesses, either within fine arts sector or within other sectors, including writing, new media and catering. As entrepreneurship was a major focus of this study and arguably a characteristic of the creative industries sector (NESTA, 2006), participants were explicitly asked what their perceptions were of themselves as entrepreneurs but also as enterprising individuals. Perhaps bearing in mind the previous tensions expressed within this chapter around making money as artists and the commercialisation of their work and selves as artists, this provoked a mixed response.

### 7.6.1 Perceptions of being enterprising

Throughout the interviews, participants would casually drop into the conversation that they had actually been “working as a freelancer” or “had been exhibiting” and “selling work” throughout or at particular points in their careers. It was often only when this was pointed out to them as potentially enterprising behaviour that they considered that it might be.

One participant spoke about ‘not even mentioning’ some of the freelance activity on her CV but proudly spoke about a number of purchases and home –improvements made paid for by this activity. Later on in the interview the same participant mentioned a number of gallery exhibitions and commissions that she had had. None of these were mentioned when she told the story of her career. While this is an indicator of a level of portfolio working and continuing arts practice, the participant did not regard any of this activity as entrepreneurial or enterprising on her behalf, or worthy of inclusion within her story.

<b>Table: 7.1 Perceptions of enterprising and entrepreneurial behaviour</b>			
<b>Entrepreneurial</b>	<b>Intrapreneurial</b>	<b>Not-entrepreneurial</b>	<b>Indicative of entrepreneurial traits/behaviours</b>
<p><i>When I knew I had enough experience and enough confidence to set up something on my own, that was the first decision that I made. So, I've pretty much always been self-employed.</i></p> <p><i>Six years of my career were all me running my own business. I'd call it freelancing, rather than running my own business really. That's because of being entrepreneurial</i></p>	<p><i>I was also working in clubs, you know, I mean, I've always been a bit entrepreneurial, whether I'm just promoting myself, within a business or within a company or to a business, then I always, you know, I'm conscious of what, of how to sell stuff, do you know what I mean, so I think it added a dimension to the entrepreneurial side of</i></p>	<p><i>Well I don't feel like I am entrepreneurial, I think it's a confidence thing and I'm not really a networker. I imagine you'd need to be a good networker and communicator to be able to put yourself out there, when being an artist.</i></p>	<p><i>I still find it really difficult in terms of my art work, I mean, I could flog my writing 'til the cows come home...</i></p> <p><i>I don't know if you'd call that freelancing, you just do a bit of work for them and then they pay you, so yeah, it is freelance.</i></p>

<p><i>but what I always lacked, was the business functions.</i></p> <p><i>I think I've done a big chunk of entrepreneurial work.</i></p>	<p><i>me, but yeah, it wasn't exclusively that.</i></p> <p><i>I was given a budget and I had to produce so many commissioned pieces of work and then develop schemes to go with it, so I suppose that was kind of enterprising, isn't it? I suppose.</i></p>	<p><i>I wouldn't run my own business, I don't think, never ever. If, for some reason, I became successful in the next 20 years, Charlotte, I would employ someone to run my business, I wouldn't want to do that. I just find that, you have to totally multi task to such a capacity that I don't think I don't think it's very healthy for me.</i></p>	
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**7.6.2 Discussion of perceptions of enterprising and entrepreneurial behaviour**

The table above offers an analysis of the participants' perceptions of themselves as entrepreneurial. These have been categorised into: those who had a positive attitude towards the concept of 'being entrepreneurial', recognising this as a trait they had or able to offer examples of their entrepreneurial behaviour; instances described as intrapreneurial where participants were entrepreneurial on behalf of an employer (Antoncic and Hirich, 2003). Some rejected entrepreneurship and did not see themselves as entrepreneurial, and some exhibited entrepreneurial traits but had not explicitly identified themselves as such.

These mixed views towards entrepreneurship and the participants' sense of themselves as entrepreneurs is linked to two other key factors so far identified within the study: that of their artistic identity and how an entrepreneurial identity would potentially be at odds with that; and the tension felt between art and commerce. To an extent, the participants' feelings regarding themselves as entrepreneurs were linked to their position on the role of 'the artist' more generally. Some, however,



had a pragmatic take on the situation, suggesting that artists have always had to be entrepreneurial to succeed, or the idea of being an artist or an entrepreneur is not mutually exclusive:

*And that's part of the characteristics of people who went to creative industries, whether actually people, they need to actually, it might ... even go back a layer, mightn't it, it might be the fact that we all actually like being in charge of our own funny little thing? (Participant 2)*

Certainly there is evidence elsewhere that there is a link between the entrepreneurial mind-set and that of the artist: "it has been posited that artists ... share many of the entrepreneurial personality traits cited in the academic business literature, particularly locus of control, risk-taking propensity, innovation, creativity and achievement motivation" (O'Connell and Henry, 2008:78). An important consideration for this study is how in some cases this might inform or help shape the identity of the individuals. There appears to be a split between those who are open to the idea of being entrepreneurial and see this as linked to the career of the artist, and those who reject it or feel ill-equipped for it. Rae (2004) offers a useful insight into the role of entrepreneurial identity within the creative industries, in terms of its formation, highlighting 'entrepreneurial identity formation through practice' as well as how individuals use narrative to help to make sense of their identity (Rae, 2004:495). Elsewhere, and potentially relevant to some of the participants of the study are "external factors like entrepreneurial culture or the existence of entrepreneurial 'heroes' as living examples of entrepreneurship have a certain influence on each person's occupational entrepreneurial identity" (Vesalainen and Pihkala, 2000:112). Perhaps this could explain the influence of some of the arts celebrities discussed earlier.

In terms of entrepreneurial activity, the participants discussed the need to be entrepreneurial in relation to the recent economic downturn and funding cuts that the current (at the time of writing) administration had made to the arts in recent years. These two different positions could point to push and pull theories (Brockhaus, 1980a) of why artists end up taking a more entrepreneurial position. On the one hand, they are drawn to an entrepreneurial position (pulled), as they are able then to enjoy the freedom to pursue their own ideas, projects and creativity; on the other hand, recent and on-going

ambiguity around funding for the arts could be considered as pushing individuals into entrepreneurship.

*A lot of the bodies that would have represented us as artists or created roles for us or work for us or status for us now actually aren't existing, so it's really coming back to that, I'd say and I think that the artists that are doing well are the ones that embrace that wholeheartedly and really work it. (Participant 3)*

Figure 7.5 offers an extension to the development of the integrative model. It highlights the additional dimensions of push and pull factors influencing and shaping the careers of these individuals. It also suggests a further extension to the previous work on identity, in terms of multiple identities. Here we see the overlap between the artistic and entrepreneurial identities. As described previously, these are not static positions. For the majority, throughout their careers their identities have dipped in and out of the artistic and entrepreneurial spheres and depending on their perspective, these are more or less compatible.

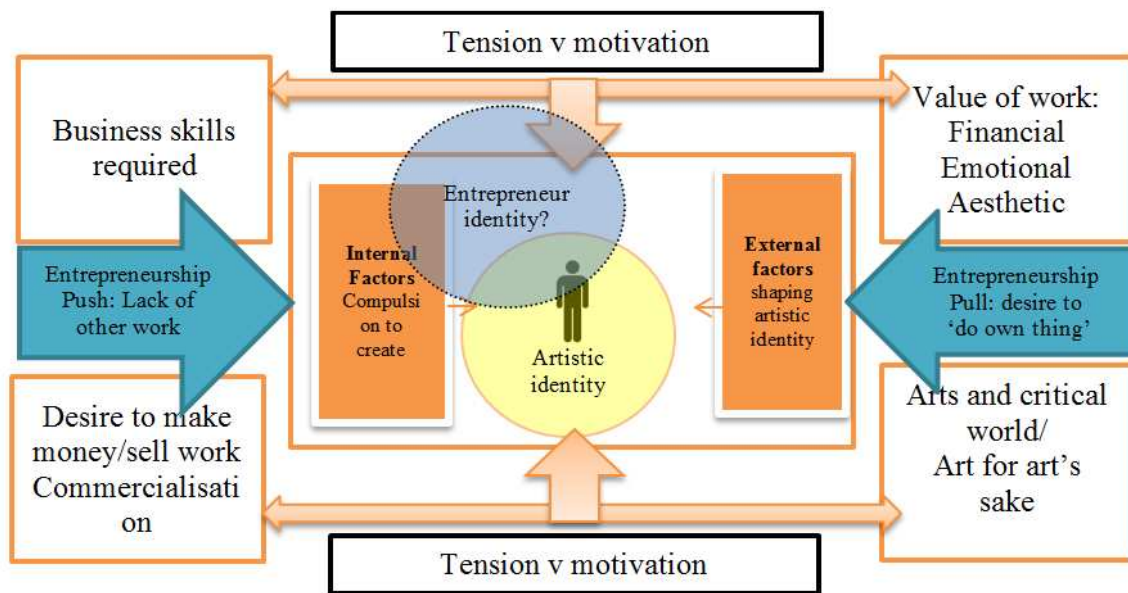


Figure 7.5 Stage 4 model development: push and pull factors informing entrepreneurial outcomes and identity

## 7.7 Enterprise Education

Interestingly an earlier point made by a participant about not having had “any explicit taught experience of business” is a theme which arose throughout the study. Participants were asked about their education and its impact on their entrepreneurial outcomes. Recent studies have suggested that although enterprise and business studies tend not to be taught explicitly within schools of art and design, much of the existing art and design pedagogy could be usefully adopted by enterprise educators in other disciplines (Carey and Matlay, 2010, 2011). This research highlights the use of practitioners or ‘pracademics’ (practitioners who lecture), a term adopted by the entrepreneurship education research community within the last ten years (QAA, 2012). ‘Pracademics’, it is argued provide students with a potentially entrepreneurial role model (assuming that the practitioner is self-employed, as many artists are) (Matlay and Carey, 2007). The use of real-life briefs to respond to offers ‘experiential learning’; the end of year show, the need to exhibit and the ‘crit’ offer the student the opportunity to justify and ‘sell’ their ideas. These features are described as ‘implicit’ enterprise education, as opposed to ‘explicit’ enterprise education, where the student takes a class or module on enterprise or entrepreneurship. Indeed it has been claimed that not only does the art school environment offer an opportunity for the students to rehearse their careers (Carey and Matlay, 2007; Penaluna and Penaluna, 2008), but their careers actually start while at art school (Blackwell and Harvey, 1999).

Within this research, the participants were asked to consider whether their fine art education had explicitly offered them enterprise education. Further exploration also sought to establish whether there were any career benefits (specifically related to enterprise) in the generic teaching of creative disciplines and potentially any ‘implicit’ enterprise education, for example whether or not the lecturers’ status as a practitioner, project-based course work, ‘crits’, peer review, assessment of ideas, private views and exhibiting work had any bearing. This next section looks at ‘explicit’ and then ‘implicit’ enterprise education and the potential impact of both on entrepreneurial outcomes and the ability of the participants to sustain a business as an artist.

### 7.7.1 Explicit enterprise education

Participants, tended to be negative in their attitudes towards enterprise education, particularly with regards to how they had been prepared for their potential life as an artist. Enterprise provision through their undergraduate programmes was limited. It is evident that they were given very little in the way of explicit enterprise education:

*It was a huge gap that we didn't realise was even there really, I mean, 'cause I was lost when I came out, I didn't know how to make any money. (Participant 3)*

*None of it was geared up to a career. (Participant 4)*

*I didn't feel that the course really sort of helped me think about what I might do with this experience and qualification at the end of it, so stuff like about how to market oneself, how to kind of approach galleries, how to put a decent sort of art based CV together, all that sort of thing that might be something that you might do on a course like that, it didn't feel like that. (Participant 9)*

*The course was about finishing off with your final show and there wasn't a sense of ... we didn't do stuff where we tried to get stuff shown in external galleries particularly. People did do things like that, but no, I didn't really kind of have a sense of, beyond buying Artist's Newsletter, quite what to do really. (Participant 6)*

The narrative extracts above are pretty damning in terms of what they highlight was perceived to be missing from the participants' undergraduate course. Interestingly, the participants again seem to be clear about what was missing in terms of marketing, finding exhibiting opportunities, an artist's CV. This implies some tacit knowledge or acquired knowledge subsequent to graduating.

### 7.7.2 Implicit enterprise education

While the participants may have felt ill-equipped on graduating and that their undergraduate programme had not provided any 'explicit' enterprise education, there was a suggestion that other benefits and entrepreneurial outcomes accrued from their fine art course:

*People that have done fine art they are self-disciplined and they drive themselves, but that doesn't always connect that you can be self-disciplined and drive your own practice, but the marketing of your practice is a separate thing and reaching the people you want to reach and understanding your practice enough to be able to break it down, it's like a different skill. (Participant 5)*

Interestingly this suggests that the practice and self-led nature of the courses equips graduates with the discipline required, but the practical business skills discussed earlier in this chapter are not developed.

*I suppose being at art school, you become more aware of design and promotion (Participant 7)*

This participant highlights the access to and development of the individual's design literacy and, it could be argued, how design is used within a marketing context.

*In a funny kind of way it gave me a great sense of time-management and allowed me to think creatively about all kinds of things not just art. Studying art gives you the ability to have a creative perspective on most things. It's given me the confidence also to try new things, which inevitably has led me to where I am now. (Participant 13)*

Interestingly, this final participant, a serial entrepreneur currently running a restaurant, identifies his fine art education with equipping him with business skills in terms of time management but also as offering a creative outlook and confidence to try other career options.

It can be argued that enterprise education was lacking for these participants, although there is some evidence to suggest that while the existing methods of teaching fine art may well lend themselves to developing entrepreneurial traits, without the explicit business skills being taught alongside them, upon graduating, the students are unable to fully economically exploit their talent.

## **7.8 Summary and conclusions of chapter**

It is clear from the findings and discussion within this chapter that there is a situation whereby the individual has a compulsion to create. They would like to sell the work they create. The reasons for selling are complex: if they sell their work there is a sense of success linked to selling; if they sell their work they potentially can make a living from doing the thing they love to do. However, in order to sell their work, they may experience the discomfort of having to network, to view their art work and perhaps themselves as a product. This calls in to question how they value their artistic endeavour. They experience the issue of trying to give a price or provide a monetary value to something that they may perceive to have some other value, perhaps an emotional or aesthetic value. Their artistic pursuit may be very personal and so the individual may feel that they are having to sell themselves in some

way. Linked to this are external tensions: cultural and historical attitudes towards art and the artist's role within society. This is often emphasised by the critical arts world and serves to build or undermine the individual's confidence.

The individuals have had to navigate their way through this and come to terms with the role of commerce within the arts world and how they position themselves and operate within it. It is evident that the participants felt underequipped to deal with this side of arts practice, although there is evidence to suggest that they may have inadvertently acquired some enterprising aptitudes or traits while in education. The tools to fully exploit these, for example business, marketing and accounting skills, were lacking.

This chapter has provided a third and fourth stage to a conceptual model for understanding the careers of fine artists and how entrepreneurship is experienced. In some instances, the participants acknowledge themselves and the role of an artist as entrepreneurial, highlighting both push (lack of other work and/or funding) and pull factors (the desire to 'do their own thing') for entrepreneurial outcomes. The role of identity is once again considered, with participants taking on an entrepreneurial identity.

Finally, the role of education and specifically enterprise education, both explicit and implicit, has been considered, highlighting both the benefits and entrepreneurial outcomes engendered through existing art school approaches to teaching as well as a paucity of explicit and arguably useful business skills development.

## **Chapter 8: Gender and parenting and its impact on fine art careers and enterprise; the male and female perspective**

### **8.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides the final section of findings and discussion. Within the previous two chapters, key themes emerged which helped (in Chapter Six) to aid understanding of the ‘compulsion to create’, the role of artistic identity and contributory factors that help shape and inform identity. Within Chapter Seven the practicalities of a career as a fine artist were discussed: key findings emerged related to the tensions of commercialisation of one’s art, business skills gaps within fine art practice, and an exploration of implicit and explicit enterprise education. The impact of these factors on participants’ perceptions of themselves as enterprising and any eventual enterprising behaviour that they perceived themselves to exhibit were discussed.

The chapter is structured in the following way. First, there is an examination of gendered roles across various creative disciplines as experienced by the participants; this includes discussion of unexpected outcomes or situations where the participants’ experience contradicts the dominant position held by researchers within the field. Second, parenting is discussed and its role within the careers of the participants is looked out from both a male and female perspective. Next, a detailed exploration of entrepreneurship and arts practice in relation to parenting explores both the impact and opportunities that arise. Identity is then discussed around the formation and fluidity of identity as artist, entrepreneur and parent. Finally an insight and a developing understanding of the role of gender within the careers of these graduates is provided.

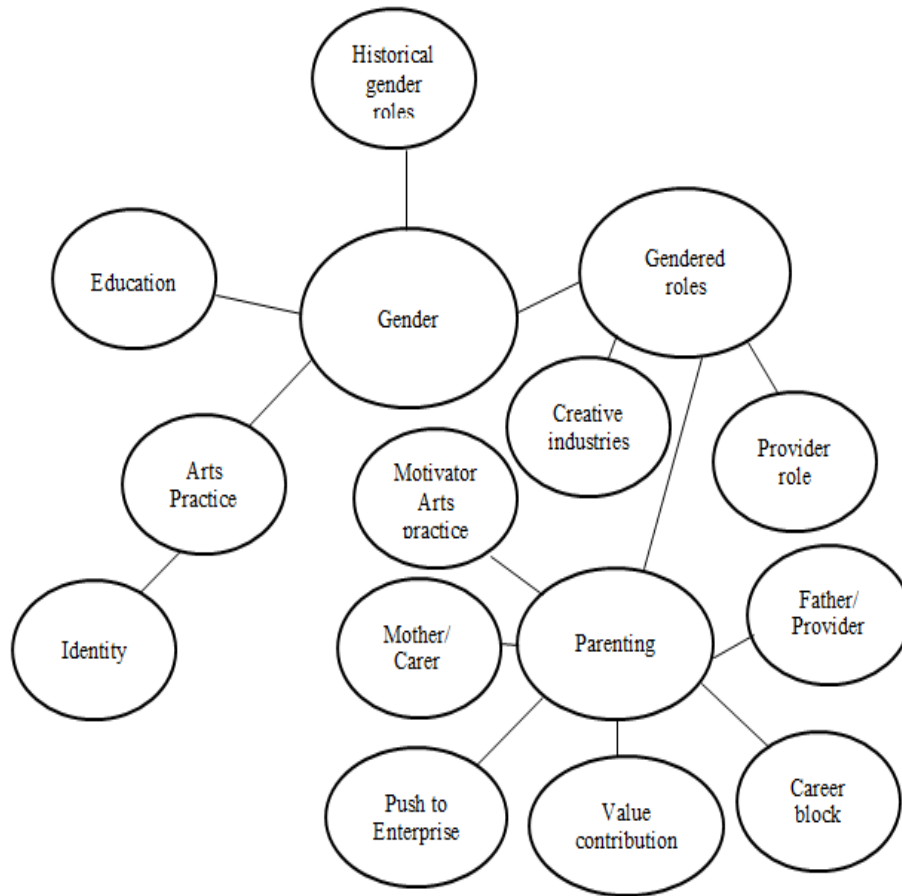
As described in previous chapters, Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest that in order to help make sense of an often “complex body of data” (1998:251) to help aid the structure and clarify what to include in the writing up, the researcher should first develop a “clear analytic story” (1998:249),. This portion of the findings is described in the final section of the analytic story:

The complexities of **gender and gendered roles** are also apparent. The final part of this story relates to how the participants experience their careers from the perspective of their gender. Specifically a strong factor emerges relates to **parenting**. This is not a straightforward case of careers being sabotaged by parenting: in several cases children have inspired, made the need to create even more acute. A secondary aspect is the male **role of the provider** and the difficulties that a career as a fine artist presents in that instance. **Work on identity is a recurring theme** throughout the analysis and emerges here again when looking at multiple identities and parenting.

**Figure 8.1 Section three of brief analytic story**

As with previous chapters, the initial focus is on the analysis process. The first stage within grounded theory approaches to analysis is open coding. Because of the emphasis of the study there was a deliberate desire to seek opinions on the role of gender. As with previous chapters, this was looked at explicitly, i.e. participants were asked whether and in which ways gender had impacted on their careers. The open coding process also drew out other related and unexpected themes.





**Figure 8.2 Diagram illustrating indicative open codes (relevant to ‘Gender’)**

Figure 8.2 offers an illustration of the process of open coding which relates to the themes and theory building which takes place within this chapter. The diagram shows the process as a mind map.

The Nvivo software allowed the researcher to build up the analysis by creating a hierarchy or ‘families’ of codes. This enabled the researcher to begin to establish core categories within the open coding phase and establish themes within those categories, for example Gender>Gender roles>Parenting>Push to Enterprise.

The participants explicitly associated a number of factors with their gender, which the researcher identified either, as having been highlighted within the literature review or as deemed to be emerging or new themes to the study. The participants had experienced a wide range of gender divides within the working environments of a number of creative disciplines: these related to both male- and female-

dominated fields. In some instances, the widely held view of the dominance of one sex over the other in certain fields was challenged. One area where the existing stereotype held true, bar one exception, was the role of parenting. Parenting and the impact of becoming a parent became a strong feature of the analysis. Again there were surprises amongst these findings. Although in some cases becoming a parent presented a barrier, block or interruption to careers, there were positive outcomes too. Parenting, or more specifically motherhood, is highlighted within the literature related to entrepreneurship as being a block to self-employment (Marlow, 2006) and stated to have an impact on the types of business women run (Smith-Hunter, 2006).

### **8.1.2 Axial coding**

Within the second phase of the analysis (axial coding) the researcher sought to find relationships between the initial open codes. Figure 8.3 illustrates the axial coding phase. The codes illustrated here and discussed within this section focus on gender, however this is not to assume that the factors which emerged in the previous chapters are no longer relevant. For example, the 'compulsion to create' and the issues and anxieties around running a business are still there (albeit not illustrated in this diagram). Figure 8.3 highlights an additional layer of complexity for some of the participants: the role of gender.

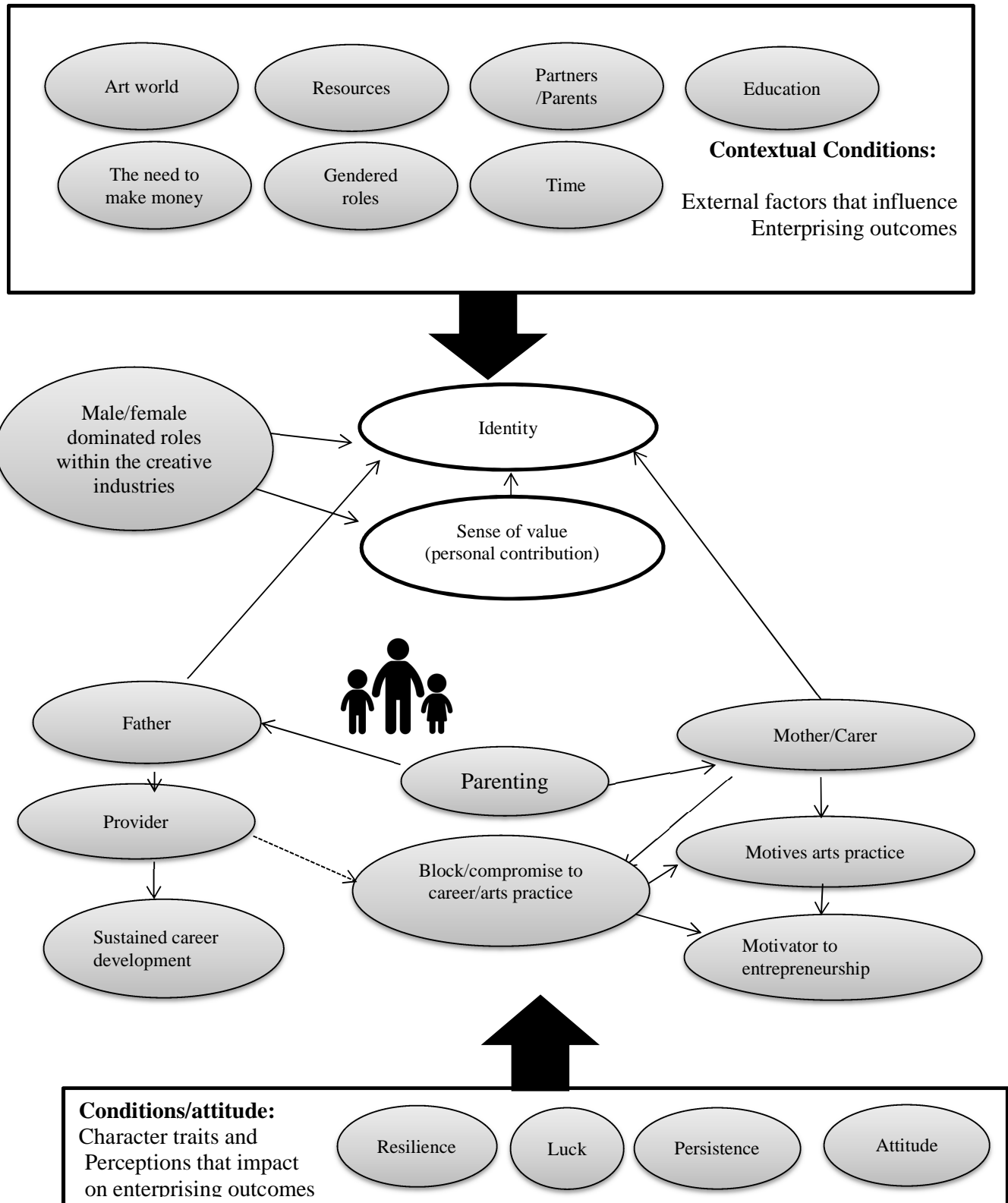


Figure 8.3 Axial coding relationships between nodes associated with Gender

## **8.2 Gendered roles within the workplace: examples from various creative disciplines**

Prior to the participants being specifically asked about whether their sex had had any bearing on their careers, gender had already featured highly in the interviews. This offered rich insight into the role of gender within the creative industries and across multiple disciplines. A picture emerged of the types of opportunity that were available, depending on the sex of the participant and how they responded to being either in a male- or female-dominated environment.

Across the creative industries, there is evidence of gender differences in terms of the types of role that the different sexes are likely to take. The creative industries in their widest definition tend to be male-dominated, with as the sector skills set suggests: “Unlike the UK’s working population as a whole the typical Creative Industry workforce is white, male, young and highly qualified” (Creative and Cultural Skillset, 2010:20). A number of statistics emphasise this, suggesting that within the creative and cultural industries women only make up 40% of the workforce as opposed to 46% in the general workforce (Skillset, 2008; 2010). There is evidence that senior and management roles tend to be male-dominated.

### **8.2.1 Gendered roles within creative disciplines**

An unexpected outcome of the study is the insight gleaned into the multiple sub-sectors of the creative industries. The participants’ careers had led them in many different directions, but by and large they had remained in careers related to or within one of the creative industries. As elicited from the literature review and explained in the Introduction, this study has used the widely adopted DCMS definition of the creative industries encompassing thirteen unique sub-sectors: advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer games, television and radio (DCMS, 2001:5). Broadly speaking, the participants’ careers were centred around one or other of these sub-sectors. Table 8.1 offers insights into a number of these different disciplines and provides discussion of the specific gender issues associated with these. The chapter goes on to discuss in detail

the arts (as a sub-sector central to all of the participants), from the different perspectives offered by the participants:

Table 8.1: Insight into gender issues across multiple creative disciplines		
Sector	Participant perception	Discussion
Design and Advertising  (Graphic designer/ Graphic design HE lecturer)	<p><i>Advertising, it's even worse [than design], that's why I've got a lot of respect for my female colleagues who've worked in advertising as a career, but they've sacrificed everything, they don't have families, they don't have boyfriends and they had to give that up to get ahead in terms of their careers.</i></p> <p><i>Look, I'm alright, I have gay staff and I've always been able to get on with women who are in management, apart from men women. It's a strange one, 'cause it's something that, well, I've always felt that, 'cause I can't do small talk with a group of blokes, like even creative always go back to football, they always go back to sport, they go back to, it's just in the blood, kind of thing. I can remember having quite heated discussions with someone who I'd class as a mentor about how there are no gay men in advertising, he would turn around and say, but hang on a minute, my copy writer for 30 years was gay and I'd go, one person, but generally, students coming</i></p>	<p>A number of participants' careers had had shifts into the design and advertising field at one time or another; the majority of these were within visual and graphic design, with one participant making forays into furniture design. Both graphic design and furniture design appear to have a reasonably strong male dominance. The long-hours culture typified in the film and television industry is also prevalent within advertising, as the participant suggests when they acknowledge that for women to pursue a career within this field they would be required to make significant sacrifices: the suggestion here is that this is not the same for their male counterparts</p> <p>Interestingly some areas of research point to advertising as having a feminine as opposed to masculine working culture, albeit with men tending to take lead roles (Williams <i>et al.</i>, 1999). Other interesting aspects of the graphic design world were the 'laddish' and macho atmosphere. One participant felt strongly that their sexuality, as a gay man, was also a significant factor within his career within graphic design and the arts world. Their perspective offers interesting insight into the gendered position of both of these disciplines.</p> <p>This would indicate that graphic design is a very male dominated and somewhat 'laddish' environment, which it could be argued would also be unattractive to female designers.</p> <p>A trait discussed here is of women having to adopt traditionally masculine behaviours in order to get ahead within advertising. Besen highlights a long history of gendered roles, the dominance of masculine and feminine attributes within the</p>

	<p><i>through as well, they'll go towards illustration or photography, or they'll be in fine art. You don't tend to find a lot of gay graphic communicators.</i></p> <p><i>I'd pushed for, it wasn't official, but I aired my opinions I wanted positive discrimination and I wanted women in the new team. They've actually turned out to be more manly than men, 'cause they've come from 30 years of working in very hard, male dominated advertising and design agencies and they bring with them those coping mechanisms and methodologies.</i></p> <p><i>(Participant 9)</i></p>	<p>workplace (Besen, 2007).</p>
<p>Publishing (Journalist)</p>	<p><i>I mean, the thing about journalism, it's massively democratic, it's not just for the boys, it's whoever gets the story first is the winner and that's it ... and so it's a completely even playing field and everyone is as nasty to each other as they are to everyone else and it's almost kind of beautiful in that, of ... everyone backstabs everyone else, regardless of race, sexual identity, creed, anything, you know, it's just, so no, really even playing field.</i></p> <p><i>As a journalist ... I think the whole mode of operation is a very masculine one, thinking about it now. It's democratic in the day to day life, but</i></p>	<p>One participant spoke about the issue of a masculine environment in the journalism field, but women being very good at it. This participant offered a contradictory perspective. Her initial feeling was that the field of journalism that she had been involved in (tabloid) offered a “level playing field”. On reflection, she considered that this was a masculine environment with women having to adopt ‘aggressive’ characteristics’ in order to compete for the stories. Ross (2011) highlights a long-argued view of a ‘macho’ culture within newsrooms; she goes further to highlight the influence this has, not only on those workers, but also on the actual content and emphasis within the news broadcast and published (Ross, 2011:1148).</p>

	<p><i>actually, the way that you behave is quite aggressive, it's as if you're all on testosterone night and day ... and I don't mean that as a cliché, but it is, so maybe it's kind of coming and rebalancing everything and now it's about acknowledging, actually, I don't need to work like that anymore really.</i></p> <p><i>(Participant 2)</i></p>	
<p>Television (Commercial promo producer/director)</p>	<p><i>All those trainees, we get four new trainees, they're always men. We had one, nearly had one about three years ago, every other year, there's always been men. It's interesting, they might get some women in, you know, who freelance, but that's because they haven't got to get involved in the politics of the company and they'll just do trails and they'll fuck off at five, 'cause they've got to pick the kids up, but there's not that many women. Out of about 30 creatives, there's only probably, there are less than 10%, I'd say, are women.</i></p> <p><i>You'll see more men up on stage, it's a very male business, the creative side, but the admin side, the production corner, it's the ones who actually do the actual pen pushing, money things, they're mostly women.</i></p> <p><i>(Participant, 8)</i></p>	<p>A male participant's career had been firmly based within the world of commercial shorts. Here he described his role as a 'creative', working for TV companies creating video trails for television production companies. He noted that within that line of work there were very few female members in the teams of which he had been a member.</p> <p>This disparity was highlighted within the literature review. Although statistics remain scant, it would seem that within the film industry, which shares some characteristics with television there is a tendency for gender roles to be somewhat stereotyped. As established there "are few women in camera, sound, electrical and construction departments (the film industry) and more women work in costume, make-up and script development" (Skillset, 2005:12). It could be argued that this is the case within the television industry, too. Much attention both in the literature and in the popular press has focused on the role of women within broadcasting, with a focus on ageism directed at female presenters and newscasters, as well as an inequitable pressure on women to be and remain youthful and attractive, or as Jermyn highlights, "the double standards of ageing" (Jermyn, 2012:1).</p> <p>Willis and Dex (2002) highlights a wide range of factors affecting particularly mothers working within television, for example the long-hours culture, keeping up with contacts and networks (outside of standard childcare hours), women</p>

		<p>continuing to pursue an ‘eighties’ ideal of ‘having it all’ and then feeling unable to give sufficient attention to any area of their lives. Issues of childcare are also raised. This is particularly prevalent to freelancers who might be working on short-term projects and need short-term, extended-hours childcare (Willis and Dex, 2002:139). It is worth noting that these issues faced mainly by women with children are not unique to the television industry: a number of the creative industry sub-sectors are characterised by project-based and time-limited work. For example, the film industry (Blair et al., 2001a) could also be considered exclusive in terms of its long-hours culture and project-based and often location-based work, all of which could be considered problematic for anyone with childcare responsibilities. It is evident through many of the creative disciplines looked at here that women frequently take administrative roles. Browne describes how within the BBC, an institution, arguably, central to the UK television industry there is “vertical occupational gender segregation” (Browne, 2004:55).</p>
<p>Art Therapy (Art therapist)</p>	<p><i>I suppose the female thing is that it’s a ‘caring’ profession, there aren’t many men working as art therapists. I do feel that the need for security is a female thing too, especially having had the children.</i></p> <p><i>(Participant 7)</i></p> <p><i>I’ve always wanted to be a good therapist, I’m not interested in being a manager, which is where promotions lie, this is probably due to having small children which I feel is a gender thing.</i></p>	<p>Two of the participants were working as art therapists. This does not strictly fit with any of the sub-sectors as defined by the DCMS but is worthy of discussion, as it is a related field within the sector and has strong links to the fine art training. One of the participants (at the time of writing) has ventured into private work. Unlike some of the other sectors and fields discussed here, art therapy is a female dominated field. Kaplan describes art therapy as a “largely female profession” (Kaplan, 2000: 13), and Hogan (2007) reports that 70% of UK art therapists are female.</p> <p>However, the participants involved in this study describe a situation where they experience a ‘glass ceiling’. While the glass ceiling effect has been highlighted as a push factor for female entrepreneurship (Orhan and Scott, 2001), there is a paucity of research to support this within art therapy. However the participants described a</p>



	<i>(Participant 4)</i>	situation with “little career progression, and a recent decline in funding and management roles are frequently male dominated”(Participant 11).
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Table 8.1 discusses the experience of the participants within specific sub-sectors or job roles within the creative sector. The discussion locates these findings within the context of the literature. These findings highlight the gender differences within these different fields and act as examples to illuminate what is already known within the literature. However, seeing these together also offers insight into how these different fields compare. Broadly speaking, it could be suggested that jobs described as ‘commercial creative roles’ have a tendency to be male-dominated, whereas jobs which are ‘non-commercial creative roles’ - the art therapist, art teacher - appear to be female-dominated.

In order to succeed in some of these traditional male-dominated sectors, women have (anecdotally) sacrificed having families. The experience and observation of the participants and qualified, to an extent, through the literature, indicates that women have had to adapt their behaviour, to be more masculine, in order to succeed within design, advertising, journalism and, to a certain extent, television (albeit very few women are cited as even working within the production/creative side described here). There is a paucity of research across the creative industries, but specific sub-sectors have been examined, which aids our understanding of the experience of women. For example when discussing fashion, McRobbie (1998) makes reference to female fashion designers who run their own businesses, as having to “postpone motherhood indefinitely” (McRobbie, 1998:7). There are lower levels of women running architectural practices, despite almost equal numbers being trained (DCMS 2006:69). It could be argued that, as with other professions, there has been what Adkins (1999) refers to as a ‘re-traditionalisation’ of gendered job roles. Banks and Milestone (2011) apply these theories to the cultural industries, highlighting particularly the new creative industries (i.e. the new media sector). They suggest that women’s involvement with family and domesticity has left the way open for men to exploit opportunities within this sector (Banks and Milestone, 2011). However, gendered

roles are not straightforward, as established in the literature review, and both sexes are reluctant to embark on non-traditional gender roles, with evidence that women experience male-dominated cultural references within many organisations (Charles, 2002).

The sub-sector where the study offers most insight is what is referred to by the DCMS as the arts market. It becomes evident that for this cohort there does seem to be an imbalance in terms of who is able to participate and to take opportunities. However, this is not as straightforward as 'jobs for the boys'.

### **8.2.2 The arts market: careers within arts organisations**

The arts market is discussed from two perspectives. One participant had spent a number of years working in an art gallery another, worked and had re-trained as a curator and is currently (at the time of writing) the director of a successful gallery and arts centre in the South-West. The second perspective has already been discussed widely in the previous chapter, that is, the arts market from the perspective of the practising artist. This is picked up again in this chapter, but through the lens of gender.

The role of women within the arts market (the researcher extends this definition to include roles within arts management, art gallery ownership and curatorship) has endured a fair amount of criticism for being male-dominated at senior management level. Although there appear to be large numbers of women working within the creative and cultural industries, there are fewer than in the general workforce (Skillset, 2010; Dodd *et al.*, 2008). A female participant offered an interesting perspective which ran contrary to much of the literature in discussing how the art gallery and museum she worked within had female leadership and a team of young male middle managers. The participant related this to the male-dominated leadership discussed within the literature, disputing that there was an issue and citing her female boss. However, those who were working in management were otherwise male:

*You know, she was very good, but she definitely had a type that she liked to employ and you could almost clone them, they were so similar and so we had quite a lot of men in the position, but she was the Director and not a lot at middle management, but she was at the top*

*and then most of the middle management were men, then it was really mixed actually in that particular museum, but yeah, it's badly paid. (Participant 5)*

Another participant who also had experience of working within an art gallery environment also cited the low pay and low skilled jobs held by women.

*I think being a woman in this field and knowing, this area of work is much, there's many, many more women working in this area than there are men and there's many more female ... administrators than there are men. (Participant 2)*

In most instances, participants were able to think of examples of women working as managers within art galleries, while still acknowledging that there was a tendency for women to reach a glass ceiling within arts organisations:

*Most arts organisations, I think you'll find more women working ... in the gallery sector side of things and then there's like the hierarchy ... the top of the tree kind of thing, the bigger posts still seem to be male dominated, but having said that, there's a significant amount of, and I'm thinking about London again, arts organisations there, middle scale really, like Whitechapel, South London again, the prominent figure, the Director there is female. (Participant 7)*

An interesting perspective offered by the same female participant, who herself was working as a gallery director, was that perhaps, it was the role of director that may be unattractive to women:

*I wonder if it's also to do with the actual role, because with each institution and like curating itself is so different to being that of a Director, which is what's happening to me, curating is a creative process and Director, which this role that I do now is a mixture, Director's completely different and I don't really want to do a lot of the tasks that come with that. (Participant 7)*

Insight is offered through research carried out by the 'Cultural Leadership Programme' which cites that there are far fewer female leaders within the sector than male and the proportion of mixed gender management teams within the sector is only 12% as opposed to 39% in the general workforce (Dodd *et al.*, 2008:8). Adams (2010) points out: "as in museums, women disproportionately occupy lower-paid, lower-status jobs, shoulder much of the burden of teaching and administrative tasks, and have difficulty achieving promotion to senior posts" (Adams, 2010:39). Adams was looking in detail at the high-profile issues surrounding Elizabeth Esteve-Coll, who was Director of the Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A) in London from 1987 to 1995 and highlighted a male-dominated, socially elite and

patriarchal system which potentially led to her resignation (Adams, 2010:28). However, a different perspective offered by the participant is that perhaps in addition to the established gender inequalities, the management roles are perhaps perceived to be insufficiently creative and so also lack appeal.

### **8.3 The arts market: careers as artists**

#### **8.3.1 Fine art education**

This section starts with discussion related to the participants' education and the attitudes towards gender which may have contributed to the formation of these individuals sense of themselves as artists. One interesting aspect which arose was an explicit reference to dismissive attitudes of male lecturing staff towards women as practising artists. A number of the female participants made reference to either an explicit or underlying gender imbalance in terms of the teaching staff, as well as some dubious attitudes towards female students.

The participants were not asked about their experience of education from a gender perspective, so the responses below were either embedded within the stories or formed part of their response to the question of whether they felt gender had impacted on their careers. This first extract suggests that at the time (1991-1994), lecturing staff might still be harbouring some rather patronising and outdated attitudes towards the role of women as artists and students of fine art:

*I thought he was quite a good lecturer tutor, but he said that it wasn't long ago that women came to art college to find their husbands, that's what he said, which was like, oh okay then, but he was saying that as a part of a discussion, but I thought, oh gosh ... (Participant 5)*

A secondary element is the role of women as lecturing staff. The researcher's insider perspective offers some insight; during the first two years of the course there were no female lecturers. Students (including the researcher) made efforts to rectify this, through discussion with student representatives who raised these issues at faculty/student meetings. It was seen by some that there was a need from a social, ethical and gender equality basis to have a more representative staff. The male-dominated staff were also considered as not being empathetic with the female position and their sometimes feminist work, and potentially insensitive to the personal nature of some students' work. (It should be noted

that by the time this cohort were in their final year, a number of female staff had been recruited and were working across the different fine art disciplines.)

*The fine art course was quite brutal. The head lecturer said to me that I was 'adolescent'; it was all very male-dominated in terms of the lecturing staff. I was doing sculpture and making quite personal things and could probably have benefitted from some female tutoring. (Participant 6)*

*We didn't even have any women lecturers there and I did complain about that because my work was being marked by men. (Participant 3)*

These extracts illustrate the situation within the period of this cohort's fine art education. It could be argued that the situation may have been symptomatic of its time. For example recent revelations related to the Savile enquiry highlight a latent and institutionalised sexism (O'Carroll, 2012). This could be described as benevolent sexism, which is differentiated from hostile sexism "We define *benevolent sexism* as a set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone (for the perceiver) and also tend to elicit behaviors typically categorized as prosocial (e.g., helping) or intimacy seeking (e.g., self-disclosure)" (Glide and Fisk, 1996: 491). This type of sexism often has a positive face but has been identified to undermine women's self-esteem and confidence, due in part to its patronising nature (Dardenne *et al.*, 2007).

Dalton (2001) highlights that there is a paucity of research examining the role or importance of arts education, suggesting that maths and sciences are given significant importance. Perhaps the underlying point here is that some types of education are quantifiable in terms of their financial capital, while cultural capital is largely ignored, however, arguably, most industries owe a significant debt to the arts, although this is rarely acknowledged (CEBR, 2013). This has been a feature of recent discussion in the popular press and amongst academics highlighting the plight of the arts, citing continued cuts to arts funding while cultural exports continue to deliver financially (Toynbee, 2013), while in secondary school education the threat to arts curricula has been highlighted with the attempt

by the current administration to introduce the English Baccalaureate, where educationalists opposed to its introduction suggested that “We felt that their introduction could lead to a two-tier system, where arts and cultural subjects would be learned through a different and less important type of examination” (Cultural Learning Alliance, 2013: website).

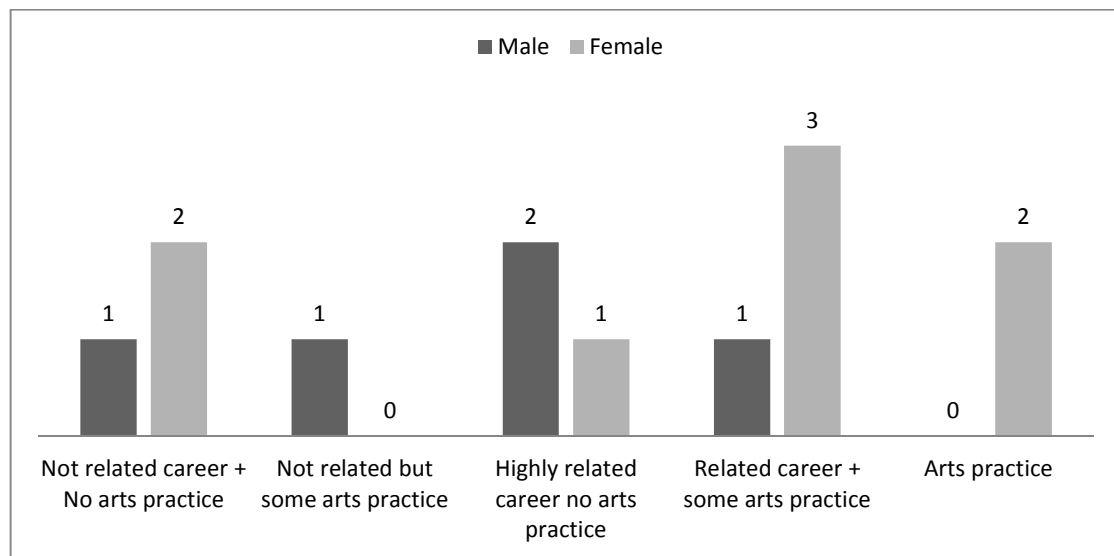
But from a female perspective, there are further implications: “there has been little attempt to understand art education’s place in relation to the wider social contexts of the family, productive work and consumption or to see how girls’ art education relates to women’s contemporary art practice” (Dalton, 2001:6). Burgess and Reay discuss the importance of being aware and engaged in the discourse of how art education is taught, suggesting that “the underpinning needed is one that includes a critical evaluation of deeply embedded existing hierarchies of knowledge within both the world of art production and the world of education” (Burgess and Reay, 2006:74). The following comment from a participant who has recently participated in a master’s course within an art school environment suggests that many of these same issues are still rife: here she is discussing how to manage communication within that environment with male lecturing staff, also highlighting that as women age another set of issues emerges:

*We either talk like men talk and come across in that way and basically, don’t mention the fact we’re struggling with our childcare and we’re struggling with this, we have to pretend that we don’t have family commitments, or we just keep on pushing it into people’s faces and just say that’s, but unfortunately, it’s hard to do, when you reach a certain age, you stop being as visible, you know, a woman of 40 years. (Participant 3)*

It could be argued that the fine art education reinforced gender stereotypes with the arts world. Previous studies have highlighted a characteristic of art and design education being that lecturers are frequently practitioners. Carey and Matlay (2007) highlight this from the perspective of entrepreneurship and argue that these ‘pracademics’ could act as entrepreneurial role models, on the basis that they are likely to be self-employed and/or small business owners. From a gender perspective, it could be argued that in a male-dominated teaching staff, these role models were simply not there for the female participants of the study.

### 8.3.2 Careers as artists

This lack is, however, not reflected in the attempts and persistence of a number of female participants in pursuing their careers. For the most part, the female participants had a greater interest in retaining their artistic practice. In nearly all (10 of 13) cases, the participants had a career or profession linked to their studies or practised art and, as established, the majority still had a strong compulsion to create. However, there does seem to be a gender split in terms of the artistic pursuit. A key finding is that the female participants were more inclined to be making art and seeking exhibiting opportunities in addition to their day jobs, whereas the male participants appear to be more likely to pursue their creative ambitions within their jobs. Again, this is an observation of this cohort and not a generalisation about all male and female fine art graduates. Figure 8.4 illustrates a scale of involvement in fine art practice based on the perception of the participants and the degree to which they have remained practising artists. The chart aims to categorise the participants in terms of their sex, involvement both as practising artists, and also their day jobs, in terms of how they make a living and how closely their living is related to fine art practice.



**Figure 8.4 Scale of involvement in fine art practice by numbers of participants and gender**

The participants had various jobs. The majority were involved in a role linked to the fine art field. Some had had careers in other creative disciplines and had moved in and out of the practising arts world. It should be reiterated that a clear feature of their careers is that they tend not to be static. The majority move between their paid work and their arts practice. Through questioning the participants about gender, some interesting aspects emerged.

A key finding is that there appears to be a tendency for the female participants to have a stronger tendency to continue to pursue their art career. Linked to this is a relationship between their continued arts practice and being or becoming a parent. For the female parents within the group, parenting provided a boost to their artistic ambitions. As identified within the coding phase of the analysis, there was a suggestion that becoming a parent was a hindrance or a 'block' within the careers of some participants (particularly female participants). However, it would appear, although not easy, that parenting also acts as a motivator for artistic activity and that potentially the forced career break offered those individuals an opportunity to re-focus their careers and re-engage with their artistic endeavours.

While the men in this study generally made very little mention of their children, there was a sense that their role as 'provider' (see Section 8.4.2) had a strong influence over the career decisions they made. Potentially the lack of break within their career, it could be argued, led to less opportunity for reflection and then re-focusing/attempting or re-establishing artistic pursuit.

#### **8.4 Parenting and career**

Parenting remained a dominant theme throughout the interviews; however, this was far more prevalent amongst the female participants. The following section details the role and impact of parenting on the participants from a number of perspectives, first the female perspective, then the male. The discussion is then developed to look at the impact of parenting on two core areas of this study: entrepreneurship and arts practice. This section is concluded with an extension to the conceptual model which has been developed throughout Chapters Six, Seven and now Eight.



#### 8.4.1 Female parents' perspective

*I meet women at baby groups and the women don't talk about their careers, they focus on and talk about their children, it's like the babies became the project. (Participant 10)*

Part of the rationale for looking at this sample group, as described within the methodology chapter, was that they would be reaching middle age. With birth dates between 1968-1972, they would (at the time of writing and analysis) be around the 40 year old mark. The assumption of the researcher was that by this age most of the participants would have either had or considered having children, and if they had had children, their impact would have been felt by the participants in terms of their career. Of the 8 women who participated in the study, all but two had children and one of those had a step-child. Of the 5 men who participated, all but one had children. In all cases, the female parents in the group had been the primary carer for their children, and in the case of these women this had led to a period of maternity leave or absence from work. For some of the women, this had led to prolonged gaps in their career, for others a change of career. Unlike the male participants, the role of parent was discussed and featured heavily in their stories.

What emerges is that parenting affects careers within the creative industries, specifically the careers of fine artists. This is particularly pertinent to women, and there were multiple occasions where this was described by participants. However, it is also an influencing factor with some of the male participants. Here the issue is slightly different, and there appears to be a link for some men in terms of 'being a provider'. This is less directly linked to the act of staying home and looking after children and more closely related to being ambitious, or the ambitions of the partner/wife on behalf of the man. While these findings are not surprising, the novel aspect is the ways in which parenting affected careers. The following discussion explores male and female perspectives on parenting and its impact on entrepreneurship and artistic pursuit.

#### 8.4.2 Male parent perspective – man as provider

Although parenting was primarily a feature of the female participants, in the respect that they spoke about it the most, this did highlight the role men play within family life. A key finding through the research, which was unexpected to the researcher, was that for all the confines and restrictions which the female parent participants experienced, there was an equally restrictive situation for some of the male participants. While some of the female participants experienced a situation whereby their role as a parent meant that they experienced prolonged career breaks or required jobs that provided flexible working hours so that they would be able to devote time to their children, the male participants felt a different sort of pressure: the pressure to provide. As established in previous chapters, fine art is not a career that offers much in the way of job security or financial reward (for the majority). The male participants were more inclined to talk their role as a provider either to their partners or as parents.

*Constantly, I'm in turmoil, constant turmoil, not constantly, but I lived in periods where I'm really self-doubting and thinking, what the hell am I doing ... I should have a proper career and I should have tried harder, I shouldn't have done fine art at university, I should have done at least something like 3D design or something ... so I could have a career. (Participant 1)*

*The girl that I lived with, she just couldn't understand why I didn't make, I don't know, she was kind of pushing me to try and do something else, like maybe change to be an architect or something, something like that, so it put a lot of sort of strain in that relationship. (Participant 1)*

One observation made of the male participants, also highlighted at the analysis stage, was that the male participants, 5 of 6 of whom had children, barely mentioned their role as a parent or their children. Perhaps this next comment highlights why this might be the case:

*I think there's a real pressure, especially maybe for men, not to kind of let their family interfere with their work. (Participant 3)*

*It's really difficult and 'cause I've got a six month old baby and a three year old daughter, you know, weekends are obviously eaten up and it's very difficult. I am going to see about a job this weekend and that really, I mean, if that would work out totally to satisfy me, my creativity and using my skills and getting paid, if all that could come together, that would be brilliant. (Participant 1)*

*It's a worry, trying to make money from being creative. (Participant 13)*

### 8.4.3 Parenting and entrepreneurship

An unexpected aspect of the study was the link between parenting and entrepreneurship. Within both the literature review and the previous chapter which focused specifically on entrepreneurship, push and pull factors were discussed. For those in the study who had children, particularly the female parents, there appeared to be a link between their status as parent and their uptake of entrepreneurship. This is not to say that the male participants were not entrepreneurial, more that their entrepreneurial activity was less linked to parenting, and will be explained later in this chapter.

First, then, motherhood is discussed: this is an emerging field within the wider entrepreneurship research community. A useful study provided a new framework with which to consider female entrepreneurship. Brush *et al.* (2009) discuss motherhood as a “metaphor representing the household/family context”. Having established that this context might have more impact on women than men, and adding to an existing framework of entrepreneurship, the 3M model made up of the constructs market, money and management, they developed this model further to make it the 5M model, adding motherhood and macro/meso factors as important considerations when looking at female entrepreneurship that should be taken on board when interpreting data on female entrepreneurs (Brush *et al.*, 2009).

A recently adopted term for mothers who are entrepreneurs is the ‘Mompreneur’ (often referred to as a Mumpreneur in the UK context). Nel *et al.* (2007) identify the ‘mompreneur’ as significant in that “their motivation is the altruistic desire to create a better environment for their family and overall community” (Nel *et al.*, 2010:7). This may seem a bold generalisation, but there is some resonance with some of the female participants within the study in terms of seeking a means to have a work/life balance. Mompreneur is the name given to a US-based online support network. The literature in this area points to mompreneurs frequently choosing to run businesses which are focused on mother and baby/child products, where perhaps they have identified a gap in the market. However, it is acknowledged that “mompreneurs operate across a spectrum of markets and domains” (Nel *et al.*, 2010:12). It is evident from the participants of this study that parenting has had an influence over their

need/desire to 'go freelance'/self-employed and become, arguably, entrepreneurial, as the following female participant indicates:

*Particularly since I've had children, I've been thinking about kind of trying to develop some more private work as an art psychotherapist and you know, I've sort of made little headways into it. (Participant 4)*

However, strikingly, the following quote is from a male participant, suggesting that men (or at least men pursuing a career within fine art) are also impacted by parenthood in terms of their entrepreneurial activity:

*Yeah, she will be back from maternity leave, so this is forcing me more to go self-employed, so I can look after my son, if you like, two days a week, three days a week, so I suppose that links into it somehow, somewhere. (Participant 1)*

This perhaps points to the difference of this group over others. As previously discussed within Chapter Six, they have a strong desire, a compulsion, to create; in Chapter Seven it was established that their careers, structures and types of work are fraught with anxiety and repeated attempts to establish themselves as artist, and that generally there has been a tension between making money and making art. In some instances, this has led individuals into situations where they are perhaps not as financially secure as they would be had they pursued a different career. This explains the situation described above. It could also be argued that this is just symptomatic of a current trend highlighted in the popular press towards women out-earning their partners. In the United States, 33% of wives out-earn their husbands, an increase of a third since 1987 when just 24% out-earned their husbands (DoL, 2008). However, in terms of this study it would appear this is somewhat of a red herring: although it appears that a similar proportion of women in the UK out-earn their husbands, the situation is complex. For example: "59 per cent of men, but only 39 per cent of women were employed full time; 26 per cent of women but only 6 per cent of men were employed part time; 14 per cent of men were self-employed, but only 5 per cent of women; and 12 per cent of women were 'inactive, looking after family or home', but only 1 per cent of men" (Government Equalities Office, 2010:21). The statistics offered here by the Office of National Statistics reveal a situation which is relevant to those of the

majority of female participants in the study, i.e. they have had children and have taken a career break and/or returned to work part time.

The literature relating to fathers as entrepreneurs tends to concentrate on areas connected to family business, business succession and the role of fathers within firm leadership, as opposed to the literature on female entrepreneurship which, as described, has a heavy focus on the use of entrepreneurship as a means to work/life balance, or parenting as a push/pull factor for female entrepreneurship. Perhaps this is because, as Mirchandani (1999) describes, that entrepreneurship itself is gendered. It is considered male/masculine, and as such, male entrepreneurship is the norm (Marlow, 2002) and female entrepreneurship the novel. Does this link with questions about creativity being gendered, too?

*I returned in 2009 to open a bakery/cafe. The move was predominately motivated by lifestyle choice and a desire to give the kids a great place to grow up. (Participant 13)*

The extract above is the one instance where a male participant linked an entrepreneurial career choice to his role as a parent, i.e. being pushed into entrepreneurship. However, what this also reveals is that the choice of entrepreneurial activity is outside of the creative industries. This suggests that ‘the need to provide’ is stronger than ‘the need to create’.

#### **8.4.4 Parenting and artistic pursuit**

The participants frequently spoke about a desire to continue making art throughout their careers. In some instances, there was more of an incentive to produce art work when there was limited time. Participants suggested that they became more economical with their time.

It is evident that parenting has shaped the careers of the participants more generally (as well as specifically in relation to their arts practice – this is discussed in more detail later in this chapter). For example, one participant’s parenting choices has led her to work within a job share. This was not always a negative situation, albeit financially she was less well-off and was then in a situation of earning far less than her partner. However, it also suited her at the time, and freed up her time to

pursue other (creative) work. A secondary aspect of this was that she was again in a situation of having a more varied, portfolio career.

*I suppose, in a way, the gender thing, I mean, the thing is I wouldn't have had the exhibition last year if I hadn't gone part time and I had more time to do my own work, so that's, in a way, a positive thing, because most of the artists in the exhibition were, I'd say 80% of them were mums doing their work and they could find the time. (Participant 5)*

For one participant in particular, there was a significant period of parenting. Following 10 years of childcare she experienced some negative feelings; perceptions she had of herself and imagined others having of her owing to her lack of paid work. A continual compromise in her life has in turn created some tension now that she is picking up her career again. It is important to note that she has very positive feelings towards her family and her role as a mother, but also was reluctant, initially, to be involved in the study owing to her perceptions of how her choice to parent would be seen:

*Yeah, you can see it as a, but it's almost like being asleep, in a way though, 'cause you kind of wake up and I mean, I'm 40 this year and you just look and you think, where did that time go, where did it go, that 10 years, I just can't believe it! (Participant 7)*

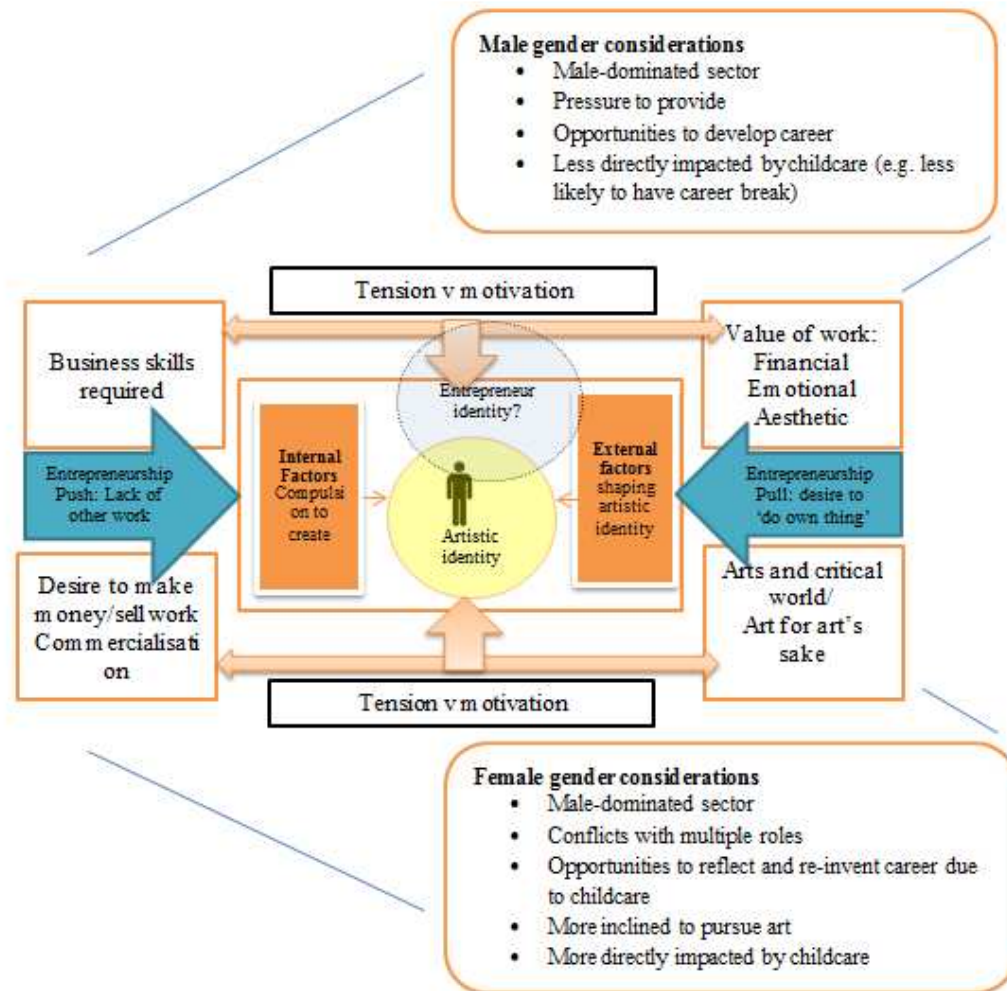
*Partly it's my own lack of motivation but over the last couple of years it's increased the sense of loss and I really feel like I need an outlet. (Participant 6)*

*It can push you on, but you've got to be careful not to get stuck in, you know, it's hard to not get, because your role models are the women that are around you, it's quite hard, because of course, when I decided to go back to college, the people that I was mixing with, lots of them didn't have degrees, they weren't professional people ... (Participant 9)*

It is also worth reflecting on how a person parents shapes their careers more generally. For example, the female participant doing a job share and having time to pursue her artistic endeavours suggests a link back to portfolio careers. It also points to some of the areas around parenting offering space to reinvent or pursue different careers following the initial childcare years. This suggests that for the women, perhaps more than the men, taking a traditional mothering role (or taking an interruption from work) offers the opportunity to re-explore their artistic life, whereas the male participants, although generally there has been greater opportunity to develop their careers, are potentially more compromised in terms of pursuing the low-paid art option.

An American study of female artists who were also mothers reveals a number of factors which concur with some of the findings of this study. Links are made between the artistic productivity of the artists being dependent on a number of factors including: “self-discipline, financial support, spousal encouragement and support, childcare responsibilities, job demands and access to artistic materials/equipment and workspace availability” (Krischenbaum and Reiss, 1997:262). They also highlight the links made in the previous chapter of this study around the tension between selling work and building self-confidence. Likewise, the absence of some of the previously mentioned factors affected women artists’ productivity, self-esteem and time to devote to their artistic endeavour. Krischenbaum and Reiss (1997) are keen to establish that while these tensions did exist there was no sense that the participants of their study in any way regretted having children, but that “all looked forward to a time later in their lives in which additional hours could be devoted to their art” (Krischenbaum and Reiss, 1997:263). Another study looking at female artists (not necessarily parents) identified a key theme of women feeling torn between “the needs of self and others ... most torn and struggling to balance their need to have time alone to do creative work, with the needs and expectations of others. This was especially true for the mothers” (Brooks and Daniluk, 1998:252). This resonates with the view of the following participant, who had spent a considerable portion of her adult life looking after her three young children:

*Well and also, can you imagine what a kind of, if you’ve never had to sit on your hands, when your hands are free, like I had 10 years and I couldn’t do, I did odd bits of drawing and odd bits and pieces... the minute my last child, went to school, that was it and it’s like you’re just now, you have this huge driving force which is, I’ve got to make up lost ground, I want to achieve and I now know what I want to achieve and you have this big push from yourself. (Participant 7)*



**Figure 8.5: Stage 5 of the model: gender considerations within the careers of fine art graduates**

Figure 8.5 provides the fifth stage of the model being developed throughout these chapters of findings. Here the male and female perspective is added with all the existing tensions and motivations, the same compulsion to create, the same anxieties about selling work and feeling ill-equipped to do so, yet now with the added gender perspective. This new layer adds to the complexities of careers for fine art graduates. Key findings have emerged: for the male participants, careers are shaped by additional pressure to provide this offers greater opportunity to develop a career and there is less likelihood of career breaks. Linked to this, however, is less opportunity to reflect which arguably curtails or compromises artistic (creative) endeavours. Meanwhile the female perspective involves facing (creative industry) working environments which are frequently male-dominated, characterised



by long hours and seemingly less tolerant of career breaks and motherhood. However, for the female parents in the study, childcare and becoming a parent has also presented both artistic and entrepreneurial opportunities. It has in many instances acted as a catalyst, an opportunity for reflection to rediscover or motivate their artistic activity. Regardless of whether or not parenting is an issue, there appears to be evidence that the female population of the study are more concerned with retaining their artistic practice.

### **8.5.1 Gender, parenting and identity**

The incidences where participants exhibit enterprising behaviour or are propelled to/pushed to enterprise due to parenthood suggest a benefit to having children in terms of it leading to enterprising and artistic activities. Participants, particularly females, discussed parenting in terms of an opportunity to resume their artistic practice. But how does parenting impact on their identity? Earlier in this thesis it was established that many of the participants still craved and pursued an artistic outlet, and that to an extent they had retained an artistic identity (Chapter Six). Subsequently, it was established that the realities of having a career as an artist were filled with tensions related to the commercialisation of work, with regards to how entrepreneurship and enterprise were experienced (Chapter Seven). Both chapters included discussion of identity in relation to artistic and entrepreneurial identity and the tensions of the two. Within this section, the discussion of identity is developed to include another strong feature of the findings: the impact of gender and specifically the gendered role of parenting and how this shapes and informs identity.

Rouse (2008) provides a useful starting point on identity, parenthood and entrepreneurship. She writes from the perspective of the pregnant entrepreneur, and advocates considering how the body physically experiences. She discusses the ‘embodiment of entrepreneurship’ in terms of embodying the ‘ideal worker or the ideal entrepreneur’. This raises a number of interesting points in terms of how the body informs identity. This work on pregnancy argues that the pregnant body does not conform to what is generally perceived to be the ‘ideal entrepreneur/worker’; moreover “pregnant women are confronted with gender saturated ideals about what it is to become a mother” (Rouse, 2008:7). This suggests that,

while pregnant, women are adjusting their identity to conform to what they perceive to be the maternal, nurturing characteristics of motherhood. While highlighting the issues of pregnancy and ideals surrounding the ideal entrepreneur, this work also indicates pregnancy as a transitional phase and identity shift from one role to another.

Research related to the workplace more generally has engendered discussion related to an apparent trend of professional women exiting the workplace in order to bring up children. Hamilton-Volpe and Murphy (2011) discuss this from the perspective of identity. They argue, amongst other things, that identity is frequently shaped by others, and that, for example, a woman's "sense of self and relationships with others impacts on career behaviours" (Hamilton-Volpe and Murphy, 2011:58). Of interest to this study, they go on to make a connection between the strength of a woman's connections and networks, be they home or work, that strengthen her identity and commitment to a given identity. It could be argued that this embedded-ness in creative individuals of their professional, artistic or parental role may have had a bearing on the career outcomes of the participants. Another perspective is offered by Ibarra and Petrigueri (2010), who develop existing frameworks used within identity research to include 'identity play': "Identity work and play have different purposes. Whereas, identity work fundamentally seeks the preservation of existing identities, or compliance with, externally imposed image requirements, we propose that identity play is concerned with inventing and reinventing oneself" (Ibarra and Petrigueri, 2010: 14). When discussing the exit of women from their careers, Hamilton-Volpe and Murphy (2011) present a model which highlights a trade-off in terms of the perceived benefits of continuing to work, referred to as "identity and social networks cost and benefits to career exit" (Hamilton-Volpe and Murphy, 2011:61).

Brown (2010) highlights a disparity between women's perception of their situations and perceived opportunities. She argues that even when employers have 'family-friendly policies', women chose to slow down their careers because of motherhood. Similarly, Ayree and Luk (1996) highlight that women tend to balance their family and work life identities, trading one off against the other. When looking at the work and family identities of men and women in dual income households, they found that "family identity was significantly negatively related to work identity of women but not to the

work identity of men” (Ayree and Luk, 1996:480). This view resonates with the findings of this study. The female parent participants spent a great deal more time discussing their children. Work/life balance issues were far greater amongst the female participants, and this arguably had had a negative impact on not only their work practice, but their work identity.

### **8.5.2 Artistic identity and parenting**

As established, much of the literature points, historically, to the role of the artist and arts education as a masculine and male domain (Dalton, 2001). Brooks and Daniluk (1998) highlight a core issue for woman artists in ‘assuming the identity as artist’. A number of factors contributed to this, for example inhibitions, a sense of what would be deemed appropriate in terms of their gender, and whether or not they met “internal or external criteria to be considered an artist” (Brooks and Daniluk, 1998: 253).

*I carried on drawing but ... I don't think it's possible to be both at the same time when the children are around, it's really hard for me to think like an artist, like I think you need time on your own and I really wanted to be a complete ,, it was really important to me to be the best mum I could be. (Participant 3)*

However, if the participants of the study are representative of ‘creatives’ generally and fine art graduates specifically, it could be argued that there is another dimension. Fine art graduates might have an entrepreneurial identity, and most likely have an artistic identity, which also has to be juggled alongside other multiple identities (family and career). As identified in earlier chapters of this thesis, artistic identity is not as straightforward as a work identity. Arguably, these individuals have a different relationship with their artistic activity, inasmuch as it is an extension of themselves, a form of self-expression and linked to a compulsion. It appears that when this compulsion is forced to stop, it acts as a pressure cooker. This leads to two potential outcomes: on the one hand confidence is knocked and identity as an artist is challenged. But as described previously, there is also the opportunity to take stock, to reflect and to potentially reinvigorate artistic ambitions and eventually identity, particularly for the female participants. Women’s creative identity formation is a “long, difficult and non-linear process”, particularly it would appear for those with children (Brooks and

Daniluk, 1998:256). These multiple identities are illustrated in the fifth stage of the integrated model as illustrated in Figure 8.5.

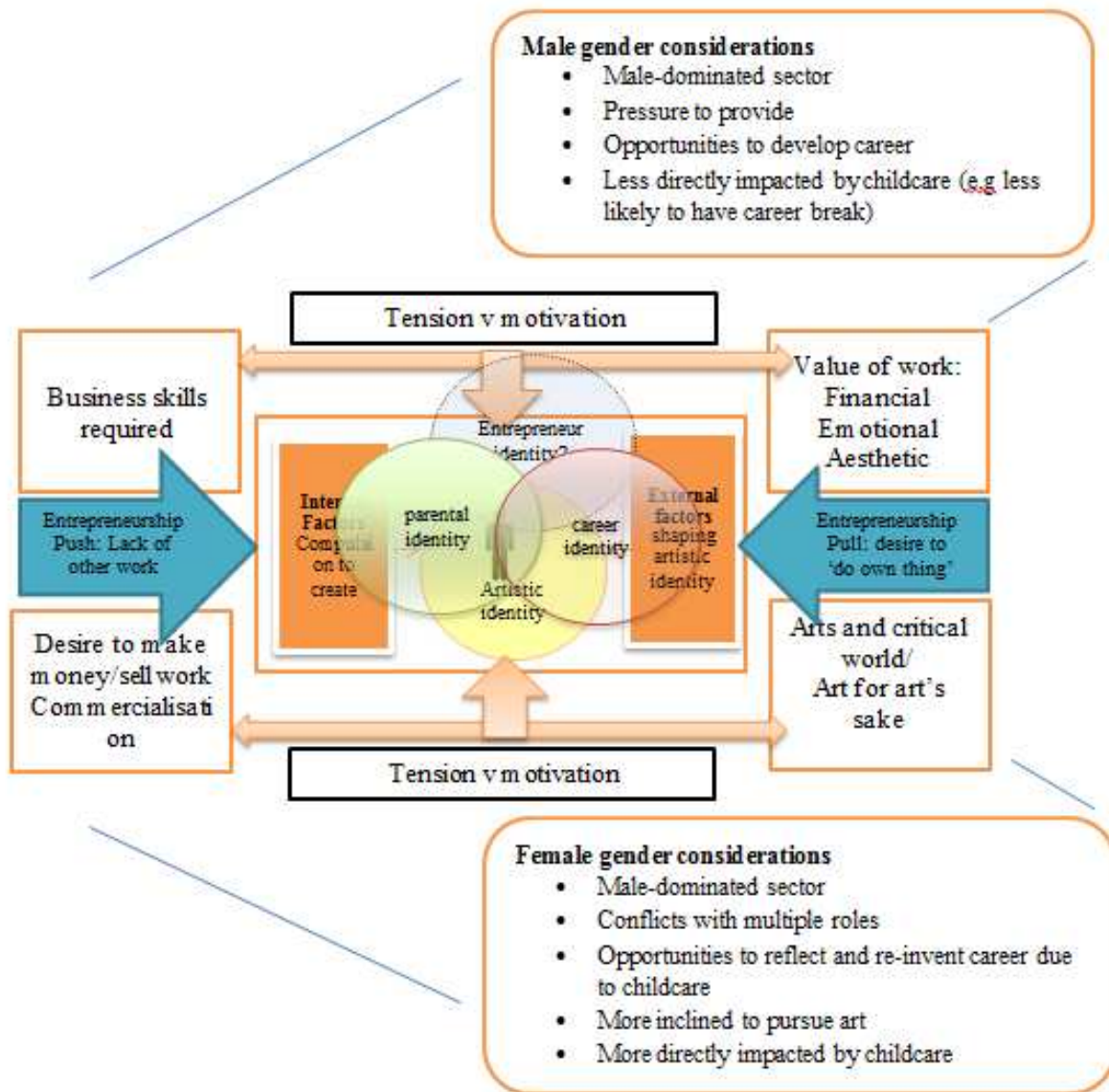


Figure 8.6: Stage 6 of the model: Multiple identities'

### 8.6 Summary and conclusions of chapter

This has been the final chapter of findings. Building on the previous chapters, it has offered insight into how gender has impacted on the careers of these fine art graduates. This insight has provided an additional layer of understanding and insight into the career outcomes of these individuals and offers

some suggestion for research into the field of gender and entrepreneurship in the creative industries. The chapter started by offering insight into sub-sectors across the creative industries with which the participants had come into contact. What emerged was insight into, for the most part, a male-dominated and often masculine environment where women experienced glass ceiling issues.

Key findings emerged in relation to the impact of parenting on both male and female participants. Some of these are unexpected; for example, the female parents tended to find that their maternity leave and time spent bringing up children offered an opportunity to reflect and sometimes re-start their artistic endeavours. Male participants, while in the main experiencing greater career progression and fewer breaks in their careers, arguably had as a result less opportunity to stop, take stock and re-engage with artistic endeavours.

Identity formed another strong link within this chapter, this time the multiple identities of the artist: sometimes entrepreneur, career and parental identity were being juggled by participants. These findings have helped to inform the emerging integrative model illustrated in Figure 8.5 and 8.6. and leads to the final part of this thesis: the conclusions.

## **Chapter 9: Conclusions, recommendations and reflections**

### **9.1 Introduction**

This is the final chapter of the thesis, providing conclusions of the study and recommendations from this research and for future research. As this has been a study with such a high level of reflexivity and insider perspective as well as conclusions and recommendations, this chapter provides a final opportunity for reflection. Consequently, the chapter is structured by following and responding to the original aims of the study. The first two aims are revisited in order to demonstrate how these were approached and met through the research process, for example, the interdisciplinary nature of the study, which was reflected in Aim 1 and explored within the literature review and embedded throughout. Second, and in response to the third aim a summary of the findings is provided, and conclusions are drawn. Third, the original contribution of this study is detailed in response to the conclusions and findings. Fourth, recommendations are offered, both in terms of those linked to the findings and recommendations for future research. Within this section, the limitations of the study are discussed. Finally there is a section of self-reflection which provides insider perspective and details the reflexive nature of this study. Reinharz (1997) provided a framework to aid researchers in understanding their role within research. Referring to 'multiple-selves within the research field', she acknowledged how each version of one's self impacts on the outcomes of the research. (Reinharz, 1997:5). This, along with the four types of reflexivity identified by Dowling (2006) have been drawn upon within this final reflexive piece.

### **9.2 Research aims**

The original aims are revisited and are used in the following section to help to frame the portion of this chapter concerned with the findings, conclusions and contribution to knowledge that have emerged through this study:

**Aim 1:** To consider and develop an understanding of the literature, research and policy context associated with this field of study.

**Aim 2:** To develop an appropriate methodology in order to capture the career destinations, choices, opportunities and outcomes of a sample of female and male graduates who graduated in 1994 from the same creative discipline course.

**Aim 3:** To carry out an analysis of the gathered data in order to identify common themes relating to gender and entrepreneurship within the creative industries sector.

**Aim 4:** To carry out a qualitative exploration of the relationship of gender on post-graduate participation in creative industries entrepreneurship

Aim 4 led to the development of five distinct research objectives. These are discussed in the section ‘Contribution to knowledge’.

### **9.3 How aims 1 and 2 were met**

**Aim 1:** To consider and develop an understanding of the literature, research and policy context associated with this field of study.

This was an interdisciplinary study. The initial rationale for the literature review was to examine where three disciplines: entrepreneurship, gender and the creative industries, converged. The review took a three-stage approach: each discipline was explored individually, then where they overlapped, and finally where the three converged. As anticipated, limited literature existed relating to all three. However, by piecing together the research related to various sub-sectors, a picture emerged, and based on this some assumptions related to the study could be made. For example, fewer women worked in the creative industries and they were less likely to be entrepreneurial, what was unclear at this stage was why?

The literature review highlighted the inter-relationship between the three themes of gender, entrepreneurship and the creative industries, with a policy and industry context provided through the literature review and the examination of the economic value of the sector explored. Several key factors emerged. It is increasingly evident that the sector is very complex in its make-up. The thirteen

unique sub-sectors have their own characteristics and challenges, and within these there are a multitude of different genres and sub-cultures, which research tended to reflect. Common ground across these sub-sectors was identified, including the prevalence of self-employment, long-hours cultures, and male-dominated lecturer/practitioners potentially acting as entrepreneurial role models within higher education and the specific importance of friendship and networking to business operation.

From the various studies discussed it is clear there are fewer female creative sector start-ups and fewer entrepreneurs than might be anticipated. The nature of the sector created additional difficulties for female entrepreneurs, especially those with home and childcare responsibilities. The importance of social networking and social capital was strongly indicated both as a barrier and opportunity, this was borne out within this study, for example when looking at the relationship the participants had to their own networks and the 'art world' (see Chapters Six and Seven). The interdisciplinary approach to the literature review yielded useful insights which have, to an extent, provided useful context to this study, and as such, Aim 1 was met. As to the question "fewer women worked with in the creative industries and they were less likely to be entrepreneurial, what was unclear at this stage was why?", while the literature review provided a good grounding for the study it also helped to illuminate the area where the findings from this study could fit i.e. the field where gender and entrepreneurship are experienced within the careers of fine art graduates.

**Aim 2:** To develop an appropriate methodology in order to capture the career destinations, choices, opportunities and outcomes of a sample of female and male graduates who graduated in 1994 from the same creative discipline course.

The sample group selected for the research was a cohort of graduates who had studied with the researcher. The rationale was that the researcher's insider perspective would help to facilitate the interviews and data gathering process. The actual group represented a cohort from a UK HEI who had graduated in fine art, arguably the least vocational, in terms of jobs, of the creative industries. It was assumed that they had been graduated for a sufficient period of time, whereby they were likely to



have considered their parenting options and have taken on a number of adult responsibilities (e.g. home ownership), as opposed to a group of recent graduates (an alternative group considered). It was also considered that the participants all originating from the same starting point represented a concentration of experience leading more quickly to thematic or theoretical saturation.

A number of methods were used to reach this group. In the first instance an online survey was created but this had limited success. The snowballing technique which was hoped for did not come to fruition. However this provided a useful learning experience for the research, both in terms of methodology and reaching participants, and in terms of understanding this particular cohort and their response to the study. For example, although it appeared that the sample group were hearing, via peers, about the study, there was an initial reluctance from some to get involved, or at least each participant required extensive communication prior to involvement. Participants valued the personal contact and seemed more inclined to meet and be interviewed than complete the online survey. Having always planned to carry out interviews, the researcher decided to focus on these, capturing the career stories, resulting in detailed, narrative-based accounts of the participants' careers.

The approach to analysis used grounded theory. This involved on-going analysis, i.e. as interviews were carried out, analysis began, and as themes emerged these were added to the line of enquiry. For example, early interviews established that participants experienced a 'compulsion to create' and this became a theme which was considered within the analysis and in sub-sequent interviews. The success of the methods used are discussed in-depth within Section 9.8., as well as alternative methods that could have been deployed.

#### **9.4 Summary of findings and conclusions drawn**

**Aim 3:** To carry out an analysis of the gathered data in order to identify common themes relating to gender and entrepreneurship within the creative industries sector.

The grounded theory approach to analysis allowed for the data and the voices of the participants to direct the analysis and the findings. As such, the researcher took an inductive rather than deductive

approach. Though a process of open, axial and thematic coding (Strauss and Corbin, 2003), themes emerged which, although linked to the original literature, also extended to new themes and topics which helped to better understand and explain where entrepreneurship fits within the careers of fine art graduates.

*Every week, we get artists sending in proposals and we don't take artists by the proposal ... when you see that naivety coming through from other artists and they've been practising for years and years and years, they're a lot older, but they still kind of aren't aware of, I guess, not the routes, but they aren't aware of kind of, how it works. It's very odd. That shocks me. (Participant 11)*

The comment above is from one of the participants who worked in an art gallery and highlights, albeit in a somewhat critical light, how artists sometimes behave and are perceived. The research findings explain why artists might be seen as naïve and why they might continue trying to pursue their artistic endeavour despite this.

The findings were presented thematically within a discussion of the topics over three chapters. Each chapter provided part of an integrative account of where the three main themes of this research, gender, entrepreneurship and the creative industries, converge. This led to a progressively enhanced model. The grounded theory approach enabled the researcher to explore the data from a perspective of being open to new and unexpected findings. What emerged was not as straightforward as initially presumed, and in this respect the grounded theory approach was extremely useful. This and the use of Nvivo (a software tool that enabled the researcher to manage, theme and code data) offered some distance between the researcher and the data; this was considered especially important given the researcher's close relationship with the participants and their experience. The following section provides an overview of these findings and conclusions drawn from them.

#### **9.4.1 Creative industries and artistic identity**

One of the first findings discussed, and a dominant characteristic of the research participants, was their sense of artistic identity. Linked to this was a strong 'compulsion to create', insomuch as the participants described a sometimes physical, emotional or compulsive need to create artefacts.

Through the analysis it emerged that multiple attempts had been made by many to continue to pursue their art work. Each of them had different levels of engagement, from those wanting to have their full-time career making art to those who were content to paint for a hobby. However, the majority had managed to maintain a career working within the arts or creative industries more widely and continued to create and attempt to sell/exhibit work. One of the striking aspects of this was that almost twenty years had passed, and the sense of themselves as artists or creators had not diminished. However, their sense of what being creative meant had diversified. Generally speaking, they now perceived creativity more as an approach to problem solving more generally, as opposed to early views of creativity being linked to making art.

Artistic and creative identity was partially attributed to the participants formally identifying themselves as artists or creative people. A number of factors emerged which contributed to, helped to shape or informed their artistic identity; these were described as ‘internal and external’ factors, the internal being their compulsion to create and seeing themselves as individuals whose happiness, well-being and often sanity was in part linked to their having a creative outlet, and the external factors being those individuals and experiences that had influenced their sense of self, for example, social networks, education, family, partners, the arts world and society more widely.

#### **9.4.2 Entrepreneurship and the realities of making a living**

The second major set of findings related to enterprise and entrepreneurship and how that was experienced by the participants. A number of characteristics already known about the creative industries were confirmed by this cohort, for example, the heavily networked, often freelance nature of the creative industries workforce. However, deep insight was offered into the real-lived experience of fine art graduates. A set of linked tensions and motivations emerged. On the one hand, these were individuals keen to keep their fine art practice going, often with a desire to make a living or at least to exhibit and sell their work. But there was a real tension between their desire to make and exhibit and placing a financial value on their work. This was in part due to the personal nature of the work and partly a lack of knowledge or confidence about appropriately pricing work. Within this area, the

commercialisation of art was discussed and the potential for entrepreneurship and enterprising behaviours exhibited. Value was an issue. Multiple values were discussed, offering an insight into a tension between a personal, emotional and financial value that an artist has to contend with each time they create and choose to exhibit and/or sell a piece of work.

Findings related to identity emerged again, this time from the perspective of entrepreneurship. The participants had experienced certain levels of entrepreneurship; they had been pushed into entrepreneurship, in some instances owing to the lack of jobs for fine art graduates, as entrepreneurship offered them a means to continue their creative practice, often in the form of portfolio working, selling their skills and/or art work to the general public and/or public/private/charity sectors. There was generally a perceived lack of business and entrepreneurship skills. Enterprise and entrepreneurship education were discussed and it was highlighted that, to an extent, although there was no explicit entrepreneurship education provided within the participants' undergraduate degree course, the nature of the fine art degree lent itself well to developing creative, self-disciplined and self-starter employees or potential business people. This could arguably be described as implicit enterprise education (Carey and Matlay, 2007). Entrepreneurial identity was a feature, but was less consistent than the artistic identity. It was often fleeting, it came and went and was not always a comfortable feeling for the participants.

#### **9.4.3 Gender: parenting and fine art careers**

The final chapter of findings, Chapter Eight, discussed gender from a number of perspectives. The initial findings provided insight into gendered roles within the broader creative industries and specifically the arts. This was seen as the arts in the roles of arts workers (i.e. within art galleries) and artists as producers. It was notable in the work on gender that while all of the existing tensions and motivations remained, gender added a further dimension, i.e. there was the same compulsion to create, the same anxieties about selling work and feeling ill-equipped to do so, but with an additional layer added to the complexities of careers for fine art graduates. For the male participants, there was additional pressure to provide, which arguably curtailed or compromised artistic (creative)

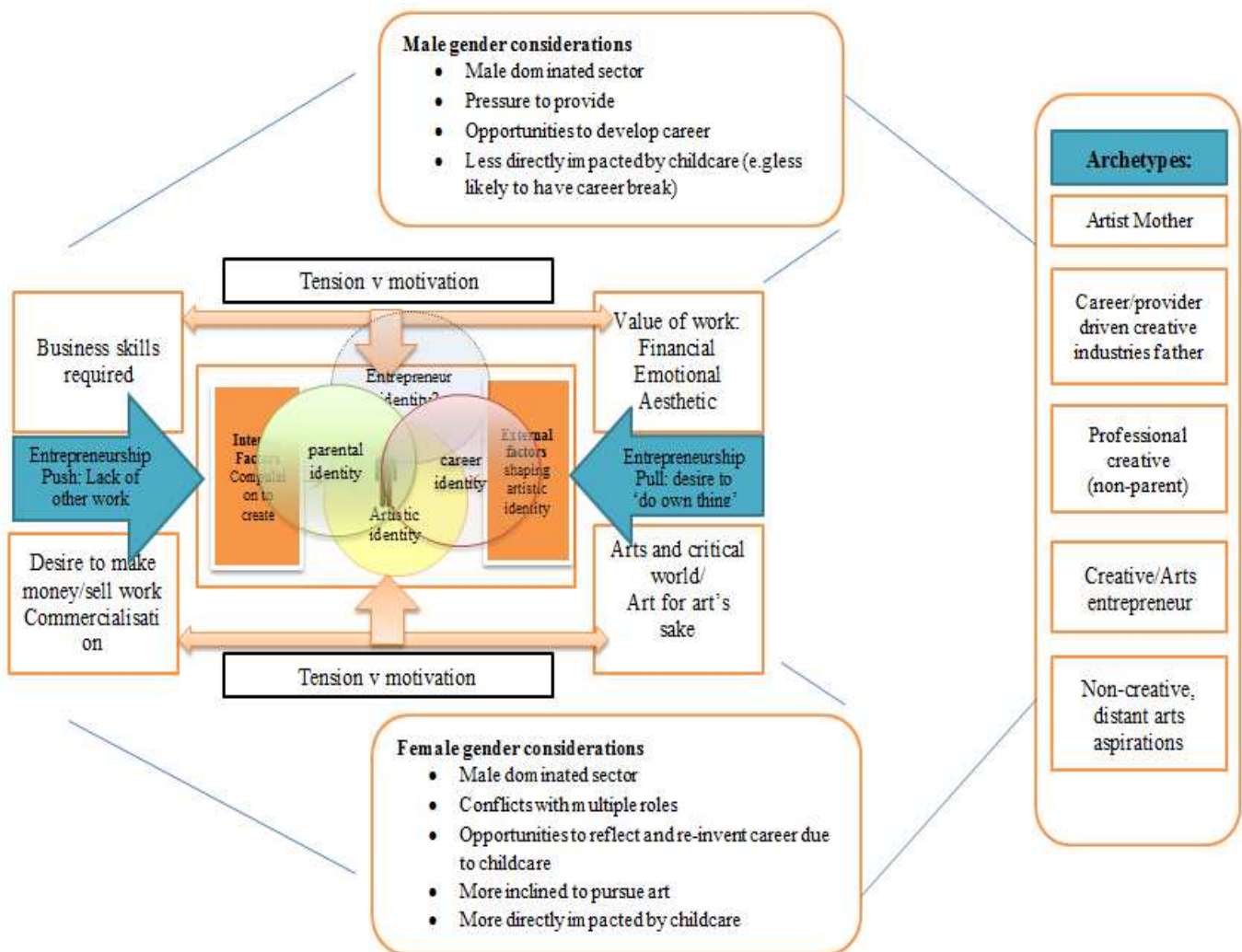
endeavours. There was greater opportunity to develop a career and less likelihood of career breaks, however, potentially less opportunity to reflect on or restart artistic endeavours. Meanwhile, the female participants faced working environments which were frequently male-dominated, characterised by long hours and seemingly less tolerant of career breaks and motherhood. Key findings suggested, however, that for the female parents in the study, childcare and becoming a parent has also presented both artistic and entrepreneurial opportunities. It has in many instances acted as a catalyst, an opportunity for reflection to rediscover or motivate their artistic activity. Regardless of whether or not parenting is an issue, there appears to be evidence that the female population of the study are more concerned with retaining their artistic practice.

Again, identity featured within findings related to gender. This time there was evidence that career identity and parenting identity were less compatible for the females than males of the group, this, it could be argued, relates to the male need to provide but compromises the female need to nurture. However, it is of interest that the female artistic identity remained throughout, although sometimes undermined, and was often reignited/strengthened through parenting.

## **9.5 The Model**

The findings of the study were conceptualised through an emerging and evolving model (see Figure 9.1). The model illustrates at its centre the individual (the participant); gradually through the findings chapters layers of different identities have been added (artistic, career, entrepreneurial and parental). The artistic identity remains reasonably strong throughout, and the 'internal' and 'external' factors relate to entities informing or influencing that identity. The other identities are illustrated as more translucent to highlight their less stable nature. They come and go. Surrounding the artist are the tensions and motivations that frame their careers and on the right-hand side is the gender perspective, the idea being that if all of the participants have similar internal and external factors contributing to their artistic identity, and similar tensions and motivations, the gender perspective then adds an additional layer of complexity to their experience.

Figure 9.1 offers the final iteration of the integrative model. Each of the participants was unique but in common they experienced one or all of these different identity types at a given time. What emerges is a number of types of career. In order to develop this conceptual model further one can use colour as a metaphor. Although the colours used within the diagram are not intended to have any specific meaning, other than to differentiate each of them, the participant could arguably be represented by their own unique colour dependent on how much of each of these identities they experience, through all of the circumstances and influences described within this research. However, through the research some dominant archetypes have emerged these are represented on the right hand-side of the model. These archetypes are described in detail in the table 9.3 later in this chapter.



**Figure 9.1 Final iteration of the integrative model**

## 9.6 Final conclusions and contribution to knowledge

It is worth restating at this point that this study is based upon a deeply qualitative approach as such these conclusions are indicative in so much as they offer insights to the careers of this group of individuals and explain how and where entrepreneurship figure within them as well as highlighting the impact of gender on entrepreneurial outcomes. They are indicators as opposed to firm transferrable conclusions, what they do provide is insight which could usefully inform future studies in this field. In the section on ‘recommendations for future research’ this is discussed in more detail in terms of how this research might be extended. However table 9.1 provides a list of the main conclusions in order of their importance. These were prioritised from the perspective of the original aims of the study.

<b>Finding</b>	<b>Detail of analysis</b>	<b>Conclusion: What does it mean?</b>
The women in the sample group were more inclined to want to continue making art than the men.	Although it could be claimed that the men within the study had greater career success. For example, they were more likely to have experienced greater career progression, financial success and notoriety in their given field; they were also more likely to work outside of the arts (but generally within the creative industries). In addition, they were less likely to have experienced career breaks owing to childcare. On the other hand, the female participants were more likely to have pursued their artistic career, more likely to have continued to create work and attempt to exhibit and sell work. One explanation for this is that parenting, specifically motherhood, provides a forced career break, enabling these individuals to have an opportunity to prioritise and reflect on their careers. In this respect, the	These findings suggest that the women of the group were more inclined to pursue their artistic careers. This of course is indicative and not necessarily transferrable to the wider arts graduate population, however, it provides new insight to this otherwise scarce landscape of research. As suggested there also appears to be a link between continued arts activity and parenting. Knowing this has implications for educators, artists, the arts world and the community at large. That female artists potentially experience a mid-life renaissance in terms of their artistic output could alter the perceptions of career options of those embarking on a career as a fine artist.  Linked to this are entrepreneurial outcomes. The findings suggest that there is scope for these individuals to experience entrepreneurial outcomes at a

	<p>female participants were more persistent and eventually successful as artists. It should be stated that arguably the most successful artist of the group, i.e., the one who was devoting the most time, effort and resource to the activity and having the most public exposure as an artist, was a woman but not a parent. However, notably, she did have a forced career break, owing to a prolonged period of illness, which could also have provided a similar opportunity for reflection and re-purpose to those exhibited by the mothers in the group.</p>	<p>later stage.</p> <p>There are also issues of how we consider entrepreneurship within the creative sector, particularly the role of entrepreneurship for artists. What became clear from this study was that entrepreneurship was not the focus of their artistic activity. Indeed being an artist remained the important aspect. Any entrepreneurial activity was, if anything, a by-product. This gives rise to new questions for creative industry educators; perhaps we should be teaching artists to be artists not entrepreneurs, while seeking to better understand the difference.</p>
<p>Identity was a major theme throughout the findings.</p>	<p>This was discussed in terms of artistic, entrepreneurial, career and parenting identity. Some notable themes emerged when looking at gender and identity. Career and parental identity impacted differently on the men and women of this study in much the same way as had been established within the literature in this field. For example, parental identity had a positive effect on the career identity of men and a negative effect on the career identity of the women. This then led to the question what impact did parental identity have on artistic identity? For the women in the group becoming a parent tended to have a positive and galvanising impact on their artistic activity and arguably identity. However, for the male participants as parenting only added to their career identity and their sense of self as provider: it could be argued that this had a diminishing impact or at least neutral impact on their artistic identity.</p> <p>Artistic identity remained strong for the majority of the group, even given the length of time since some had practiced art. Many factors were identified which contributed to their</p>	<p>The understanding of the interplay of these various identities offers insight to how male and female participants experienced their careers and how their careers differ depending on the relative strength of these identities.</p> <p>Understanding these differing identities helps to provide insight into the careers of fine artists. For example the role of artistic identity provides an additional layer of complexity to the working lives of the participants who, like the rest of the general population contend with issues of work/life balance, in terms of parenting and career more generally. What this means is that for these individuals they are frequently in a situation of trying to satisfy their artistic identity while juggling other identities.</p> <p>What was surprising was that artistic identity appeared stronger in the female group, although male participants had, generally, creative careers, they were less concerned with pursuing making art. Understanding this and communicating this to female artists and future artists could help to bolster their confidence in this area. Understanding of these different identities and how they worked</p>



	<p>sense of artistic identity, these were described as internal and external factors. Briefly, internal were described as the ‘compulsion to create’ the sometimes physical or psychological ‘need’ to be creating or making art. The external factors informing artistic identity ranged from participant’s education, their peers, family and relationships through to the impact of the wider arts world.</p>	<p>together led to the identification of career archetypes – see Table: 9.2 Archetypes of fine art graduates and descriptors</p>
<p>Tensions and motivations within fine art careers provide both push factors into entrepreneurship and also represent major blocks to entrepreneurship and artistic endeavour.</p>	<p>Linked to the findings and conclusions related to artistic identity, the careers of many of the participants were characterised by ups and downs of creative activity. Many factors contributed to this. A well-established tension between art and commerce was identified. Linked to this were push and pull factors to entrepreneurial activity. For example participants experienced pull factors when entrepreneurial activity appeared to offer the freedom to create which they craved and push factors when this appeared the only way they could carry on their artistic endeavour and, make a living at it.</p> <p>A number of areas were highlighted in relation to this dichotomy. These ranged from the tensions and practical considerations of selling one’s own work, through to identifying the value participants attributed to their work. These were identified as financial, aesthetic and emotional values. The relationship to these values often presented a stumbling block in selling work and entrepreneurial activity.</p>	<p>This insight offers rich understanding into the lives and careers of these individuals and gives an in-depth view of the tensions and motivations they felt. It highlights the role of entrepreneurship, how it is experienced and how ‘push and pull’ factors, identified within the entrepreneurship literature (Brockhaus, 1980a; Shinnar and Young, 2008; Baughn <i>et al.</i>, 2006; Buttner and Moore, 1997; Birley, 1989), are evident within the careers of fine artists.</p> <p>The role of entrepreneurship or entrepreneurial activity is not clear cut. It is frequently an outcome as opposed to a deliberate career step. Importantly, these individuals identify more strongly with being an artist or a creative person than an entrepreneur. Many of the tensions felt, including a perception that the wider arts world was opposed to commercialisation of one’s art work left participants often flailing, coupled with this were a lack of knowledge and/or confidence to behave entrepreneurially.</p> <p>This linked closely with the previous finding related to identity. Participants frequently found themselves feeling as if they were selling part of themselves. Indeed through this research it has been highlighted that the role of the artist as a commodity is rife within the wider arts world. The suggestion here is that this insight offers implications for artists in</p>

		<p>terms of how they view and market themselves but also to educators in terms of how they prepare aspiring artists.</p>
<p>Fine art education, it could be argued, offers the student a three year opportunity to experience an open, non-structured, self-directed style of learning, where the focus is primarily on the development and exploration of the individual's ideas and talent.</p>	<p>Arguably, it is this unique experience which stays with the students through their graduation and informs their approach thereafter. They then perhaps spend the rest of their lives trying to recreate those conditions of space, time and opportunity, perhaps mourning that experience or trying to channel it into other areas. Perhaps their artistic identity (discussed in Chapter Six) provided them, through that intense three-year period, with a self-enrichment that stayed with them, that shaped their personality that helped to make them into the type of people they are. Arguably, they are an artist first and an entrepreneur, mother, father, provider second.</p> <p>It was not an original intention to analyse or look specifically at the education aspect of this group. This was merely a means of identifying a group whose ambitions were to work within the creative industries, who were likely to be entrepreneurial (owing to the lack of jobs within fine art) and had all had the same starting point. However, their education, specifically their fine art degree, was a recurring feature of the findings. The above description of fine art education gives a somewhat utopian view of it, but clearly it was not without flaws. Arguably it did not sufficiently prepare this group for the working life of an artist, and the expectations of the group were not managed. Linked to this are the female participants' experience of their education and the gendered perceptions of the lecturers and society at large. Here we see a situation where art and art history are taught from a male perspective.</p>	<p>There are many implications for educators within creative disciplines but particularly fine art educators. It is evident that art school pedagogy reinforced artistic identity. This suggests that lecturing staff, as potential role models, are important. Educators and educational establishments should be mindful of their make-up. In the case of this research the focus has been on gender but other factors should be taken into consideration: ethnicity, sexuality and entrepreneurial experience.</p> <p>Explicit enterprise education, while seemingly missing from these participants education should be considered, however it is important to perhaps consider the role of enterprise education. This is not about imposing a hard economic imperative on the world of fine art. It is about helping enable those artists to continue practising. This is an important distinction and suggests that the teaching of enterprise could be delivered by other fine artists or subject specific experts, as opposed to generic enterprise educators.</p> <p>The benefits of a fine art education remain somewhat unexplored. Although for these participants there is a suggestion that it provided them with an opportunity to truly explore their own ideas and philosophical positions. It offered them a freedom and a requirement to be self-managed that arguably provided them with life-long skills. It also appears to have offered them the opportunity to approach their general working lives, regardless of destination, with a high level of creativity and problem solving attributes. This</p>

	<p>Although there appears to be more artistic activity from the female participants, their confidence and identity as artists is likely to have been undermined by these male-dominated views of art and the artist.</p>	<p>suggests that there is scope for better understanding of these pedagogies, harnessing them and delivering them beyond the Fine art disciplines.</p>
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These conclusions are now discussed in terms of what they mean to the wider research community, in terms of contribution to knowledge.

**9.6.1 Contribution to knowledge**

Importantly this study made both theoretical and methodological contributions. These are discussed in this section first the methodological contribution, then linked to the fourth original aim of the study theoretical contributions are highlighted and discussed in detail.

**9.6.2 Methodological contribution**

The study provided an evolved or hybrid approach to using Grounded theory with a deeply reflexive, insider perspective: drawing upon the work of Charmaz (2005), who addressed issues of reflexivity within Grounded theory and Nadin and Cassell (2006) who advocated the use of the research diary in the field. These authors advocated the use of research diaries in order to provide an opportunity and space to reflect on the research process. The researcher made full use of this method, but developed this by treating the research diaries as a primary data source. This helped frame the discussion relating to analysis in chapter 5.

This suggests a new approach and opportunities in terms of how researchers' might make use of this type of data in future. In this instance it allowed the researcher's voice, thoughts and position to be captured while in the midst of the research and data collection process, when otherwise it might have been lost. This offered valuable insight as to how the data (in this instance stories) was perceived at the time and how the process was affecting the researcher and her interpretation of the data. This was particularly useful within the context of reflexivity in 'on-going analysis' and suggests an opportunity

to develop the use of research diaries beyond their existing remit, specifically with regards to grounded theory development.

### **9.6.3 Theoretical contributions**

The final aim (Aim 4) of the study, offers an opportunity not only to reflect on whether the objectives were met and what the outcomes were, but also to identify where theoretical contributions to knowledge are made. First the objectives were addressed in terms of the methodology and how the study has contributed a deeper understanding and knowledge of creative career journeys.

**Aim 4:** To carry out a qualitative exploration of the relationship of gender on post-graduate participation in creative industries entrepreneurship.

From this the following objectives were developed:

- To develop an in-depth understanding of the tensions and motivations within the careers of fine art graduates
- To identify how, when and why entrepreneurship manifests within the careers of fine artists
- To develop an understanding of how entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial activity are perceived by fine art graduates
- To identify internal and external factors impacting on careers and entrepreneurial outcomes for fine art graduates
- To identify and provide an explanation for gender differentials within entrepreneurial participation of fine art graduates

These were the original objectives of the research, however it is important to emphasise that the nature of grounded theory leads the research, often into new areas. That was to an extent the case here. The research methods: capturing the career stories provided rich and in-depth insight to the careers of the participants, this in turn illuminated if, when and where entrepreneurship had

manifested, how it was perceived as well as the gender differences as such the research methods used worked well to realise these objectives. This has led to three distinct theoretical contributions being made:

1. The research has identified explanations as to why artistic identity can remain strong amongst fine art graduates. It has highlighted that artistic identity can act as both a motivator and hindrance to entrepreneurial activity.
2. The research provided an explanation of differential degrees of career identity between the genders: for women parental identity was more compatible with artistic identity than career identity. Men tended to embrace career identity.
3. The research identified different career types experienced by gender and offered explanation as to how these manifest. It indicated that women are more likely, than men, to pursue their artistic endeavours; maternity career breaks for women provide an opportunity to re-engage with artistic endeavours. Men are likely to work within a creative discipline, not pursue their individual artistic endeavours but experience greater career success, in terms of financial reward and promotion.

These three are discussed in detail below:

#### **9.6.3.1 First theoretical contribution: Entrepreneurship and creative industries**

The study was deeply qualitative. It offered an exploration of where and whether entrepreneurship fits, how it was experienced by the participants generally and also from both a male and female perspective. It also provided an explanation as to why entrepreneurship is perhaps at odds with creative individuals. There are tensions for these individuals, and there are also different opportunities for men and women owing to their role as parents and providers and their career identities. In terms of entrepreneurship, there is a paradox: on the one hand one finds individuals who, it could be argued through their education, or perhaps due to naturally seeking entrepreneurial and independent opportunities, are self-starters, creative and entrepreneurial, or through necessity are entrepreneurial. After all there are few jobs for fine art graduates as fine artists. However, the participants also appear ill-prepared for lives as entrepreneurs. There is some evidence to suggest that they reject this as a term

that could apply to them; however, more than this, it seems that the role of an artist is different and does not lend itself well to entrepreneurship. This is problematic, as limited job opportunities suggest that entrepreneurial behaviours are advantageous to artists, and certainly those who had embraced their entrepreneurial selves had had more success as artists.

Generally speaking, the tensions identified related to value, and how one values art and artistic endeavour, financially and otherwise. Artistic identity is different to career identity, although one could have a career as an artist. Artistic identity is different from entrepreneurial identity, although one might have to be entrepreneurial to be a successful artist. Arguably, artistic and entrepreneurial identity are more closely aligned than artistic and career identity and appear to be more compatible for the female participants. They could be argued to be 'art entrepreneurs', as defined by Aggestam (2008).

While parental identity, it could be argued, has a negative impact on women's career identity and a positive impact on men's career identity, it seems that artistic identity is reinforced by parenting for women and has little or no effect on men.

### **9.6.3.2 Second theoretical contribution: Gender and the creative industries**

The next contribution to knowledge identified is based on what was found out about how women and men experience the creative industries. Through the research, although not articulated explicitly until this point, several 'types' emerged, based on the narratives of the participants. Much work has been done to try to categorise individuals, Gartner devised an 8-type model of entrepreneurial archetypes (Gartner, 1985). Orser *et al.* (2011) highlighted that women who start their own businesses share many traits with male entrepreneurs. However, Brush *et al.* (2009) suggest that the role of motherhood needs to be considered when developing archetypes of female entrepreneurship. This links to the work of 'mompreneurs' (Nel *et al.*, 2010). Some of the types arrived at here exist already in the literature, for example 'the arts entrepreneur' (Aggestam, 2008). Each is presented in Table 9.2, which discusses and defines the types that have been identified.

**Table: 9.2 Archetypes of fine art graduates and descriptors**

Types	Description
Artist mother	<p>She might be working. Most likely she is working part time in a career related to the creative industries. She will have experienced possibly multiple career breaks for maternity leave. She has aspirations as an artist and a reasonably strong sense of artistic identity, but also a strong commitment to her role as a mother. This may well have been reignited through her time on maternity leave/childcare breaks. She is likely to have and continue to make multiple attempts at exhibiting and selling work, has a strong compulsion to create and continues or revisits her practice. She may have experienced some frustration at having less time to do so due to childcare commitments. She may well experience a creative renaissance shortly after middle age.</p> <p>Throughout the period of her career she may have experienced multiple forays into self-employment and freelance work and recognises that there are related skills that require development for future progress.</p> <p>Brooks and Daniluk (1998) refer to a ‘period of transition’ that female artists go through, as they get through the period of rearing young children. This they describe as an often difficult phase of ‘re-evaluation’ but in their own study of female artists age 40-65, the women “came out with a clearer sense of themselves as artists” (Brooks and Daniluk, 1998:256). This research would indicate that some of the participants of this study are at that transitional point.</p>
Career/provider driven creative industries father	<p>He has enjoyed success and has grown and developed a career within the creative industries. Less concerned with being an artist but keen to remain within a creative role. Career less defined by having children other than a greater sense of needing to provide. Fewer career breaks. More likely to have had episodes of entrepreneurial activity. Less likely to have had an opportunity to stop and reflect on artistic endeavour. Generally speaking they work within the private sector and/or higher education. They tend to work in small and micro businesses, frequently characterised within the literature related to the creative industries (DCMS, 2005; Blackwell and Harvey, 1999). Perhaps one reason why more men might take on this provider role is evident within the work of Sullivan and Mainiero who identified that “men come to value relationships more, once they have made progress in their career” (Sullivan and Mainiero 2007:247).</p>
Professional creative (non-parent)	<p>Male or female, no children. Works within the arts world but not as an artist. Has enjoyed success within their chosen field. Role less defined by other people. Decision to work within the sector, but not as an artist, appears to be based on personal preference and self-development rather than any other push/pull factors.</p>
Creative/arts entrepreneur	<p>Potentially male or female. Works as an artist for a large proportion of time. Unlikely to have children. Has a clearer sense of the value of marketing and other business principles in order to facilitate and continue their practice. Exhibits more</p>

	entrepreneurial behaviours. Aggestam refers to the ‘Art-entrepreneur’ as someone who is a “holder of tacit knowledge that is realised as part of human capital and includes individual skill, competence, commitment and creativity based mindsets” (Aggestam, 2008:30). The creative/arts entrepreneur’s experience resonates with this, particularly the sense of tacit knowledge, there is a sense that these individuals were better equipped to deal with life as an artist. What this research highlights is that this is less a gendered role; however it is less likely for these individuals to have children. This of course is not generalizable but indicative.
Non-creative, distant arts aspirations	Male or female, usually with children, who have chosen give up or were unable to sustain their arts practice. Tend to have reasonable success in their new careers. Generally working in completely unrelated fields to their degree. These participants appear to have a variety of views with regards to the arts world from harbouring some level of regret about their lack of connection to complete acceptance that that path just ‘wasn’t for them’. However they still retain either a sense of themselves as creative or miss, even mourn their younger creative selves.

It should be noted that the types outlined in Table 9.3 are not static. Individuals’ circumstances change. They may well have occupied multiple positions within this spectrum. Indeed they may well feel that at a given time they fit into more than one. However, the majority of participants fell into the first two categories at the time of interview. Importantly, there was one instance where a male participant fitted the criteria of the ‘artist mother’ apart from the obvious characteristic. This suggests that although all of these roles are generally gendered, in terms of the stereotype of male provider and female nurturing mother, in some instances, either deliberately or owing to circumstances, the roles are reversed. Out of this cohort, the sole male participant who seemed to share the same characteristics as the ‘artist mothers’ described an intense compulsion to create, a constant compromise of paid work over his own practice and a practical need to be providing childcare, although this was not described in quite the same terms as the women, i.e. it was a practical financial consideration rather than an emotional need to provide childcare.

### **9.6.3.3 Third theoretical contribution: Gender and entrepreneurship within the creative industries**

The final contribution is based on having identified these types. This has helped to build an understanding and explains the role women and men play within the sector. It also goes some way to



building an understanding of how or at what point in an individual's career entrepreneurship might manifest itself. Two clear situations appear. For the majority of men within this group there has been a far greater opportunity to build and sustain a career within the sector. Women have tended to take on roles which allow for childcare commitments. On this basis, the women tend to work in the public sector, which offers part-time flexible working conditions and generally generous maternity leave. Arguably they are getting less exposure to the private sector, entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial role models which the male participants are getting. Secondly, the women, having taken various levels of career break or reduction in hours as well as having further (parental) responsibility, are arguably attempting their arts practice but are unable to fully commit. There is evidence to suggest that women have a higher propensity for wishing to continue and actively continuing their arts practice. While the career breaks bought upon by parenting appear to offer a period of reflection and re-establishing of their artistic selves, there is a concern that they lack the sufficient confidence (owing to a prolonged absence) required to be sufficiently entrepreneurial in establishing themselves as artists.

The implications for this are far reaching. If young artists were armed with this knowledge, much like those arts entrepreneurs who appear to have the requisite tacit knowledge to establish themselves as entrepreneurs, then this further insight could widen the artistic pool and eventual entrepreneurial outcomes.

## **9.7 Recommendations linked to conclusions**

A number of recommendations can now be linked to the conclusions. The recommendations relate to education, business support and enterprise education and the communication of the realities of life beyond university.

### **9.7.1 Managing expectations within fine art education**

As well as the obvious "You may not go on to make it as an artist", there would be value in the art educator discussing the likely feelings that students might leave with and which might stay with them throughout their careers. These might be feelings of a compulsion to create, they might be just about

viewing the world having gone through a period of having to explore and justify your own ideas about a philosophical experience and how you go about communicating it. This is not to say that fine art students are special or different to others, more that they might benefit from knowing that it is alright and perfectly normal to feel the way they do. Linked to these expectations are the potential gender divide and experiences that participants might have. For example, would the female participants of the group feel differently about their experience if they had known that actually having children might present a new opportunity and a renewed appetite for making? (Brooks and Daniluk, 1998). This, it could be argued, could have a detrimental effect in terms of the message it signals to the female students, insomuch as who is able to sustain a career as an artist. It should be remembered that art and design educators are frequently practitioners. As such they could be argued to be acting as role models, both as artists and potentially entrepreneurs. While art schools should continue to recruit practitioners, a male-dominated staff could be considered detrimental to the long-term careers of female students. A far broader recommendation and perhaps beyond the scope of this study relates generally to how art and design is taught. Educators would be wise to question the gender bias of their art history provision and lecturing staff.

All of these issues link to other external factors that influence the artist. The art world is male-dominated historically, and culturally perceptions of the artist are masculine. These perceptions need to be questioned, and far greater value placed on the artist mother and female artists generally and their potential contribution.

### **9.7.2 Recommendations linked to future research**

- Further research into the role of lecturing staff, their gender and artistic outcomes.

As identified, there were some issues around the lecturing staff and the potential influence they were having in terms of their gendered perspectives. For this group there was a lack of female role-models. There is an emerging body of work which highlights male dominance within art history, masculine identity of 'the artist', along with from this study insight to male dominated lecturing staff and latent sexism within schools of art and design. If we accept the role of the lecturer/practitioner as important

to both artistic and entrepreneurial outcomes then this would suggest that more research into the role of lecturing staff, their gender and artistic outcomes.

- Quantitative study investigating archetypes of creative career destinations

Perhaps the most obvious next steps for research based on the findings and conclusions drawn from this study would be a larger quantitative study, which was able to capture whether or not the archetypes and experience of the participants of this study are transferrable across a wider population of fine art and other creative graduates. Understanding this situation better could have a profound effect on the general understanding and positioning of artists, both male and female, it would also offer those wishing to pursue a career as a fine artist the insight into the likely career outcomes and give confidence to those still attempting to grow their artistic practice.

- Pedagogy around enterprise education

There is a need for deeper investigation into enterprise education for the creative industries, and particularly for fine artists. It has become evident that this is not as easy as just providing enterprise education, albeit contextualised (Carey and Matlay, 2007). While the researcher is reminded of a conversation with a course leader of a MA in Fine Art who said, “I’m not here to teach them enterprise, I’m here to teach them to be artists” this study has demonstrated that this differentiation is important, to address the difficult balance between artistic pursuit and selling one’s work. How best to support and prepare artists in their inevitable business related tasks are unclear, but certainly worthy of greater exploration.

- Fine art education as a model for teaching enterprise

While the participants of this study were not exhibiting huge amounts of enterprising characteristics, they did, none-the-less exhibit some. With continued attempts to make a living as artists, activities included selling and marketing and other business activities. However what was clear was the strong sense of creativity and the ability to apply this outside of their artistic practice. Arguably this is a key characteristic of entrepreneurs. What is it about the Fine Art pedagogy that provides this? While this

study has gone some way to understanding this, it has highlighted further questions with regards to how this type of pedagogy develops individual's skills and attributes. A useful further piece of research would look to explore the nature of this pedagogy and its potential entrepreneurial outcomes.

- Track this same group or a similar group in the future to develop a clearer understanding of the impact of parenting on artistic identity

It became evident from the research process that while the sampling was useful in terms of capturing the careers of a group who had reached middle age, with specific responsibilities, what emerged were findings related to this very specific time. Many of the participants were at the beginning of a new phase in their lives. For the 'mother artists', their children were growing up, going to school and were less dependent. For the 'creative professional fathers' it seemed new jobs and developments in careers were commonplace. Clearly, careers for fine artists are somewhat 'slow burners': as Brooks and Daniluk (1998) suggest, artists become successful over a longer period of time. On this basis, a useful further piece of research would be either to track these participants' careers or to seek an older cohort to establish how they fared and how both their artistic pursuits and entrepreneurship developed.

- A comparative study between this and other disciplines.

As will become apparent within Section 9.8, it could be argued that the experience of the fine art graduates discussed within this thesis are not unique. Indeed there are parallels to the general working population, particularly in terms of how career identity is impacted through parenting. The researcher frequently felt that it would be useful to be able to compare the experience of fine artists against other disciplines, particularly other disciplines within the creative industries. The methodology and sampling has been useful, the concentrated group all from the same starting point has been a useful device and replicating the study over other disciplines would provide useful insights as to whether other disciplines and other creative disciplines experience the same types of issue.

- Characteristics of successful artists.

A final area worthy of exploration would be a study which focused on the career journeys of successful artists, to identify the role of entrepreneurship for successful artists both male, female and those with children. This would help to aid understanding of how individuals might be able to negotiate the tensions of art and commerce.

### **9.8 Limitations of the study**

The approach to capturing the career stories of a specific cohort of students/graduates provided a rich and concentrated view of fine art and creative industry career journeys and destinations. However, there were, of course, limitations with this study. Making contact with the potential participants proved far harder than anticipated. Although alternative sample groups were considered, the researcher persisted with the original methodology so as not to dilute the findings. Eventually, guided by thematic saturation, a sufficient number of participants were included in the study and data captured. Findings from the study have proved rich and insightful, but owing to the scale of the study, they are not generalizable. The participants are mid-career: although this offers good insight into their careers to this point, many of the participants are still heavily involved in child-rearing and their careers and potentially their mid-career renaissance have yet to bear fruit. Other disciplines were not explored in this study, and certainly there were times where it would have been useful to be able to compare the experience of the fine art graduates with other disciplines.

As described other approaches were considered. This study could have been approached differently. A study making use of a cohort of recently graduated students was considered. Given the lifespan of this PhD this could have afforded a longitudinal study where career choices and entrepreneurial activities were captured ‘as-they-happened’, however, it was considered that these participants would be less likely to have come up against the work/life balance issues faced by the chosen group. Similarly an ‘ad-hoc’ group was considered, i.e. a group who had emerged with from any fine art course or other creative discipline within a similar timeframe. While this could have led to greater numbers of participants it was considered that this would have been a somewhat diluted sample. The individuals

all stemming from the same source provided a concentrated perspective on career outcomes for fine art graduates.

The insider perspective was invaluable, without doubt, it has enriched the analysis and findings, however this has also represented a limitation. Arguably it was harder to remain objective within the study, however the use of Nvivo as a repository and analysis tool for managing the data and then being able to de-personalise the data at the point of analysis was useful.

### **9.9 Self-reflection and reflexivity**

Owing to the nature of the researcher's relationship to the participants, prior knowledge of them and shared experience, explicit use of reflexivity was considered essential and central to this study. In the following section the researcher reflects both on the use of reflexivity and on the study as a whole. Hertz describes reflexivity as ubiquitous, in that it permeates all aspects of the research process, describing the act of reflexivity being the researcher considering the "... scrutiny of what I know and how I know it" (Hartz, 1997:viii). This was important for this research, given the circumstances described previously. Throughout the research process it was important for the researcher to consider how much of her own experience or prior knowledge might be informing or influencing the outcome of the research particularly in recognition of factors highlighted by Dowling (2006) in terms of feminist reflexivity for example was the researcher imposing her own views on gender on the participants? Did this bias the interview and analysis process? Reflexivity has not been straightforward. To an extent, there was a real benefit at the analysis stage and throughout the interviews to be open to what came through and not be continually self-conscious about the process. This said there were periods of doubt: for example, the researcher was concerned, periodically; that what was emerging might not be an accurate or authentic account of how the participants felt or behaved. When periods like this came along, the researcher regularly returned to the raw data.

A useful piece of learning from this process has been the recognition that the data never lies. In this respect, where the researcher felt, for example, that a theme had emerged, which was then explored through the literature and developed within the analysis and findings, any doubt as to the validity of

the findings was soon overcome by going back to the raw data and re-examining the nodes. As might be experienced by other post-graduate researchers and particularly those who are part time, these anxieties can occur frequently, especially given that one is often away from the research for a number of days. However, given the nature of the researcher's position (close to the participants and her own insider perspective), it was always useful to have this series of checks in place to make sure that the story being told was not just the one that the researcher wanted to tell.

### **9.9.1 Why this research study? The sample group and ethical considerations**

The following section focuses on the personal reflections of the researcher and the lessons learnt with regards to the approach. Having insider perspective was useful inasmuch as it equipped the researcher with a shortcut to knowing some of what the participants experienced or had come across within their careers. For example, the researcher is the daughter of an artist (mother) and a graphic designer (father). Her brother also studied fine art; indeed, he was a student at Goldsmiths and graduated the year after Damian Hirst. The researcher was a London-based art student prior to her time at Wolverhampton and this link to Goldsmiths gave her direct insight into the Young British Artist movement of the late 80s and early 90s, discussed in Chapter Seven.

Having not been hugely academic in school, the researcher was always drawn to artistic pursuits: similarly to the participants, she was considered talented and thrived in these subjects. Perhaps unlike some of the participants, parental support was forthcoming, albeit with a slightly tongue-in-cheek 'health warning' that a career as an accountant would be 'a safer bet'. Having such an arts-based family, a career and/or an art school education were perhaps inevitable. There was certainly tacit approval. What this experience offered was also first-hand observation of fine art and creative careers. On reflection, the researcher's parents offer examples of the archetypes developed through this research: The 'artist mother' and 'creative career father' and at times 'arts entrepreneur' brother. It should be stated here that although perhaps these links seem obvious, it was only at the time of writing up these conclusions that the researcher made this rather more personal link.

It has been a long journey. When this first began, the study seemed obvious to the researcher: to try to get together with their college cohort, capture their career stories and gather a better understanding of entrepreneurship within the creative industries; that their common starting point would offer a concentrated insight into careers and destinations within this sector. What emerged was a deeply complex and personal journey. At one point, immersed within the data, the researcher felt that in some ways what had been gained was a sort of portrait of herself, whereby a clear sense of all of these people and their stories, the shapes they filled, in some way gave her a better understanding of herself. This was imagined visually and gradually: as another person was added to the picture, the drawing reveals a space – the researcher’s and fellow graduate’s space. While this could be considered self-indulgent, it is merely an observation of a by-product of the study which offers an explanation of gender and entrepreneurship within the careers of post-graduate fine artists.

Other considerations relate to the impact of the researcher and her role within the study. It was clear that there was anxiety, shared to an extent by the researcher, as to “how did we appear to one another?”, although the researcher was keen for this not to become a focus of the research. There was a fascination with appearance: the work of Rouse (2008), who discusses the embodiment of the ideal entrepreneur, left the researcher considering ‘what was I anticipating?’ out of this embodiment of the ideal artist, entrepreneur, mother and herself as an academic. Had we all aged? Were we still attractive and why did it matter? Were these markers of success, perhaps? These were all unexpected feelings for the researcher, but they were also shared and voiced by some participants. There are lessons here to be drawn also for researchers generally about how they are perceived by the participants of their studies.

The researcher became aware of a number of observations she was making of the participants. There appeared on occasions to be a mutual comparison: what car did they drive? What clothes did they wear? What were their homes like? How well had they aged? Through discussion with a number of the participants, it became clear that these were also preoccupations of the participants. There had been some discussion (not captured as prior to the interviews) where, for example, one participant had imagined that the researcher would have become some sort of hard-nosed businesswoman, working as she was within a business school. The researcher was careful to wear the same outfit for each



interview and to not appear too formal. The fact that the research was for the researcher's PhD was also an issue for some participants. Linked to individuals' sense of success, here they were getting to meet first-hand someone who they had been to college with and she did not only want to hear all about their careers but it was for her PhD.

*Let's be honest, when someone sends you something and 'it's my PhD', you have a sense that, oh God, I mean, I, for a long time, I've found it, you know, just hard, even being around certain friends as I wasn't working, I was at home and even though I was creating at home, it's really easy to measure your success against everybody else's. (Participant 3)*

This interest and comparison between participant and researcher highlights some other ethical issues which emerged through the interviews and the given sample group. The participants were frequently interested in who else was involved in the study and what had become of them. Whether anyone had emerged as a successful artist was a frequent theme. The researcher, as stipulated within the methodology chapter, treated the participant participation confidentially, although in some instances small clusters of participants (who still knew each other) were aware of each other's participation. The contents of the interviews remained entirely confidential.

*It's interesting, I mean, I could sit here all night and talk about not just me but like, you know, college and people that we knew, what's happened, you know, what they're going to do. (Participant 1)*

As the interviews came to a close, participants were asked how they had felt about the study and given an opportunity to comment on it. Arguably they were all far too polite to offer anything other than positive feedback, but from the majority of comments the following sums up most of how the participants felt:

*It's been quite helpful actually, it's almost like seeing a therapist or something, isn't it? When you're talking about, I mean, I've never seen a therapist but I imagine is quite like that, you've condensed everything into a conversation and then you feel quite positive about it. When you talk about it, it sounds quite good actually, to me, it does anyway, it sounds alright actually you know, it's been a good experience. (Participant 1)*

## **9.10 Concluding remarks**

The aims of the study have been met. A cohesive and detailed approach to the literature was taken. A methodology was developed to capture the career destinations, choices, opportunities and outcomes of a sample of female and male graduates who graduated in 1994 from the same creative discipline course. While it has been acknowledged that the initial iteration of the online survey was problematic, the narrative career story interviews provided an insightful and deep understanding of the participants' careers. Aim 3, to carry out an analysis of the gathered data, in order to identify common themes relating to gender and entrepreneurship within the creative industries sector, was met, taking a grounded theory approach and following the guidelines provided by Strauss and Corbin (2003), and key findings emerged which were presented, thematically in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. The final aim, to carry out a qualitative exploration of the relationship of gender on post-graduate participation in creative industries entrepreneurship, was met and is evidenced by the new understanding that this research presents in terms of understanding of how careers within the creative industries are experienced by men and women and where entrepreneurship fits into these careers.

While writing this chapter, the author was sent an invitation to submit a chapter to a book related to female entrepreneurship, welcoming industry-specific contributions. By rights, the researcher considered, this study ought to provide plenty of scope for such a chapter. However what started out as an exploration into the role of gender and entrepreneurship within the creative industries ended up being a study whose focus was far more heavily on identity, value, gender and parenting and the impact this has on the careers of fine art graduates. Entrepreneurship was a by-product, an enabler and at most a means to an end, but seldom the ambition of the participants. Attitudes to the area of entrepreneurship amongst this cohort remain ambiguous, or certainly a number of perspectives were provided, which fitted with the archetypes that emerged.

Overall, this has been a fascinating investigation into the lives of these individuals. While some of the findings have affirmed some of what the researcher already knew, others have been a revelation. There is a real hope that some of these findings filter down and provide a deeper insight into how and

when careers develop for fine artists, providing reassurance, perhaps, that actually it is never too late. In fact you might only be just getting to the optimum stage in your career to pursue life as an artist when you reach middle age. However if you never know this, then instead you may assume you are past it, that you have missed the window of opportunity, and that you will not be taken seriously. Moreover, if the arts world is unaware of this then, perhaps, fine art graduates will continue to live with their compulsion to create, but lacking the confidence to do anything financially rewarding with this compulsion.

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## **Appendices items**

Appendix 1 Interview aide memoire

Appendix 2 Written consent form

Appendix 3 Transcribed and coded example of an interview

Appendix 4 Full list of open codes and hierarchy of codes

Appendix 5 Researcher's previous published work related to this thesis:

Carey, C. (2006) *Characteristics of Creative Industries Entrepreneurs: A gender Perspective*, ISBE conference proceedings CD-Rom, 26<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference, Cardiff, November 2006

Carey, C. and Matlay, H. (2011) Emergent Issues in Enterprise Education: The Educator's Perspective, *Industry and Higher Education* 25 (6) 1-10

Carey, C. and Matlay, H. (2010) Creative Disciplines Education: A Model for Assessing Ideas in Entrepreneurship Education?, *Education + Training* 52 (8/9) 694-709

Carey, C. and Matlay, H. (2007) Entrepreneurs as Educators: The Case of the Creative Industries in the UK, *Industry and Higher Education* 21 (6) 435-443

Carey, C. and Naudin, A. (2006) Enterprise Curriculum for Creative Industries Students: An Exploration of Current Attitudes and Issues, *Education + Training* 8 (7) 518-531

# Appendix 1

Interview aide memoire

## **Aide memoir**

### **Finding individuals in the sample group and having them complete the online survey.**

1. Look to exiting contacts and map out who knows who. Email contacts and request them to carry out online survey
2. Ask all respondents to highlight and provide contacts for others that they may be able to remember from the course.
3. Go through the 1994 catalogue and search out each of the individuals who have yet to complete the form process – the catalogue represents 50% of the group:
  - a. Search google – if found then email
  - b. Search Facebook – if found ‘friend’ and email
  - c. Search Friends reunited – if found then ‘add as friend’ and email
  - d. Search LinkedIn – if found then ‘add to network’ and email
  - e. Search Twitter, follow and send direct message or email if possible.
  - f. Search 192.com – to identify if home address given in catalogue is still parental address – if found then send hard copy of survey to parental address with pleas to forward as necessary
4. List all remembered individuals who are not in catalogue and do the same process as in stage 3. Along with all of those suggested by the existing participants.
5. Contact Wolverhampton University alumni
6. Standard content of email to be sent:

Dear Leigh

My name is Charlotte Carey you may remember me from Wolverhampton University – we both studied Fine Art there at the same time. Hi! I hope life is treating you well?

The reason I am contacting you is that I am currently half way through a PhD. The study I am conducting is looking at the careers of creative discipline graduates. Specifically I thought (possibly foolishly) that it would be interesting/useful to capture the career journeys of an entire cohort of graduates all of whom graduated from the same place at the same time.

You may be able to guess where I am going with this. The cohort and now sample group for my study is the 1994 Wolverhampton Fine Art Alumni, of which you are one. To this end I am emailing to ask you if you would please take a short amount of time (about 15 minutes) to carry out a survey linked to here:

<http://creativegraduate.wufoo.com/forms/creative-graduates/>

I started the PhD process back in 2007. I’ve been doing it Part-time while working full-time and being a mummy. I am now under some pressure to complete the data collection process by my sponsors and supervisory team. Already a fair few folk have completed the survey but reaching people has been harder than I’d anticipated so your contribution would be extremely useful. Please be assured that all information will be treated confidentially and to this end there is a link to the ‘ethical statement’ accompanying the study from the form.

I'd like to reiterate how grateful I am for you taking the time to read this email and to once again stress how helpful it would be if you would please complete the survey.

If you have any queries or objections then please do email me and let me know:

Charlotte.carey@bcu.ac.uk or call 0121 331 7259.

Many thanks

Charlotte

### **The Interview process**

Email or telephone the individual in order to secure a mutually convenient time in order to meet for the interview. Explain that this is likely to take between 1 and 2 hours. Explain the study and its objectives, highlighting the methods used – i.e. the use of storytelling, my own insider perspective and the impact this has had on the ethical considerations of the study.

Participants will be given a copy of the ethical statement and asked to sign two written consent forms – one to keep, one to take.

Questions to frame the interview, these questions are to offer a loose framework, participants are encouraged to tell other stories but these questions are intended to help the researcher remain focussed.

### **Graduates from creative Disciplines**

1. Please describe your current situation?
2. The Story – please tell the story of your career how you got to where you are now from graduation

Now what is/are the:

- Title
  - Major issues
  - Characters
  - Tension
  - Resolution
  - Lessons learnt
3. Please (briefly) describe your education?
  4. Did your education help in terms of enterprise, entrepreneurship and running your own business? If so, how? If not how could it have been improved upon?
  5. Do you feel that your gender has in anyway affected your career?
  6. Attitudes towards creativity - what are they have and how have they altered? Do you feel you have been creative in your career? Is it important?

7. Attitudes towards enterprise/running a business – what are they have and how have they altered? Do you feel you have been enterprising in your career? Is it important?
8. What were your Initial expectations of a career and what were the realities? What do you feel about this?
9. How do they feel about participating in the study? Would they be interested in any further contact? Or to hear any of the findings? Do they see any value in the study?

# Appendix 2

Written consent form

Name:

Role:

Company (if applicable):

Address:

Email:

Tel:

I ..... agree that my firm (if applicable)..... will take part in a research exercise with Charlotte Carey, PhD student from Birmingham City Business School to develop an understanding of the development of careers and entrepreneurship within the creative industries.

I understand that my name will not be used without my consent, except to confirm to funders that the company/I exist. Ideas and points of view will not be attributed by name to me or to my company, however I agree to the following being used as part of the preparation of materials for the exercise:

- Interviews with owner/participant
- Interview or focus group with staff/participants

I understand that, following the development of the exercise, academic papers may be prepared for presentation at an academic conference (or for publication in an academic journal which uses my company as one of a number of case studies). Again I expect that my details are kept entirely confidential and that if the results are used for other purposes I will be consulted.

Signed

---

Date

---



# Appendix 3

Transcribed and coded example of an interview

# Appendix 4

Full list of open codes and hierarchy of codes

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PhD

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Node Summary Report Page 1 of 31

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Node Summary Report Page 3 of 31

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28/06/2012 12:14

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**Free Nodes\Current economic climate Free Node**

11/05/2011 14:49  
16/02/2012 12:29

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**Free Nodes\Definitions of success Free Node**

23/06/2011 09:37  
23/06/2011 10:52

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**Free Nodes\Dream Career Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Education - reflections Free Node**

16/02/2012 10:33  
12/07/2012 11:50

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Node Summary Report Page 4 of 31

**Free Nodes\Education and luck Free Node**

28/05/2012 15:56  
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**Free Nodes\Education Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Enterprise education Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Enterprise indicators Free Node**

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28/06/2012 12:05

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**Free Nodes\Evolution of creativity Free Node**

22/06/2011 14:32

28/06/2012 11:59

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Node Summary Report Page 5 of 31

**Free Nodes\Exhibiting Free Node**

23/06/2011 10:05

29/06/2012 11:50

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**Free Nodes\Expectations Free Node**

29/03/2011 16:25

28/06/2012 11:59

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**Free Nodes\Fear and knowledge Free Node**

12/05/2011 09:50

28/06/2012 11:59

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**Free Nodes\fear of failure rejection Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Feelings of isolation Free Node**

25/03/2011 13:31

29/03/2011 16:27

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Node Summary Report Page 6 of 31

**Free Nodes\Feelings towards others success Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Feelings towards the research Free Node**

22/06/2011 12:45

16/02/2012 12:10

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**Free Nodes\Female dominated field Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Financial worrieds Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Freelancing Free Node**

23/06/2011 10:07

28/06/2012 12:07

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Node Summary Report Page 7 of 31

**Free Nodes\Funding for enterprise Free Node**

11/05/2011 14:47

23/06/2011 10:19

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**Free Nodes\Funding for the arts Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Gender and arts education Free Node**

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23/06/2011 11:15

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**Free Nodes\Gender and attractiveness Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Gender and luck Free Node**

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Node Summary Report Page 8 of 31

**Free Nodes\Gender Free Node**

29/03/2011 15:40

28/06/2012 11:59

**Created On**

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**Free Nodes\Gendered roles Free Node**

23/06/2011 09:32

28/06/2012 11:59

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**Free Nodes\Geographic movement Free Node**

16/02/2012 10:48  
16/02/2012 11:56

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**Free Nodes\Getting older Free Node**

22/06/2011 18:04

23/06/2011 10:50

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**Free Nodes\Going back to art Free Node**

23/02/2012 12:01

24/02/2012 11:30

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Node Summary Report Page 9 of 31

**Free Nodes\Growing confidence Free Node**

23/06/2011 09:55

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23/06/2011 11:11

23/06/2011 11:30

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**Free Nodes\identity and family Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Identity and srt school Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Identity gender Free Node**

24/02/2012 12:04  
28/06/2012 11:59

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Node Summary Report Page 10 of 31

**Free Nodes\Identity Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Intrapreneurship Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\lack of confidence Free Node**

11/05/2011 15:11

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**Free Nodes\Lack of skills gained throught fine art Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\last chance enterprise Free Node**

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01/06/2012 12:53

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**Total 1 1 70 1 0**

Node Summary Report Page 11 of 31

**Free Nodes\Luck Free Node**

28/05/2012 15:48

28/06/2012 12:39

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**Free Nodes\Male dominated field Free Node**

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22/06/2011 11:33

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**Free Nodes\Money (need for) Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Multiple identities Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Narrative feelings Free Node**

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**Total 1 1 109 1 0**

Node Summary Report Page 12 of 31

**Free Nodes\Netowrking Free Node**

05/03/2012 12:02

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**Free Nodes\others perceptions of you as an artist Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Parenting and identity Free Node**

12/07/2012 14:59

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**Free Nodes\Parenting and society Free Node**

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23/06/2011 10:50

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**Free Nodes\Parenting and value Free Node**

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Node Summary Report Page 13 of 31

**Free Nodes\Parenting as block to career Free Node**

22/06/2011 11:21

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**Free Nodes\Parenting as motivator to enterprise Free Node**

07/04/2011 15:49

22/06/2011 12:25

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**Free Nodes\Parenting motivates arts practice Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Parenting shaping career Free Node**

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Node Summary Report Page 14 of 31

**Free Nodes\Parenting skills learnt through parenting Free Node**

23/06/2011 09:21

24/04/2012 12:08

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**Free Nodes\Parenting Free Node**

25/03/2011 13:36  
05/03/2012 12:41

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**Free Nodes\Partners Free Node**

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09/03/2012 13:41

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**Free Nodes\Pay and earnings Free Node**

22/06/2011 12:19  
25/08/2012 16:19

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**Free Nodes\Perceptions of career Free Node**

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23/06/2011 10:54

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**Free Nodes\Perceptions of enterprising behaviour Free Node**

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**Free Nodes\Perceptions of success Free Node**

22/06/2011 18:20  
23/06/2011 09:42

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**Free Nodes\Political factors Free Node**

22/06/2011 11:12  
23/06/2011 09:26

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**Free Nodes\Portfolio working Free Node**

09/06/2011 16:20  
16/02/2012 12:04

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**Free Nodes\Push and pull factors for enterprise Free Node**

11/05/2011 14:50  
16/02/2012 12:11

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**Total 2 4 300 4 0**

Node Summary Report Page 16 of 31

**Free Nodes\Really, that's a small part of it. It's just confidence, you know and it becomes e Free Node**

01/06/2012 12:52

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**Users**

**Cases**

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**Total 1 1 70 1 0**

**Free Nodes\Reflections Free Node**

25/03/2011 13:18

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**Free Nodes\Resolution Free Node**

29/03/2011 11:59

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**Free Nodes\Risks Free Node**

05/03/2012 12:01

05/03/2012 12:01

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**Free Nodes\Skills development Free Node**

23/06/2011 10:17

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**Type Sources References Words Paragraphs Region Duration Rows**  
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Node Summary Report Page 17 of 31

**Free Nodes\Social Media Free Node**

05/03/2012 11:29

28/06/2012 11:59

**Created On**  
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**Free Nodes\started off at the ~inaudible 07~48~ Chronicle, I was there for about nine mo Free Node**

16/02/2012 12:02

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**Free Nodes\Tensions Free Node**

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28/06/2012 11:59

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**Total 5 15 1916 18 0**

**Free Nodes\Thoughts about Fine art Free Node**

23/06/2011 09:16

28/06/2012 12:41

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Node Summary Report Page 21 of 31

**Tree Nodes\Entrepreneurship\Enterprise education Tree Node**

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Node Summary Report Page 22 of 31

**Tree Nodes\Entrepreneurship\Blocks to enterprise\Fear and knowledge Tree Node**

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**Tree Nodes\Entrepreneurship\Enterprise indicators\Freelancing Tree Node**

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31/05/2012 14:10

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**Tree Nodes\Gender\Gender and arts education Tree Node**

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Node Summary Report Page 24 of 31

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Node Summary Report Page 25 of 31

**Tree Nodes\Emerging themes\Identity\Identity gender Tree Node**

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Node Summary Report Page 27 of 31

**Tree Nodes\Gender\Parenting\Parenting and value Tree Node**

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Node Summary Report Page 28 of 31

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Node Summary Report Page 30 of 31

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**Total 3 4 763 4 0**

Node Summary Report Page 31 of 31



# Appendix

## Researcher's previous published work related to this thesis:

Carey, C. (2006) *Characteristics of Creative Industries Entrepreneurs: A gender Perspective*, ISBE conference proceedings CD-Rom, 26<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference, Cardiff, November 2006

Carey, C. and Matlay, H. (2011) Emergent Issues in Enterprise Education: The Educator's Perspective, *Industry and Higher Education* 25 (6) 1-10

Carey, C. and Matlay, H. (2010) Creative Disciplines Education: A Model for Assessing Ideas in Entrepreneurship Education?, *Education + Training* 52 (8/9) 694-709

Carey, C. and Matlay, H. (2007) Entrepreneurs as Educators: The Case of the Creative Industries in the UK, *Industry and Higher Education* 21 (6) 435-443

Carey, C. and Naudin, A. (2006) Enterprise Curriculum for Creative Industries Students: An Exploration of Current Attitudes and Issues, *Education + Training* 8 (7) 518-531