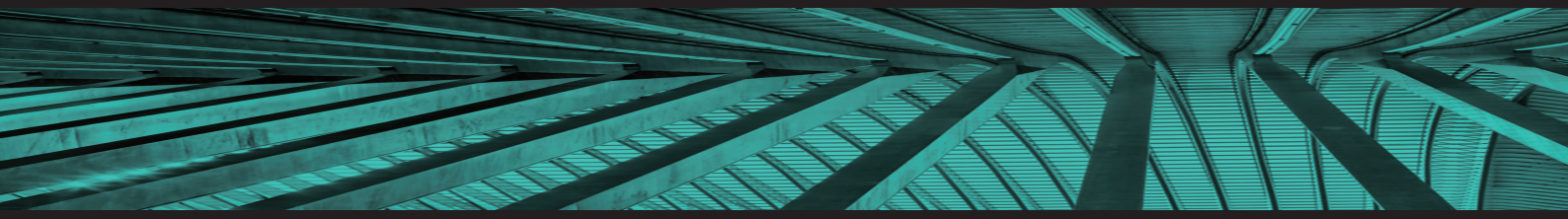
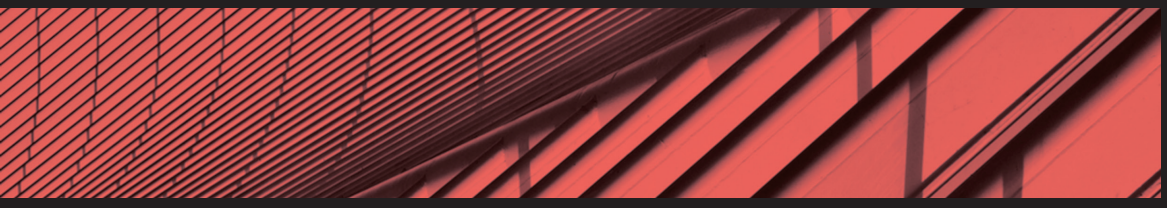
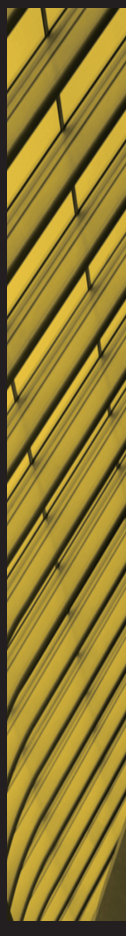
DISCE

DEVELOPING
INCLUSIVE
AND SUSTAINABLE
CREATIVE ECONOMIES



CREATIVE WORKFORCE: UNDERSTANDING SKILLS & TRAINING NEEDS IN THE CCIs; INEQUALITIES AND EXCLUSION REPORT





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DISCE DEVELOPING INCLUSIVE AND SUSTAINABLE CREATIVE ECONOMIES

Creative workforce: understanding skills & training needs in the CCIs; Inequalities and Exclusion Report

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Executive summary

Work package three (WP3) aims to develop an understanding of skills and training needs for the creative and cultural workers (CCWs) within local creative economies. Our approach to the DISCE data has been to:

- investigate the career perspectives, challenges and needs experienced by CCWs through an analysis of biographical accounts;
- reflect on higher education (HE) strengths and weaknesses across the selection of DISCE case study locations;
- map the skills, knowledge, training needs experience through the career development of CCWs.

The DISCE research project has enabled an exploration of the conditions that both enable and inhibit creative and cultural work/practice through an ecological case study approach. We mapped career development pathways of CCWs through five stages from early access to education and early careers towards the establishment of sustainable careers – not achieved by all – and finally, towards a potential stage of being able to foster and support other CCWs.

Adopting the capability approach to the data analysis, we have articulated for each key stage specific capabilities that enable access to sustainable creative and cultural careers. This approach has enabled a detailed exploration into the lived realities of workers within a specific geographical locale and allowed a better understanding of the opportunities and barriers they face contributing to their local creative economies.

In addition, conducting this research during the unfolding COVID-19 pandemic provided a reflective moment on the robustness and sustainability of the creative economy in each of the case study locations.

The findings provide us with a deeper understanding of CCWs lives and careers, which accounts fully for the way a range of capabilities - some exercised from the early years of life – enable access to aspiration, opportunities and skills towards creative and cultural careers. However, it also highlights how some of the capabilities are restricted by financial, social and geographical barriers which hinder the inclusivity of the sector. We are able to contrast and share these findings, providing a platform to showcase the actions/responses developed across Europe to explore how policy interventions can support sustainable creative and cultural work.

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1. Introduction

Building on the literature review and mapping undertaken for deliverable 3.2, this document presents the analysis centred on creative and cultural work (CCW) across the 10 DISCE case studies. It offers an in-depth analysis of CCW alongside creative and cultural skills development and creative education from an ecological perspective. In its overall methodological and theoretical framework, DISCE has embraced an ecological approach to the analysis of inclusive and sustainable creative economies (see Gross et al. 2019; Gross et. al. 2020), one that pays attention to the "complex interplay and interdependence (i.e., connectivity) between the publicly subsidised arts, the commercial creative industries and everyday creativity" (p.32) and WP3 adopts this framework to questions of inclusivity and sustainability within CCW. Building on DISCE deliverable 5.2 (Wilson et al. 2020), this highlights the importance of understanding multiple interdependencies across different resources that combine to meet the needs of creative and cultural workers and also illustrates the broader value that CCW contributes to local creative and cultural ecologies and ecosystems (de Bernard et al. 2021). In this expansive, broader understanding of CCW, we are better able to understand what skills and education are currently available alongside what is missing, but also explore enablers and barriers to future development for both the workforce and the broader creative economies.

Before outlining the specific methodological approach to the DISCE research data undertaken by WP3 we reaffirm how the wider inclusive and sustainable approach to creative economies undertaken by the DISCE project and outlined in Wilson et al. 2020 relate to the experiences of CCW and skills development. In relation to WP3:

- the term **'inclusive'** expands our understanding of who is part of the CCW to include not only those who are able to maintain a structured career/livelihood within the local CCE but also those are attempting to or failing to enter the CCW.

- the term **'sustainable'** is then considered in connection with CCW to consider the range of resources, functions, capabilities, and requirements, both inclusive of and also beyond economic sustainability that enable participation and development within the local CCE.

Table 1.1: Key terminology adopted by WP3

Focus on WP3 Terminology
CCE: Creative and cultural ecosystem As discussed in Gross et al. (2019) and Gross et al. (2021) DISCE adopts an ecological perspective to the way creativity and culture operate in different locations. It means that rather then defining what creative economies are a priori (based on industrial or occupational classification), we consider how different agents in the local context connect and interact towards the production, preservation, promotion and reproduction of creative and cultural opportunities (Wilson et al. 2020). The ecosystem that emerge from these interactions across different scale (from the individua to the organisation up to the regional governance) form the local creative and cultural ecosystem **CCIs: Creative and cultural industries**

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CCIs are a sub-section or component of CCEs. We use this term – in line with previous policy frameworks adopted by the UK (Higgs et al. 2008) and UNESCO (2011) – when we seek to narrowly define specific industries and occupations that are of specific interest to specific policies, statistic measures or employment interventions.

CCW: Creative and cultural work AND creative and cultural workforce/workers

Building on Dent et al (2020) we take a deliberately inclusive position, highlighting a wide scope of employment. The inclusive title of 'creative and cultural workforce' (CCW) is adopted, therefore, to refer interchangeably to both 'creative' and 'cultural' workers. Furthermore, beyond looking at industries and occupations, we define as CCW all the individuals that are currently employed but also aspire to be working (across a range of contracts and modes of employment) in paid and unpaid positions contributing to local creative economies (Gross et al. 2019) and CCE.

Creative HE: Creative Higher Education

Building on Comunian et al. (2020) we refer to Creative HE to include creative subjects at Higher Education. We focus specifically on courses and universities that provide specialised knowledge and degrees that can be considered a pipeline for the creative and cultural industries (CCIs) and training grounds for the future CCW. While this does not preclude that other degrees and subjects contribute to the CCIs and CCW, nor that creativity should be understood as being nurtured and developed beyond this relatively narrowly-prescribed set of creative subjects degrees, other courses are include under the generic HE (higher education) classification.

SCCW: Sustainable creative and cultural work

We define sustainable creative and cultural work building on the definition of CCW provided above but focusing on the sustainability of the occupation/job or project. It implies that the type of work undertaken allows the CCW to make a decent livelihood and give them mid to long-term security towards that livelihood. Beyond the economic sustainability, it also connected with the capacity of position to meet the needs of individuals to make the contribution they seek to make to the sector, society or their CCE.

HE: Higher Education, FE: Further Education, HEI: Higher Education Institutions
In reference to Higher Education (HE) the report focuses on the wide variety of optional final stage formal learning that is undertaken after the completion of secondary education (hence also known as third-level or tertiary education). In terms of the International Standard Classification of Education (2011) this embraces courses at levels 6, 7 and 8. HE is offered by a varied set of institutions (HEIs), ranging from universities, colleges, institutes of technology, to art, dance, drama and music schools and conservatoires.

In order, therefore, to 're-think' inclusive and sustainable growth for the creative economy, we propose applying the cultural development framework formulated by Work Package (WP) 5 to understand CCW within (inclusive and sustainable) creative economies. The cultural development framework developed by WP5 proposes that we analyse 'cultural capability' through a set of 'capabilities' that measure what (inclusive and sustainable) creative economies are or could be. In Chapter 2, we discuss further the application of the capability approach to human development as an analytical tool to explore the capabilities and resources required for SCCW within a local CCE. Prior to this outline it is worth outlining our hypothesis on what sustainable creative and cultural work is and the research questions that we have devised in response to this framework.

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Originally, the aims of WP3 were narrowly conceived as trying to understand career perspectives, challenges and training needs of creative workers across a selection of European countries and CCIs sectors. In order to achieve this, we planned to map creative HE provision across a selection of European countries and the training provided to future creative workers across a range of skills (including entrepreneurship, innovation). Finally, we aimed to explore issues of inequality and exclusion in the CCIs and how they could be addressed. However, adopting an ecological approach (Gross et al. 2019) and building on the capabilities framework (Wilson et al. 2020) has caused a rethink to an approach of considering these elements as isolated issues based on a specific infrastructure (for example HE across Europe). Instead, we have broadened the horizons of WP3's focus by embracing the biographical nature of the interviews and data collected as giving us an invaluable snapshot of the longitudinal development of skills, knowledge, and careers. Adopting an ecological approach has developed our understanding of CCW and pushed us to centre our analysis on the experiences of participants at the different stages of their career, considering specially the multiple experiences that have led them to be part of (or excluded from) SCCW.

This has led to a reformulation of the initial questions considering experiences, challenges and resources that make CCW sustainable and inclusive for some but not for all. The original themes and questions, were therefore reframed around two broader questions:

- What are the enabling and inhibiting factors that either support or create barriers to CCW and how are they connected to different stages of the life cycle of the CCW?
- What are the elements/resources (including education, skills, policies) of the CCE that enable/give the capability to work creatively or access sustainable CCW?

These two broad questions have been then further articulated across the specific stages of creative and cultural careers identified in the next section.

1.1. WP3 framework for an ecological understanding of sustainable creative and cultural work

In order to understand the elements/functionings/resources necessary to provide the capability to access sustainable creative and cultural work (SCCW) (see section 2.1 for explanation of the capability application in relation to WP3), we offer a model categorized by a series of key stages in the life cycle of a potential sustainable creative and cultural career. This typology, as represented in figure 1.1, enables an ecological and inclusive exploration of SCCW that pays attention to the varying needs and resources required by each worker at that stage of the life cycle. The life cycle is comprised of 5 distinct stages, of which CCW is one element, stage 4. In order to ecologically understand the needs and resources required by CCW it is necessary to pay attention to all 5 stages of the life cycle and the interconnections and interdependencies between them.

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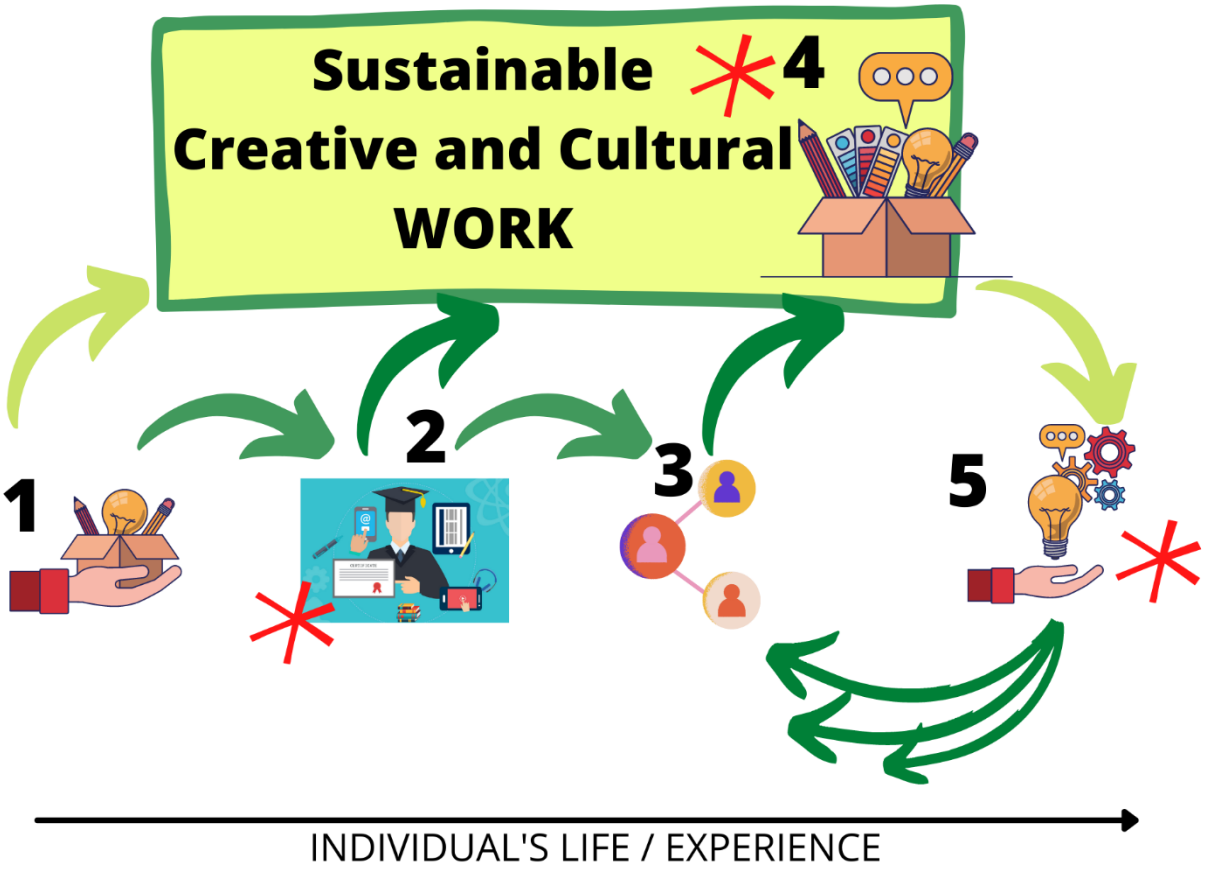

Figure 1.1: WP3 framework to understand SCCW ecologically

1.1.1. The five stages of the creative life cycle

As illustrated in figure 1.1, stage 1 of the life cycle to SCCW are the **early access** opportunities that individuals have access to, including encouragement, inspiration (or barriers) that might influence young people to aspire (or not) to a creative career. This stage starts with early intervention opportunities experienced from birth, and runs up until the end of compulsory education. It includes access to and experiences of creativity and culture available at the local level from the family, the community, formal and informal education, extracurricular activities, public events; interactions and/or experiences that provide people with the capability to aspire or imagine the prospect of creative/cultural work. While usually at this stage people are too young to access sustainable creative work from an employment perspective, it can and does happen that young people and children have the opportunities to engage with creative work. Paying attention to this stage of the life cycle illustrates the resources available to each individual that either enable or inhibit the capability to aspire to sustainable creative work later on in their lives.

Stage 2 of the life cycle relates to **Further and Higher Education.** This can relate to a formal Higher Education Institute that can either directly through accessing a specific creative HE course or through interactions and experiences undertaken during a period of study that provided individuals with the capability to access and or develop creative stills. Stage 2 does not solely relate to skills and opportunities undertaken in formal tertiary education but includes other forms of skills development such as training programmes, work-based learning, etc. It is a stage in the life cycle in which individuals are able to access the knowledge and skills

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necessary (or perceived as such) towards SCCW. Individuals can and do enter CCW during this stage, either through combining education with formal employment or through other interactions for example work placements, internships, volunteering opportunities, all of which contribute to the broader cultural ecosystem.

The next stage (3) is a phase where action is taken or an opportunity provided to enter/find SCCW. This stage labelled as '**early career'** represents a moment where the available resources at either an individual or social level are exposed. Early career can be linked to the skills accessed and developed through either a formal or an informal pathway. It can be linked to personal resources, access to certain contacts or external factors such as job availability, financial security, the ability to work across multiple platforms or sectors in order to develop the skills and contacts necessary for sustainable creative work. Much literature on creative labour has focused on this stage of the life cycle as discussed in our previous report on creative work and higher education (deliverable 3.2). In this wider literature, questions of inequality and precarity are exposed through the prism of who gets to 'be creative' (McRobbie 2016a), based on the resources and characteristics that individuals have access to. The DISCE research has enabled a further exploration, through the inclusive approach, to the range of resources and opportunities available to access and develop into sustainable creative work.

For some, accessing and developing **creative and cultural work** becomes a reality represented by stage 4, however our research has revealed that this position can be time-bound and vulnerable to wider circumstances as the COVID-19 pandemic has illustrated on a global level. There are other, previously documented factors that can interrupt or disrupt sustainable creative work such as caring responsibilities, redundancy, injury – particularly in certain professions such as music or dance where an injury can significantly alter the ability of that individual to sustain the creative work that they had previously developed skills for. In fact, we have found that at any time, creative workers can be pushed back to either stage 3, or stage 2 when opportunities for re-training or rethinking career development arise. For many, sustainable creative work in stage 4 remains part of an activity portfolio alongside other personal or work opportunities and the DISCE data demonstrate the broad range of work and labour market activity that creative and cultural workers contribute in order to sustain their creative career.

For some this either includes or becomes a move from creative work to **fostering work** that is directed towards enabling others to participate in creative work, which we represent as stage 5 of the life cycle. This final stage includes a range of intermediary organisations and resources from unions, support groups, cultural institutions, co-working spaces, incubator spaces, charities, youth engagement programmes, education and training programmes. Stage 5 enables sustainable creative work at the individual level, but also fosters sustainable creative work at a broader community level and thus connects different elements of the ecosystem. It is also an element of engaging others with creativity and culture, through work linked to outreach and widening participation and so connects with enabling others in stage 1 of the life cycle. Within this ecology of CCW, all of the stages (apart from 1) can be occupied as well as revisited by an individual and in career accounts of long-term professionals these cycles can happen multiple times.

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Table 1.2: WP3 Questions in relation to the SCCW life cycle

Early access	What are the resources available to individuals in their early years that engage them with creativity and culture? How does early access to creativity and culture relate to individual's aspiration to develop skills in CCW?
Creative and cultural skills	What is the relationship between creative HE and CCW? To what extent does HE mitigate or replicate barriers to inclusion and equality in CCW? Who has access to specialized HEI courses and training? What examples of best practice in Creative HE can be gathered?
Early career	To what extent does creative HE support an individual's access of CCW? Who gets to 'be creative' i.e. who is enabled to participate and contribute to the creative economy through their labour?
Sustainable creative and cultural work	What are the realities of 'work' for CCWs? What are the strategies available to CCWs to sustain their livelihoods? What systems of support and protection do they have access to?
Fostering creative and cultural work	Who and what takes responsible for fostering CCW? What are the different forms of employment that fostering CCW offers? How does local policy and creative/cultural city level planning foster CCW?

1.1.2. The non-linearity of creative and cultural careers

The SCCW life cycle (figure 1.1) suggests that the creative and cultural skills required for CCW are acquired through a progression from HE into the workforce however it is important to note that developing creative and cultural skills was the result of a range of negotiations across formal and informal learning and work. In fact, emerging from our participant data (see Appendix A DISCE methodology), across all the cities, we recognise 5 different profiles in relation to how creative/cultural skills are acquired in relation to individuals' careers and life accounts after compulsory education, which inform our overall framework.

Trajectory 1: FE or HE → Work

In this trajectory, out of compulsory education, the individual chooses to attend HE or FE to acquire specific skills for a profession and then after graduation, they enter the labour market (under a range of potential work profiles and working portfolio opportunities).

Trajectory 2: Work and FE or HE → Work

The individual works while attending FE and HE. This gives them the ability to either fund their education or support their formal learning with more practical experiences and knowledge. Usually, the person has a smoother transition into the world of work, although it might depend from the type of work undertaken while studying.

Trajectory 3: FE or HE with Work or practical training → Work

Individual attends FE and HE, but a specific part of the course or training focuses on skills/work readiness. Following education the person enters the world of work.

Trajectory 4: Work → FE or HE → Work

Individual enters work after compulsory education. Motivated by either retraining and pursuing a different career or by strengthening his knowledge and position in the field they entered, they attend FE/HE. Following completion of study some start a different career, some acquire more leadership in the original field of work.

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Trajectory 5: Work → FE or HE → Work → FE or HE → Work → FE or HE → Work etc.
Individual – motivated by improving career options or by simple interests and drive for more knowledge – alternates between work and studying along their career development.

We reflect on these trajectories across Chapter 4, 5 and 6. It is important to highlight that some of these trajectories are chosen and some are imposed by economic/family issues or changes in opportunities/circumstances. It is important to note that while trajectory 1 was the most common amongst respondents, examples of all other trajectories were present in each city and accounted for experiences which are still very significant for the development of sustainable creative economies.

1.2. Key infrastructures to support sustainable creative and cultural work

Emerging from the data, the points on the life cycle marked with a red asterisk (figure 1.1) are three key infrastructures in supporting inclusive and sustainable CCW. While their role is clearly identified and evidenced in this report, these infrastructures will be the focus of the final WP3 deliverable 3.4 (**Policy recommendations for Promoting Creative Workforce and Creative HE in Europe).** These key infrastructures are:

Higher education: Beyond enabling or inhibiting the development of creative careers, HEIs contribute in multiple ways to local CCEs and are part of local and national policy interventions. The questions addressed here will be:

a. Understand the role of Higher Education Institutions in developing local creative economies and ecosystems.
b. Understand what pedagogical concepts inform creative education within HE and how it prepares graduates for the sector and its working structures/patterns.
c. Understand access routes to creative HE education, HE policy framework and socio-economic barriers.

Work/Employment frameworks: Beyond access to professions and work, it is important to consider what broader frameworks of employment and social security or equality are available in different countries for CCW:

d. Understand accountability frameworks and protection mechanisms available for creative/cultural workers.

Care structures for creative workers: What are the wider infrastructures including policies that both enable and support CCW?

e. As part of the ecological framework, what are the different support organisations (including unions, guilds, networks, co-working spaces, maker spaces, incubators, foundations, festivals, networking sites) that have emerged as wider systems of care or care structures that contribute to sustainable creative practice?
f. Linked to the previous point, we explore what we can learn from pockets of resistance and activism that have emerged within the creative and cultural industries through grassroots campaigns and new forms of solidarity that are evident in the cultural ecology.

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2. WP3 methodological approach to the DISCE data

2.1. Applying the Capability Approach to sustainable creative and cultural work

As outlined in the previous section, WP3 explored SCCW and the skills required through an inclusive approach that pays attention to varying resources and needs required by workers at the various stages of the life cycle. Following the life cycle approach, we hypothesised a series of enabling or inhibiting factors that either provided the resources necessary for an individual to access sustainable CCW or that created barriers that excluded or disabled access to sustainable CCW. This approach drove the analytical process of the DISCE data as discussed in section 2.2 below (see also table 1.1).

In order to understand the resources and constraints that either enabled or inhibited access to sustainable CCW we applied the Capability Approach to Human Development. As discussed in DISCE deliverable 5.2, the Capability Approach (CA) as developed by economist and philosopher Amartya Sen (1985, 1989) provided an alternative framework for understanding concepts such as human growth and development, arguing for the need to shift away from narrow material dimensions of growth to include factors relating to freedom and agency in relation to individual's autonomous control of their own lives. There are a series of publications that apply this framework to the relationship between work and wellbeing (Suppa 2019, Abbatecola, et al 2012; Bartelheimer et al 2012; Benz & Frey 2008). However, little attention is paid within this literature to workers and the freedoms/resources they can access in order in order to have the capability to work. Conversely, in parallel, there is a wealth of literature on the emerging experiences of work in the creative economy (see DISCE 3.2 for summary), much of which considers the impact of precarity within CCW on matters of workforce inequality, with little attention paid to the capability to work in the creative economy. Applying the Capability Approach to SCCW within the ten case study cities examined through DISCE creates the opportunity for an alternative understanding of CCW, one that goes beyond the normative discussions of precarious labour to illustrate a series of freedoms and opportunities that relate to the broader local CCE. The complexity of interconnected enabling and inhibiting factors impact the way each local city can support/ develop a sustainable CCE.

Following the approach to analysing data using the Capability Approach outlined by Ingrid Robeyns (2017), we applied the concept of **what people can do and be** (their *capabilities*) **and what they are actually achieving in terms of beings and doings** (their *functionings*) (p.16). Robeyns makes it clear that the analytical application of the capability approach as a methodological intervention is an approach and not a theory, and how, in this context the use of the term 'capability theory' can be understood as a short-hand for 'a capability account, or capability application' (Robeyns 2017: 29).

The use of the language of 'functionings' became an important tool for WP3's analysis of the coded DISCE data. In our analytical approach we were able to consider the capabilities that emerged from our research data and what functionings (i.e., resources and/or realised achievements) enabled that capability to be realised. As such, we took an iterative approach to the research data following Robeyns;

> *'In thick descriptions and descriptive analysis, the functionings and capabilities form part of the narrative. This narrative can aim to reflect the quality of life, but it can also aim to understand some other aspect of people's lives, such as by explaining behaviours that might appear irrational according to traditional economic analysis, or revealing layers of complexities that a quantitative analysis can rarely capture. In philosophical reasoning,*

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the functionings and capabilities play yet another role, as they are often part of the foundations of a utopian account of a just society or of the goals that morally sound policies should pursue.' (2017: 34).

In the following sections we outline the specific analytical approach to the WP3 DISCE data, which followed three key coding stages of data analysis. In terms of the rationale for applying the CA as analytical tool for data analysis we refer to Robeyns' concept of a modular structure, whereby each capability theory combines core elements of 'non-optional modules' with a range of 'non-core modules' (see Robeyns 2017: 22). Following the modular approach enables a 'capability application' to be constructed based on three different types of modules. Appendix B offers a summary of Robeyns's modular view of the capability theory and its relevance to WP3.

Applying Robeyns' (2017) modular approach to the WP3 DISCE data enables an analysis of the various functions, resources, conversion factors and structural constraints that operate within each CCE. Some of these may be place-bound, and others will link to wider policies connected to education, health, local government, funding, etc. This approach enables attention to be paid to social factors that exist within a specific ecology, some of which will be based on the history and social norms that are in existence within that specific place-based ecology.

The capabilities that have emerged from the WP3 data analysis have evolved inductively, following the thematic analysis of the narrative data devised from coding for the enabling and inhibiting factors present across the five stages of the sustainable creative work life cycle. Applying this approach to each of the ten case studies alongside the wider literature and analysis conducted at the macro and meso level of the DISCE research project has enabled a detailed comparison of the resources and functionings that are available to individuals within that geographical location. As such, we are able to make a series of targeted policy recommendations drawing from the rich, qualitative investigation into the capabilities that are related to sustainable CCW.

2.2. Analysing the DISCE data for WP3: the analytical process

WP3 builds on the common case study methodological framework adopted by DISCE (Gross et al. 2019). Appendix A of this report details the shared methodology adopted across the DISCE research team to data collection and initial data analysis. Here we specifically focus on the WP3 analytical framework adopted following the initial data coding, which was undertaken to cover 279 interviews (see Appendix A table 9.6) across 47 codes (see Appendix A table 9.8). WP3 analysis comprised 3 further phases: (1) identification of key codes core to WP3 analysis (2) further analysis based on career stages approach (3) application of the capability approach to data analysis.

2.2.1. Stage 1: Identification of key codes relevant to WP3 analysis

Following the initial stage of coding, each work package inherited the coded data across all ten case locations. With regards to WP3's research approach, we were interested in exploring the resources that either enabled or inhibited an individual's ability to access sustainable CCW across the life cycle outlined in figure 1. In order to do so, we identified 10 priority codes as connecting with the WP3 ecological framework and the WP3 research questions. These were:

01. Accessibility
08. Career steps/changes/transitions

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12. Cultural ecosystems
16. Education – individual
17. Education – system
20. Family & friends
22. Financial resources, money, costs
25. Inclusion & exclusion
29. Modes of employment
47. Working conditions in the sector

These codes were also highly interconnected as it can be seen from figure 2.1 and table 2.1 that many of the quotes analysed where coded to 2 or more of these codes. This gave us further confidence on the importance of considering CCW dynamics across the lens offered by these 10 selected codes.

Table 2.1: WP3 10 selected codes and their interconnected nature

Codes	**1**	**8**	**12**	**16**	**17**	**20**	**22**	**25**	**29**	**47**
1	0	147	342	274	354	122	280	631	45	158
8	147	0	68	447	188	153	158	106	154	164
12	342	68	0	29	189	52	201	367	38	171
16	274	447	29	0	631	282	218	217	81	100
17	354	188	189	631	0	140	251	361	76	160
20	122	153	52	282	140	0	169	101	55	58
22	280	158	201	218	251	169	0	262	206	346
25	631	106	367	217	361	101	262	0	63	176
29	45	154	38	81	76	55	206	63	0	209
47	158	164	171	100	160	58	346	176	209	0

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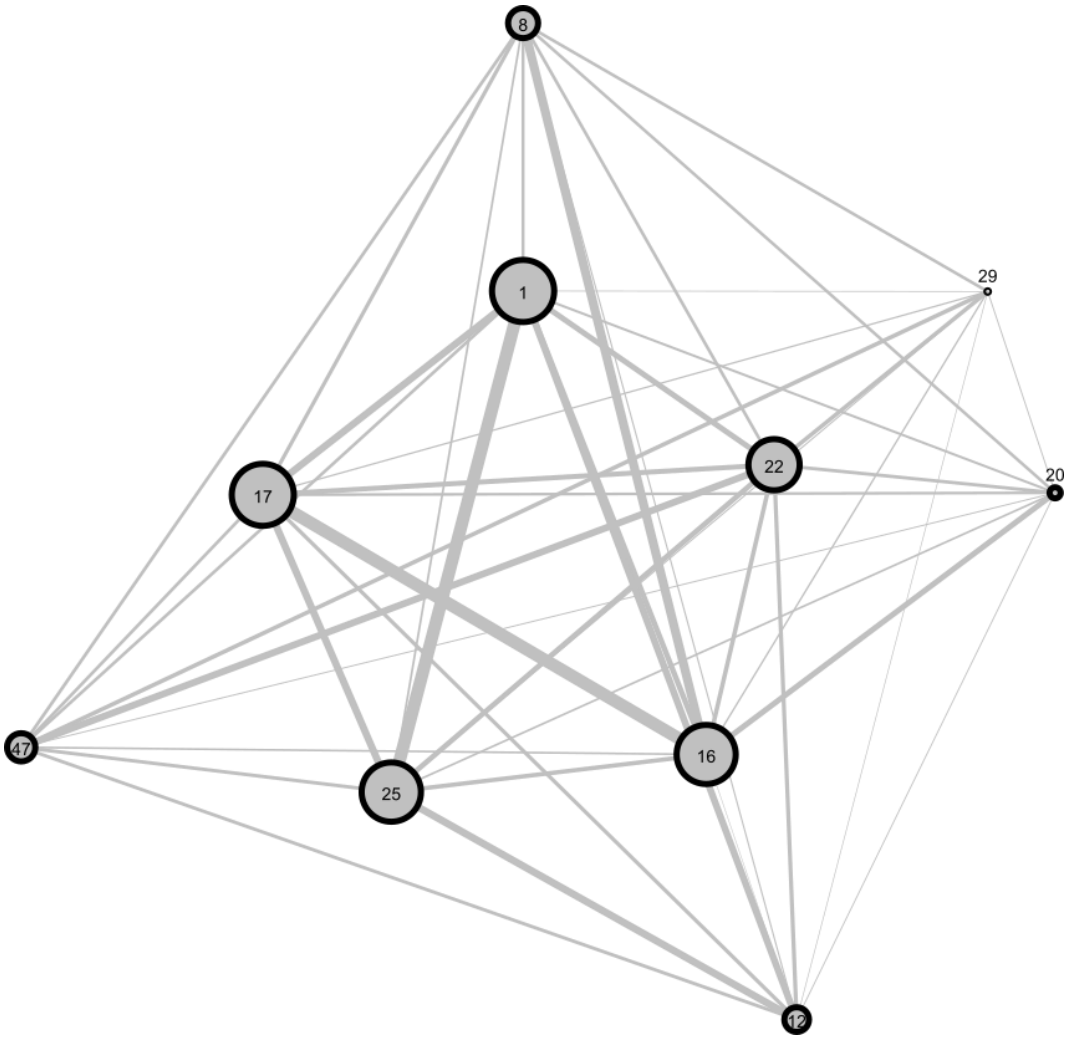

Figure 2.1: WP3 10 selected codes and their networked relation (thickness of connection denotes number of common quotes associated to those codes)

While the codes were unevenly distributed across the case studies (see table 2.2) they were still highly represented in each location and therefore gave us a balanced insight on the enablers and inhibiting factors across career stages for each location.

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Table 2.2: Summary table of quotes included in the analysis, across the 10 key codes and case studies

	Chatham	Dundee	Pori	Lund	Leuven	Enschede	L'Aquila	Treviso	Pécs	Liepāja
01. Accessibility	287	368	69	38	134	194	20	39	108	236
08. Career steps/changes/transitions	243	210	97	91	76	138	60	93	50	87
12. Cultural ecosystems	158	294	83	173	110	265	113	87	85	152
16. Education – individual	327	346	130	149	167	177	88	79	112	187
17. Education – system	355	508	80	62	156	177	62	58	85	90
20. Family & friends	161	148	51	68	99	114	74	45	82	100
22. Financial resources, money, costs	343	292	303	210	192	313	123	103	115	198
25. Inclusion & exclusion	495	417	99	112	145	189	78	94	64	146
29. Modes of employment	117	108	85	67	42	84	61	52	38	63
47. Working conditions in the sector	206	172	84	72	81	96	148	208	46	73

2.2.2. Stage 2: WP3 analysis of the DISCE data across the sustainable creative work life cycle

After isolating the quotes associated with our 10 priority codes, using the Atlas TI software, we attached memos to the data coding according to what they were telling us about the specific stage of the career described by participants and the key **enabling factors** and key **inhibiting factors or barriers** (see table 2.3 below) discussed or experienced. Therefore, quotes were allocated to one of the 5 stages of the life cycle and a further categorisation was applied depending on whether the factors presented were positively associated with the experience of accessing/sustaining SCCW in that stage or not.

Table 2.3: Memos generated by overlapping the WP3 ecological framework with enabling and inhibiting factors and selected codes to approach data analysis

Career/life stages	Enabling	Inhibiting
1. Aspiring to create (0-16 years)	E-Early-access	I-Early-access
2. Preparing to create as profession (Higher and further education/skills/training)	E-Creativeskills	I-Creativeskills
3. Entering a creative profession/Early career stages	E-Earlycareer	I-Earlycareer
4. Making a living out of creative and cultural work	E-Creativework	I-Creativework
5. Fostering/supporting others to engage with creativity and cultural or CCW	E-FosteringCCW	I-FosteringCCW

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2.2.3. Stage three list of capabilities and their corresponding functionings/structural constraints:

Once each quote had been associated with a memo corresponding to the life cycle stages in each case study location and with the enabling or inhibiting nature of the quote content in that stage, the data was extracted from Atlas.ti. An inductive process of analysis was then applied, using Excel to classify relevant categories, but using text to describe the specificity of functionings contained in the quote.

For each location, we created a dataset with each tab corresponding to a stage of the life cycle including all the quotes categorised under those headings (see table 2.4). At this point we added a new analytical framework, which considered the following for each quote:

Context: whether the person was talking of a current or historical situation.
Capability: what does this quote tell us about the individual's ability to be or do something?
Functioning: what is the achievement? What is realized?
Conversion factors: what resources are available that enables the individual to convert a capability to a functioning?
What are the structural constraints? These are constraints that have an impact on the conversion factors.

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Table 2.4: Example of inductive analysis framework adopted in stage 3 of the analysis

Tab: WP3 MEMO REPORT_DUNDEE: E-Creative skills

Document	**Quotation content**	**Context**	**Capability – what does this quote tell us about the individual's ability to be or do something?**	**Functioning – what is the achievement? What is realized?**	**Conversion factors – what resources are available that enable the individual to convert a capability to a functioning?**	**What are the structural constraints? These are constraints that have an impact on the conversion factors.**
DU15F70s	So continue to work part time at the FE college doing part time teaching twice a week. Royal College was wonderful because you could work all night then, they kept the building open. So you never had to give up. So I could avoid being at home until I could get out in the morning and get back when they were asleep. That was basically my life.	HISTORICAL	The capability to develop creative/cultural skills.	The individual is able to combine work and study.	Ability to access all night studios.	

Following the analysis of one initial case study city, nine capabilities were identified as the main capabilities expressed by respondents across the life cycle. While keeping the inductive approach open – with regular discussion across the team to make sure the capabilities terminology was clear and inclusive – the rest of the case studies were analysed.

The nine capabilities identified:

1. The capability to access culture.
2. The capability to develop creative/cultural skills.
3. The capability to engage others with culture.
4. The capability to foster creative/cultural skills.
5. The capability to aspire to creative/cultural work.
6. The capability to access/develop creative/cultural work.
7. The capability to sustain creative practice and/or projects.
8. The capability to foster creative/cultural work.
9. The capability to be a creative/cultural leader OR the capability to drive/lead culture.

An extended explanation of the meaning of each of these is provided in table 2.5 below.

Table 2.5: Capabilities that emerged from the inductive analysis

1	**The capability to access creativity/culture.**	This capability refers to the freedom individuals have to access and/or experience culture. It provides insight into the different resources, institutions, and relationships that individuals refer and recognise as enabling that access. Examples of access include the family, early years education, secondary school education, the city and the resources/events provided by or through the city, extracurricular activities or self-generated through access/consumption to/of different forms of media through books, television, or the internet.
2	**The capability to develop creative/cultural skills.**	This capability refers to the freedom individuals have to develop creative or cultural skills. These can range from access to music or dance lessons at school to more formal pathways in creative Higher Education. It also includes self-taught skills through work placements, work-based learning, mentoring, leadership programmes, etc.
3	**The capability to engage others with creativity/culture.**	This capability refers to the freedom individuals have to engage others with culture. Our understanding of engaging others ranges from the ability to share creative/cultural work with others through a performance or a project, or providing some form of community support, charity work, outreach work, sitting on a board for an arts organisation or policy work that enables others to access and experience culture.
4	**The capability to foster creative/cultural skills.**	This capability refers to the freedom individuals have to foster creative and cultural skills in others. This could be through direct teaching, mentoring, facilitating a training programme, providing access to a training provision or providing on the job training.
5	**The capability to aspire to creative/cultural work.**	This refers to the capability to aspire to creative or cultural work. The freedom that individuals have to recognise and pursue the possibility or potential of creative/cultural work. This could be in the context of early access as a child or imagining a different form of creative/cultural work.
6	**The capability to access/develop creative/cultural work.**	This capability refers to an individual's ability to access creative/cultural work. This could be a singular job, a contract, the ability to set up a business, etc. Note, this capability is separate to the overarching question of 'sustainable creative work' as we argue that the capability to access creative/cultural work does not equate with sustainable creative work.

7	**The capability to sustain creative practice and/or projects.**	This capability refers to the spaces, places and resources that sustain creative practice. This could be individual funding for a creative residency, access to studio space, access to the necessary equipment needed to produce work, community support, peer support, union or collective memberships, or other forms of income or work outside of the creative/cultural sector that enable the individual to sustain their creative practice. This can also refer to larger funding systems/structures that sustain creative and cultural institutions but also individual pricing mechanisms, how individuals price their work based on their capability/need to sustain their creative practice.
8	**The capability to foster creative/cultural work.**	This capability refers to the resources and functions that foster others to access creative/cultural work from an employment/paid-for perspective rather than developing their broader practice. This could relate to those who set up co-working spaces or accelerator/funding programmes for other creative/cultural workers, or provide/work on spaces that enable others to come in and use facilities that lead to their ability to make and sell their work, or networking spaces that enable people to meet and work with others.
9	**The capability to be a creative/cultural leader OR the capability to drive/lead culture.**	This capability refers to the resources and functions needed to be a creative/cultural leader. It refers to different models of leadership, the skills and training required to be a leader or a citywide approach to lead cultural/creative development.

The capabilities are also used as a framework to present our data analysis and key findings. In particular, in each stage we discuss what capabilities are enabled and what opportunities participants experienced. We focus on the most relevant for each career stage but make connections and references to others when possible. It is clear that most of the capabilities are interconnected and our data show how they all play a key role in enabling access to SCCW at different life cycle stages.

Finally, we return to the overall connections across capabilities in the conclusions of this report to map out how they each enable other capability to flourish.

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3. Aspiring to create (0-16 years)

3.1. Chapter overview

This chapter introduces the role of early life experiences in the analysis of creative/cultural work (CCW). While the role of universities and access to HE has received attention in the wider literature (Allen et al. 2013; Comunian et al. 2015), the role of compulsory (primary and secondary) education and other key aspects of early life (childhood and adolescence) have remained largely underexplored in connection to their relationship with access to CCW. As part of the DISCE ecological approach to understanding inclusive and sustainable creative economies, which gathered empirical data that invited participants to discuss their early childhood experiences of accessing creative and cultural opportunities, early life experiences emerged as an important element of the wider life cycle that feeds into sustainable creative and cultural work (SCCW). As such, this chapter provides critical evidence of the importance of early access to creativity/culture as a significant conversion factor to the capability to access SCCW.

This chapter offers a key contribution to the wider literature on creative labour markets by connecting early life experiences with one's capability to access and/or sustain CCW later in life. Based on qualitative interviews with participants from across the ten case study locations (see Appendix A), this chapter presents some common themes that emerged with respect to the factors that enable or inhibit early access to creativity and culture. Three major overarching themes emerged around the significance of 1) the family, 2) compulsory education institutions and 3) the wider creative and cultural ecosystem (CCE) in relation to *the capability to access creativity/culture*, *the capability to develop creative/cultural skills*, *the capability to aspire to creative/cultural* work and *the capability to foster creative/cultural skills*. This chapter also offers some of the more nuanced findings that are specific to certain cities as examples of practical conversion factors or structural constraints.

Each interviewee was invited to describe their early engagement with creativity/culture and creativity both inside and outside their formal education. Asking participants what they remember enjoying about the opportunities accessible to them at an early age enabled a critical reflection on the resources and functioning that were available at specific moments in time. Due to the DISCE inclusive approach to understanding creative economies, a diverse range of experiences stretching from the 1970s all the way to the present day was disclosed. Additionally, participants with current childcare responsibilities were able to reflect on and compare their own experiences of creative/cultural access and engagement with those of their children. Finally, some of the interviewees offered insights about the capability to foster creative/cultural skills and engage others with creativity/culture as part of their current roles in a local creative/cultural ecosystem (CCE).

3.2. The capability to access creativity and culture

3.2.1. The family and access to creativity and culture

Across all 10 case study locations, the family emerged as an important factor in terms of enabling (or inhibiting) one's capability to access creativity and culture. For most CCWs interviewed, the family provided some of the first opportunities for creative/cultural engagement. These opportunities ranged from what could be classed as 'everyday life' (see deliverable 5.2 for explanation) activities like reading bedtime stories, watching televised theatre shows or going to church together, to more formal types of creative/cultural engagement such as attending art exhibitions and theatre performances as a family leisure activity. Additionally, participating in community projects as a family or travelling abroad on family trips also emerged

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as meaningful opportunities for accessing creativity/culture at an early age, which according to some interview accounts, can influence one's future career trajectory.

> *"[…] dad has always been a reader, and a lot has been read to me, since I was really little. Bedtime stories. And somehow literature and writing have been close to my heart. And a kind of a creative imaginary world, and we've played in such worlds, so that's probably where it originated from" (PO8FF40s).*

> *"I guess [I became interested in art] through my parents, who went to art museums quite often. And when I was a child, I saw a particular artwork. Which was Monogram by Robert Rauschenberg, you know the goat and the tyre, and when I saw this as a child, I was maybe 10 or 11. It came to me as a shock. So, when I saw that, I knew what I was doing later" (LE21M50s).*

Family finances emerged as relevant in relation to the extended resources necessary to access creative and cultural activities. In Chapter 7 we discuss the wider physical and structural barriers to accessing creativity/culture for different communities, for example the direct costs of ticket prices to access a museum, attend a theatre or music performance and the hidden costs including transport.

> *"the swimming pool's quite a distance, and also cost. But I think more the distance because [...] there are free swimming classes that are available to people, but you can't get there [...] The buses are quite expensive so unless you're sort of on a bus pass, but I've got three kids, I wouldn't catch the bus if I was going somewhere, I'd walk or catch a cab. Because it'd be cheaper than the bus cause the bus service is quite expensive" (CH28M40s).*

Access to technology, such as computer equipment and Wi-Fi, are also all-important resources, which for young people are normatively provided (or not) by the family. The same logic stands for other creative and cultural opportunities that can be accessed from home like reading, listening to music, watching films, etc. One's family typically is the main provider of the resources (books, records, CDs, DVDs, etc.) that enabled individuals to access and convert an interest into creative skills.

> *"I've been playing games since we got our first console computer at home. […] yeah, playing games since I was like eight years old... on my dad's old Olivetti PC that he got through his work. Extremely expensive. So, we weren't allowed to hit the space bar too much. But yeah, I played games on that and was so interested that I started programming games on there when I found a guide for programming basic in the operating manual. Because that was a thing back then. So, I went through the operating manual to see what can this computer actually do? And then there was, hey, you can program it. There's actual examples of stuff. I can write this stuff! That was pretty cool. And then I found some friends who were also interested in the same thing and we helped each other on in doing that stuff. And so, I grew up with playing games, with making... the demo scene […]. Nowadays it would just be an art thing. […] They weren't games because there was no interaction whatsoever. But it did require a lot of the same skills. And that was interesting. And because of that, I knew that I wanted to at least try to get into the games industry" (EN18M).*

Some resources are less (or more) affordable/accessible at different points in history. This is evident from the above account connecting one's capability to access gaming though having access to a computer at home at a time when household computers were a scarce resource. More importantly, the accessibility of various resources varies with the financial capability and the wider interests of the family that the individual is part of. Socioeconomic status and access to creativity and culture is discussed further on in this section, however

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in the particular case above, it is interesting to reflect on how the development of the internet and ICT – and digital technology in general – has increasingly fostered access to creativity and culture. Yet, access to the ICT as well as the internet continues to be uneven across the DISCE case study locations. In Chatham, digital exclusion emerged as a significant issue that adversely affects the capability to access creativity/culture of certain residents, especially among younger and older representatives.

Chatham – Access to the internet and ICT

In the case of Chatham, some interviewees highlighted a rather acute problem of digital exclusion, which represents a significant structural restraint in terms of accessing creativity/culture. This issue was brought to light by the COVID-19 pandemic, which forced many providers of creative/cultural opportunities to shift online.

> *"[…] a surprising number of young people who, for example, may not have, you know, very good broadband where they live and or access exclusively to a laptop or device, that might be the only one in the family and gets shared by everyone" (CH16F60s).*

> *"We've got people that can't operate virtually because they don't have a mobile phone, let alone a computer" (CH3F50s).*

> *"There is [a barrier] about digital access and young people. If you've got your own device and not a shared home computer, your own device and broadband, you can still [despite COVID-19 restrictions] access cultural activity in some form. Yes, it's different, but lots of our young people don't have that. And so that's where COVID becomes a barrier" (CH17F40s).*

On the surface, the role of the family as a key provider of resources connects with socioeconomic status (addressed in the next section 3.2.2), meaning that children from families with higher socioeconomic capital are able to access certain forms of creativity and culture which incur higher direct and hidden costs, for example theatre visits or trips to foreign countries, as is evident from both historical and more recent accounts. Furthermore, having a parent or other relative engaged in CCW typically emerged as a conversion factor in relation to this capability.

> *"If I start from my childhood and connect with what I'm dealing with right now, art has been a part of my family. My father was a poet from Pécs, and my grandfather had a library. We grew up like in a fairy tale. There were books all around us. When we played in the room, we still had books around us. For me, the bookshelf and the library are my church" (PE13F40s).*

Finally, in this section, it is worth highlighting that in addition to the nuclear family, the wider circles of extended family, friends, and even the local community also have a significant impact on one's capability to access culture. Aunts, uncles, cousins as well as friends, classmates and even neighbours seem to occasionally be instrumental in sparking interest in culture and creativity or providing necessary resources (e.g. covering fees) to access culture. There are plenty of examples in the data where (occasionally random) interactions with these different groups of people sparked a long-lasting passion for various creative/cultural activities highlighting the ecological and contingent nature of early access opportunities.

A story of a teenager discovering the world of music:

> *"Music was the big thing for me, so I'll tell you, I'll tell you a little story. Very first day that I started at senior school was September 1977. And I didn't know any of the other*

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local children that were going to the school I was going to, so my mother arranged for me to go and knock for one of her friends' sons and I'd walk to school with him and I knew him, but he was in the sixth form so quite a bit older than me. And you have to bear in mind the date, so I had grown up listening to my mum and Dad's music collection primarily, I hadn't really developed my own tastes. On the first day, I went and knocked for this chap, and he opened the front door and he had his tie back to front. He was very skinny, he had very, very short spiky hair and he invited me in and I sat and watched him lace up his 18-hole Dr Marten's boots while he played Never Mind the Bollocks by the Sex Pistols. Hence the life long obsession with the Sex Pistols and seeing the poster behind and that was a life changer for me completely. Suddenly I realised that there was this huge world of music out there […] I think that's where my record collecting began. So, every time I got money, for Christmas or birthdays or anything, it would go on records instantly and I built quite a nice collection of sort of late seventies, punk. So, that really was it, that is what I was utterly obsessed with" (CH24M50s).

3.2.2. Early access and identity: socioeconomic status, ethnicity and migration

Across all case study locations, interviewees who considered themselves to belong to lower socioeconomic classes tended to identify more structural constraints with regard to the capability to access creativity/culture. This dynamic is often mirrored in the intrinsic feeling of exclusion from institutionalised creative/cultural opportunities as expressed by some of the interviewees including this museum director from Enschede:

"my grandparents they lived here in a small factory house in the early 20th century and they lived over there and they walked in front of the museum, but they never entered this museum. And why not? And as they said to my father because I asked my father, they said that's not for us people. While it was being made for them […] they had the impression it's not for us" (EN7M50s).

As illustrated in the comment above, the barriers to access certain forms of creativity/culture – in this case a museum – are for some demographic groups not directly linked to financial exclusion, but include social and emotional barriers. Emily Dawson's work on equity and exclusion in science-based public museums (2018) considers the multiple deficits and embodied forms of exclusion that are embedded with public creative and cultural spaces. This form of 'embodied exclusion' (Dawson 2018: 89) was identified as operating within the DISCE data, acting as a structural constraint for certain families and young people to access these spaces.

Dundee and Chatham – Socioeconomic status and access to culture

Two case study locations – Chatham and Dundee, both in the UK – stood out from the data, with many accounts describing socioeconomic status as a barrier to access to institutionalised culture. It is worth noting that both places suffer from high rates of unemployment and social deprivation (as discussed in the regional case study reports).

"I don't know, I think it goes back to the thing we were talking about before about fear. Fear of being judged. You know, going somewhere and people looking at you a bit funny or 'where are they from, who are they'. […] Um, we had a 'Sure Start' centre as well in the area and that was fantastic but when I was growing up so many people didn't use it. But it was, people from outside the area they were in there like form more affluent areas. Not to say they weren't people from the area that used it, cause there was. But

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proportionately it could have been a lot more. Some people didn't like the look of it, 'it's all shiny'. They're worried about social services getting involved" (CH28M40s).

"Dundee is a fantastic place to live if you've got a well-paid job or if you've got a decently paid job. There aren't enough of them going around. In terms of the good things and the bad things, it's interesting that some Dundonians will tell you that the V&A is not for them. Well, it's not really a surprise, it's a design museum. It's a niche museum. […] So, people criticise it because they didnae [Scots for did not] particularly like the Design Museum, that's fine. But I think there's another subset there as well. People who... there is a minority of people who are vocally negative towards the V&A because it isn't working-class enough for them and that's a more dangerous and more and more negative constituency that we need to find a way around, because why would design not be working class? It dusnae [does not] make sense to me" (DU4M60s).

There is a wide body of literature that considers the multiple constructions of 'the public', which relates to this question of access to publicly funded/institutionalised forms of creativity and culture (Massey 1994; Benhabib 2002; Warner 2005) in comparison to the value derived from everyday forms of creativity and culture experienced within different social groups (Trend 2005; Skeggs & Wood 2011). In Chapters 6 and 7, we discuss in more detail the role of gatekeepers including creatively driven youth engagement programmes and embedded outreach workers employed within creative and cultural institutions in their ability to foster access to creativity and culture. However, in the case of early access to creativity and culture, within the DISCE data, participants who self-identified that they grew up in a family of lower socioeconomic status reported accessing creativity and culture mainly through community and amateur groups, as was the case for this interviewee from Lund: *"my parents didn't go to the theatre. They didn't, no, they were workers. But when they were younger, they had played guitar, they had done some amateur theatre" (LU2M60s).* Another participant, a theatre and film director from Dundee, spoke of the value derived from growing up in her family's pub in one of the housing schemes on the outskirts of Dundee and how that upbringing provided a series of skills that she was able to convert for her current line of work:

"my mother's family business was a pub, which means that unofficially, you're a performer from day one, you know, because working behind a bar and running a pub is like a stage. We were a very family-orientated family. My mum and her sisters all lived on the same street, and at the end of the street was the family pub. So there was a cohort, although I am one of two siblings, I'm really one of six because my cousins and I were all just kind of treated as a unit because we were all born within a small space of time, so very family-oriented. And sometimes the things that our family were doing took over everything because the pub had a social club, and that meant that you spent Sunday nights, Friday nights making endless sandwiches for, like, entire busloads of people to then go and do picnics and, you know. So it created a lot of the social structure around it, but also in the part of the country that I'm from there's a real tradition of like piano in the parlour and singing kind of thing" (DU27F50s).

Children within ethnic minority groups continue to face additional barriers when accessing certain forms of creativity and culture, particularly those who have migrated from a country of origin, due to wider cultural differences. For example, Russian children in Liepāja appear to be excluded from institutionalised spaces of creativity/culture due to their poor knowledge of the Latvian language. In Enschede, participants reported a significant community of migrants from Turkey, Syria and Iran whose access to creative and cultural activities within that city is operating in silos, with few opportunities for interaction (see Chapter 6 for discussion on the operation of the Assyrian Cultural Centre in Enschede).

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While issues with respect to access based on ethnic background emerged across all 10 cities, it did so particularly strongly in the case of Leuven where institutionalised forms of creativity and culture (such as the local museum) are perceived to be predominantly accessed by white Belgians as this student from Leuven reports: *"if I go to a performance, the audience is mostly old and mostly white, and there's just such a problem"* (LE27F20s). Interview accounts offered by a few other participants pictured Leuven as a city where ethnic minorities, as well other peripheral/marginal communities, continue to remain invisible across creative/cultural spaces and the city more widely.

> *"Well, I do think Leuven is kind of a city where you have high educated people there, working at university or doing other things, so most of the people going to culture are people who have this higher education. And people, for example, who live in the neighbourhoods where there are more people with multicultural background, they don't go so often to the museums or cultural places. But that's not only Leuven, that's everywhere. That's really a challenge [...]" (LE11F30s).*

> *"Like there's too much, there is a lot of things that are hidden in the city. I think one of three people is living below the minimum wage, which is completely invisible. My father used to work as a consultant for youth. So, he was like the first, when the school noticed that there were problems with the child, my father would be the first one before they would be placed in like an institute or something. And it's crazy like how many kids live in very bad conditions, and it's completely invisible in the city. It's like hidden away and more and more, it's like this safe, ideal, you can walk middle of the night alone, which is great, but which is very, yeah, unreal in a way [...]" (LE14M30s).*

3.2.3. Compulsory education: school trips and extracurricular activities

As discussed in the previous section, the family can be an important conversion factor in providing individuals with the capability to access creativity and culture. Having a family member who enabled the individual to have some form of creative/cultural experience was often remembered as a key functioning that sparked an interest in a creative/cultural activity. In addition, the relationship between the family and the wider resources available within a local community illustrated how access is facilitated through both the interest and the actual resource itself.

Another key factor that enabled interviewees' capability to access culture was compulsory education. To differentiate the levels of compulsory education across the different countries represented in the DISCE study, we refer to the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) proposed by UNESCO (1997, 2011). The levels of education covered in this chapter range from primary education (ISCED 1) to post-secondary non-tertiary education (ISCED 4). The DISCE data has clearly demonstrated that opportunities to interact with creativity and culture offered within formal education – which starts from the age of 3 years to the age of 7 depending on a country (ISCED 1) – are critical conversion factors for the capability to access creativity/culture, particularly when access within the family is limited due to the financial and other embodied barriers. Extracurricular activities plus school trips to theatres, museums, galleries, etc. enable one's capability to access culture. For some, creative/cultural opportunities accessed via an education provided proved to be instrumental in terms of developing a long-lasting interest/passion for creativity and culture, as the two accounts below highlight.

> *"Let's say that the creative part that there was in my life started with museum visits at school and was more related to sculpture, so for me it was the vehicle, the open door to the world of creativity and art in general. Especially contemporary sculpture did fascinate me, and then they really had attitudes towards all the other art forms and movement too" (TR23F40s).*

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"[…] in high school […] I had two teachers who were passionate about art and who systematically took us to the museum, and here in L'Aquila for example we went to the city museums very often and also to do history lessons for example, and it was a way that I am talking about at the time. More than twenty years ago it was not so widespread, but for me it meant the beginning of a passion and the beginning of a profession that changed my life" (LA21M30s).

The data discussed throughout this chapter suggests that schools and creative/cultural organisations often collaborate on various programmes/projects seeking to facilitate early access. For example, some schools in Dundee partnered with a local university to deliver an innovative educational project around computer gaming (as discussed in 3.5.1 in more detail), while other schools in the city work in partnership with a music charity to engage its pupils with music (see 3.5.2). Additionally, schools also facilitate access to culture via creative subjects offered as part of their curriculum. To avoid repetition, the school curriculum is discussed in the next section (see 3.3.4), as there is a significant overlap in dynamics with the capability to develop creative/cultural skills. Here, however, it needs to be highlighted that occasionally compulsory education providers can act as barriers. Instead of connecting creative/cultural providers (e.g. museums, theatres, galleries, etc.) and young people together, schools may unintentionally inhibit students' capability to engage with creativity/culture by creating silos between the two entities.

Several representatives of creative/cultural organisations expressed having difficulties (in the present day) engaging with children and young people beyond the compulsory education framework, including this theatre worker who summarised: "*if you want to have for young people, […] from the lower up to gymnasium, if it's interesting for the society to have those theatres who are there and make these plays, then you have to build up another system for reaching each other. It's too many walls between us and the children" (LU2M60s).* They continued to explain that outside of the school curriculum their theatre can only engage children through mainstream/popular productions, which is not exactly their focus/genre: "*And if we want to reach children without the school, then we have to do like Pippi Långstrump or you know, famous big... and that's not us" (LU2M60s).* This connects to another category of young people – recent school leavers – who are not targeted anymore through special educational programmes.

"the activity that is done at museum level regarding young people, is an activity linked to schools, but as all museum contexts show us international good practices, it is not only with the school lever that the young public is activated, that is yes, that is the lever of the compulsory museum participation. But a whole series of things that allow young people to continue to visit the museum when they leave high school are not substantially done. So maybe there is a large attendance in the elementary, middle and high school as long as there is the institutional link with the school, so the convention, and then everything absolutely ends" (TR16M30s).

While those who go to university have further opportunities to access creativity and culture through their HE experiences (discussed in 4.2.1), less is known about those individuals who finish their "formal" education after compulsory education. These are important findings as they foreground the need for developing more engagement programmes that go beyond compulsory education frameworks as well as heighten the value of youth organisations such as You+ in Liepāja (mentioned in 3.3.5) and Hot Chocolate in Dundee (introduced in 3.2.4 and discussed more in 7.4) who cater for the needs of a wide range of young people, including those whose educational journey ended after school or perhaps even sooner. In section 3.2.4, this chapter turns to explore some of the key factors beyond family and the compulsory education system that impact one's ability to access creativity and culture.

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3.2.4. The CCE: access to local creative and cultural opportunities

The presence of a diverse creative/cultural infrastructure incorporating museums, theatres, galleries, community organisations and so on acts as a conversion factor for the capability to access culture. This is because most such organisations have children and young people as one of their target audiences, as highlighted below by the interviewed representatives of such organisations, who describe children as an important segment of their rather broad target audiences:

> *"You've got two types of growth. Quantitative growth and you've got qualitative growth. I want both. It's being more meaningful for our audience. Making a difference in the life of the kids in some neighbourhood who never had the opportunity to go to a museum because their parents also never went to a museum. […] I think as a museum we have to work for the broader society, the people in situations where they don't go to museums, where they don't have the opportunity to be creative, where they don't have the opportunity to broaden their horizon. I think that's the most important thing they can do. Broaden the horizon of people and showing them possibilities. It's just showing the possibilities. And because if you are shown the possibilities, many people will pick it up and make something of their lives. It's quite simple actually, but also quite hard" (EN7M50s).*

> *"It's our pride and joy that I have to say we have an absolutely transversal audience and we have also done activities for children, because from children to pensioners who come to spend time, we involve professional entrepreneurs who are very present in Treviso, so I have to say no, depending on the activities we do we have a very varied audience" (TR17F30s).*

Availability and accessibility of amenities and resources provided via the local creative/cultural infrastructure becomes particularly vital for those individuals who do not have access to creative/cultural resources provided by either the family or through compulsory education. A participant from Chatham, who was part of a family that, due to religious beliefs, excluded her from compulsory education spoke of her capability to access resources within her local library:

> *"I think I'd go most weeks to the library. How it would work generally would be my dad's business was in the town, and so the library was walking distance, so if I went in to work with him and done a morning with him from what I remember, I could then go to the library in the afternoon and then go back home with him later in the day…I would sit and read books in the library that maybe my parents wouldn't want me to read. […] I just loved having that library card, actually, and being able to access this information for free and go on the computers" (CH20F30s).*

This particular example was uncommon across the wider DISCE data, however, it demonstrates the value of local resources. The accessibility to the library within the wider CCE of Chatham represents several conversion factors, the locality of the library, access to books, and access to computers. The practical accessibility of creative and cultural opportunities/institutions emerged as a very important factor, especially in terms of commute time and availability/affordability of transport infrastructure. In cities where participants seemed satisfied with access to culture, they tended to also reflect on how easy/quickly they could access creative and cultural opportunities in their city. In this respect, Liepāja stood out as providing the best access. According to the interviewees, the city today benefits from numerous opportunities to access culture for the entire family, which (unlike in Riga) can be accessed fairly quickly and easily. Similar observations were shared about Pori. UK case study locales, on the other hand, performed worse in this respect mostly due to the uneven spatial distribution of creative and cultural opportunities and problems

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with commuting and public transport. For example, a few participants from Chatham (CH28M40s, CH10F60s, CH4M40s) reported poor and expensive bus services, which significantly hinders the accessibility of other areas (and hence creative/cultural opportunities available) within the wider unitary authority (Medway). In Dundee, specifically, creative/cultural opportunities are clustered in the city centre (including a key youth organisation, Hot Chocolate, discussed below) away from the council and social housing located north of the A90 road (Kingsway), which clearly demarcates the exiting divide between the city's peripheral communities and the opportunities to engage with culture.

> *"What's interesting when you look at the city and you look at that, bearing in mind this is a really small city. But when you look at it, you can see that the main bulk of all of the activity is in that clump right in the middle. There is not, it is not a sector which is dispersed at all and I know that's the same in lots of cities […], there are some incredibly tough parts of the city and people often talk about what's happening outside of the Kingsway […] but there's a lot within the city as well, it's interesting how little of that is, is dispersed in terms of in terms of venues and access. Erm, and so if you don't have a car or if you're less inclined to take the bus or you can't take the bus, you haven't money to take the bus, then it is a bit more of, I think that physical access could be more than, can be more of an issue" (DU7F40s).*

Dundee – Hot Chocolate

The Dundee-based organisation Hot Chocolate, which describes itself as a "youth work organisation", was initially started in 2001 by volunteers giving out Hot Chocolate to young people hanging out on the streets of the city centre. The organisation developed through the provision of space, a local church provided first a room and then additional space for activities to take place. On their website, they describe how they are "open to all young people without prejudice or distinction of religion, race, culture, health, disability, gender, hair colour, sexuality or politics. The only restrictions are of age: secondary school age up to 21 years old" (Hot Chocolate, 2022). DISCE researchers interviewed their Creative Arts Lead who described the purpose of his role within the organisation:

> *"we work, essentially to build community with the young people that hang out in the city centre. And my particular role within that is about creative arts, so the whole spectrum. But basically, I've got a small team, an arts worker and a music worker and […] our main thing is just supporting young people holistically but, often that's around the stuff they're bringing us, they're a really creative bunch and tend to be […] a very disengaged bunch with school or jobs. So, I'll have kind of two things: one is around, talent and kind of intent to kind of push themselves or there may be the kind of higher end as just to help develop those skills or help them make connections, help them go where they need to go, so that might be helping them portfolio stuff, it might be giving them opportunities. And at the other end, we've got our kind of vested interests in the creative arts as a tool for mental health, not just mental health but wellbeing and seeing that actually, other than just economic, there's a whole bunch of different benefits. Some of the young people that may come, you know, are never going to go to art college, but actually there's something that they found within a group that we're doing, or just the space to create that has actually become truly meaningful and even therapeutic, or helps build a whole bunch of stuff, whether that's communication skills or problem solving or broader resilience" (DU2M40s).*

Finally, the capability to access culture at an early age is not exclusively enabled by projects that are targeted at children and youth specifically. As the DISCE data suggests, the wider health and vibrancy of the local CCE

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is very important for promoting this capability. This is because it can be enabled indirectly via initiatives targeted at other age groups (e.g. pensioners) or wider communities (as was the case for the Witch's Blood public participatory project in Dundee discussed in more detail in 3.4.3). Due to the presence of an active poet society in Enschede, a child poet is able to join in alongside the main cohort of adult members. Likewise, a group of children in Pori could engage with a local museum because their pensioner grandparents are active members of the museum's friends scheme. Similarly, a project aimed at involving more older people in the arts to improve wellbeing and health ended up enabling creative/cultural access to the children around Chatham.

> *"There is something wonderful about taking things to places where normally things like that don't happen. And children in an outdoor area all coming, sitting around and listening to the lyrics and saying to me "we've been learning about this in school". They really were taking it on board. So it's also good exploring the sort of less, less thought out parts of the geography in Medway" (CH16F60s).*

3.3. The capability to develop creative and cultural skills

3.3.1. Personal characteristics: talent, resilience and determination

When it comes to developing skills, personal characteristics become important as these can act either as a conversion factor or a structural constraint. First, this relates to individual attributes such as confidence, determination, resilience, independence, etc. Lack of such qualities is very likely to inhibit one's capability of developing creative/cultural skills despite other enabling factors being present, as is evident from the quote below:

> *"I'm white middle class, my parents were both educators, were encouraging. So I didn't face any barriers, the only barriers were of my own making when I was too lazy, I didn't engage with stuff and so those are those are the only real barriers I had. I've had fantastic opportunities to do things" (DU23M60s).*

> *"I think my biggest barrier for me was me. I was the one who certainly in hindsight and talking, I'm still friendly with a number of guys that I went to school with and we talk about the, it was an amazing school. It still is, my daughter then went there. Yeah, and it was me that threw the opportunities away. I never experienced prejudice personally, white privilege and all that" (CH24M50s).*

In fact, personal characteristics would often help interviewed creatives in committing to developing creative skills (and as discussed in 3.4.1 inhibit one's capability to aspire to a creative/cultural career) even when external conditions did not offer particularly fertile functionings. Here it is worth reiterating that one's capability to develop creative/cultural skills (as any other capability discussed throughout this report) is determined by a complex interdependence of numerous conversion factors and structural restraints. This is evident from the experience shared by an interviewee from Leuven, whose family, on one hand, acted as a conversion factor for their capability to develop musical skills: *"I think it started with my grandmother telling me and my sisters that we should play an instrument and that she would be the one paying for the courses that we would have to take. […] So, it's a thing that ran in the family" (LE6M30s).* On the other hand, because of the interviewee's desire to play the guitar (see quotation below) the family initially acted as a structural restraint by not allowing them to pursue guitar specifically. However, later, the interviewee's parents changed their minds with the turning point being the undeniable motivation and determination on behalf of the interviewee:

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"at a certain age, they told me, "Okay, you can buy an acoustic guitar and if you're good enough, you can go on and even buy yourself an electric guitar." And I still remember that they told me, "If you can play Tears In Heaven by Eric Clapton, then you can buy an electric guitar." And it took me two months to do so, because I was very motivated because of that. And then I started playing electric guitar and that was the start of my personal artistic career, I would say" (LE6M30s).

Second, a theme around personal aptitude or talent emerged quite strongly from the interviews, especially in relation to the capability of developing music skills.

"I think, well my background, I had a very musical father who knew Kodály [music pedagogy style] already. I found Kodály books in his legacy. […] But the thing was I as a child was not very musical and that also had to do with my ears. I was having bad ears. So, my own musical development did not really take off as I would have liked it afterwards" (EN30F).

"I was born in Teramo and I moved to L'Aquila at a very young age in order to follow my passion for music. When I was 10 years old I started to play and give concerts, and my teachers advised me to continue along this path because they said I was very talented" (LA26M20s).

The concept of talent, however, is not unproblematic and can in itself be criticised as a major structural constraint for the capability of developing creative skills for those that deem themselves "untalented" or are judged so by others, especially at an early age (Scripp et al. 2013). This was the case for this interviewee from Treviso whose capability to develop musical skills was inhibited during lower secondary education (ISCED 2) by a teacher who labelled them as *"tone-deaf"*. This, however, did not stop the interviewee from becoming a professional musician, as other conversion factors throughout their experience of secondary education led them to a conservatory to be trained as an opera singer: *"In middle school, I was cut by my music teacher because I was tone-deaf. In the end, life led me to be a musician. I graduated from the conservatory" (TR8F40s).*

3.3.2. The family and access to resources

The capability to develop creative/cultural skills at an early age is again heavily impacted by one's family, which can be a source of both conversion factors and structural constraints. In fact, for skills development it seems family has an increased influence when compared to the capability to access culture. This is because 1) activities around developing skills often stop overlapping with family leisure activities and 2) they require commitment and much more considerable investments (in terms of money, time and effort) on the part of one's family/parents. While the significance of the extended family was present within the data, with grandparents being particularly instrumental, the nuclear family (i.e. parents) and their relationship with formal education was a critical element of skills development.

"Yes, definitely yes, I was very lucky to have great teachers and to have the support of my family in everything I did, and this opened doors for me, objectively speaking, that allowed me to experiment, to overcome my limits at times and to try to improve my technique more and more, so yes, it definitely prepared me well for what I do today" (LA26M20s).

As with the capability to access creativity/culture, many interviewees recalled having access to certain resources at home, which enabled their capability to develop skills. For example, for some access to a computer and a coding manual at home enabled them to develop coding skills. These resources varied from

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relatively accessible resources such as a family camcorder (which enabled skills development that eventually led to a degree and career in media for one of the interviewees) to more sophisticated resources such as, for example, having access to an equipped darkroom at home (which allowed one interviewee to develop skills in photography at an early age). Similar to the capability to access creativity/culture, having a family member engaged in CCW typically works as a conversion factor for this capability and so does a higher socioeconomic status of the family. For those whose families lack financial resources, many skills development opportunities may be lost, therefore other external conversion factors become important, as highlighted by this interviewee from Dundee:

> *"I didn´t get to go on a school trip to Germany which was a music trip that everyone went on because we couldn´t afford the fee to go. So, there are quite a few things that I missed opportunities to do because of money. But then I had lots of other opportunities, my music teacher at school was great. She was really encouraging" (DU29F40s).*

Their account is very illustrative and highlighted different barriers that representatives of groups with lower socioeconomic status face regarding creative/cultural skills development. It highlights external enabling (e.g. an instrument provided by the school) and inhibiting (e.g. *"general snobbery"* within orchestral music) factors as well as demonstrates how much effort sourcing a musical instrument may require on behalf of a family surviving on a tight budget:

> *"There are other things [i.e., barriers] as well, just general snobbery when it comes to orchestral playing. I didn´t have my own instrument, my mum had to do a sweep around her whole family to get them to contribute 50 quid each or something for me to have an instrument to go to university. By the time I left school, I was still using a school instrument" (DU29F40s).*

It is clear that this interviewee's parent was able to mobilise and draw on support from the extended family to enable their child to develop music skills. Due to the limited financial means of the family, this interviewee also had to take up a part-time job whilst at school, which took a lot of their time and occasionally even hindered their capability to develop music skills. Taking on additional work as a means to support creative/cultural practice is a strategy commonly deployed by CCWs in order to maintain SCCW as discussed in Chapter 6, but it is interesting to reflect on the historical legacy of combining other forms of work to support creative practice experienced by participants from lower-income backgrounds:

> *"I had a part-time job and I couldn´t join the school orchestra for a rehearsal one time and I got put to the back of the section when I came the next time, because I'd missed one rehearsal. I had no choice, because I would've got sacked from my job if I hadn´t gone there so I was put in a position where I had to choose. I think that´s quite discriminatory" (DU29F40s).*

The DISCE data suggests that the nuclear family's socioeconomic status and access to finances act as an enabler (or inhibitor) in the capability to develop certain forms of *musical* skills in terms of cultivating 1) interest/passion for it and/or 2) providing resources to facilitate this capability in the form of tuition fees on top of sourcing musical instruments as well as committing to the demanding routine around it.

> *"The costs of my education have been very high both in terms of the choice of the instrument I play, the violin, which of course is not the only one I own and have used throughout my education. In terms of tuition fees relatively, but especially in terms of time because all my time, my whole life revolves around rehearsing alone or in a group, concerts, and the time I spend getting to concert and rehearsal venues" (LA26M20s).*

> *"Although my parents are from a, I guess, a middle-class family, I've got three younger sisters. So, there were quite a lot of us. And they've all done music as well. So it would've*

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been very expensive all those years of music education, my dad driving all around the country taking people to music rehearsals and stuff" (DU3M40s).

Even if one's family does not share an interest in music, they need to be willing to provide or assist with resources, which can be a challenge to some as highlighted by the last quote above. Section 4.5 details specific music skills intervention programmes that have been facilitated within certain communities, notably the music cheque/voucher scheme in Lund which provides funding allocated to each child within a specific age group to spend on any form of musical tuition of their choice, and Sistema Big Noise Dundee, a youth music development programme which operates within two local primary schools.

3.3.3. Compulsory education and education policy

Compulsory education institutions could function as both conversion factors and structural restraints regarding skills development. While compulsory education emerged as a significant factor in mediating one's capability to develop across all case study cities, its role does seem to vary from one place to another as well as across time, being conditioned by historical changes in education policy and society. For example, in the UK, participants generally believed that the quality of the provision of creative/cultural education decreased over the years. The key factor here seems to be the continuous underinvestment of arts subjects within compulsory education, which has been worsening over the years and led to continuously rising costs of such education for the UK citizens.

"I think the music education generally is much worse now than it was when I was a kid. Especially because when I was really young – I would've been 6 or 7 when I began playing the violin in school, in Birmingham this was – it was completely free, so there were no financial barriers at all. When we moved to Essex, I think we had to pay for a bit. But when I moved to Trinity Juniors, I got a scholarship from Essex County Council, so it was all free. So, I got most of this high-quality musical education for free" (DU3M40s).

The above account was given by an interviewee who was educated in England but then moved to Scotland. In the interviews, Scotland and England were often contrasted with one another, with Scotland pictured as a more fertile location in terms of developing creative/cultural skills. The same interviewee summarises:

"So I think generally, also England and Scotland have very different approaches to education generally. I mean, I'm a parent now, I've got a son… who's 4. And I'm pleased that we live here now. And the education system is generally better up here than it is in England. I guess that's just from my experience, teaching in both countries a little bit" (DU3M40s).

Outside the UK, interviewees tended to generally agree that over the years, creative/cultural skills have gained a more important place in the compulsory education curriculum while comparing their own experiences from the past with the more recent experiences of their children or students.

"Schools do get a lot of requests to participate in activities. So, they are quite picky. But what I see is that, for example, 20 years ago it was just about math and geographics. […] It's like the curriculum. Now soft skills are being more and more important, so when I look at my own children they go regularly to the theatres" (EN19M).

"When I started in the eighties, the one thing, theatre was almost the only cultural thing in school. And now everything, so many things. And that's good. […] For us, the cake has been smaller, because the culture is wider. […] Theatre was the thing. School brought

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theatre, but there were no other […] cultural events. But now it's so much more" (LU2M60s).

Leuven – Part-time education in the arts

Leuven stood out for one of Belgium's lifelong learning schemes – part-time education in the arts (Deeltijds Kunstonderwijs (DKO)), also known as art academy – which offers additional/voluntary creative/cultural education to Belgians.

> *"I went quite early to an academy in the city I lived, which was in weekends and evenings. It's called a 'part-time art education'. It's a term that is used in Belgium for this kind of education. And that was apart from my general education at school. So there I got the opportunity to follow all kinds of media from painting, drawing, sculpture, ceramics, and quite a lot of things. […] I think [I was attending the academy] from 12 and on. […] Uh, it was free. Or maybe a smaller amount of money just... to have some general paint and stuff, but not a lot of money" (LE21M50s).*

This scheme is available at a fee to both children (starting from the age of 6 years) and adults across Belgium. It covers four artistic domains: visual and audio-visual arts, dance, music, and drama, with cross-domain options also being available. Both long- and short-term courses are available with students being able to follow different learning trajectories depending on their needs and interests. Long-term courses consist of four successive degrees. Certificates are awarded to students upon successful completion of the entire course or its parts. Such qualifications are presented as a solid foundation for those preparing for a creative/cultural HE degree (Vlaanderen 2022).

3.3.4. Compulsory education providers: creative/cultural curriculum and extracurricular activities

Activities beyond traditional music and drama classes offered by compulsory education providers emerged as important in terms of developing a range of creative skills and even aspirations. For example, school elections and fundraising events appear to offer young people valuable platforms to start experimenting with and developing skills that are useful for accessing as well as maintaining SCCW including fundraising, planning and budgeting.

> *"…in primary school I was actually involved in a newspaper club. So we had like, a monthly publication that we sent out to parents. Um, and then I'd say in secondary school I was more heavily involved, I'd say, within the school community, particularly in sixth-form. Um, I was part of the school captains' team, and we had a team there where we hosted a few events, we did like a general, a mock general election and fundraising activities. So it was quite, it was quite busy I'd say there." (CH8M10s).*

An entrepreneur from Dundee remembered that in addition to *"fundamental"* skills around *"numeracy and literacy",* without which they would not be able to *"function as a business today"* (DU10M50s), their compulsory education experience also enabled them to exercise their business skills through running a school tuck shop/canteen and other fundraising projects.

> *"I kind of got to see a little bit of enterprise […] in schools, you know literally fundraising, cake and candy stalls and stuff like that. I loved that. I loved kind of getting involved in the projects that they went, made stuff and sold it and worked their way to be better at selling it. And, you know, it's easy, I suppose, to justify things but there's no question that all through my school career, up until the pinnacle of my entrepreneurial school career was you know taking over the tuck shop at secondary school and being too*

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successful so they forced us to shut it down because we was making too much money from it" (DU10M50s).

Also, school discos/dances during secondary education could act as an enabling factor for skills development by offering a platform for engaging with music and DJing. Furthermore, it is important to note that school theatres and drama clubs, in addition to being valuable in terms of developing acting or directing skills among students, can also offer valuable engagement opportunities with other theatre/performing arts-related activities, such as managing stage lights and music. Engaging with a school newspaper/magazine stood out as another valuable opportunity for skills development throughout both primary and secondary education across time and all case study locations.

> *"We can say that I was born with a pen in my hands. I already wrote at elementary school, for school chronicles and such. I was born in Komló, a smaller city close to Pécs, and I went to elementary and secondary school there. I came to Pécs to an economic vocational school, and I also edited the school newspaper" (PE6F50s).*

One's capability to access creativity and culture through school seems to be correlated with the extent to which their school valued creativity/culture as an institution and also the degree to which certain teachers facilitated engagement. For example, a school in one of the deprived areas of Dundee that put a lot of emphasis on extracurricular activities and was an early adopter of computing as part of its curriculum served as a significant conversion factor for some of its students, including this technology entrepreneur who shared the following account:

> *"my secondary school in Dundee […] was quite unusual in the teaching cohort and the leadership […] [T]hey recruited a lot of people who had extra-curricular interests, so, there was a great sort of music community in the school, great sports community in school and as soon as computing became a thing, there was a real kind of a big push towards it in school. It was a very ordinary school and on the surface of in quite a challenged area in Dundee. And it was the first school in Scotland to offer formal computing qualifications, you know, even ahead of Independent schools. So it was a thing, you know, we would happen to be in a place and a time when there was incredibly motivated teachers in all areas from art to music to technology to history and modern studies. They were all about innovation and that shows, you know, if you look at the cohort of people that came out of that school. disproportionately there's a tonne of musicians, a tonne of high performers, there's a chess grandmaster and then a bunch of us actually that ended up in the computer games industry. People that work with me, you know, my business partner […] I met on my first day at school there, and forty years later we're still working together, but a great school and class leaders […]. So, there was definitely good fortune and we had a very motivated school environment around that from a very early age, relative to the computer" (DU10M50s).*

References to *"incredibly motivated teachers"* emerged from many of the reflective and historical accounts of skills development. Another interviewee from Dundee, linked their capability to develop gaming skills to an individual teacher who inspired them: "*a computing teacher was telling us that he used to make games in the playground and sell them to his classmates when he was in school […] I guess it was quite inspiring to have someone like that from somewhere like Dundee"* (DU8M30s). In schools where creativity/culture was not part of the core values and priorities, separate departments, and individuals such as an exceptional teacher or an attentive career advisor could still offer critical conversion factors.

> *"I will always thank one of my high school drawing teachers who put a woman's head from a Roman statuette in front of me, probably bought it at a flea market. It must have been no bigger than 3 cm. He told me to sit on the side lines and gave me his oil paints*

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and said: "Try them, I think you might find them good" and that's when it all started and I've always concentrated on portraits, which for me are primarily a fetish" (LA14M30s).

One's school alone can be a source of many conversion factors and structural restraints at the same time, as was the case for this interviewee from Chatham. While they really enjoyed drawing, their art teacher was not engaging: *"my art teacher […] was the kind of person who would just like plonk a loaf of bread in the middle of the table and say 'draw that' and then go put his feet up in the corner and have a smoke for the rest of the lesson" (CH31F50s).* Yet, despite having a bad art teacher and a weak understanding of their career path after school, this person still managed to find their way to an art school thanks to other helpful staff within their school,

"I got called up to the headmaster to talk about why I wasn't going to university, and I didn't know what university was. So, he explained it to me and I ended up going to art school. […] It was amazing. I mean, hats off to the teachers at my school who recognised that this was something that was right for me because I certainly didn't have a clue" (CH31F50s).

3.3.5. Specialised schools and private tuition

For some interviewees attending a specialist school that focuses on a certain creative/cultural field of the curriculum was an important enabling factor in terms of the capability to develop skills during primary and secondary education. However, as this interviewee from Liepāja highlights, specialist education can be demanding:

"not everything is rosy, there are certain challenges. And the first challenge usually starts with studying here [in a specialised school], because in addition to vocational training they will be attaining comprehensive education at the secondary school level, which means that these young will have an additional load. They will study such general subjects such as mathematics, history, geography, Latvian, English and other subjects, and also learn a trade, and that is happening simultaneously for four years. And it's a big load. Most of the kids don't realise it yet how difficult it will be for them, because mainly lessons here begin at 8.30 AM and end at 6 or sometimes 7 PM, every day, for 4 years. That's what I also try to explain to them, that it won't be easy" (LI17M30s).

As another interviewee who attended a specialised performing arts school in Leuven highlighted, on top of the heavy educational load there is also a risk of missing out on the capability to develop other skills: *"We got ballet, we got singing classes, we got, it was great. But again, same as in higher education, I missed these other subjects. […] So, I think that's something that I really missed in my education"* (LE19F30s).

As their experience also shows, because such schools are not evenly distributed across nations, such opportunities may often not be available locally. As the result, young people are forced to make difficult decisions, such as leaving family home for a boarding school: *"then, I switched to art education when I was 15, so […] I also left home because the school was in Leuven, where I work today. So, I had to sleep there because it was otherwise too difficult to get there every day"* (LE19F30s). In cases where such options were not available or possible, students were forced to settle for other (less desirable) options, as was the case for another interviewee (originally from Italy), for whom attending a specialist arts school was not an option. Despite being top of their class in art and having a very strong aspiration for a creative/cultural career, they were not able to access a specialised arts education at the time, because no rated art school (i.e. Lyceum) was within reasonable reach:

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"my parents totally refused to send me to an art school for all sorts of reasons, which I understand, I understood to a point. Basically, the art school that was available near us […] wasn't very, it wasn't a liceo [Lyceum]. […] It wasn't like, very rated" (CH18F50s).

Being able to develop creative/cultural skills outside of the school curriculum emerged as an important conversion factor. First, the availability of privately run creative/cultural courses and classes is helpful in terms of facilitating skills development. These opportunities, however, often have either direct or indirect costs and therefore only serve as a conversion factor for those who can afford them. Similar to specialised schools, in addition to the affordability of these opportunities, physical accessibility seems to be a critical factor. The availability of such opportunities locally seems to be particularly important for those whose families function more as inhibitors rather than enablers for this capability, or those with limited financial resources. The latter was the case for this interviewee from Dundee who could not afford to travel to Glasgow to develop her music skills, but would take advantage of any such opportunity available locally:

"There was another girl in my year and she would go to the junior academy every Saturday and get on a train but that would never have been an option for me to do that, to pay for train fares every week to go to Glasgow. So I joined in with everything that I could but more area-specific to Dundee. Any other opportunities I couldn't take part in" (DU29F40s).

Second, the presence of various youth organisations such as, for example, Annis in Pori, You+ in Liepāja, Stelplaats in Leuven, and Hot Chocolate in Dundee (as discussed in section 3.2.4), has become increasingly important in enabling creative/cultural skills development of local children and youth, with one interviewee from Liepāja recollecting their engagement with You+: "*in the 10th and 11th year I attended personal fulfilment courses […] at You+ Academy. It was a sort of Youth Academy, I went there 2 or 3 times. […] It helped me to deal with many things" (LI25F10s).* There was a notable awareness of these organisations and the work they did across other interviewees in each case study location.

When asked to map the creative/cultural assets linked to their respective cities, interviewees would refer directly to the above organisations as key ones in terms of catering for the needs of the younger populations, both with regard to developing skills and granting access to creativity/culture more widely. This demonstrates the value such organisations add to the wider CCE:

"Also, I should mention Stelplaats, which is something quite interesting. So, that's an old building [bus depot] that is now, used for different purposes. I think the city started with that and then there's now a team working from there and they've got rehearsal spaces, a little skate park, a concert venue as well, a small bar. So, it became this centre for younger people to do things and then to use the premises to do whatever they feel like, so to speak. And that's a really nice place and it works really well too. So, it's one of the good examples of what the city did with the old buildings that they have and to give it a new purpose in the cultural field" (LE6M30s).

Finally, although this research project is framed around SCCW, it is important to highlight that when discussing early access to skills development opportunities or to creativity/culture more broadly, a sustainable creative career is not the ultimate goal for each individual. Both historical and more recent accounts by the interviewees demonstrate that access to creativity and culture at an early age bears a lot of positive functioning (or value) in the present. For some being a part of a choir promoted the feeling of belonging and helped in building meaningful connections/friendships, for some being involved in a creative/cultural extracurricular activity facilitated creative thinking that could be applied in other aspects of life, while for others it was down to simple enjoyment and fun. In most cases, it seems to conjure a combination of benefits,

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"I loved it right from the start. I just loved being at the studio. I liked the people there and the way it made me feel, I didn't particularly always have really good friends at school, and I seemed to always have good friends at dancing. And so, it just made me feel, my safe place, almost" (CH2F40s).

In other words, early opportunities to develop creative/cultural skills offer invaluable platforms where children often can find comfort, friends and even skills and outlets to process their emotions, as recalled by this individual: "*writing was my therapy. Especially when I was a teenager, I was able to process my teenage feelings" (PE23F40s).* The power of creative/cultural education has already been connected to many benefits including increased self-confidence and self-understanding, socio-emotional learning, as well as improved cognition and communication skills (Babayants & Frey 2015; Eisner 2002).

3.4. The capability to aspire to creative/cultural work

3.4.1. Personal characteristics, gatekeepers and role models

Personal characteristics and talent came up again in relation to the capability to aspire to creative/cultural work. First, personal qualities such as determination, independence and resilience proved to be vital in terms of enabling this capability, especially for those interviewees whose families did not actively create fertile funding in this respect. For example, this university student from Chatham seems to imply that their capability to aspire to a career in urban planning was related to an ability to make decisions independently from the family. From their account it is also evident that their capability to aspire for CCW was largely enabled through education as the family lacked awareness of the existence of urban planning as a possible career path:

"That's [aspirations for a career in urban planning] something I primarily […] found out myself that I quite enjoyed and been interested in, and I'd say in more like, in terms of my education and career-wise, I've always been quite independent in that sense because my parents didn't know what urban planning was, they didn't even know it was quite like a, um, there was a market for it in terms of jobs. They thought it was more to do with architecture. But yeah, so they don't have much of an interest in urban planning" (CH8M10s).

The above account is striking in terms of an intergenerational mismatch in knowledge of alternative career pathways. Despite being unaware of urban planning as a career, however, in this case the family did not actively inhibit the interviewee's capability to aspire to it, unlike in many other accounts where families (along with other external factors) actively discouraged aspirations for CCW (as discussed in 3.4.2). In such cases, personal traits were relevant. For example, a Chatham-based interviewee, who left school at the age of 16 years after getting pregnant still managed to land an office job and later became a social worker and a trustee in a local community centre, despite the numerous obstacles faced throughout their life due to their race and gender.

"My mum used to say to me, you know, there aren't any jobs, you're not going to get an office job and so why don't you go and work in factory? […] I didn't want to do that. So I got a job as an apprentice at Leeds University and working in the offices there. […] Then […] I did a shorthand-typing course at the Park Lane College in Leeds because I knew I wanted to work in an office, and yeah, so I worked there for a long time" (CH3F50s).

In fact, it was the adversities that they faced growing up, that motivated them to pursue a career in social work as a form of change-making. The experience of this participant is particularly important and noteworthy

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as it highlights an issue of the lack of workplace role models among certain minority groups and certain lines of work.

> *"I knew at the age of 13, that I wanted to be a social worker, but I didn't know what it was called, because I was observing around me that a lot of my friends were being abused. […] I remember thinking, I want to do this, it was like years later, that I realised that it's a social worker. When I found out it was a social worker, then I realised that there weren't any black social workers and, you know, so, but I still wanted to do it (CH3F50s).*

Although there are plenty of interview accounts highlighting personal qualities such as independence, resilience and determination as an enabling factor, especially in relation to challenging circumstances, such individualised understandings of capabilities can be criticised for perpetuating insufficient understandings around the complexities of individual lives as personal characteristics themselves are likely to be determined by the wider environment and various external influences (Wilson-Strydom 2017).

Talent also came up as both an enabling and inhibiting factor. The perception of being talented or being good at certain creative/cultural activities in secondary school would generally enable this capability. This is demonstrated in the below account by a shoemaker from Pori, who shared that being *"better"* at arts and crafts at school than at other subjects boosted their confidence, in turn enabling the capability to aspire to CCW: *"I went there [into shoemaking] a little blindly, but it was also like, […] if you think about, like, basic education, then I was always an average student, but I was always a lot better in handicrafts, arts, sports" (PO31F20s).* However, the perceived absence of talent by oneself (or others) would typically act as an inhibiting factor. Yet, the presumed lack of talent does not always steer one away from aspiring for CCW completely, but may lead to modification of one's career aspirations. This was the case for this interviewee who was determined to carve themselves a career in theatre despite auditions not going well: *"Didn't really know exactly what I wanted to do. But did want to explore the love of theatre further and if performing wasn't gonna happen, I had to be involved somehow. So I took it in a more academic way, to study a BA Honours" (CH17F40s).* Switching from aspiring to create to aspiring to foster CCW emerged as a popular modification in this respect.

3.4.2. Family: CCW versus family concerns regarding child's livelihood

In comparison to the capabilities covered so far (in 3.2 and 3.3), with regard to the capability to aspire to CCW, one's family emerged much more frequently as an inhibiting factor because many interviewees across all case study locations shared that their families were not particularly supportive of such aspiration. Generally, convinced that CCW does not provide solid career opportunities family members (typically parents) would try and steer their children towards other professions that traditionally are considered more stable. In other words, parents act as gatekeepers in this respect as it is evident from the following account:

> *"[I studied] Applied Economics, very much under the influence of my parents. 'Cause the last couple of years at the high school I was really into playing theatre and reading a lot, and I wanted to go more into that direction, but my dad, he talked to me, he said 'don't do it'" (LE16M50s).*

Some of the DISCE participants reflected at length about having to convince their parents to change their minds and start supporting their aspirations for CCW. Here the role of compulsory education providers and HE institutions emerged as a critical conversion factor in some cases including this Chatham-based participant:

> *"There's one thing the school suggesting this was [a] good [career path], but then there was the getting past my parents kind of thing because, you know, like I say, their*

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expectations were different. […] [B]ut when we had the interview [for an art foundation course] and I, when I had the interview to get into the course, it was like, half of it was them interviewing me and the other half was kind of like convincing my parents that this was actually something that could end up giving me a living" (CH31F50s).

From the data, a clear correlation is discernible between family background and a family's role as either an enabler or an inhibitor of such aspirations. Having family members engaged in CCW would generally function as a conversion factor for this capability. This again (see also 3.4.1) relates to the issue of having (or not having) role models around. For example, this participant's reference point to a career in the arts was their father: *"What I was saying earlier, the mistrust that exists in the world of contemporary art, but I have suffered less because the museum was built by my father and therefore it was a bit in the air that I would do this profession"* (LA6F40s). Another participant, from Treviso, shared a similar account with their father and family more widely serving as a role/reference model for their future career in instrument-making:

"I was born in an accordion-making workshop, because when I was a child my father founded an accordion-making workshop. So I grew up in this workshop and I think that all families make musical instruments and that all families have live music. So, I grow up in this world that is not real – in short, the world of the late 70s, early 80s. […] [N]ine years ago I took over my father's workshop, reopened it and practically re-founded the two production brands that my father had" (TR8F40s).

However, this was not always the case as among those parents engaged in CCW themselves there were some that discouraged their children's aspirations to do the same, either in specific creative/cultural fields or occasionally discouraging CCW aspirations altogether. The socioeconomic status of one's family can also become an important factor as suggested in the account below:

"I think, in general, maybe, it's I think, I can speak for all of Europe, maybe the entire world, that when you are not in an easy, when your family is not in an easy financial situation, you feel, most people feel more […] pressured to find a job that does pay. So, they choose jobs that give security. Art history, like also, I guess, is the case for almost all countries in the world, doesn't give a lot of security. So, there's also still a very big stigma about it. Like, I don't know, the idea that creatives, they can make it, but it will be hard work and probably they won't" (LE12F20s).

3.4.3. Compulsory education: (un)awareness of creative/cultural career pathways

Similar to family (discussed above in 3.4.2), secondary education providers seem to often function as a structural constraint for the capability to aspire to CCW much more frequently than for the other capabilities discussed previously (in 3.2 and 3.3). The lack of awareness about viable career pathways within CCW among teachers, career advisors and other staff members seems to be the main problem here. The below account by a Dundee-based interviewee is very representative of the role compulsory education played for many other interviewees across all case study locations.

"I'm furious at the level of teaching. […] [N]obody helped me with my application […], everybody just looked at them and went, none of this makes any sense, it's not a real profession. And because it wasn't a conventional university course, I was actively, and I was actively discouraged from taking an arts, like I remember sitting with careers officers who were like, 'this is a terrible idea' and 'maybe look at journalism. You know, you're good at writing'. But the notion of the arts, 'you can still do that, you can do it on

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the side' […]. In small rural communities in Scotland just never goes away like this, you know, that's something I still see when I'm talking to young artists today" (DU27F50s).

First, most creative/cultural degrees and careers were not presented and discussed as possible professional paths, resulting in a lack of awareness among many students as suggested by this interviewee: "*It wasn't ever […] suggested as a career sort of route. […] I never knew it could be something. You know, it wasn't like they said you could be an artist. Or this is an option. It was kind of like, the stuff you did, it was the nice lessons" (CH11F50s)*. Second, for those students that managed to pin down their aspirations, thanks to other conversion factors in their lives, compulsory education would often present them with certain structural constraints either by actively discouraging them or by failing to provide the necessary support with the application process. Many creative/cultural degrees often involve a somewhat different application process that occasionally requires additional inputs such as portfolios or unique interviews or reference letters. For example, while acknowledging that they had a "*brilliant art teacher"* this interviewee also believed that their application to the UCL Slade School of Fine Art was not successful mainly because their school lacked experience in sending students to major art school and therefore failed to communicate the importance of having a strong portfolio:

"I didn't get in. And that was because at the school hadn't had anybody who'd applied for a major art school like that, so my portfolio perhaps could have been prepared differently. When I went down I realized everybody has these amazing portfolios" (CH13F60s).

Although this section focused on discussing structural constraints imposed by many compulsory education providers, it is important to stress that there are plenty of accounts across the entire dataset demonstrating that compulsory education experiences, including interactions with specific staff members, can be a critical source of conversion factors (same as for the capability to develop skills). Interestingly, for some interviewees, internships as part of compulsory education also stood out as valuable experiences that enabled aspirations for CCW, including this theatre director who at the age of 16 had an opportunity to intern at the National Theatre:

"We worked in a production office some of the time, but not much of it, actually. Most of the time they just dumped us in the stalls, and we just got on with watching technical rehearsals. I just thought it was absolutely amazing. […] So yes, two weeks of that, and then actually getting to talk to them as well. We got to have lunch in the canteen with these people. And it was literally, like, the Gods had touched my hand. Do you know what I mean? I'm going to do it, I'm going to do it [become a director]. It was quite engaging, I guess" (CH19F40s).

One's school, however, would typically be a source of both conversion factors and structural constraints. There is also evidence to speculate that, mirroring the expansion of the creative economy discourse, compulsory education providers over the years have become more effective in enabling the capability to aspire to CCW. In other words, the experience of students today may be more positive than those expressed by the DISCE participants.

3.4.4. Wider CCE and the visibility of local creative/cultural resources

This research found that factors such as civic pride in relation to the resources available in one's immediate locality were an important factor. Extant research found that aspirations for CCW are more pronounced in urban areas where creative production is visible (Allen & Hollingworth 2013). The DISCE findings support this dynamic, as for many interviewees the awareness of creative and cultural facilities in a locale seems to have functioned as a powerful conversion factor to their capability to aspire. For example, coming from a "working

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class" family without strong connections to the creativity/culture, this interviewee's aspirations were, in part, enabled by the visibility of DC Thompsons – a media company in Dundee known for publishing newspapers and comics:

> *"things like DC Thompsons played a role in, I guess, forming a direction, but obviously understand it is kind of an art career. [...] [I] grew up with comics, you know, everybody that is from Dundee, knows somebody that's worked in DC Thompsons and it's kind of being surrounded by that and comics, I suppose, probably got me down the road of design" (DU16F40s).*

The presence of educational institutions locally seems to have an enabling effect on aspirations for CCW as also suggested by an interviewee from L'Aquila for whom Accademia dell' Immagine served as a point of reference for their aspirations for a career in film. A wider urban atmosphere – the so-called look and feel (Helbrecht 2004) of a place – also seems to be of significance in determining one's CCW aspirations. For example, a vibrant rock music scene of Liepāja and its overall bohemian character (discussed in more detail in WP4.3) create a fertile environment for the capability to aspire to a career in music, as suggested by this interviewee:

> *"I should also mention my older sister, who at that time was quite a bohemian, and really pulled me into that kind of life by once putting on me a showy jeans jacket, bleached or tie-died, or something similar. Somehow my mind just tuned to the art, creation, more to that side […]. So, in principle, from some grade 6 or 7, I always tended to create a band, play in a band, and Liepāja has always been a favourable place for such goals and ideas" (LI13M30s).*

Liepāja's bohemian look and feel can be contrasted with the atmosphere of Leuven, which DISCE participants tended to describe as more "*homogenous*" and "*normal*", as this account by an artist from Leuven encapsulates: "*the city is about the majority being head below the grass, nobody will be eccentric, nobody will be exceptional, nobody will be extra, it's really not Leuven. It's like, yeah, being normal is already really, really crazy*" (LE14M30s). Leuven is a city where various subcultures and marginal communities remain largely invisible across the city and where some artists struggle to feel at home. Such an atmosphere is then reflected in the mentality of the locals, which then impacts aspirations.

> *"Art is not something that is produced here, and it's not something that happens here, it's something that maybe in New York, maybe in Paris, but not in Belgium, especially not in Leuven. So, the mentality is, yeah. Ambition is not something dirty, but it's something that doesn't belong here" (LE14M30s).*

Leuven is also an exceptionally expensive city to live in (also discussed in 6.4), which possibly inhibits CCW aspirations even further. Given that CCW is generally perceived as generating low and/or unstable income, this interviewee suggests that high costs of living in Leuven does not offer fertile functionings for the capability to aspire to CCW:

> *"Leuven […] throughout the years, it has always attracted like a very, I don't know, the better middle class. So, living in Leuven, for example, it's not possible if you're not very well, I don't know, when you don't have a proper wage, […] like it's only manageable for a certain kind of family, I guess. […] I think that in Leuven, there won't be a lot of creatives or people that are interested in arts, that want to engage towards the studies and this specific education. I think if they do, they will go look for it in a bigger city […] where there is more to do on a cultural level. So, I guess that's why Leuven doesn't attract like a certain kind of art history students or art students in general" (LE12F20s).*

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3.5. The capability to foster creative/cultural skills: perspective of education professionals

This section looks at compulsory education as well as other actors (e.g. private tutors/coaches, children centres, etc.) within a local CCE that provide children and young people with the opportunities to develop creative/cultural skills and explores factors that enable or inhibit the capability of these actors to foster skills.

3.5.1. Compulsory education and impact of standardisation

Compulsory education is a fundamental human right (UNGA 1948). Thus, education systems in most countries across the world are ultimately designed to foster fundamental life skills in as many young people as possible. In turn, to ensure strong educational outcomes, schools worldwide are held accountable for their ability to provide education at a certain standard. We found that some forms of accountability within compulsory education may have negative impacts on pupils. While this discovery is not new and has been addressed in the wider literature (Hutchings 2015; Leckie and Goldstein, 2016), the impact of accountability measures, specifically on students' capability to develop creative/cultural skills and the capability of teachers/schools to foster these skills, has received far less attention. Considering the DISCE findings discussed in this sub-section, this gap is an important avenue for future research. The findings suggest that certain accountability measures such as performance tables that are mainly based on the results of standardised tests, like SATs for example (Bradbury 2019), act as a structural constraint to schools/teachers' capability to foster creative/cultural skills, as they tend to function to the detriment of the student. In other words, some of these measures make the interests of the students a lesser priority than the interests of the school, as this educator implies:

> *"We have agendas as educators, you know, league tables, […] performance tables. [C]ultural providers […] will have their agenda […] KPIs and targets. Um, and that's fine. And those things are never going to go away. At the centre of this you've actually got young people, and their agenda matters as well" (CH17F40s).*

Another representative of the compulsory education system – a career advisor from Liepāja – explained that in Latvia "*money follows the pupil" (LI17M30s)* meaning that the more students a school has, the bigger budget is allocated to it. While this seems like a reasonable measure to be in place to ensure that all schools are properly financed, this participant believes that: "*this means that essentially every school, especially in the smaller regional centres, in villages and small towns, are especially interest[ed] in keeping pupils there, rather than allow them to make their decision freely based on their desires or abilities" (LI17M30s)*. To avoid budget cuts and job losses among its staff, schools across Latvia are very motivated to retain enough students. This does not only mean recruiting more students – which, in fact, can be very challenging across rural areas characterised by ageing and decreasing population – but also retaining students, even if it is not in the best interest of the students, as the below account encapsulates:

> *"Often, I'm not a welcome visitor in schools. Because my aim is to show them these professions and, of course, with a vested interest to recruit more kids to our school and find those who may be potential musicians or artists. And, of course, the higher the number of kids I can talk to, the higher the chance I will find those who are interested. So, schools mainly see me as someone who will take away their pupils away from them, and probably those brightest whom they don't want to let go most of all. And normally there's, you know, sort of wrestling, and then we think of different solutions" (LI17M30s).*

Career Guidance in General and Vocational Education Institutions – a project funded by the European Social Fund (ESF) that ran between 2016-2022 – has funded 369 teachers across Europe to give career development support to students. Interestingly, this project emerged as a conversion factor for the abovementioned

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career advisor's capability to foster skills. Having dedicated teachers across schools in Latvia who underwent training and were accountable to the ESF, made it easier to communicate and recruit students to the specialised school.

> *"I can immediately talk to these people as colleagues and it's easier for me to arrange, for example, a visit to that school, because with the project they would have to follow a certain plan, specific career support events should be organised, and they cannot say no to me just like that. I don't know how it will be next year. It's possible that everything will change. But these systemic problems are exactly what I see as the biggest threat to career support, because everybody has their own interests. And undoubtedly that's how it should be, but still the Ministry of Education, or any other supervisory body, must try to create a system designed to ensure the best possible conditions for young people rather than letting schools settle it between themselves" (LI17M30s).*

Now that the project has come to an end, it is unclear how specialised schools will adapt, raising a question regarding the sustainability of such temporary projects as solutions.

Certain creative/cultural subjects are often not included in league tables or performance measures. This means when funding cuts strike, these subjects are the first ones to be cut from the curriculum without causing any damage in terms of accountability. This is the case in England, where the capability of educators to foster creative/cultural skills is often down to their personal characteristics, interests, and values or is enabled by a motivated leader within a school who, on the one hand, is aware of the multiple values creativity/culture has, and, on the other hand, is willing to put the "*child first*" (CH17F40s). In other words, the capability to foster skills among children is connected to the care and passion for teaching in the same way as it is for fostering in HE (Wilson and Atkinson 2021) (as discussed in 4.7.1). One of the DISCE participants representing a school in Chatham was such a leader. They managed to turn a very low-performing school into "good" – accounting to the UK education watchdog Ofsted. Based on their account, this leader's capability to foster creative/cultural skills seems to be enabled by their belief in and commitment to giving young people the opportunity to make choices with respect to their education. They implied that by being able to give students a platform to make *"steered choices",* compulsory education institutions may facilitate a feeling of ownership and empowerment regarding one's educational journey, in turn fostering skills development more effectively.

> *"We do have a choice of clubs. Our behaviour system, because we do have some really challenging behaviour, that's all based around choice. I suppose that's where it comes in most, is you know, this understanding that we have choices, and this is the choice you're going to make. In subjects, you have obviously, you know, you have your option choices. But the curriculum, as we have now, without getting too political, makes choice quite difficult. Um, I think. We as a school maybe have bucked the trend with that. I will never have this school be an exam factory. […] I know there are schools now that really limited the art subjects. We don't, erm, for us they are, they're really important" (CH17F40s).*

Despite the low Ofsted ratings, the school always benefited from a strong art department. This combined with the new principal's background in theatre, resulted in *"arts and culture learning"* being adopted as "*a tool for the transformation"* of the entire school (CH17F40s). For this leader/school, two schemes led by Arts Council England – Artsmark and Royal Opera House Bridge – stood out as instrumental in enabling their capability to foster skills.

> *"I'm very keen that all our schools become Artsmark schools […] [W]e've had some conversations with Artsmark, that all trust schools, all 17, will become Artsmark schools. I will be creating a cultural passport so that young people can have cultural opportunities, particularly those at disadvantage. I'm passionate about that. Like in my*

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own background, that there are no financial or even their own cultural barriers that these things are not possible" (CH17F40s).

Artsmark is an Arts Council England-accredited framework that offers the only creative quality strand for schools and education settings across England. Through this framework, a school can access staff training and teaching resources as well as ongoing support to plan, develop and evaluate arts, culture and creativity across the curriculum (Artsmark 2022). Royal Opera House Bridge is part of the Arts Council's 10 bridge organisations that aim to connect the creative/cultural sector with the education sector (Arts Council England, 2022). The significance of the latter programme for the interviewee, suggests that building better connections between the creative economy is an important enabling factor for the capability of compulsory education providers to foster skills. This was also the case for a specialised creative/cultural school in Liepāja, which works hard to ensure its connections with the creative economy remain in place. First, this connection is maintained through the school's recruitment strategy and second, via the increasing emphasis on the practical application of knowledge, as opposed to purely theoretical learning, as its career advisor suggests:

"We have recruited many young teachers for whom teaching is not their main job, but who are real entrepreneurs, professionals, craftsmen, who come to us and teach our kids. It is also the direction the school has been moving in during this time to talk less about theoretical things with youngsters and to do more practical stuff. And, for example, our advertising design teachers... well, not as much as teachers, but those who work at marketing companies and one of them is a co-owner of a marketing company. We have the same, for example, in architecture, interior design and many other departments where those tutors are people who actually do all these professional things, which I think is very important" (LI17M30s).

This participant was convinced that compulsory education (at least in Latvia) does not include enough hours of practical work/internship as part of the secondary school curriculum, which is currently set at around 72 hours (2 school weeks) per school year. They have argued that internships being such a valuable bridge between compulsory education and the creative economy, two weeks a year of such practical learning is not sufficient in terms of giving young people a meaningful reference regarding a potential future career.

In relation to the issues of internships within the compulsory education stage and maintaining connections between school and the creative economy more generally, being in a place that benefits from a vibrant CCE emerged as a powerful conversion factor for the capability to foster skills. This is because it makes connecting with the creative economy much easier, as suggested by this career advisor: "*we have a relatively developed IT sector in Liepāja. We don't hear much about it, but we work with individual companies where we send our kids for internship[s]" (LI17M30s).* Dundee also offers a notable example in relation to the gaming sector, which has grown significantly since producing Grand Theft Auto (GTA) in 1997 – one of the best-selling computer games of all time. Now that Dundee has emerged as major gaming cluster, compulsory education providers within the city are better positioned to collaborate with other stakeholders across the local gaming sector to develop various opportunities for skills development and engagement. In this case, local schools partnered up with a local university and the city council to deliver an innovative project that encouraged primary pupils across Dundee to redesign the city's waterfront using the popular game Minecraft:

"because Minecraft is made in Dundee, they set a school's project for three months to redesign the Waterfront in Minecraft for primary and secondary kids, and there was like a big exhibition in the university to show what they'd created and they were in groups [...] in afternoons for, like, you know, every week do three or four hours on it as a group. And it was the kids that were not very academically good who had all ideas, had the inspiration and the energy, the teachers were just saying, 'This was such an amazing thing. It was the ones who were bored and causing problems in the class that took the lead in the group. The ones that were more on top of the class, they were always like,

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they took a take a step back and felt out of their comfort zone.' And it just felt to me that this is just like it was giving the kind of less educated students a different platform to kind of present themselves or their ideas in a different way that they can't do within the current systems" (DU8M30s).

3.5.2. Other providers: youth clubs and projects

As already suggested above (see 3.2.3 for the discussion around the limitations of the compulsory education framework or 3.2.4 for the information on Hot Chocolate), in addition to the compulsory education providers various youth and children centres as well as community centres emerged as key players in terms of fostering creative/cultural skills. Some of these organisations/projects are run on a publicly funded basis, while others are run voluntarily and/or are funded by private benefactors and other organisations. To do their work well, these initiatives require various resources. The most frequently mentioned resources typically needed by these players are space, funding/grants/subsidies, and relevant expertise/specialists. The ability to source these resources, however, seems to be hindered by an almost universal lack of value attached to community, education and participation work done by creative/cultural workers and organisations as suggested by some interviewees (see discussion on valuing fostering work in section 7.5. For example, a theatre worker from Chatham who has been involved in many participatory and education projects argued that participatory and community work is often treated as less important in the performing arts. While this participant acknowledges that the attitude towards this stream of work is changing for the better and that it is gaining more legitimacy in the eyes of funders and other performing arts stakeholders, the issue prevails. Echoing other DISCE participants, they gave the following account of the current situation:

"it very much was like, you know, there's all this stuff [that] is happening in the main stage and that's the important work. Then over here is the education and participation work and, bless. You know what I mean? [I]t was very much that kind of lesser status. Less well funded. It was never resourced properly, it was never planned properly. You felt like you couldn't create good work and you're working with these young people who were really keen, and it was the first time they'd been on the stage and they were at the Young Vic and all the rest of it. […] And you were just constantly going, why's this being treated like this is rubbish?" (CH19F40s)

So, after this participant founded their own theatre company, they committed to delivering quality participation work for young people in Chatham. This lack of appreciation towards such projects extends beyond the borders of England, as indicated by a director of a key youth engagement organisation in Pori. When asked what their organisation wants to achieve in the near future, they explained:

"I would also like that in five years, we would no longer discuss about shutting down [name of their organisation], on the contrary, that discussions would be in line with this being a significant place for inclusiveness, creativity and voluntary creativity. This should be a known and valued place" (PO8F40s).

Lacking appreciation among key creative/cultural players and policymakers, these organisations are prone to being poorly funded and as a result, are bound to operate in poorly equipped spaces. For example, this is expressed well by this youth mentor of another similar organisation in Liepāja who shared:

"because we don't have free funds that we may channel to, say, premises, so for the entire summer we were in one of the Spīķeris spaces where now the playground will be created. And there was no heating, nothing like that, so it was all a big challenge, and when cold came, we of course looked for a place to move to. That was a challenge. Even

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now the premises are not too big, we have a tiny office where we do our mentoring, and we have achieved that because there aren't many in Liepāja" (LI16F20s).

Representatives of these organisations highlighted various resources/amenities that they believed could improve their capability to foster creative/cultural skills in children and young people (as well engaging them with creativity/culture). For instance, the abovementioned youth mentor from Liepāja went on to emphasize the need for involving more professionals, such as trained psychologists and career advisors, as well as the benefit of having equipped spaces where young people can spend time and socialise:

"I would like Liepāja to have a proper centre for young people where there [are] those specialists… if you need a psychologist or a career advisor, or you need a prevention centre, if you, I don't know, need to draw up a CV. Also, you need a place where you can chill out, you can study, where you have music, you know, all that stuff" (LI16F20s).

The director of a youth creative/cultural organisation in Pori likewise emphasised the significance of having facilities that function as third spaces (Oldenburg 1989) where youth can unwind and socialise. They believe that creating such spaces within their organisation would *"lower the threshold"* for participation and in turn, would address a significant structural constraint faced by many community organisations – the hesitancy of newcomers to engage with such organisations.

"This place should be even more open for everyone. The public opinion may still be that this is a place for Youth Theatre or amateur theatres, which means that e.g. the cafeteria [is] really relevant. It would lower the threshold for entering, anyone could come and drink a cup of coffee, and perhaps participate in something small... That it opens us up even more. That's quite big" (PO8F40s).

The availability of affordable space is another important enabler for the capability to foster skills. For example, one of the DISCE participants took their theatre company – which is now one of the main providers of skills development opportunities in the locale – to Chatham because a suitable space was available and affordable. The issue of affordable/available space also emerged for those players who foster skills on a commercial basis. For instance, this dancer, also, from Chatham was able to launch their school thanks to the affordability of space for rent in the locale:

"I was working full time at an estate agent, and I decided I wanted to start the school. So, I found a hall that didn't have any other dancing schools in, that was available, that was quite cheap, and I went and had a look, and I booked it for just one day a week. […] And I started the school with just three classes a week. So, three hours a week. A baby class, which is 2.5 year olds to four year olds, and then a class that was probably 7 to 9-year-olds, and then an adult tap class. And that was it. I had no other funding. I just started the class and then gradually built the school from nothing" (CH2F40s).

Later they were able to lease a suitable property and shared that being able to do so was beneficial for their business: *"I've been able to offer a lot more since we've moved into the leasehold studios. And so that's probably, that helped raise our income a little" (CH2F40s)*. The affordability of space in the locale, however, is accompanied by elevated levels of deprivation among the local population, which this participant highlighted as an important (inhibiting) factor that impacts their capability to foster skills:

"I would say challenges are that, you know, it's an area of low income, and so I need to be mindful of that constantly, sort of how to keep the life affordable to everyone. So, we're sort of becoming, I don't want to come and make people believe it's higher-end people that can access the classes really. So that's the other thing to be mindful of. You

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know, the area because of the town centre has sort of fallen, obviously, the area is full of sort of unemployment as well. And so I always need to be mindful of that" (CH2F40s).

The issue of poverty among the local population as an inhibiting factor also emerged in Dundee as suggested by a manager of a charity aimed at fostering music skills among young citizens of Dundee:

> *"So, lessons are free for everybody. Until this year, you had to pay to hire the instrument, which is a bit of a hidden cost. So it was £30 a term. But for some of the families we work with, there is no extra money after food. So it doesn't really matter how much it was. If it was £5, that might be too much" (DU3M40s).*

Dundee vs. Lund – Two programmes aimed at fostering music skills

Dundee and Lund both benefit from a special educational programme that aims specifically to foster music skills among local children. The one in Lund is known as the 'music cheque/voucher' (Lunds Musikcheck) programme and is managed by the city's municipality. Under this programme, children who were born in 2010-2015 and are registered with the municipality of Lund can receive a music cheque/voucher (of around 5500 Swedish kronor) to be spent on developing musical skills (playing an instrument or singing). Each student receives at least 30 lessons (of 20 minutes each) per academic year (Lunds Kommun 2022). Prior to this programme, the main provider of the music lessons was the local public cultural school – Kulturskolan Lund – that offers a range of creative/cultural subjects (including short courses and holiday activities) to young people aged between 6 and 22 years. However, as the interviewed policymaker (LU8M20s) from the municipality explained, Kulturskolan Lund was struggling to cope with the increasing demand resulting in many children having to endure long waiting lists. This mismatch between the supply and demand of music education, in turn, served as the impetus for the scheme to be put in place.

> *"we actually had very many people in Lund that wanted to take piano or to learn how to sing. Many people were on the waiting list for what we call Kulturskolan, a school for culture. [t]he one funded by the public sector. [A]nd we have like thousand people waiting […], we saw that supply did not match the demand. So we wanted to expand supply at that area" (LU8M20s).*

The scheme created an additional supply of subsidised music education by involving independent providers and mirrors the nationwide voucher system to enable students and their families to choose between public and private compulsory education providers.

Big Noise, in Dundee, is a programme that fosters musical skills among children across some of the most challenged areas in Scotland and it is run by a charity – Sistema Scotland Big Noise Douglas (established in 2017) is Scotland's fourth and newest centre that covers the area of the east of Dundee. The programme is delivered in partnership with Claypotts Castle and St Pius Primary School to offer free classes to pre-schoolers and primary pupils as part of the in-school curriculum and at the afterschool and holiday club. It also provides some music sessions for local babies and toddlers all year round. Systema delivers the programme in partnership with Optimistic Sound – a charity that campaigns and raises funds for the programme – and Dundee City Council, with the support of a range of trusts, foundations and individuals (Big Noise 2022). Similar to the music cheque scheme, Big Noise's aim is to foster music skills in children, yet unlike the music cheque scheme, which is government-funded and available to children across Lund, Big Noise's livelihood is more precarious, as it depends on many different stakeholders in the CCE of Dundee (and beyond) and benefits only a fraction of children in the Douglas area of Dundee. Given the enormous benefits of the programme (Jindal-Snape et al. 2021), it is important to consider how the inclusivity and sustainability of this programme can be improved.

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3.5.3. Wider CCE: working together on fostering skills

It has been argued and demonstrated throughout this chapter that growing up/living in a place that benefits from a vibrant CCE makes accessing creativity/culture as well as developing creative/cultural skills much easier. This is supported by another DISCE finding that in many cases CCW involves a certain amount of fostering. As illustrated by the table below, there is plenty of evidence across the dataset suggesting that creative/cultural players (both individuals and organisations), whose primary practice/work is not necessarily about fostering skills or engaging others with creativity/culture, often do meaningfully contribute to fostering others. With a lot of these fostering activities being targeted directly at children and young people, this section focuses specifically on the capability to foster skills among the younger populations (chapter 7 reflects on fostering activities more widely). Often this fostering work streams from personal values and commitments of individuals around contributing to the wellbeing of the local community or originates from the corporate social responsibility of an affiliated organisation.

Examples of personal or corporate social responsibility among DISCE participants towards their respective cities/communities

A TV production business from Leuven is committed to contributing to the larger community around it, especially through initiatives directed specifically at young people from underprivileged backgrounds. The business facilitates opportunities for skills development by sharing its equipment and facilities with the local youth interested in film and TV production.

> *"We are a commercial business […] but we send a lot of attention and time also in ensuring, you know, at all levels of your organization, the fair remuneration of your own staff, but also externally, we work for instance with a small NGO here. We are just trying to give opportunity, or facilitate opportunities for youngsters from vulnerable backgrounds, also in Leuven, it exists definitely in Leuven, but the collaboration that we have, for instance, is that these youngsters, they can borrow our technical equipment and cameras, to take out, to go and film, and they use our editing rooms, where you mix all the images that you can tell your story. So we have this cool operation with them, because I believe that this is important that you're not a business on your own, you're a business in a large community" (LE15M50s).*

Another organisation in Leuven – a live music venue – claims to have *"a social role"* or responsibility towards the local communities. It does work with vulnerable people including children who found themselves in difficult circumstances.

> *"Then we have a social role. In fact we have a community of like 350 volunteers […], we also work with people who were in jail, who had a drug history, […] we work with different kinds, so we have a social role there. But we also, a couple of times a year, support a couple of organisations who work with younger people who no longer are with their family or stuff like that. And with refugees, we also did a couple of projects. So I think the social role is important" (LE16M50s).*

A photographer from L'Aquila, who specialises in architectural photography as their main creative practice, also enjoys getting involved in activities that promote photography within compulsory education environments to make this art form more accessible to young people.

> *"I also cultivate my passion for art photography and participate in calls and competitions to promote art photography in schools so that it becomes a language accessible to*

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everyone. We are constantly absorbed by images and do not know how to distinguish the true from the false and so I try to teach younger children not to be passive, but critical in the face of what they see" (LA22F30s).

In some case study locales, the commitments of CCW to developing/improving their respective communities/cities were facilitated by positive (or negative) early access opportunities that they experienced themselves. Some of these individuals in their interviewees put emphasis on critical opportunities that they had growing up. For example, one participant highlighted the significance of one specific community theatre project, called Witch's Blood.

> *"One of the big turning points in the city and for my family was a really big, city-wide theatre project called Witch's Blood, and I'm sure if you'll look at Dundee's history, you'd learn about Witch's Blood. And that was like, the first kind of thing that our family heard about and got involved with. It was like a really open project that brought citizens from right across all corners of the city to be involved in this creative theatre project, and I think, not just for our family, but actually for the creative economy of the city was triggered by that project. […] It was spread out everywhere, so they bussed people from community to community to these promenade site specific performances that rolled out the narrative of the story" (DU13F30s).*

Witch's Blood was a large-scale community theatre production created in 1987 in partnership with several Dundee based community organisations. The piece was staged across numerous venues in Dundee involving a cast of 500 people and taking and audience of 1,000 for every performance as it explored the issues around family, community, and intergenerational relationships. This project received a great critical and popular acclaim at the time, and is remembered as 'one of the biggest theatrical events in Scotland' (BBC 2016) one that left a legacy that has been recreated in more recent local events (i.e., Remembering Witch's Blood). This project not only introduced this artist/lecturer/curator (for multiply employed CCW see Chapter 6) to the world of theatre and left a long-lasting positive impression, but it also sparked a continuous interest and engagement in theatre that in turn helped to develop certain skills that this interviewee finds useful for fostering others:

> *"I don't really remember anything as part of my higher education that I feel really set me up for my career now and everything that I feel benefitted me was all done through going to art and local theatre groups and yeah, just all the kind of extracurricular stuff I did was far more valuable to me. Even as a lecturer now, being able to stand up in front of a group of students and perform a lecture doesn't scare me at all, but that's because it's been inbuilt in me to do community theatre from when I was a kid, being on stage was just a part of the fun, it was exciting and scary. So, I think all of that kind of extracurricular work that my folks led us to was way more valuable than anything I did at school" (DU13F30s).*

On the other hand, some of Dundee's CCW focused on the lack of such opportunities, which then drove their desire to improve their city, in turn, signifying that early life experiences may function as conversion factors for one's capability to foster others. This appears to be the case for this interviewee, who saw Dundee as an almost *"hopeless"* place growing up, and now runs a social enterprise dedicated to improving the city through creativity and culture:

> *"I was your typical, average kid in school. […] [A]ctually, leaving to university probably saved me in a bit of a way as well because I was likely to, I'm not trying to paint a kind of sordid picture, but I was likely to hang around with the wrong people and get into the wrong crowds etc. So, my only thing was about getting out of Dundee, actually, kind of so weird now, looking at what I'm doing. But it was absolutely about escaping what I*

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saw as a small city with no kind of real hope. And yeah, so yeah, so that's now about me helping transform it rather than just criticizing it, it's about, transforming it" (DU16F40s).

In section 3.4.1, we discussed that for a school to be operating within a lively CCE tends to enable its capability to foster creative/cultural skills among its students. The same logic seems to apply more widely and touches all other players that in one way or another contribute to the development of creativity/skills in children. This is because creative/cultural workers and organisations often prefer to collaborate with other organisations within their CCE to deliver fostering and engagement activities, including the ones for children. This is certainly the case for a sculptor from Pécs, who, during the interviewing process, was writing up their thesis as part of an MA degree to become an art teacher. Even though they are working towards a degree to become a qualified art teacher, they do not want to teach full-time but be able to foster skills on a more flexible basis. This is much easier to achieve if appropriate actors are present in the CCE as highlighted by the interviewee who relies on other organisations in Hungary including an architecture studio, Hello Wood, and a charity, Hold My Hand, to foster others:

"I don't want to teach so much, but I want to hold classes. I was also in contact with the Grab [sic] My Hand Foundation, we did a lot of programmes. There I always dealt with disadvantaged young people and their parents, I really enjoyed it. In the Hello Wood program, young people are helped with sensitization in design. […] I like to be involved in such. I've been to camps like this" (PE10F20s).

In general, ecological thinking and understanding around fostering, but also around engagement activities more widely, was present/evident among those who specialise in fostering creative/cultural skills on a professional basis who highlighted the importance of and the need for cultivating a wider fertile environment where young people can be education: *"it's important that, if we want to change the society, they [policymakers] should take every part of society […]. And, not only the early adopters, or only the children who choose already, but the whole environment' (EN33F50s).* A director of a creative space with a focus on digital creativity/culture summarised this common understanding effectively:

"I believe in, for example, in the work we do, like education. I believe in an ecosystem with really tiny lines. And, I think that everything should be connected to this ecosystem. So, I believe that we can only create a really good ecosystem for the primary schools, if we involve all parties. So, in our system for the education, we connect the libraries, we connect the culture houses, we connect the museums, we connect the parents. We send the parents to events, so that the parents can talk on a different level with the children. We create gaming events on secondary schools, where children and parents can talk about gaming. So, we believe that this ecosystem that we create on that level is necessary for the companies, and for the government, and for the knowledge institute, and for the art. Because, if we don't create children of ten who understand eCulture, we don't have [a] public in ten years. Because, the eCulture is getting more difficult and difficult every year […] if we only make consumers and not understanders, then people don't understand anything of the things we're doing here. So, for the art, for the creative industry, for the development of the whole society, we need an environment where young people [can] be educated" (EN33F50s).

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4. Preparing to create as a profession. Higher and Further education, training and skills

4.1. Chapter overview

The 10 DISCE case studies represent an interesting mix of medium-size cities when we reflect on the role of local HE infrastructure and specifically creative HE in relation to the range of inclusive and sustainable economic and cultural opportunities they bring. In this Chapter we include reflections on how FE/HE provides core creative and cultural skills (creative HE) and broader FE/HE infrastructure which contribute to the overall local human capital and skills availability in local CCEs (UNESCO, 2011). Within the case studies we have a range of educational contexts including cities with a long-standing FE/HE tradition (for example Lund and Leuven) which bring students from further afield and smaller or more newly established FE/HE systems (like Pori, Chatham or Treviso) where this role is negotiated or has been developed in more recent years. This offers an opportunity to reflect on the historical role of these institutions and the cumulated human and cultural capital of some of the cities, but also for the potential of more recent investment or development on this front. Given the wide range of participants included in the DISCE study (Appendix A table 9.6) and in particular the inclusion of a wide age-range, it is important to consider that some of the reflections are historical and account for past experiences of FE/HE (ranging as far back as 40 years). As such, some DISCE participants have had multiple experiences in and out of education throughout their career. For others, this experience is more recent or even still ongoing. Finally, some participants when discussing the capability to foster creative and cultural skills, their role within FE/HE or in other settings connects to the possibility of shaping the current practice and agendas of FE/HE policy.

Overall, strongly connected with this phase of the CCW are seven key capabilities. The key capability with this stage is the *capability to develop creative/cultural skills*. However, a pre-requisite and essential step before developing creative/cultural skills, is the *capability to access culture* and *to aspire to creative/cultural work*. For many developing skills is directly linked, as discussed further in the next Chapter (early career), to the *capability to access/develop creative/cultural work*. For many, their professional role (in HEIs or beyond) is to help others and have the *capability to foster creative/cultural skills*. Many participants reflected on the way education has enabled them to *sustain creative practice and/or projects* or, that a return to learning or training has enabled them to sustain their work. Finally, for a small, restricted number of people, education and training enabled the *capability to be a creative/cultural leader or the capability to drive/lead culture*, which is seen as key to develop sustainable creative economies.

4.2. The capability to access creative and culture in FE/HE

As discussed, access to creativity and culture in the early years (Chapter 3) is important for the development of SCCW in relation to how individuals' both access and aspire to creative/cultural work through the available resources and conversion factors that set them on future creative career pathways. Access to creativity and culture remains an important component for the development of SCCW as they enter further (FE) or higher education (HE) across the 10 case study cities researched. Time in tertiary education provides an opportunity for students to experiment with creativity and culture and have access to an infrastructure, not only as part of their course, but through the various resources available to them within the educational institution and local community. The role of FE/HE as local cultural hubs has been explored (Comunian and Gilmore, 2016), however, it is important to underline that access to culture refers here includes both the FE/HE infrastructure,

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the city itself and its creative and cultural life (Chatterton, 2000) as part of the CCE. Finally, the connection between FE/HE and local communities and the widening participation agenda has also been considered.

4.2.1. Access to creativity and culture via HE and university life

Many of the participants recognised that – independently of the degree they were undertaking - HE campuses, the cultural infrastructure within the university and the range of people they met gave them scope to access culture and steer their work choices towards creativity and culture. Examples of the value of the cultural infrastructure emerged across the case studies for different individuals. In Enschede, a local musician described how the HE cultural infrastructure – not connected to his degree- directed him to music

> *"I was also interested in music, but I didn't know there was something that you can do over there. So, I was sailing a lot in the first year [of university] and then someone said to me there are music studios, and they are looking for a guitar player. So, I was set up to go there and then I went into a band and the rest went without any effort". (EN29M50s).*

Another educator from Chatham (CH17F40s) highlighted how beyond the degree the university was able to offer "*some great experiences […] toured around the Netherlands doing a production when we took it on tour. Um, wrote some stuff, acted a lot, did a lot of acting classes, met some great people*". One participant in Lund, now managing a media organisation, expressed the value of having access to cultural opportunities which are independent of career-building and were open across subjects and disciplines rather siloed towards courses in media and communication, like in the case of the university radio station,

> *"[our radio station is] the only station that is not connected to the journalism or communication courses at the University. Because I feel everyone can be part of the ground course. Even though you're studying literature or Spanish or mathematics or whatever. You're welcome anyway. But in the other student radio stations they are connected to the journalism program or similar. And we have freer in some way. Because if you want to broadcast and there's no one in the studio, you can go in and broadcast. […] I think that we are mostly about having a fun time. And the other radio station is mostly about having something to put on your CV or job application." (LU10F20s).*

Another participant in Leuven described in similar way their engagement with the students' newspaper as a way to develop more practical skills,

> *"I wanted to change that and really use the skills I had in my background as a political scientist, to also really participate in the societal debate. And I found the way to do it was to join the student newspaper. I joined four years ago. And I gradually, sort of, climbed my way up to editor-in-chief." (LE25M20s).*

In the UK, a Chatham practitioner recognised that his career choice and development was shaped by his university's cultural provision. While he chose a degree in business and management the reason behind his choice for a particular HEI was because they had a reputable student theatre company within the university. So, although the university did not off any specific creative HE courses their cultural infrastructure influenced the institution choice of this participant which contributed to his future career as cultural professional;

> *"[…]on campus is a professional arts on campus team[…]They have a studio theatre, galleries, music service that is kind of extracurricular, but also programmes high-quality*

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professional work as well. So my time was, I spent most of my time at Theatre in the Mill there as part of the students' group there directing, producing, show performing in productions. Three, four or five a year." (CH21M40s).

Similarly, a participant in Lund highlighted how participating in the university cultural activities was a way to engage with the local context and started engaging as an audience member before participating more actively.

"I started figuring out what was there to do. And I quickly found out that there was this little film festival. Because they came to the University of Lund Fantastic Film Festival, looking for volunteers. And I think the first year I was there I was just there as an audience. But then the year after I signed up as a volunteer." (LU18F30s).

The HE campus also seems an interesting space for many to push the understanding of creativity (against its identification with specific subject areas). The opportunity to create and develop ideas across a range of materials seems to spark new ways for an individual to also approach their studies and future work as in the case of this person who ended up directing a museum later in life, it is important to question where creativity is and how it is defined for example in giving the opportunity to the students to simply create,

"..it depends on what you mean by creativity. […] I actually studied at the University of Agriculture in Sweden […] they had quite lively students traditions which involved a lot of creativity here in Sweden. Students would all of a sudden have built some new boat, house, or tractor or some odd use as students do. This was very much part of the education at the University of Agriculture and a lot less so in my other studies." (LU9M40s).

In Chatham, a participant who worked across HE and the music industry (see Chapter 6 for discussion on hybrid creative careers) reflected on her own experience of HE, recognising the musical opportunities offered to students both by local venues and the student union of the university*; "There were quite a few student nights and things, we had an awful lot of music going on at Brookes. We had an amazing student union. We had Coldplay, David Gray, you name it, came and played there and we got to do work experience for that" (CH1F40s).*

However, this kind of infrastructure also required focus and investment that sometimes was hard to achieve especially in medium-size cities where creative education is not so highly developed. As this participant from Leuven articulates, KU Leuven is mainly focused on health and high-tech, and does not have a lot of creative educational programmes inside of the university, compared to other cities in Belgium.

"We have higher education for theatre and music, but that's all. So, I think the university, it's not an easy relationship. You know, if I talk to my colleagues who work for the cultural department of the university, it's an ongoing battle. Now, they first convinced the university to keep this small old building for art studios, for some of the teachers or, you know, also artists, but that was a huge deal. That was a huge deal. […] they have so much heritage in the city, but they have lack of money to maintain this heritage and also to, you know, regenerate this heritage with other new destinations. […] So, in that matter, creative economy, cultural economy and university are not a perfect marriage in Leuven." (LE11F30s).

Overall, the creative and cultural infrastructure of FE/HE provides student access to multiple opportunities as audience members to volunteering and experimenting with what creativity is and what CCW might look like in their future (Cantor, 2005; Comunian & Gilmore, 2015). As discussed in Chapter 5 it also lays the

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foundation to transition from creative HE to creative work and can support the early career stages of CCW. These opportunities and the capability to engage with them is of course restricted by the kind of institutions involved and also the broader opportunity for individuals to access HE (discussed later in this Chapter).

4.2.2. City life and city-culture during education

Students (across HE and FE) also live and enjoy the cultural life of the city in which they study. In the case of our 10 case studies, all offered different institutions and opportunities for students to access and engage with the city cultural life (Chatterton, 2000). A musician in Enschede highlighted how local creative and cultural venues facilitated and supported his career development, *"this cultural venue, you can do everything, you can do theatre and also make music […] not just for free time but after that I played on every student festival there was in that time because the band went great and well, that was my life next to the studies, of course, the things I did." (EN29M50s).*

In Chatham, a local artist who had studied at a HEI in Brighton recognised the importance of the cultural life of the city and how informal spaces such as clubs, social venues and studios offered opportunities to engage with others, beyond and across courses for potential collaborations

> *"there was a club that was a kind of nomadic club that went to lots of different spaces and lots of live arts so there were opportunities to make work but also to, you know, sell tickets on the door, that kind of stuff. It was all very DIY culture at the time, much easier to do that kind of stuff because it didn't cost too much to put on. And eventually that led to some of the people I was at art school with and people I met through that, we started the first artist-led studio […] That was pretty important in my life really, it was my alternative art school". (CH11F50s).*

This local offer is recognised as strategic specifically for students who are also interested in creative and cultural careers (but has broader implications for student attraction and retention as expanded in Chapter 5). This is the case also in Dundee where the presence of organisations and spaces for artists is perceived as very important for current students (space in relation to access is discussed in Chapters 6 & 7).

These spaces are often less visible that more traditional cultural institutions (Comunian and Mould, 2014) from small clubs, music venues, bars, warehouses etc where different forms of creative and cultural activity take place. These are often more grassroots based, cheaper, less mainstream but they are available and accessible (to hire, use, curate etc) to students. Their role or the impact of loss of these spaces is discussed further in Chapter 7.

> *"There are lots of little offshoots that operate out those back doors and lots of creative things that are happening that are really sort of pollinator spaces for artists and makers. There´s a lot of music, music is huge in Dundee with lots of independent spaces." (DU22F50s).*

In some cases, for example Lund, the university life is perceived as separated from the city life and therefore students find themselves accessing culture more via the university than the city's provision. The location and spatial distribution of universities in different cities has an impact on how accessible culture can be both from the perspective of students as well as from local residents.

> *"to be honest, the cultural life outside of the university is quite far away from me. Like not physically but because the city is quite separated into the university part and the non-university part so I don't really know how it is to be as a citizen if you have never*

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been a part of like higher education or have anything to do with that. So the student, for me, as an, from the perspective of being a student also, the student life is an amazing place for like innovation, possible, like networks, experience, culture and just things to happen and grow. Because you basically have like all the opportunities you want to do whatever you want. That's how I feel about this. And there's always something going on and always something you can engage in." (LU21F20s).

Finally, for another participant in Chatham, the community cultural infrastructure supported their creative and cultural development.

"it was just a group of people who got together […] in like a basement and we used to share our stories and poems, and people used to just turn up and talk about what their projects were. And you used to swap work and read other people's work and then give, like, friendly critique[…]. I can't actually remember how I got involved in it, but I know I attended. I might have seen just an ad somewhere, and just thought oh that's what I'm looking for and I just attended. And it was a few people. There's probably about eight people, so quite small group. It as a mixture of ages and different types of people. So it was very nice." (CH26F30s).

4.2.3. University and community initiatives

Beyond HE students accessing culture, HEIs – through a range of platforms and initiatives – were also offering opportunities to access culture (and potentially to engage others with culture) through collaboration with local communities and making content, culture, knowledge available more broadly. In Liepāja a participant highlighted how the work of the Seaside Town Literary Academy (Piejūras pilsētu Literārā akadēmija) offers them opportunity for engagement and participation with university content and culture " *a place where anyone can come for free, free of charge, and anyone who is interested can come and listen to the same lecturers who give me lectures at the university […] there is an informal atmosphere, and actually I feel really good there" (LI8F40s).*

Similarly in Leuven a participant recognised that while university and students existed in the city, their interaction with the community needed further investment. However, an initiative like Leuven Engage is contributing to *"to get this local population really interact with the tremendous wealth of international people"* but also "*to make students more aware of the possibility to contribute to society in Belgium, elsewhere" (LE17F50s).* These kinds of initiatives were present, albeit in variable formats, in all the case study cities. A common thread is an acknowledgement of the difficulties for the local HEIs to engage with the CCE in terms of sharing knowledge, talent and human capital (Comunian et. al 2021).

4.2.4. Employability and threats to accessing creativity and culture at FE/HE

Tighter marketisation of HEIs and targets based on completion and grades, means students have now less time than in the past to find themselves and their interests and access culture more broadly. Many participants described the rewards of engaging with extra-curricular activities and having the time to explore those during their studies. However, across the case studies, there were current students or younger participants that highlighted the difficulty of finding time to engage with these activities, especially due to time pressure. A student in Liepāja reflected that she was very satisfied with her studies but, *"I would like to have a lot more free time so that I can get involved in some extracurricular activities because they are offering*

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very good opportunities" (LI24F20s). This connects with increased financial pressure to complete their course and find work (see Chapter 5).

A few participants in Enschede reflected on the changes that have taken place in HE in the Netherlands over last decades that prevent access and engagement to a range of activities and opportunities for students. The different accounts of the value of this, between recent and long-term graduates, points towards an important learning which is valid beyond the case of Enschede. Increased marketisation of HE and its funding structure, and the pressure on employability (Prokou, 2008) has taken away some freedoms and accessibility for other opportunities. The case study of the Netherland below is illustrative of these broader changes.

Enschede – Access to culture during HE: present and past

In the case of Enschede, some participants highlighted how the changes in HE system and the pressure for HEIs to become more focused on producing graduates and keeping them to stricter time and structures towards graduation had taken away opportunities to explore and access culture. As this participant from Enschede *(EN2M20s)* accounts,

> *"back then the Dutch student lifestyle culture was in like, what's allowing you to take quite some time off right to let's say grow as a person to follow certain sports courses, activities, travel and so on. You could allow doing this because the study didn't force you to always pass certain things on certain days in certain years after each other. Now, it's really like, you need to have this all done in those three years. There's no delay, there's no buffer, there is no excuses".*

Another participant remembered how long it took him to graduate (8 years) but highlights; *"The reasons why I took so long is because I took a bunch of organisational stuff. Like in clubs and organising a set up in entire club, for Japanese culture and Anime, Manga and stuff. And that went very well. So, that took up more and more time" (EN18M).* This was connected later with his future career in the gaming sector.

These opportunities to access creative and cultural opportunities more broadly during HE were of course only possible, *"as long as you can afford it .. until I had to say,* "actually say no, wait, I want to actually finish my degree" *(EN18M)* and therefore could also be perceived as only available to some. However, one of the participants reflected that this also allowed younger students time to find themselves and connect with their passions and interests. They warned, *"don't forget students start quite early to study […] some even are 17-18, they're coming to university. They didn't really fully know […] who they are themselves […] while needing to follow strictly that schedule […] university can do a better job in not just giving you the time and space to explore yourself, but also encourage you (EN2M20s).* This they argued had also connections with students' well-being, "*People's level of let's say happiness or satisfaction. During the studies. You heard about a quite a high increase of depression cases or loss of identity among students (EN2M20s).*

Overall, as summarised in figure 4.1, there is a clear connection between the capability for students to access culture and develop the skills and experiences needed to sustain CCW, as many highlighted these as the initial steps in their career. The cultural infrastructure of the FE/HE and the city are equally important and their interconnection and connection to local communities are equally valuable to sustain access and their interaction and self-reinforcing potential could be more strategically exploited by cities and their FE/HE institutions.

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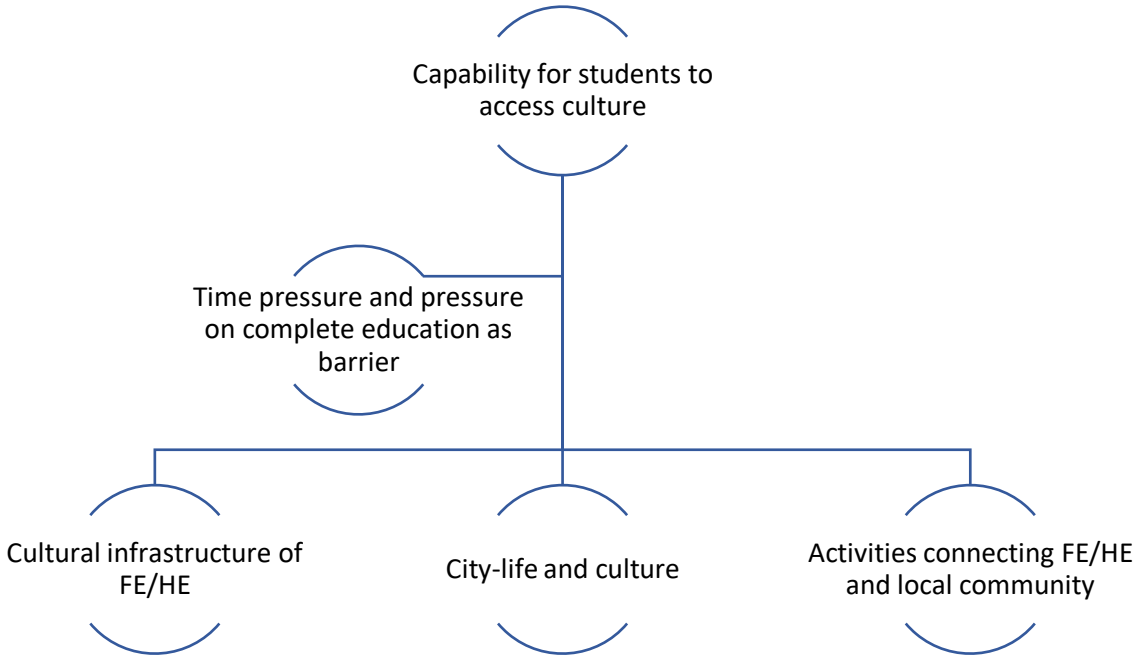

Figure 4.1: Key elements of the capability for students to access culture

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4.3. The capability to develop creative/cultural skills in FE/HE

When reflecting on the opportunities of younger (and older) participants to acquire and develop the range of creative and cultural skills needed for their future (or current) work it is important to consider some practical aspects: geography, availability of course and most importantly funding but also consideration of the kind of skills participants were seeking from FE/HE and the satisfaction they feel (or not) towards how they were able to develop. Many respondents reflected overall on the 'value' of their education to their current / chosen career, in particular a lot of reflections were centred around the dichotomy between theory and practice. On one side, courses were often criticised for being too theoretical, while for others the practice was perceived as something to learn on the job, with HE providing a particular mindset or a way of working which was valuable across a range of practical tasks or jobs.

4.3.1. The geography of education and mobility to study

Among the respondents, across our case studies, we find both people that have lived long-term in those cities and studied there - as their local universities – and others that have moved to the city specifically to study. This of course also strongly connected to the economic accessibility of HE (discussed in the next section) and the socio-economic context of the individual which enabled potential mobility or investment in other HE institutes.

Studying in medium-size cities

For many participants, the local HE provision offered the capability to access HE and develop creative and cultural skills that were suitable to their needs and means. This is also connected with early access opportunities (discussed in Chapter 3) opening up aspirations but also making a connection with the city and the desire to contribute to the locality. This BA student from Liepāja shows this attachment to the city and its culture "*I guess it was because I was born here in Liepāja, and I had a feeling that I had to stay in Liepāja. […] I have been very interested in culture from a young age, and, particularly in theatre, so as a result of that I somehow chose to study cultural management". (LI23F20s).*

Practical considerations also play a role. A participant from Chatham considers the convenience of doing a postgraduate masters course locally, *"I came back to UCA to do my masters because I was just living here at the time, and [due to] the cost of the masters with additional cost of accommodation it worked out just more viable to stay in Rochester and do it." (CH12M40s).* Similarly, this participant in *Liepāja* reflects on other financial considerations, *"Taking into account that Liepāja was relatively nearby and my family couldn't afford to support my studies in Riga, then there were not many options left. In fact that was my only attempt, I didn't apply anywhere else, because I was aware that I am good enough in order to get into the university." (LI21F30s).*

When respondents remained local to study, a series of considerations were presented both in terms of quality of the available provision but also the opportunity to combine studying with family, work or other commitments. For some, notably in cities where the FE/HE provider and long-standing reputation was higher, this was a valuable element of quality provision at their doorstep, enabling to remain connected to the city. For this participant the L'Aquila art academy would provide the best education, "*well, one of the reasons why I chose to stay in L'Aquila was also for practical reasons. […] I did a very simple research and I saw that among all the academies compared, the number of students to the size, etcetera. L'Aquila ranked as one of the best in terms of education. (LA12F20s).*

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The same reputation or prestige meant that others were attracted to move to the case studies – even from very remote international locations – to study. This worked specifically also in relation to reputation or excellence in specific areas of research or knowledge, as in the example of Twente that this participant chose to migrate,

> *"I didn't know even how to pronounce this [Twente] it's because of the program. I was there in my office, I was like I want to do a master and I was like I like philosophy, I like technology, master, search. And then this program came out […] And I was reading the program and I became really like wow this is it. There are people doing these things, I'm not the only one it's just like at the other side of the world so that's how I ended up here for my masters and decided to stay for the community". (EN6F20s).*

Mobility push and pull factors

Mobility to or from the case studied location was connected to either (1) lack of local provision or (2) need for specialisation or more competitive course. The geography of creative HE often has also an uneven distribution with capital cities concentrating a lot of specialised institutions and academies (Comunian and Faggian, 2014). In relation to **lack of provision**, the specialised level of some of the courses the participants wanted to access – and the relatively smaller size of the case study city - meant that for many mobility was the only option to study what they required

> *"it was a shame because there weren't any in the Kent area for an undergraduate. So I had to look elsewhere, um, primarily , I'd say it was definitely an option and one I would've considered, especially because of work" (CH8M10s).*

" In Liepāja at that time such courses were not available, where, let's say, you could learn 3D, where you could learn how to work with Illustrator." (LI24F20s) In relation to **specialisation and competition**, while many medium-sized cities have often the presence of creative HE sometimes more specialised HE are found in other cities nearby, requiring mobility. In the geography of HE these medium-size cities are often not able to provide a full spectrum of creative HE (however many do) but also suffer from the competition of some nearby larger cities who can provide higher level of training in specific subjects (example: L'Aquila-Rome; Treviso-Venice) or smoother transition between study and working opportunities (this is discussed further in Chapter 5),

> *"And yes, of course, being the School of Design, it is a very creative environment, design, surrounded by the aura of Liepāja itself as a city of music. And after Liepāja I went to Riga, to the Functional Design Department of the Art Academy of Latvia. And then, yes, I am now in the final stages of graduating from this university as well. (LI22F20s) There's like only a few in Belgium and in the Netherlands. […] are like four main ones where I applied. And it's like a post-graduate studio-based education. It's basically a lot of visiting lecturers, a lot of lectures of people visiting, having conversations about your work." (LE14M30s).*

> *"Yes, I mean there is a very big difference between arts schools in the Netherlands and Belgium, much more expensive in the Netherlands, […] So it was quite expensive, and also to live in Amsterdam it is super expensive, but I think this school was so professional and so on a, all the materials you can work with, and the spaces you can work with, the teachers and coaches that are there are super professional, and for example, we had a big theatre space in our school, but like really big, with a lot of technicalities, in my*

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graduation piece it was raining all the time for example, and it was just possible. Or we had scenography department where you can just go with our plans and they would build whole scenography for us, so it is almost, it is really worth the money." (LE22F20s).

Overall, it was clear from the interviews that there were some 'push and pull' factors keeping and attracting students to our case studies cities or away from there (summarised in figure 4.2). The data confirm previous research on graduate mobility (Comunian and Jewell, 2018) and highlight how medium-size cities offer a range of opportunities but also suffer from competition from larger and more established institutional in recognised centres of creative and cultural production.

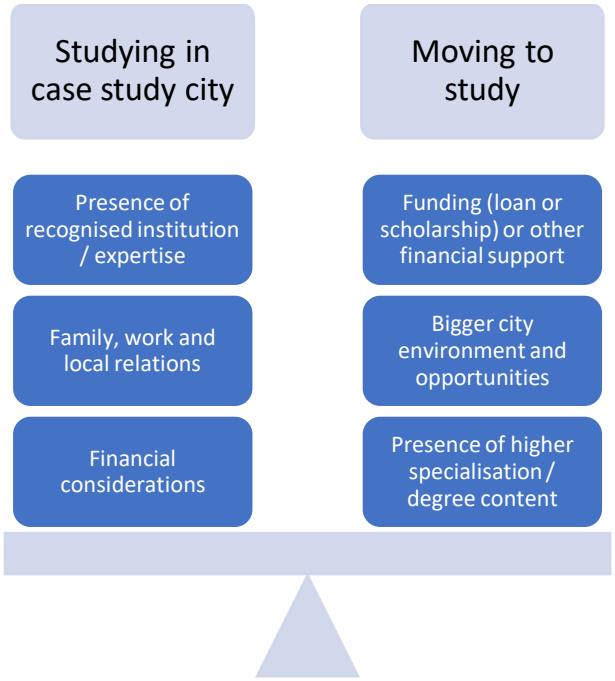

Figure 4.2: Balancing the capability to develop creative and cultural skills with mobilities

4.3.2. The financial costs of accessing FE/HE

Overall participants across the case studies experienced very different financial barriers to accessing FE/HE. The various HE financial systems across all 10 case studies (and 8 countries) are different, with the funding model ranging from largely publicly funded education with very low level of fees (Belgium, Finland, Sweden, Hungary, and Latvia) to the Netherlands and Italy with affordable fees to the UK with a regime of very high-fees mainly funded through a loan system. These differences are discussed extensively in Comunian et al. 2020 (deliverable 3.2). Similarly, the level of financial needs linked to available family support or loan-based living support is also managed differently across countries. Overall, whether paying a higher or lower fee level, all participants agreed that: (1) **there was a value in the system of public support that makes HE accessible** and when they received funding or family support most people recognised the privileged nature of their access rather than taking it for granted; (2) although with different levels **of 'increase' most participants across case studies recognised that fees, cost of living for students and reduced public funding were a trend across many countries** and that this created barriers to participation and access for future

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students. Even in Leuven – where everyone described their university fees as 'cheap' and 'very low' a participant acknowledged.

> *"Belgium is extremely cheap when it comes to university educations, like one of the best funded countries. However, this is also getting worse now, like most countries, I think, the education is getting more expensive." (LE12F20s).*

This 'shift' was particularly acknowledged by participants' who received their HE in UK (see UK Loan system: a challenge to education). Overall, comparing funding models for HE across our 8 countries is not within the scope of this review (see Comunian et al. 2020). However, we are interested here in highlighting different models and interventions that make access possible and therefore are important conversion factors for the development of creative and cultural skills across Europe, in particular:

- Publicly funded education and tuition fees
- Scholarships of funding
- Student Loan system
- Family support
- Working and/ to study
- Extra costs associated with creative disciplines

Overall many participants, because of the high level of multiple-degree holders experienced a mixed economy of public support, student loans and paying privately for their studies. Again, the presence of support and incentives facilitate access at certain moments in the individual life cycle as exemplified by this example, "*the first education - that was for the fee, in the beginning, afterwards I transferred to funded studies, my parents supported me first and then I enrolled on public-funded studies. Finally, when I took law studies, I could afford to pay for that myself" (LI4F30s).*

Publicly funded education and tuition fees

Across our participants, we have heard a range of experiences in terms accessibility of HE, especially in relation to tuition fees. While across Europe most HEIs are publicly funded and offer low tuition fees or in the case of UK a loan-based approach to the payment of fees, amongst the disciplines where private institutions are certainly present, creative disciplines are strongly profiles – in subjects like music or drama private education is an option and a very expensive one as highlighted by this UK participant;

> *"I distinctly remember looking at and trying to get funding to audition for drama schools, because the performing was my passion and being turned down, because I knew that because of the private fees involved, I knew that I could only do that if I had financial support. Despite my working, it was not going to be enough. That was really just money to live on and the options weren't there, so I thought right, in which case, let me find the university course. (CH17F40s).*

Funding required were also higher when students studied abroad, *"It was an education I really wanted to go, I think it was a good fit for me. And you don't really have anything that similar in Sweden so yeah, it made me go abroad and pay money to get it" (LU17M30s).*

However, beyond the limited number of private institutions, in most cases tuition fees were not understood as a significant barrier to accessing HE. In countries like Belgium and Finland the fees were described as very low: *"Belgium is very cheap for higher education. There is a lot of state sponsoring. So studying at the university was not expensive*" (LE23F50s). A Finnish participant explained, "*No, we didn't have to pay. That's*

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the great thing about Finnish society that we didn't have to pay […]. Actually I didn't even take out a student loan (PO26M30s). Similarly in Latvia – despite being selective – participants could benefit from state-funded places at HE "*So, I didn't incur any additional cost*". *(LI24F20s).*

While participation in HE for many was not perceived as barrier, covering other costs was and the range of input to support education (accommodation, books etc) was usually managed through family or other financial input. Even in Leuven which had high levels of data on the accessibility of HE, the cost of accommodation and living was cited as a barrier where family support was needed, "*I think the room is mostly 400 Euros per month. So, it's a fairly expensive room, but the tuition is lower. And I have 200 Euros living costs per month. […] So for me personally, it's mostly my parents." (LE25M20s).*

Scholarships or funding

Beyond tuition fees many participants described support happening in the country through a range of scholarships. This participant from Enschede explained that,

> *"The good thing in the Netherlands is, if you study, you get money to help you buy your study. And, actually, I had learned not to spend a lot of money [chuckles]. […] we have support. If you don't live by your parents. I was together with my brother, we had a house together, studying. And, we got the money from the government here, and it was, for us it was a help to survive school." (EN20M40s).*

However, for some – dependent on scholarships and funding – their selective nature meant struggling to plan and find opportunities, in the case of this participant who got financial support from a trust in the UK, it allowed her to feel more secure having worked 3 part-time jobs to try and support herself,

> *"I put in a funding application, um, stating that I was doing three part-time jobs and that I have the support of the Royal Court, etcetera. Um, I started that postgraduate course which, with me and my parents, not really knowing for sure how we were going to fund to get through the next two terms […]. And so that just made the whole situation a little bit more secure." (CH7F50s).*

Similarly in Latvia, participants mentioned scholarships enabling students to support themselves *"I must say that it incurred no cost, because I have a study place that is funded from the state budget. And, yes, if I may add, then in addition for the last two semesters I have also receive a scholarship for good grades" (LI23F20s).*

Scholarship and support clearly aimed to bridge the gap (often based on performance) for students from less privilege backgrounds, aiming to give the capability to develop creative and cultural skills to a wider demographic. This participant from Leuven highlighted that this was not very common within certain disciplines *"I was a subsidized student. I was one of the only ones, because art history, in general, are the most privileged students of the Leuven University. […], people from, I don't know, less supported backgrounds, they are not encouraged to study art history" (LE12F20s).* Other scholarships from specific trusts or association were also mentioned and again the most important aspect here is the way recipient saw them as privileges "*I did pay for the first year of my MA and then Star Valley Arts subsidised the second year. So I have been extremely privileged and fortunate in that way" (CH16F60s).*

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Student Loans System

The UK loan system is addressed in detail below as that model connects to both tuition fees and living costs, In the other nine European countries, a repayable loan model is used mainly towards supporting the living costs of students,

> *"Well, I had student loans, of course, which I only paid off, I mean, I'm making the last payment now this Christmas, so it's cost me quite a bit, of course, but also, and as I said, it was not the linear, my career has not been a linear progression, but I would never had gotten the jobs that I have without that education, that specialized education in the cultural field, so it was absolutely necessary in a way, but not linear, it was not as planned. So, I mean, I would say that it was a good investment, long term, but I didn't know it at the time" (LU3F40s).*

The account of the participant in his 60s in Enschede highlights the change in policies in relation to the loan system "*officially it was a student loan, but if you didn't pay it off within ten years it turned into a gift, but now they've changed it 3 or 4 years ago, so now it's a loan, so I had a loan for my studies, which I don't have to pay back because I finished in time*" (EN15F20s).

The UK student loan system was described as a challenge by many Chatham and Dundee based participants. In the case of the UK, there was a clear age-gap on the perception of the value of education and funding regime, depending on the people interviewed. Older participants describe support and accessibility of the former system, which prior to 1998, was free from tuition fees and based on a combination of direct grants and student loans. They highlighted the opportunity this gave them and how the financial model broke barriers (financially but also in terms of being the first in a family to access HE). Older participants spoke with regret about the current loans situation, aware that *"my education wasn't as expensive for me as it is for people now by any means" (CH11F50s).*

> *"I was very lucky, when I went to college, our fees were paid, right, we didn't have to pay fees…. [this] was a huge equalizer. So, you got a grant if your parents couldn't afford to pay if you were student, they means-tested your parents and my parents contributed towards my accommodation " (CH13F60s).*

> *"I think that the fact that it was fully funded was important because nobody in my immediate family had been to university before. […] there wasn't a frame of reference there, and I know I as a person, if I was faced with what some of the young people I teach now are faced with, coming from my background to be told that I was incurring a debt or a loan or whatever, I would feel the weight of the responsibility of that. Even when people are saying, "Well, you know, you might never end up paying it back or whatever"iIt's not within your kind of culture to have vast sums of money stacked up like that as a debt. So, I think that would have made a difference to me. (CH7F50s).*

As this other participant summarises, attending the university without fees *"In terms of opportunities, it absolutely was the opportunity, it has provided me everything that I have today"(CH21M40s).*

These reflections contrasted with the experience of younger participants / current students and the concerns and anxiety they experienced in trying to support their education and careers aspirations.

> *"[…] I received the higher band of the maintenance loan for example, so that covers all my rent and that leaves me with a fair bit leftover […], although I know quite a few people here like mates of friends that do find it quite difficult in terms of costs particularly financially […] the actual costs only really came in when I went to uni. So I*

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got a loan and my parents could luckily support me with some of it. And I did work. So I have a debt that I will probably never pay off." (CH8M10s)

In Finland participants described a much more flexible loan model than the one of the UK, one that interconnected with the life cycle of the student/applicant but also enables a flexible use of funding (alongside work and other income) to ensure that the loan does not remain as a heavy burden. Many Finnish respondents described the opportunity and value to use the loan alongside work and other forms of support so to maximise their income but without over-relying on the loan system,

"I have gotten basically nothing from home. With all these jobs, and I have taken out student loans at some point, very little though, but in any case, I have taken and have worked these jobs in restaurants, bakeries and then work in my own field as this mix." (PO3F40s, PO3F40s).

The loan system also appeared to be particularly favourable for mature students when combined with other family and work commitments,

"the maximum amount because I had these two children. My man [spouse] has, of course, worked the whole time, but having a mortgage and everything else, then it was a must. Plus [in addition] I have done the work that I have done, mainly this theatre thing. Well, obviously that won't make you rich, so you can't live off just that. But yeah, I have had to [take out student loans]. (PO3F40s, PO3F40s).

I took out one too, but just a small one, just a little, I didn't take out too much. (PO24F50s).

Family support

Another important conversion factor for HE attendance and the capability to develop creative and cultural skills was the support of family. The importance and influence of family is discussed further in connection to

"My parents paid for my studies, and I didn't rent a flat. So, I stayed at home, which was cheaper. I think only in the last two or three years that I lived somewhere else and went to school. And then, my parents paid half of my rent. The other half, I earned, but I think it was a good investment." (LE14M30s).

"Cost has never been an issue. Education is very cheap in our country. […] accommodation was kind of expensive, but I think my parents by that time earned enough, […] I never had the feeling that it wasn't affordable, or it wasn't affordable for people I knew." (LE18M40s).

Family in-kind support was also present. One undergraduate student recognised that living with her parents was a great support, *"Well, yes, they're these little jobs here, freelance opportunities. I will not say that I am specifically looking for them, they appear themselves more. But now, the main thing, I must say, is parental support" (LI22F20s).*

Sometimes however family support is also perceived as a recognition of the economic difficulty with being a student and transitioning from study to work,

"I think my parents very kindly paid for my education and my accommodation. So, yeah, it's something I don't really have to think about… and then three years ago, I moved to

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the place I live in now, which is a little studio apartment. […] And again, my parents do pay, but usually, I also have a student job, […] which is usually what I used to live with, like to go to the grocery store with, that is what I try to pay for myself. But this past year, because of COVID, the cinema, the movie theatre was closed, so I couldn't work. So, now my parents are also paying for my living costs, […] which makes me feel a bit sad because I'm 24, so I should, I want to sustain myself, but I just can't really. And some of the projects that I do, in the theatre field or creative field do give me money, but it's not enough to live with." (LE27F20s).

As acknowledged by the participant above much of financial 'success' of the creative economy is actually based on the unsustainable and hidden aspect of 'intergenerational asset reproduction' (i.e. 'the bank of mum and dad) (see Adkins et al 2020 and discussion in Chapter 6). Another actress from Leuven expressed a similar level of privilege in being supported, *"I think I was in a kind of privileged situation that my parents could sustain me. […]. I also could already work or spend time in projects that were not necessarily paying me, but where I could create a social network. […] it's only until recently that I really started to be self-sustainable." (LE24F20s)*.

In contrast to those who acknowledged the impact of financial support, other participants signalled that this was not possible for all families,

"..my parents, you know, they did help when they could. So once I had just, you know, nothing, I was really worried about that. My dad came down, filled the freezer with food and went back again. But that was the sort of support it was […] rather than ongoing financial support. So, you know, really well meaning, really supportive, but not able to do that with four children […] for the duration of my degree." (CH17F40s)

This participant from Liepāja demonstrates the level of family resources that enable creative HE, in this case as a returning student to undertake postgraduate degree in writing,

" I actually stayed on a very, very small unemployment benefit. And then, without a doubt, had to, yes, then, then all the family resources actually were devoted to me to finish, so that I could get a degree. So I can't name the exact amount, but, yes, there is also a material cost, it's also some kind of material gap that you somehow have, well, somehow that one's life has to be sorted out afterwards. I haven't taken up any loans for this purpose, definitely. What it created was, let's say, a rather tight family budget for a few years." (LI20F60s)

For others, family support was combined with work,

"I did some student works in between, in bars or for television or something or other businesses. And yeah, so I didn't really, yeah, I worked for myself during college, actually. Yeah. My parents paid just the 500 euros subscription fee in the beginning of the year and my books, but the rest, food, drinks and everything else was for me." (LE5M30s).

Working and / to study

For many the possibility to complete HE and develop creative and cultural skills was solely dependent on the capacity to work for financial sustainability. This was experienced in every case study with common patterns such as an absence of family support or the presence (before/or during) of a stable income to allow the student to progress,

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"Of course, it was extremely difficult during exam sessions, because in the Academy of Culture they are particularly extensive and you have to learn a lot... But, yes, yes, I was working in parallel all of my study years, as a result I was able to make ends meet." (LI10F20s).

For many, work was taking place alongside the HE course to support the cost of a degree, for others (often mature students) work took place before (as discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to cycles of work and education) like in the case of this art entrepreneur in Leuven, *" I financed my studies myself at that time. Because went to work before […] I saved up quite a lot of money before. […] But at the end of my studies all my money was gone" (LE21M50s).* For others, like this musician from Liepāja, the knowledge accumulated in a first degree paid by his family enabled him to work in the sector, *"the background gave me the opportunity to immediately join professional choirs that subsidized, you could say, my studies. And pretty quickly I also started... I started taking part in various independent projects, where I also got paid." (LI6F40s).*

Extra costs associated with creative disciplines / studies

Finally, in relation to the financial accessibility of HE and creative HE, many articulated how undertaking creative disciplines involves additional costs such as acquiring/maintaining musical instruments, art materials, specialist software or technology. This builds on the barriers to access discussed also in early years (Chapter 3). This dance practitioner from Chatham describes some of the extra costs she had to incur to pursue dance,

"it takes probably a year to take each exam, and so then, obviously paying for private tuition. You know, when I was doing it a little bit more full time because I was helping out in the school, she kind of done it as a sort of like a; I […]. But yeah, I mean, and costs at the moment for 1 to 1, tuition are sort of anything from sort of £35 to £50 an hour" […] then exams at the moment are about -- a level four was probably about £150 so they're not as expensive. And then the last one, which is like a fellowship one which is like the Level Six, I think that's about £250 at the moment. So the exams aren't as expensive, but obviously, there's lots of them. Because I would do three of those were ballet, three of those were tap, three of those were modern. So, I wouldn't like to think how much it cost [laughs]. (CH2F40s).

Similar costs were discussed by a performing artist in Leuven,

"my parents paid for my philosophy education. I paid for my actor's training, but that was more I think for me a kind of, I wanted to pay for my own theatre training. And in Belgium, the fees were in the beginning low, but they're kind of raising right now[…] in Belgium […], the cost for studying is not extremely high, although it's rising, which is problematic. But then, the theatre training also has an extra cost always because you have this, or at least in Brussels, you pay for the rooms you will use or the studio time you will have. So, in my last year, I almost doubled my tuition fee, which is a lot. And then even in the master's it would have been a bit higher." (LE24F20s).

For others, like this sculpture student in Pécs the costs were associated with materials needed, *"sculpture has a lot of extra costs. The university bears a very small percentage of the cost of materials […] Usually the clay, plaster, wooden structures are paid for by the university, but the more special materials are not. (PE10F20s).*

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4.3.3. HE and social mobility

For many participants across the case studies accessing HE and the capability to acquire creative and cultural skills represent also a reflection on social mobility (Brook et. al 2020). This is particularly evident from the accounts of UK participants. Participants spoke about being the first in their family to go to university, how they were encouraged to go by teachers (see also Chapter 3 on role models/gatekeepers),

> *"Yeah, I went to art school. Um, I, my mum has always, well both parents had always been very keen that I continued my education because neither of them, […] no one went to university or college […]. o for me it was always, you know, you really must go to university and actually I wanted to, […]. My dad would just love me to do what he wanted to do which was English Literature or Philosophy or something like that but I didn't want to and I did want to go to Art school." (CH11F50s).*

Contrary to some of the literature (Brook et al 202) we found evidence that some individuals – despite the financial struggle could – thanks to the lack of fees and upfront cost make a decision to study a creative HE course, as this participant from Chatham highlights, "*I was the first member of my family to go to university. but the financial struggle did remain throughout university (CH17F40s).*

4.3.4. The value of creative HE: from skills to knowledge framework

In the general debate about the role and value of creative HE, there is always a negative perception – linked to the lack of employability and salary rewards. However, among our respondents, there was a clear focus on the fact that the value of creative HE was less connected to the skills learned (more on the disconnect between theory and praxis in creative HE is discussed in the next section) and more to the knowledge framework and way that creative HE supports thinking about tasks, knowledge and work. For participants it is about having a problem-solving framework that addresses barriers and the tools a needed to plan around them, "*it wasn't really about learning the theories per se, it was rather how to get the analytical thinking into practice[…] I still use it. It was rather like learning the source code, I would say, learning what and how you can figure it out yourself […] I can approach problems from different angles. (LU4F50s).* Another participant highlighted the general skills developed, *"an education in arts prepares you to do almost anything, I mean, solving problems and seeing solutions and being creative in the moments (LU3F40s).*

Another participant highlighted the value of transferable skills (Oakley et al., 2008)

> *"the discipline of being set, a brief, doing the research, coming up with concepts the crit, you know standing up in front of your peers, presenting your proposal and having thoroughly taken apart and being able to justify yourself that sort of public speaking essentially, and then being able to communicate successfully and all that kind of stuff, put together packages and documents, yeah, I think all of those skills are hugely useful, especially with, I mean the problem solving" (CH6F40s).*

For another participant in Leipaja, through her degree she has, *"developed the ability to look from above, well, yes, that in its essence is manufacturing of goods, but how to make progress with it, what skills do you need to do it and what knowledge is necessary for advancing it" (LI6F40s).* Another participant from Lund talked about,

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"the tools in those aspects aren't very spread out in society, it's quite hard to find people who have an understanding of how to use those tools in a way. I think I found like process-thinking especially valuable when working with groups and understanding how groups find consent and work well together and so on" (LU17M30s).

For respondents, the openness of creative education was able to break down barriers and talk about his degree as giving him freedom "*I felt free, I felt independent, open, I felt possibilities, I felt ideation, I felt a new open zone which inspired me in a way. And it was maybe for the first time I was able to, they asked me to create things in a way" (LE18M40s).*

While in general there was a positive vision of the framework that HE could provide, it was still important to consider the challenges that were present in translating that degree into value in a CV. As this graduate articulates

that was a big success, that game. So, the royalties paid for a lot. That was nice. But I famously said, well, this one assignment now works better on my resume than my entire degree does. And he likes to quote that because he didn't bother getting a degree. But it does give you more of an analytical view. And more of an... it's easier to actually look at things from a more abstract engineering level, which is something that you get taught at the University. Which I think does give me leg up over people that don't have that. So, I think in that sense it makes it easier for me to also claim that I'm good at my job (EN18M)

4.3.5. Theoretical vs practical creative skills acquisition

Some participants attended courses that were very specialised and practical, oriented to specific skills *"because it showed in a practical way what directions of expression an artist can choose and how to find your own niche where you can work and express your ideas, thoughts, and which materials to work with and... spread ideas further" (LI7F20s).* However, participants often struggled to articulate how creative HE courses in particular were able to provide the skills required for work in their sector and **criticised their courses for being too abstract** or theoretical, *"I have rather mixed feelings about quality education in Latvia, particularly in the field of culture, […] it often turns out to be so-called "paper studies" (LI9F40s).* Similarly in Leuven another participant *stated "at university, especially in a study as communication sciences it is more theoretical and not practical. So the question is more what did I learn that I could use immediately? Not much actually." (*LE1F40s). In this case, the discontent led the participant undertaking further training in script writing and video production.

Many participants questioned **the lack of practice (and practitioners) within HE;**

"in my opinion the best way how to learn a profession is to acquire knowledge from experts within the particular profession, those who work in this profession on a daily basis. And, I guess that this is what the Liepāja University lacks, and, particularly, the cultural management program, that the school doesn't invite and employ people who work directly in the field of culture and who are professional in this field." (LI23F20s).

For others, a reflection emerged on how creative HE studies concentrated more on developing the individual than on skills as this participant from Enschede demonstrates,

"with creative study it's very much about developing yourself and building the tool kit to, yeah, kind of find yourself as an artist, as a professional. […] what I learned the most

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was my soft skills. So, social interactions and the ability to research. And developing my work ethic. (EN11M) .

Another participant from Lund who studied in UK especially chose the department where he studied because of the balanced coverage (50/50) of theory and practice in drama and the way it questioned traditional models of teaching, *"you have a lot of lecturers there who are quite rebellious, I guess, and are very interested in really questioning traditions and experimenting with formats. […], had a lot of stuff thrown at us, and, sort of found out what we liked. So, for me, it's really, I mean that's why I'm doing what I'm doing." (LU26M30s).*

On the other side, it was really important for others that creative HE embedded practice and industry. This participant from Chatham values the fact that her course was varied but also, *"the industry experience from the tutors is that those two things. […] And it did help me to have multiple, like, a really great foundation for being involved in many things as a creative practitioner now." (CH20F30s).* This combination of practice and theory was also the basis for choosing a specific degree for another participant, *"I spent a lot of time looking at the content of courses. And I wanted somewhere that had a practical element as well as the academic element" (CH17F40s).*

Among the shortcomings of creative HE a few participants highlighted the **lack of focus on creative HE on business training and entrepreneurship,**

"a bit more of the business part, in particular, has been necessary. We touched upon it also during the studies, yes, how to do a simple bookkeeping if we establish our own Ltd. or if we become self-employed. But... […] how and what that artist should work towards, let's say, where is the knowledge about the platforms, communities, how to become successful, how to move the product in the market, perhaps that has not been taught as much and that I have learned independently on my own by exploring and participating … in some larger exhibitions." (LI7F20s).

4.4. The capability to aspire to CCW

In order for students to be able to develop creative and cultural skills, the capability to aspire to CCW can be a key motivation/ factor. Connected with the discussion about how HE reflects issues of social mobility (Brook et al. 2018), data emerged from across the participants that there was an element of stigma around creative HE subjects. Participants spoke of negative comments voiced by parents or other family members of the value of a creative degree, a perception that creative subjects are open-ended and do not provide tangible employment outcomes. There was a perceived challenge in embracing an education which is open-ended. Participants highlighted that one of the challenges in understanding the value of creative HE and how it connects with the opportunity to aspire to creative/cultural work is the fluidity of the subject studied,

"The biggest problem is also the biggest strength and that is our field is very fluid. Anything can be media […] some of our students can be political activities working as lobbyists and writing opinionated articles and doing that kind of online social media activism, and be very radical, on one end of the spectrum. […] But, we challenge them to use broad theoretical concepts and make broader societal analyses. And, of course, that means that it's going to be scary as hell, because you don't have that security, or sense of firm professional identity that you might have if you learned how to write a newspaper article.[…], that's probably both the biggest strength and the biggest threat to our students. Or, the biggest challenge for us to overcome." (LU25M40s).

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For this participant, even the mode of study being extremely open could be challenging,

> *Art at A level was very traditional, very compositional studies - very, very - and I got frustrated, because I couldn't make a leap between painting pictures and having a career. I […]. And then when I arrived at art college they just like 'there you are, come in do what you want'. So that freedom really excited me and challenged me. (CH12M40s).*

For others this created issues with personal confidence and belief in relation to creative work. For students to be able to aspire to CCW they also needed to believe in themselves and the value of their work and this is often a challenge. As this participant from Lund describes, *"art school meant a lot to me because it's not only about learning to paint, draw, and things like that, you also grow. It was a lot of changing your own thinking because when you are in the 20s, you are very insecure" (LU24F50s).* So, for some, a creative degree is an opportunity to seek confidence on one's own talent or creative work like this designer from Dundee who reflected on how a masters gave him better grounding and confidence in himself as designer *"I suppose at that point, I had the confidence to call myself a designer even" (DU25M30s).*

4.4.1. Families and stigma towards creative HE subjects

Many participants reported that creative degrees were not commonly regarded (by others) as a sound career choice.

> *"they choose jobs that give security. Art history, like also, I guess, is the case for almost all countries in the world, doesn't give a lot of security. So, there's also still a very big stigma about it. Like, I don't know, the idea that creatives, they can make it, but it will be hard work and probably they won't". (LE12F20s)*

Some participants articulated experienced stigma or challenges from their families over their choice of degree subject. Family pressure pushed individuals towards other degree choices which were understood as more professionally oriented over creative subjects. As this participant from Pécs reflects, *"I prepared for drawing and geology at first, but it was family pressure. They told me to have a 'proper' profession, so I graduated as an art and geography teacher at the age of 22" (PE8F40s)* or another participant from Leuven that decided instead to study economics, *"I did it for my parents and I did, my music thing was extracurricular" (LE16M50s).* Another participant in Chatham reported *"it's been a drama because my parents totally refused to send me to an art school for all sorts of reasons which I understand, I understood to a point" (CH18F50s).*

4.5. The capability to access CCW

Strategies adopted by the interviewed practitioners to move from education to CCW are discussed in detail (from the perspective of creative and cultural workers) in Chapter 5 focusing on early career stage. However, here we reflect on structural issues, practices and experiences from the education providers perspectives, including changes in the way HEIs have approached the transition for the benefit of their students.

4.5.1. Education, work and life trajectories

As mentioned in the introduction, it is hard to pin down a fixed structure between formal and informal education and entering sustainable CCW as being linear or sequential. Firstly, it was common for our respondents to combine education and work, due to financial necessity (explored previously in this Chapter)

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or simply professional interest and passions emerging alongside education. However, there were a lot of different pathways emerging from participants' experiences.

Below (table 4.1) we summarise a range of different patterns and experiences (beyond the more traditional compulsory education, higher education and work trajectory) to offer an insight on the range of trajectories and capability to develop creative and cultural skills that were found across the project participants. These experiences were not country or case study specific but examples from across the case studies are used to illustrate the type of dynamics found.

Below (table 4.3) we summarise a range of different patterns and experiences (beyond the more traditional compulsory education, higher education and work trajectory) to offer an insight on the range of trajectories and capability to develop creative and cultural skills that were found across the project participants. These experiences were not country or case study specific but examples from across the case studies are used to illustrate the type of dynamics found.

Table 4.1: Diverse patterns of education and work amongst research participants

Pattern	Key conversion factors or structural constraints connected with the pattern	Example
Degree after work	• Degree is chosen to support/expand capability of the individual in the area of work they chose. • Part-time enables possibility to work and study • Funding is less of a challenge to pay for education	*"I didn't go to the university after the secondary school, I started to work […] I started to develop my own company in parallel […] this hobby, family business started to develop quite fast in parallel to my existing job, and my idea to study also was in parallel, and I entered Liepāja University, Culture Management Studies; I graduated from it recently. […] I really expanded my theoretical knowledge, and these 4.5 years of part-time studies I had, they gave some benefit to me certainly." (LI12M30s).* *"I have been from 15 years a professional, I was theatre director […] then when I was around 37 I...began to study again at the university, I have five years school for theatre before and then practice […] I was directing the big event in the big arena in Sweden […] Then 2014 […] Dunkers museum in Helsingborg and they had the first course ever in Sweden I think with virtual reality and that was my first month as an entrepreneur so I took that course and was blown away by virtual reality" (LU23F50s).*
Formal Education later in life as change of direction	• HE as change of trajectory later in life • Re-thinking creative contribution (versus routine work) • Opportunity to develop personally / creatively	*"I chose to study for a master's degree in writing at the University of Liepāja. Because, in fact, the work in [newspaper name] was very stable, very good job and, […], but a certain routine sets in if one works in only one field. One seems to have a narrowed focus., […] as a person I was starting to acutely miss something, something, well, something beyond that, something purely creative, something, something out of art, and so I entered writing studies. But, well, it really isn't very easy when you all the time, first of all,*

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		it's not very easy, let's say, in the second half of life, to radically change some, some occupation. And yes, it was in 2015 when I had to write my dissertation, […] a very difficult decision had to be made, well, such a difficult decision - to give up a stable paid job, a supposedly stable one, a stable income, for a life only in the name of creativity." (LI20F60s)
Creative degree after another degree	• building knowledge and expertise by progressing through different courses over time. • Pressure to prioritise other non-creative degrees - a creative degree comes after other more business-oriented studies	I graduated from secondary school, then I studied economics, I have a bachelor's degree in business and management with a major in economics. And then two years ago I started studying new media art. […] I graduated from RTU (Riga Technical University). And currently, I am studying at Liepāja University. (LI24F20s)
Trying to enter HE	• Sometimes the degree of specialisation required to apply to specific degrees means people need to try multiple times to enter • Limbo period while trying to specialise	*"I'm applying for a post-graduate, and I've been trying, I don't know, since three years, every year I try to apply for these things, but I haven't gotten in […] But if it doesn't work out, I think I will still... But the good thing with Leuven is that there is a lot of university classes, and you can just go in and follow a course for a semester. So, I think I will do this more if I don't get in." (LE14M30s)*

Non-HE pathways

Similarly, HE is not experienced by all and although we know that in general the workforce in the creative economy tends to be highly qualified (Comunian et al. 2020), knowledge and skills are also developed through experience and other educational opportunities as these participants expressed. Here generational differences emerged as HE qualifications have become more of a milestone in the last two decades but were considered less necessary in certain fields in the past.

> *"I grew up near Leuven and I have started studying computer science at age 18. But I quickly discovered that I wasn't very good at keeping my attention on my studies. So, I started working for myself early on. And I quit my formal education. Well, I did not quit it, I switched to […] a diploma in applied computer technology. But I've always been more interested in the graphical and user interface parts of what I do. So, I quickly discovered that I could combine those, both the technical and the graphical aspects, and start working for my own clients and started working on web projects, digital projects, graphical projects for them, which is something that I did at the age of 21, 22, I think." (LE4M40s).*

> *"I don't have a formal education. It is more practical and specific, such as seminars and experience exchanges and all kinds of courses and continuing education. […]I graduated from high school, then... I've studied at universities, but I haven't graduated from any." (LI5M50s).*

Sometimes this lack of accessing skills is due to financial barriers (already discussed in relation to accessing HE). In this case, often people develop a career over a longer period of time, starting from very basic

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positions. A participant from Chatham - who ended up developing a career as a theatre programmer initially started working as an usher in a local, council-funded theatre and worked her way up. She did not go to university, not out of choice, but out of the necessity to earn an income to support her family,

> *" … there's just me and my mum living in the house by this point, I needed to go and earn money. There was no, you know, I know now they extend the child support to 18 and I know that if they're in long-term education there are support networks there for single-parent families, but that wasn't there when I was younger. You know, I used to work for £25 a week and my mum had 20 of it. So it was circumstances just led to, you do what you need to do, rather than maybe what you, you know, I did look at college but then I realised that I just could not afford to do it." (CH5F50s)*

Like the example included above demonstrates, non-HE pathways into CCW can be the result of a chance encounter and not linked to family, education or aspirational goals.

Overall, while we see that HE and creative HE are statistically considered a main pathway towards sustainable CCW across Europe, HE having become a more structured and market-driven experience cannot accommodate for all the needs of individual life-trajectories. Even people who attended HE have criticised their inflexible nature – which often hinders personal development, interests and passion to favour degree structures and formulas.

Multiple degrees and mobility

As we have indicated, some participants who did participate within HE studied attend multiple degrees (consideration on the finance and ability to do so were discussed earlier in this Chapter). From the interviews it was clear that for many, education and more broadly learning was not just perceived as a pathway towards work but a lifestyle choice. For those who were passionate about culture, arts and knowledge it was natural that multiple degrees, multiple learning experiences and trajectories were considered valuable pieces of their knowledge in relation to their own personal and cultural development. This was a phenomenon noted across our case studies but predominantly within Belgium, potentially due to the relatively lower cost of HE. This manager from Leuven understood her education trajectories through multiple degree and disciplines as unusual,

> *"Well, I also have a pretty unusual educational path. That's because I'm interested in a lot of things, but so, I have, so I completed my secondary school in art school. So, I have a diploma of photography there. Then, I completed a bachelor's in teaching. And then, well, I've done a lot of other studies as well, but after that, I went to follow what was then, wait a second, so it was a, it's a bachelor's in psychology I did. Well, and there's a lot of other stuff, but actually, after the bachelor's in psychology, I graduated, then I went to work. But I kept on studying a lot of other stuff as well, like cultural studies and I did some Russian, I did some Chinese and so on. So, I just always wanted to learn more." (LE9F30s).*

However, we can see from the following example that taking multiple courses was not so unusual;

> *I've studied social and political sciences at the university in Leuven with a specialization in communication sciences. And after my university degree I wasn't ready to start working, so I did another study of scriptwriting in Brussels. I learned to script write for documentaries. And then I didn't start working, I went to Australia and I did a summer*

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school in video production because I thought that after studying at the university I couldn't do anything. It felt like I didn't have a specific job...or I didn't learn a specific job, so I wanted to go to combine the two things, learning and travelling at the same time. (LE1F40s).

Long-term skills and knowledge trajectories

For many of the current creative and cultural workers interviewed through the DISCE project it was clear that knowledge, skills and training were part of a life-long trajectory. As a mature student who 78 returned to HE to undertake a masters degree after years of work (building on a previous undergraduate degree attained in the 1990s) reflected, "*I am still studying. I am a student at Liepāja University, I am pursuing a master's degree in writing. I am constantly improving myself. And as I am a literary person, a literate, I attend all possible seminars and poetry events, as well as activities for writers and prose writers*" *(LI8F40s).* Training is perceived as part of the job but also self-improvement and therefore undertaking further studies builds on this *"certainly thirst for knowledge, desire to learn, to improve myself and not to sink into the relevant age category"* (ibid.).

It was evident that while HE was a main site for development and acquiring creative and cultural skills there was also great evidence of life-long learning and of building a range of specialist skills over the working life of participants,

"Only one BA, the other ones are foundations or like professional diploma […] This BA is from Cinematography then Theatre Design. And I… and then, so I have a diploma in pattern crafting and design and fashion design. I have a B-tech, from art and design […]. The first one is from London School of Fashion. And then I have a BA honours [in] Theatre Design for Performance [from Central Saint Martin's] which is part of the University of London. Apart from that, I have done various …because education in Sweden is free, so I tend to sign up to about a couple of things, you know, and then see if I get on with that. You know, that topic. Well, so I've been doing European studies, I've been doing migration. So in migration law and studies in Sweden, between 1945 and 2005. And I've been doing tourism. And I have been doing folklore." (LU15F30s).

4.5.2. Stretching the reach of Creative HE: teaching, arts management and economics

Another recognisable trajectory across the case studies connected with the need to re-focus or combine a creativity focus education (especially in the case of conservatoire or arts school studies) with other degrees that would integrate those set of skills and knowledge and add to their ability to access other labour markets The focus on teaching (qualifications and jobs) is discussed more extensively in Chapter 5, however, it is worth pointing out here how many students integrated in their creative learning other disciplines in connection to aspects of employability but also in general to plan careers which could stretch – according to the creative trident model (Higgs et al. 2008) from being 'specialist creative' to more 'supportive roles'. Table xx summarise how different study trajectories stretch from creative HE across other disciplinary fields, as articulated by a number of practitioners and students interviewed. The literature acknowledges the importance of the educational trajectories from artists to arts management (Elstad and Jansson, 2020) and the resulting career satisfaction, similarly Brook S. et al. (2020) also reflect on positive career outcomes of music graduates in education.

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Table 4.2: Examples of education trajectories from creative HE to further subjects

Case Study	Main creative HE subject	Other Educational Subject Undertaken	Quote
Leuven	Music	Music Education and Cultural Studies	*"It has mainly been in Leuven so my, when I was 14 I went to art school, I […], until I was 18 so I did music, guitar and then I just went on because the university was connected. […] and then simultaneously with music education, music diploma master I started the cultural studies and it was also in Leuven" (LE26M20s)*
L'Aquila	Music	Business Management / Economics	*"I decided after high school to undertake a degree course in business economics and at the same time to complete the three-year academic diploma in organ, a course I had already undertaken before high school. The truth is that I wanted to have an education that ranged from the field of management, i.e., economic management, to purely musical competence, because the job objective that I had set for myself right from the start was to work in theatre management, production, and live entertainment." (TR3M20s).*
Liepāja	Music	Arts / Cultural Management	*"I was a flautist […] I realised that the field of professional music is not really my thing […] But I couldn't go too far from the field of culture, therefore I applied for studies in Academy of Culture. And during my studies in Academy of Culture I have gained valuable knowledge and a foundation […]! (LI10F20s).*
Lund	Visual Arts	Education	*"I was born in 1964 […] I took a one year school in Lund which was a school for art, different arts. After that I went to Malmö for art school for 3 years and at the same time […] Over a longer time […] After I was finished with school in Malmö, I started studying pedagogy also in Lund." (LU24F50s).*

In Chapter 5 we discuss further the way education is used by many as a way into the sector or to allow participants to make a living while moving the first steps in their career. Here it is interesting to reflect how those respondents who studied on multiple and sometimes unrelated HE courses one factor influencing their career development is the combination of a range of knowledge and skills. One participant describes this as the ability to 'talk different languages',

> *"I studied a bit of law - have half a degree there. As I said, that set is very useful, as it provides me with complete comfort, since I have knowledge of the subject, as well as I have the knowledge that the creative area mostly lacks. It is sort of - strategic, economic, dealing with how you can build and arrange all that, in a word - management. Meanwhile international relations and political science have enabled me to become aware on certain management processes that we are inevitably linked with." (LI4F30s).*

Similarly for others there is a frustration but also an opportunity in being a 'jack of all trades' combining a range of experience, knowledge and trajectories, like in the case of this participant from Leuven,

> *"sometimes you're jealous of people who, they studied to be a teacher and they're a teacher, or they studied to be a doctor and they're a doctor, you know, it's easy. It's, one on one. I never studied to be a teacher, but I am a teacher. I never studied to be a*

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screenwriter, but I am. I never studied policy, but I am. So, I think it's a combination of sometimes frustration that it's not that clear or you're not a real expert, but because of combining a lot of things, you realize that there's some jobs that actually need that combination." (LE19F30s).

4.5.3. HE preparation for CCW: then and now

The capability to access CCW is discussed in more detail in the next Chapter (5). It is also considered in Chapter 7 in regard to emerging spaces within HEIs such as incubators which are designed to directly foster access to CCW through the relationships and opportunities provided via the university. However, here we focus specifically on the pedagogical role of HE in preparing students to access CCW after the degree.

Overall, there was a recognition that creative HE is connected to accessing CCW but that there is flexibility across the range of pursuits available. As demonstrated in the example provided below, one conversion factor was the ability to enter the workforce whilst studying. There were of course a lot of transitional forms (from internships to volunteering etc. discussed in Chapter 5) that meant also the 'shift' from education to work was sometimes blurred. The account of this cultural producer in Enschede exemplify these blurred lines to the point where the person cannot fully identify the exact moment in time when they become a creative professional. In this case the transition was not structured within HE but more about the person's ability to explore other opportunities during their education;

"I studied sociology, but while studying I went into theatre, student theatre and later, on professional theatre and became a playwright. And then we created our own company in the fringe for a time, then we were kind of taken to come to Enschede to become the youth theatre" (EN14M70s).

However, for others, the transition and translation of studies into a career was more difficult and other FE/HE providers were described as being too abstract as this Lund-based participant demonstrates, *"I didn't know what I was going to expect or what we are going to do, and mostly it was very theoretical, we had a few lecturers coming from businesses outside, but it was very theoretical". (LU13F40s).* Another recent graduate, in Leuven, also lamented the lack of contact with work opportunities or practices within her courses, *"we didn't have any internship, or we didn't have a lot of contact with working field" (LE11F30s).* This lack of absence has driven her encouragement of work-based practice now she is working in a creative/cultural field.

It should be recognised that some young people are not able to plan or imagine a creative career, in part due to wider economic and social insecurity. This is particularly relevant considering the impact of COVID-19 on CCW. The capability to aspire to creative/cultural work given the fragility of the sector has been undermined. In addition, some respondents highlighted that the overall value of a HE has diminished along with an ability to invest in the future and be confident on a specific outcome. This musician from Treviso considers the structural economic changes that have taken place in the last decades,

"What I think is that young people today are a little less facilitated by the mess we have economically. When we were young we had a vision of the future that was practically infinite, […]. Now you don't know what's going to happen tomorrow, […] Now you can get a degree and have nothing, while at my age if you had a degree you were rich and you were very well off" (TR5M50s).

Across the ten case studies, HE experiences varied measurably in relation to how HEIs introduced and prepared students for CCW. Some of our respondents attended very professionally oriented/practical institutions;

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"I mean there is a very big difference between arts schools in the Netherlands and Belgium, much more expensive in the Netherlands, […] but I think this school was so professional and so on a, all the materials you can work with, and the spaces you can work with, the teachers and coaches that are there are super professional, and for example, we had a big theatre space in our school, but like really big, with a lot of technicalities, in my graduation piece it was raining all the time for example, and it was just possible. Or we had a scenography department where you can just go with our plans and they would build whole scenography for us, so it is almost, it is really worth the money." (LE22F20s).

Some creative HE courses, as also discussed in Chapter 5 were committed to including employability with many including work-based learning including work placements/internships as part of the degree course. In other cases, particularly those that were more art/design focused, there was specific investment in outward facing events, such as a final year degree show/exhibition or performance. There were cases where creative HE courses / HEIs were actively connecting with the sector and organising practice-oriented collaborations, for example;

"It's a quite small school. It's only about 30 people in each year and it's three year so it's around 100 people at the school, and it's very much practice oriented. We were very practical all the time, working with real cases and real clients throughout the whole education. […] I think it had a bit more of an activist approach earlier on when it started, but when I went there I could see the shift a little bit more clearly. It shifted to be more business oriented in a way." (LU17M30s).

However, there was a recognition that while HE can provide opportunities to provide knowledge or insight on the industry, it is hard for all students to concentrate on both their study/artistic agenda and also take advantage of multiple opportunities (England, 2020),

"I was, throughout uni, I was aware that there were lots and lots of opportunities being put forward. They had lots of lectures on life as an artist after graduation and, I don't know, how to build your practice up, and to find paid opportunities and things. None of which I went to and I just didn't really go to a lot of those tutorials, which was my fault." (DU9M20s).

A practical example of how the university provided sector relevant opportunities is described by an undergraduate student in Leipaja,

"the studies by itself, a very wide range, also many opportunities. […] I had the opportunity to also go to the Stockholm furniture exhibition, in February 2019. And then also, not only this exhibition but in general as different these projects here, that we also had the opportunity to participate in them. In that sense, this study time gave an opportunity not only to be in this academic environment but also to look at the creative field of design, which is also happening in Europe." (LI22F20s).

Another participant from Enschede praised the way that the university built connections with the industry as part of the curriculum,

"… they do prepare you for the industry and the world out there. They do bring you in touch with companies throughout the study, to do a minor ad or to invite them to come to you and give a guest lecture. They do let you work on projects that involve stakeholders in the city or outside the city, let's say they have a certain case or problem

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they want you to create a design solution for. So you know, they try to make those connections and give you that insight." (EN2M20s).

Part of preparing students for CCW involved **project work** articulating some of the challenges of putting events, festivals and project together in an education context as this example demonstrates,

"So, when you finish at the end of the semester the studies you are supposed to together with a group of other people to organise an event and artistic cultural event. And that's part of your exam and you need to fund-raise for it and do the marketing. And I happen to live in a cooperative way." (LU4F50s)

4.6. The capability to sustain creative practice through education and training

A few participants reflected on the way HE prepared them for subject-specific knowledge but not necessarily on making a living,

"The art school here focuses really much on your daily practice as an independent artist. So, I'm really well prepared for sitting in my studio working for myself. But we were not very well prepared for the economic side of being an artist and how you get funds, and all this stuff like that." (EN15F20s).

"What I learned when I was studying in the Royal Conservatory was the profession, how to compose music, how to instruct musicians so they perform something that I wanted to hear, but I didn't learn anything, I didn't have one minute of education about how to survive as a composer." (LU19M50s).

There was also a recognition that specific knowledge needed to be developed practice and work, that not all skills can be taught and that learning by doing plays an important role,

"it took me a lot of time to learn all the grand structures, all the community money flows that are available for cultural creative activities and I really had to get to learn a lot of people to find all these ways of tapping into resources. Of course, it's not only money but it's also limitations and rules and all that kind of stuff. This is something that you can't really learn, you really have to find it through practice, I guess, and I think that's something I would have liked to learn earlier, I would still don't know how I would have learned it any other way than by doing it." (EN13M30s).

There was an observed recognition that learning, knowledge and specialised skills were important to sustain creative work and creative careers, both for people who had attended formal education before entering the world of work and for the ones that had started with work and then went on to sustain their practice through additional training,

"After my BA I worked a few years in between, but I worked in designers' companies and then I took a step back, and then I'm going to get back in the industry and I want to up my game [through taking a] Master's. I guess part of me doing the master's was just stepping back … to be able to update my portfolio, create new work and I was thinking I could then go back out into the market and get myself a bloody good job. That's what

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the plan was, but part of being on the master's they encouraged us to set up our own brands and develop, but yeah that's what it was." (CH12M40s)

"However I never stopped working, you know? At some point, I felt like I need to go back to learning because I need to sort of like break and kind of regroup with myself and also I changed medium a little bit because I went from doing predominantly graphic and collage based visual art to actual video and film." (CH18F50s)

It was articulated that whilst knowledge sustains work, the role of networks (as discussed in the next Chapter) alongside peer to peer learning contributes to 'social capital' as demonstrated through this example,

Of course, education plays a role. I can't deny that, but I think it's combination of your experience and your education that counts. I would say that sometimes the degree is a stamp of approval […] the culture leadership course, […] It was peer learning, and we still have a WhatsApp group with those 25 women that we started together. And, what it did was create social capital, basically. And, I would say that social capital today is almost equally important. (LU6F40s)

However, for participants in particular creative/cultural roles training and developing skills is a necessary investment for career development,

"I think that if there is something worth investing in a person, then it's your education and in your own life experience. I constantly invest because, well, at the moment it is limited, but when travelling was allowed, I constantly invested by attending international theatre festivals, various fora, foreign conferences, it is not always possible to attract funding, not always possible to get something from the Cultural Capital [Foundation]. Basically, these are large expenses constantly, also in fact, participating in any scientific conference or even a creative conference with the purpose of one's improvement in some way, you have to pay. But then the question is, what are our values in life and, and, and in the name of what, for example, we work wherever we invest that money?" (LI20F60s).

4.7. The capability to foster creative and cultural skills; perspective of educators

Here we look specifically at how FE/HE institutions enable fostering of creative and cultural skills. It is important to contextualise that the geography of higher education has some path-dependence which is unevenly distributed (Comunian and Faggian, 2014). Despite that, new investment and changes in institutions can make a difference in enabling cities to foster more (or less) creative and cultural skills. In the case of our 10 medium size city case studies, we see that not all are able to provide a full-spectrum of creative HE (however many do) but also suffer from competition of nearby larger cities who can provide higher level of training in specific subjects (example: L'Aquila-Rome; Treviso-Venice). The mobility of creative graduates (Comunian and Jewell, 2018) highlights the pressure on cities to cater for the growing number of graduates in this field but also develop infrastructure able to retain them as CCW (discussed in Chapter 5).

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4.7.1. Caring about fostering creative and cultural skills

Across participants there was a recognition of the importance of care and the care that HE teachers or lecturers showed them. Cultures of care in higher education (Wilson and Atkinson, 2021) have been recognised as key in shaping the development of future practices in HE.

This attitude is well-expressed by a participant from Dundee,

> *"I'm still so thankful for this, but my, the lead tutor for my media course was amazing. He was so wonderful. I'm still in touch with him now. […]. We had a lot of tutors who were in the industry, and that made such a significant difference. And they actually genuinely cared about young people's learning. […], they really did look out for me." (DU2M40s)*

Participants across the case studies recognised how their learning was influenced by key lecturers or tutors, how these enabled opportunities for growth or influenced career trajectories. The support or flexibility of some of these tutor enabled barriers to be overcome like in the example of a designer in Leuven who was supported to complete her studies

> *"I had two children, I worked basically full day in school teaching and when I got home I got one or sometimes two days […] to have my master's […] And all the theoretical parts I did conversations with the professors and we discussed what I needed to do personally for that course. And most of the time they said okay, let's change the course for you into writing one, two, three, four papers, […] And I could dig into material and I...that's where I started to build my research skills because I was always pushed to create my own ideas and to find other materials to make it work." (LE8M40s)*

The care and passion for teaching demonstrated by practitioners can, in some cases, lead them to self-sacrifice or exploitation. A participant in Lund who was keen to continue teaching, offered to volunteer to engage with students *"I would love to start again so I've been pushing and saying I can go up and do it for free, so I'm coming up for a course now. It's not an economic issue for me at this point so I would love to do it because I want to meet the students again, I miss them. It's really nice to be around them (LU22F50s).*

Again a commitment to the subjects taught and desire to provide meaningful opportunities for students emerged from the data for example this sculptor from Pecs, *"[It was a] really well-equipped school. I never felt like we were hampered in our work. Some of our teachers were very careful to have enough material. They saved it as if it was their own […] (PE15M30s).*

It is interesting to consider also how there were opportunities for graduates to reflect on what was missing from their education in order to improve/ foster changes in creative HE. In Lund, a participant reflected on the fact that his course did not include any teaching on entrepreneurship but that he was now going back to his old institution to contribute to this and foster different kind of skills in that context

> *"But now I have been discussing together with my old school in Stockholm, they are gonna start an entrepreneurship programme that is more like what we do today. So, there's gonna be, I did a lecture, a pilot course this autumn and there's gonna be a programme for old students have to study five points of entrepreneurship, in order to learn the absolute basics and if then if they are interested in doing more, they might wonder more, but at least to get five points absolute basics, I think it's crucial. And it should be more, I still think the focus of the education like this should be the profession,*

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how to compose music, but they should maybe include at least 10 per cent how to survive as well." (LU19M50s).

Educators respond to the changing work situation and context of creative and cultural work and aim to foster the development of "analytical tools" to be able to address what they want to achieve individually. As this Swedish HE educator highlights, *"[students] who both have the analytical tools to be put into, basically, any kind of situation and being able to get their set missions accomplished. To both have the tools and the confidence to do it." (LU25M40s).* However, this is set in an open-ended scenario as he articulates further that these tools and skills,

> *"might mean that they found their own companies and make a lot of money, it might mean that they are working as lobbyists for activist groups, to do political change. As long as they are happy and feel that they have use for the things we give them, and that they had the confidence to do what they do. Then, we've succeeded" (LU25M40s)*

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5. Early career: accessing CCW

5.1. Chapter overview

Overall, strongly connected with this phase of SCCW are three key capabilities. The main capability that emerged in relation to this stage is the *capability to access creative and cultural work*. However, many of our participants highlighted that the early career steps were the ones that allow them *to develop creative and cultural skills*, giving them a better understanding of the job as well as the ability to progress within it. For a specific group of people – mainly independent artists or freelancers – accessing work means being able *to sustain creative practice and/or projects*, especially as they move from education out into the world of work. This is also explored in more depth in Chapter 6 but here we focus specifically on the initial steps to sustain creative practice and/or projects. Finally in this Chapter, we look at the perspective of HE organisations, local policy and the local CCE to understand how they engage with the capability to *foster creative and cultural work*. Fostering is more the focus of Chapter 7, however, here we specifically look into the support that is being given and explore how the transition into CCW can be facilitated by the local CCE.

5.2. The capability to access/develop CCW

When looking at the capability of participants to access/develop creative and cultural work we encountered a lot of different functionings resulting from conversion factors but also barriers. We first identify what are the main resources available and then focus more closely on specific conversion factors and structural constraints.

There has been a long-term shift in the kind of work opportunities available for CCW at the initial stages of their careers. It is worth reflecting on how changes in technology have impacted the business model of certain sectors within the creative economy, for example music, where entry models established in previous eras such as young bands or musicians being 'scouted' from different music venues and signed to a record label are no longer in operation due to digital technology and streaming platforms. In the DISCE data, the role of technology in giving access to opportunities is more commonly accounted by research participants in their 30s and younger.

Some participants acknowledged a smooth transition from the world of education to the world of work. For many building on the openness of creative education and its flexibility (discussed in Chapter 4), accessing creative work was not perceived as a struggle but as something their skills were leading to and coming naturally after education, like in the case of this media manager from Treviso:

> *"because it gave me a technical basis, which is very much in demand in this field, but also a more creative, artistic vision, a curiosity about certain aspects that is absolutely necessary. […] I think it was very useful to enter the world of work easily because I had a technical basis because I could immediately put my hands to work. But also, the fact that I had an open and creative mindset definitely helped and helped me to make a certain path" (TR14M40s).*

Similarly, a creative worker from Pori highlights the relevance of educational networks and knowledge to her work but also in relation to the networks developed within education: *"the university community and the people who were around me there, that really prepared me pretty well for my work in event production. And*

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actually that really prepared me considerably better than the education itself specifically for event production" (PO26M30s).

However, some of the participants recognised also that in their specific sector, for example television work in Belgium – local opportunities are very limited, due the limited number of production companies in a global/nationally subsidised market: *"The barriers for youngsters are mainly the sector itself. Television is very much still a heavily subsidized sector, I guess, depending on mainly government sources. It's a very small market, […], there's very few opportunities that youngsters" (LE15M50s)*. In addition to the issue of small markets/sectors, some participants reflected on the oversupply of graduates and the inflating role played by HEIs (Comunian et al. 2010) as this curator from Lund demonstrates:

> *"You're exploiting people, you're ripping them off. They're paying fortunes to study to become curators, there are not enough curatorial jobs in the world. […]. It's not rocket science to understand that this doesn't work […] They're not gonna get jobs. So, I think there's an obligation from the academic world to really assess who is it that they're educating, and what for" (LU6F40s).*

Other participants highlight that the mismatch is more related to the work opportunities available within the case study location. The same curator from Lund considers how the large number of students attracted to the city do not find enough suitable job opportunities that match their skills attained at the university: *"we have people with a PhD applying to do a gallery assistant job. So, there's a complete mismatch between the jobs that are available and the amount of people that are educated to fill in those jobs. […] [I]t's a part time job, we've got 117 applications" (LU6F40s).* However, others perceived personal and sectorial barriers and constrains such as space or finance (discussed in 5.2.3).

There is a distinction between the strategies to access paid/unpaid work (5.2.1) and the strategies to access/develop projects and independent work (5.2.2). While the strategies are themselves different, we find that conversion factors and structural constraints are in fact very similar, they include networks (vs. lack of networks), recognition (vs. the negative perception of early career individuals), and access to space (lack of space). These are summarised in table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1: Access strategies, conversion factors and constraints

Access Strategies	Key conversion factors	Key structural constraints
Strategies to access paid/unpaid work	Networks and visibility	Lack of networks
	Recognition from others in the sector	Negative perception of youth/being inexperienced
	Access to space	Cost/limited space
Strategies to develop projects	Teaching	

The capability to sustain creative practice and/or creative project is discussed more fully in the next Chapter on SCCW. Here, we specifically focus on these early career stages, when the capability to sustain creative practice and/or projects is at a critical stage and often the opportunities and conversion factors present at this stage determine the capability of people to remain and contribute to the sector in the long-term, with others facing barriers (discussed in 5.1.3) potentially exiting the sector (Dent 2019; Wreyford et al. 2021) or struggling to make a living from CCW.

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5.2.1. Strategies to access (paid and unpaid) work

Access is a really important step as for many people, it is often a junior-level, low-paid job or initially a part-time opportunity that opens the door to more long-term solutions or jobs within the same or multiple organisations/institution. Table 5.2 summarises the main access strategies for individuals to get paid (but also often unpaid) opportunities after education or as they enter the sector.

While below we try to articulate further the dynamics of each strategy and why or how it is adopted by the participant, we found that for some participants multiple strategies were adopted at the same time: *"I did some internships and then the last couple of years I worked, and I studied together" (LE1F40s).* From the accounts of participants, it seems clear that even in the early stages they are aware of the challenges of portfolio working or hybrid careers (see Chapter 6) and that they might need to adapt like in the case of this curator from Treviso: *"I started doing my internship during my university studies but simultaneously I was then appointed to the secondary school in 2015 as a teacher of art history" (TR23F40s*). For another participant an internship turns into a summer job: *"during my studies I have done, for example, I interned during the Pomarkku Irish festival […] it started with a student internship at the time, and then became a summer job" (PO4F40s).* Finally, some strategies might work in multiple ways as an internship might not end-up in a job offer but might allow important networks to be created to lead to more work: *"from the beginning of the internships during my studies, and a lot of the jobs have been found through those internships and then little by little through the networks" (PO4F40s)*.

Table 5.2: Summary of access strategies for paid and unpaid CCW

Access strategy	Functioning
Foot in the door	Individual uses temporary job or series of temporary opportunities to enter job/organisation and then stays longer term
Portfolio Working	Individual undertakes a range of different activities to maximise income and potential access (including teaching)
Volunteering	Individual volunteering in arts organisation or similar allow for their work and expertise to become visible and potentially establish further networks or opportunities for paid work
Placements, Internships and Summer work	Individual undertakes placements/internships during studies Or undertakes relevant work during the summer
Building networks and work while studying	Working while studying – usually in connected industries or position – is used by the individual to build networks, experience and portfolio work
Extra curriculum activities	Individual access creative work engaging with extra curriculum activities of a creative nature (not part of their main degree/studies)
Migration/Mobility	Individual decides to migrate to invest in further skills and experiences that will give him more chance of employment (there or when returning)

Foot through the door

This strategy involves entering an organisation or sector, even through a junior-level entry position or opportunities to then slowly 'climb up' the organisation or move sideways to enable progression within the desired career trajectory. This strategy was acknowledged by many individual accounts, across the case studies and across a range of sectors, including HE as a lecturer in Dundee explains: *"a temporary post came up to be a gallery invigilator at the university gallery space. So I became a temporary member of staff […] and I've never left the university since, and that's 2007, I've been there, which is a really long time to be, although I should say that it's been in about seven different roles in that period" (DU13F30s).* Of course, these changes across the same organisations are recognised as steps – so opportunities for people to move and develop

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within an organisation are then essential. Furthermore, as this participant from Pécs highlights there is a need for a system to be put in place in organisations to support young people in connection with this strategy: *"I started as an editor, I just edited the shows, and that's where it all came from, then I was a cameraman and that's where the directing came from, then I took over [the production]. [The CEO] loves to support young people" (PE7M20s)*. With the increase in project-based labour across the CCIs, one of our participants from Treviso highlighted that this practice can also stretch across modes of employment, in terms that even a temporary opportunity would provide insight into the work environment or simply a motivation to enter an organisation: "*Then I worked in the civic museums of Venice for a cooperative, therefore in a public-private context, and then when the competition for the Veneto Region came out, I left everything to prepare myself and after a year of study, I became part of the Region's Museums Office" (TR20F50s).*

Portfolio working

As discussed in the wider literature on creative labour markets (see also D4.2 and Chapter 6 of this document) portfolio careers, where workers individually manage their career progression through a series of stepping stones of short-term jobs are very common across the creative economy. Even from the early career stages, we can see that finding a range of jobs and options to make a living is high on the agenda of CCW. As this freelancer in Pori reflects:

> *"Well, I studied the scenography at the University of Arts and Design, where I then graduated with a Master of Arts degree. After that I have worked as a freelancer and now I'm also writing a dissertation on scenography. […] I'm also working in a very versatile way with everything, like... In addition to theatre, like... At times there are art exhibitions, and I do illustrations and layouts for books and... So everything […] I have also taught different courses […] my area of work is very multifaceted like this" (PO28F30s).*

Portfolio working is used as a strategy to keep career options open (Stokes 2021) but poses challenges in reference to younger creatives identifying with a network and building and consolidating a reputation – the importance of which is discussed in 5.2.3.

Volunteering

Volunteering was used by many participants as an opportunity to access CCW. We discuss volunteering further in Chapter 6, in relation to wageless work, and also in Chapter 7, in relation to the wider model of sustainability for creative/cultural organisations. It is important to frame volunteering and working for free carefully as its value (to individuals and the CCE) depends very much on how it is used and managed. Of course, at the early stages of CCW, volunteering implied working for free for a range of organisations but for many it offered opportunities to explore work or a specific sector and as a means to get the 'foot through the door' (as discussed above). A mix of volunteering and freelancing had given this participant from Dundee a range of insights on where she wanted to work and initial networks: *"I'd been working the arts in sector […] doing lots of small bitty volunteer jobs […] gave me a really, really brilliant insight into the sorts of organisations I thought were interesting […] I met people for the first time that worked in the arts and that was all completely new to me" (DU7F40s).* One participant in Dundee reflected on how volunteering allowed her to experience the office environment of an organisation: *"I volunteered for a little bit of time in an office. I'd never worked in an office environment before I was very intimidated" (DU11F40s). She also* shared that following her volunteering, the organisation hired her and kept on finding ways to keep her ending up with her staying on for eight years. However, for some participants, there was a recognition that volunteering

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resulted in unpaid work and that unpaid work was often informally imposed in order to access paid work. This is something discussed extensively in the literature (Siebert & Wilson 2013). It is striking how for certain participants this is perceived as a normative practice to access work in specific organisations. A participant from Dundee talked about the start of their career:

> *"it's mad how much of this focuses around unpaid activity, you know, like being at the Museum […] for three months was made possible by […] working cash in hand. I mean that's the only way it would have been feasible. Erm but it was a, a yeah then I ended up doing lots of [inaudible] working for volunteers as a volunteer in arts festivals or a special event [...] and until eventually I got my first paid, my first paid piece of work" (DU7F40s).*

For others volunteering did offer a way into paid work, even if it was dependent – as this participant from Chatham reflects on being in the right place at the right time: *"I started volunteering at Merseyside County Museum as it was then, in the social history and industrial history department. And within three months, I'd actually being given a […] research assistant post […] I was in the right place at the right time" (CH22M60s).*

For others like this museum manager from Liepāja, it was about finding an opportunity to become visible locally as she highlights: "*I did volunteer work at the beginning of my professional activity when I had graduated from Academy of Culture and during the 4th year of studies when I was still trying to recognise myself within the field*" *(LI10F20s).* However, volunteering engaged not only access to work or developing skills but also with individuals interested in fostering creative skills in others or engaging others in culture (discussed in Chapter 3 and 7) as the same participant from Liepāja summarises: *"I think what creative people also have is that all of these things, well, it's not like – I do everything only because I am being paid for it".* Similarly, another participant from Dundee, now managing an art organisation, reflects on her initial steps: *"I volunteered for a year, no pay. I worked in a pub so I could work in the gallery, and I set up a Saturday club, because there wasn't anything for children" (DU28F50s).* The same person recognised that volunteering at a different level (on the board of an art organisation) offered them a stable job in another sector: *"one of the board members said come and work for me. And he worked for [name] investment services. So I thought skills-wise and money wise I need to earn a salary. So I moved sideways into the financial services industry and spent a year being basically the administrator in an office" (DU28F50s)*. Volunteering – like other strategies – has the potential to create networks and encounters that act as a key conversion factor in accessing creative and cultural work (discussed in 5.2.3).

Placements, internships and summer work

Many participants interviewed highlighted the value of placements, internships, or unpaid work experiences for enabling them to get access to CCW. Specific dynamics that make this type of experience positive and valuable (or create barriers) are discussed later (5.2.3). Here we highlight the kind of activities and opportunities that participants experienced. Participants under 40 (who studied in the 1990s and 2000s in particular referenced how internships or placements were a core part of their degrees (as discussed also in Chapter 4). A participant in Dundee reflected on the fact that placements facilitated a strong connection between her degree and festival organisations, which, in turn, meant a smooth transition from education to work: *"I had done a placement at the [name] Theatre who do big festivals programme every the year. […] I graduated in 2000 and my whole year group, mostly, there was a couple, obviously, but we actually all did very well and got quite a lot of work in the industry and stayed in the industry, theatre industry for quite a long time" (DU11F40s).* It interesting to reflect that date provided in this quotation, 2000, which coincides with the New Labour government drive in UK to promote and invest in CCIs (Gross 2020). The value was specifically associated with the possibility to explore a sector or type of work that they were not familiar with:

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"during my master's in cultural studies, I did do an internship working as a production assistant in theatre. And during that internship, I really realized that I actually could be working in Leuven's theatrical field. Because before, I didn't really know what I wanted to do" (LE27F20s). The pattern of education-placement-work is also experienced by this graduate from Pécs: *"I started working here during school because I went to the Faculty of Engineering and studied television programming there, and there I actually did the last six months of practice in an external location. I got here and stayed here" (PE7M20s).*

In some cases, internships did translate into a job with long-term employment opportunities, even within creative labour markets associated with project-based labour as this participant from Leuven demonstrates: *"I wanted to broaden my horizons, and I studied Journalism, International Journalism. […] I had to do an internship and I did my internship in the theatre school […] when I graduated, I started to work there. So, I coordinated the theatre department for three years" (LE19F30s).* This was also the case for this media manager from Treviso: *"I did my compulsory internship in the third year, to gain work experience with a company in my city, Treviso, […] for which I started working, and I still work, 16 years later" (TR14M40s).* For some, placements can continue over a long period of time, particularly when combined with education, and provide an opportunity to develop strong bonds with local networks and organisations like in the case of this participant from Liepāja: *"I am studying at the moment, I am a full-time student and I am studying Culture Management at the Liepāja University. […] [F]or many years I have been doing a traineeship in a company called Liepāja Music. And they organise a lot of different events" (LI23F20s).* For others who were not required or provided with an opportunity to undertake a placement as part of their university degree still found ways to independently organise one because of the recognised value of the experience.

> *"I think internships are very important. At the time that I was studying an internship wasn't obligated. I did it because I was just interested so it was my choice […] nowadays it's part of the education and I think that's very important because if you do an internship in different sectors you get an impression of what working is like, you get an impression of sectors, you get an impression of the different kind of jobs there are" (LE1F40s).*

While it was clear from the participants across the case studies that internships could be valuable functionings that provided opportunities to acquire knowledge, experience and potentially enter the world of work, there were examples across the data of a discouragingly high number of internships that some young people were required to do: *"I did some internships in the arts sector. So, I did an internship at a theatre in The Hague […] and at a museum in Eindhoven […]" (EN22F).* This relates to concerns around one's ability to do an internship, the varying subjective experience of placements and what kind of patterns of exclusion (Allen et al. 2013; Daniel & Daniel 2013; Moody 2020) this might create as the wider literature highlights. While internships or placements are sometimes paid, they do rely on people's ability to support themselves (or have family support) to make a living while interning, as this person considers:

> *"I think I probably just found the right route because I did some internships when I graduated that were just travel expenses paid and my family could support me so I lived at home, and they could pay me, like help me get my travel and then that's just kind of how I've progressed like I did that two of that and that turned into a job and then I applied for another job then" (CH9F30s).*

There is conflicting data around the value of placements. As discussed, many of our participants highlighted the value of placements and internships as the first stepping stone on their career trajectory, that it provides opportunities to test different creative and cultural workspaces and learn valuable skills but there are still concerns around how internships and placements are regulated and managed to ensure fair access and opportunity to those who don't have the necessary financial support to undertake multiple unpaid

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placements. There is also a clearer distinction to be made between 'volunteering', whereby unpaid labour is voluntarily provided, and an 'internship', where there is an expectation of labour in return for skills and development. In deliverable 3.6 we outline a series of policy recommendations for both HEIs and creative/cultural organisations and companies in relation to inclusive and sustainable work placements.

Building networks/work while studying

Many participants used their time in education to build networks and work while studying (see also Chapter 3) to integrate practical considerations into their learning or think about future employment. As an art graduate from L'Aquila reflects:

> *"I consider myself quite lucky […] it's not insignificant to have already started paid collaborations of this type. So, with a contract with a company, [...] has certainly helped [...], I have always worked and having always done all kinds of jobs, I have learned to relate to what is actually the world of work, which is not very well known to many of my peers" (LA12F20s).*

Another graduate from Leuven gave the following account: *"I started in Leuven in the end of September and in end of October or November I already organised my first concert […]. During my studies, and then, I was also, couple of years later I was tour manager for a couple of bands, so I got into the music pretty fast when I came to university here" (LE16M50s).* An art historian from Treviso also reported: *"already at university I had started to curate the first small exhibitions of artists for a few galleries. I wrote my thesis on Giorgio De Chirico. […] I collaborated with galleries and collectors who had art by De Chirico" (TR1F40s).* However, while projects and jobs undertaken during study provide income and opportunities, another creative work from Pori highlighted that precarity was still an issue and that jobs during studies meant the possibility to have financial support but also a delay in his studies:

> *"I had prolonged periods of unemployment. So my income has been very unstable […]. Sure there were various projects before my graduation that brought some income, probably that's why that graduation was delayed as I had gotten some projects that brought in some cash and I needed to put in the time. But things were quite tight, all these five years they were really tight (PO26M30s).*

Specific consideration was made by others about the value of 'summer work' to their ability to access CCW. As this participant from Chatham articulates, the summer break was used fully towards professional development: *"I did drama, […] the whole of my summer immediately after finishing was that kind of hands-on experience of making that piece of professional theatre"* (CH7F50s); Pori participants also describe funding to allow artists to undertake paid summer work: *"Vähäkyrö [a municipality] paid for these persons who made the artwork, they were hired for three weeks. In my opinion, that's a pretty good summer job. A summer job that is directly related to your profession" (PO15M50s, PO15M40s, PO15F30s).*

Extra curriculum activities leading to a career

As discussed in Chapter 4 university (and university-city) life sometimes offers participants the opportunity to undertake extracurricular activities. These are often meaningful engagements that then develop into formal careers: "*it didn't have to do with my studies, but we had our own theatre company back in the days. And I was more involved already in communicating those plays and took part in the technical production [...]. And then, I stayed on the communication part of the hobby and that became my profession" (LE7M40s).* A musician from Enschede similarly recalled: "*I was studying here at the university, public policy. For seven*

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years, I did that and I finished it but in the meantime, I was a musician and an organiser and during my studies, I thought music is much more fun. So, I went into music after my study" (EN29M50s).

Mobility and migration

Mobility and migration emerged as another key strategy adopted by individuals to secure access to CCW. This connects with the discussion on whether cities (especially small-medium cities like our case studies) are able to retain students (see relevant discussions in Chapters 4 and 6) but also with the importance of strengthening local CCEs to foster access to CCW as discussed in Chapter 7. In some of our case studies, it is recognised that many students move to nearby large cities, like in the case of Dundee: *"not enough of the fine arts students stay, and they migrate to Glasgow and Edinburgh" (DU22F50s).* Therefore, across the biographical accounts of many of our participants, we see the need for them to move elsewhere to gain valuable experiences or new perspectives. As this participant from Treviso explained: *"my path is precisely linked to contemporary art with the university studies that I did at the DAMS in Bologna University […] then I did an experience in Australia at the Italian Institute of Culture in Melbourne" (TR17F30s).* Similarly, an artist from Leuven reported: *"did two internships that were abroad, I travelled a lot. So yeah, like having full-on experience in a studio or a publisher is way more valuable" (LE14M30s).* A BA student at the Art Academy of Latvia also reflected on her next steps: "*first to graduate from the Art Academy. To gain some wider international experience outside Latvia, at least for two or three years. Maybe for longer, well, to expand something like this, my horizons outside Latvia, both in the field of design and in culture in general*" *(LI22F20s).* Mobility and migration have been shown to increase the ability of creative graduates to access CCW and therefore were considered valuable strategies to gain insights into the international fields of work of an individual but in general to also add to their uniqueness in the labour market (Lengyel & Ságvári 2011; Faggian et al. 2014).

5.2.2. Strategies to access/develop projects and independent work

These strategies are different – but connected – to the previous strategies. Here the individual is not necessarily interested in paid (or unpaid) employment but in supporting their own projects or independent work. For this group of participants, other access strategies were put in place and adopted and these were specifically used to facilitate their own establishment as practitioners, freelancers or sole-traders.

The first strategy involves starting up a business and it is often connected with the presence of incubators or finance opportunities to incentivise or facilitate this with universities or regional development agencies (Montgomery 2007; Franco et al. 2018). The second strategy builds more on sharing frameworks (from cooperatives to partnerships) that allow individuals to emerge, without too much personal investment (Boyle & Oakley 2018; O'Dair 2015). Finally, a range of competitions, awards and art shows (Sutton 2020; Jensen & Kim 2020) were used as strategies to build-up work or profile that would lead to independent work. Naturally, individuals are able to use a mix of these strategies in the development of their projects or independent work so these strategies are not exclusionary.

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Table 5.3: Summary of access strategies to access/develop projects and independent work

Strategy	Examples	Functioning
Entrepreneuring	Incubator/start-up programmes and funding	Individual is able to start a business after university (university incubator) or through accessing an incubator/start-up programme or associated funding/business advice.
Cooperating	Cooperation and shared models	Individual is able to start his/her practice or projects by collaborating, sharing resources or cooperating with others
Showcasing	Art Shows, Competition and awards	Individual uses competitions, award, prizes to become visible/recognise and receive more work/commissions/projects

Incubators, start-ups and business advice

The literature on creative HE acknowledges that business incubators and advice for creative graduates needs to be tailored to their needs and agendas (Montgomery 2007; Gill et al. 2019). While for many years the focus of conversations about incubators and business support has been more on science and engineering (Lalkaka 2006), this access strategy was recognised by our participants in different ways. The founder of a games development company in Dundee explained how he, along with other course colleagues were able to secure this kind of support via the local university:

> *"we graduated June, started the business day after graduation. And then put our own computers and money into it and the university provided an incubator space for us, a small office, which really be helped. And then we won a competition an entrepreneurial competition at university for £1500 pounds. Then we just both kept our part time jobs, all living at home as well which helped and then be I was like at Safeways doing shelf stacking, but nine to five we were in the office" (DU8M30s).*

It is clear that even with support, creative start-ups/entrepreneurs find themselves having initial difficulties and holding multiple jobs to financially support themselves (see Chapter 6).

However, an art graduate from Latvia described the value of 'business incubator grants', how this supported one of her course colleagues and, how this model is open to art school graduates: *"He received support, help to develop this idea here and, […] one thing that the same art school graduates go there, that they are people who have their own business ideas and who want to develop them or at least test them, whether they have the potential and opportunity to develop more widely" (LI22F20s)*

As this incubator manager from Twente highlights the university have modelled themselves as an entrepreneurial university (Etzkowitz 2004) and offers specific support to students: *"they can do whatever they want, they are free, they pay to study, so there our support is not being seen as extra, but of course, they can do what they want, they just benefit the fact that we are an entrepreneurial university" (EN24M20s).* This means that students get support in different forms from one-on-one coaching, to support like legal advice or financial loans (discussed also in Chapter 7).

While entrepreneurship as addressed by DISCE WP4 enables individuals to start new organisational trajectories, it is important to consider that sometimes this is not necessarily planned and specifically with early career steps or the initial steps in creative projects, there is a lot of serendipity (Malmelin & Virta 2017) which makes planning but also development trajectories hard to predict as in the case of this Dundee project: *"It was the classic kind of accidental entrepreneur type thing. But we were just starting something up that*

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was, you know, […] I'm a big permaculture believer so that sort of cycle of how things materialize, I just started with a small seed that other people came around" (DU17M50s). As another participant from Chatham highlights the risks of taking on opportunities are also very fortuitous but also often disruptive of other trajectories *"I was very spontaneous, to be honest, and someone rang, a very close friend said do you want to be in a very camp, naff cabaret company? And I said yes I do actually" (CH27F50s).* Another similar account highlights:

> *"when I graduated, I did some more auditions and things, and it just wasn't happening, so whilst the passion was there, it wasn't happening. Um, and I took some jobs to have some income coming in. Not really appropriate jobs […] ended up buying that company off the guy who owned it and setting up my own drama and musical theatre business" (CH17F40s).*

In Lund a participant describes the work of Lunds NyföretagarCentrum, a centre where individuals can go to if you want to start up a company and get a mentor to support their entrepreneurial idea.

> *"everything is for free, you can talk an hour to someone that is learning you about bookkeeping or someone who can teach you about marketing or design. So that was good because we started there and when we left […], we got a very good kick out package, so one of the things that I was able to negotiate was to get a bookkeeping course for example" (LU22F50s).*

In many cases start-ups were developed from initial encounters whether through university or initial collaboration, in the case of this Dundee start-up the two founders both benefitted from the same internship programme so multiple strategies can support the main entrepreneuring agenda of individuals (even internships discussed in 5.2.1).

> *"so a combination of two things really or maybe even three. One was over our summers from the first summer at university I'd interned at […] a big R&D centre […] They pretty much pioneered the entire industry and kept it in Dundee […] the management team in Dundee kept it here so it was a fantastic intern and graduate programme there that Paddy and I both got involved in" (DU10M50s).*

Cooperation and shared models

For others, an important strategy is about starting collaborative or shared projects, which allow tasks and opportunities to be shared. This model is also recognised in the literature in relation to artists' cooperatives (Boyle & Oakley 2018; O'Dair 2015), co-working spaces and similar organisational settings that allow mutual support. In Dundee a respondent described the model of Generator Studios as offering a way for arts graduates to establish themselves and work while part of a shared project:

> *"It's run by graduates. […] [T]hey have a rolling committee. So each person on the committee serves two years and, you know, there's a yearly intake of new people so that the committee is continually renewing from the graduate output. So they are putting on exhibitions, doing research, working with artists, working with us, working with the university, and some, some really great exhibitions. They have a membership so all their members could put in once a year of a membership show. Their vision of having graduates running it is healthy, you know, it's really good experience for them" (DU6F60s).*

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Co-working spaces play a vital role in the development of local CCEs (also discussed also in Chapter 7) and for many of our participants they provided a step into the sector and an opportunity for joining essential networks (see 5.2.3). In the case of a participant in Dundee, the move to the city coincided with him going freelance:

> *"I think one of the main things that gave me the confidence that that was possible, […] I found a place called Fleet Collective, which is a co-working space […] I just started to build up a small client base and picked up some work here and there […] trying to build myself up and starting to get to know people, obviously getting to know the people that are in the co-working space. And I think that network and being in that environment was sort of invaluable in the development of me as a designer and all and leading to where I am just now" (DU25M30s).*

Targeted co-working spaces for CCWs can help freelancers/self-employed individual contractors to make connections to develop their skills and their work opportunities and can become an important operating environment for many in the local CCE. This opportunity to create using shared resources and pulling together individual efforts – even if quite informally – is described well by a film director in L'Aquila

> *"Accademia dell' Immagine, which was a branch of the Cinecittà film school, and for us young people of my generation it had become a reference point for training and, if we want to be social, for meeting people and feeling part of a group, so we began, with some friends, to try our hand at making short films, which then became longer and longer, and now I have two feature films and a series of documentaries to my credit" (LA10M40s).*

Also, education institutions, as discussed in Chapter 4, often become the hub and networks (Ashton & Comunian 2019) that facilitate (formally and informally) the development of creative and cultural projects.

Another student from Treviso describes how her work is built around a collaborative shared platform *"I've created a small space or bookshop that is also a place for research, dialogue and presentation, let's say a small cultural club in the city centre, in collaboration with some friends I met when I was at high school, with whom I've always had a shared passion for books" (TR25F20s).* For another participant, it was instead the opportunity to find a specific partner to share this work with:

> *"I started out on my own with the idea of doing what I had studied for, what I was passionate about; then, in actual fact, since it was a company formed by two people, one of whom, my partner Maurizio, had a very strong personality from a creative point of view, by necessity I had to start dealing mainly with the managerial and administrative side of things" (TR6M50s).*

A collective effort and framework is often shaped also within the art form itself, for example in the case of this Italian violin player, who after starting young with solo performance moved towards a collaborative project;

> *"my next step is to strengthen the Syntagma Project that I started in L'Aquila with eight other musicians, and we are all between 20 and 30 years old, quite young, and we want to experiment but also promote knowledge of classical music. Ours is mainly a string ensemble, but there are also bassoons and percussion instruments, and this allows us to have a wide variety of repertoire for concerts and ensembles that we normally perform in the L'Aquila area and throughout Abruzzo; we have also recently been commissioned to play in Rome at the Auditorium" (LA26M20s).*

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Art shows, competitions and being recognised

In many fields, it was clear that specific shows such as the final year art degree show, competitions and selective awards provided individuals with the ability to access a level of recognition and support that enable them to develop projects and creative and cultural work.

An art graduate from Dundee describes the important of being selected for a contemporary art show which then led to him securing an international residency;

> *"so as I graduated, I was really lucky to get, there were a couple of, there were a couple of big galleries that come round and they do these sort of yearly shows of recent graduates so there's the Royal Scottish Academy new contemporary show. So I got selected for that, which means you get to go and exhibit in the, this great big building in Edinburgh. And for another one actually, that was exhibited in the same building, but it was a different company, the Scottish Society of Artists. So I did that. And my work went down really well and[…], I had a really nice runoff from art college" (DU9M20s).*

In a different field – music – a participant from Treviso described the impact of taking part in competition, getting his band in the record company circuits;

> *"we started professionally in '92, we did contests, because there were still contests for bands. We won Rock Targato Italia, which was one of the most important competitions, and from there we entered the circuit of the official record companies. Our first contract was with Sony Columbia […] [T]he advent of digital has changed everything, but when we started there was still a chance that these labels would take you on" (TR5M50s).*

However, competitions and awards often require strong investment in time and energy, which is sometimes not accessible to individuals with caring responsibilities. While they create forms of recognition and advantages for few, they also promote a A-list/B-list (Caves 2000) dynamic that instead of promoting solidarity pushes for individual self-sacrifice (Tanghetti et al. 2022). This is the experience of a participant from L'Aquila,

> *"in order to achieve the goal of stabilisation, you have to go and will always go through competitions that the state will organise and is organising. I took one a few months ago and I will take part in a few more in the coming months. I would like to have more time to study, in the sense that reconciling work, family and preparing for a competition is not at all easy and therefore, unfortunately, like all women who choose to have children, I would need a 72-hour day, unless you decide not to sleep at night" (LA16F30s).*

One element that was spoken of particularly in Dundee was the final year art show as a means to both exhibit work but also generate further income and work opportunities. One participant highlighted "*a lot of the work I've been selling has been artist prints that I still had from degree show and from the year after I did that" (DU9M20s).* Another one highlighted the importance and the intensity of the commitment *"what I would say coming out of art school and into industry the biggest thing for me was I think, so in our final year for our degree show I think we had for main projects over, possibly over 10 weeks" (DU2M40s).*

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5.2.3. Conversion factors: space, networks, finance, teaching and recognition

Whether individuals in their early career aimed at finding paid work or starting-up their own project or practice, we identified 4 key conversion factors that really influenced their ability to have access to those opportunities. These were: (1) access to space; (2) access to funding and support; (3) engaging with teaching (4) being recognised and accessing networks. Each conversion factor is presented here from two perspectives – mainly people able to benefit from them and people feel explored or meeting barriers in being able to access those opportunities. As this performance artist in Lund illustrates, the transition from university to the world of work can be challenging due to the sudden loss of access to both physical resources and a community of support:

> *"when you're earning your degree and you have this really creative environment, and then suddenly you're out of university and you don't have this. You don't have access to the theatre spaces, you don't have technicians that can help, you don't have lecturers that can give you feedback when you're making things. You don't have an audience ready made, of your fellow students. Suddenly, everything is gone, you're on your own" (LU26M30s).*

Access or constrains to space

Access to space is a recurrent theme across the WP3 data in related to SCCW. In Chapter 3 when discussion early access we reflect on the 'embodied exclusion' (Dawson 2019) some individuals experience in relating to entering different creative/cultural spaces (see also Chapter 7 and the important role played by fostering gatekeepers) and in Chapter 6 we consider the relationship between SCCW and affordable housing. Affordable housing is related to early career in relation to how, in some of the case study locations, affordable housing costs worked as a draw to the city and in others, high-rental costs drove graduates and early career entrants away for example Lund, where high cost of living pushed lower paid CCWs to the neighbouring city Malmö:

> *"in Malmö, here in the big city close to Lund, that's the motor of the creative economy, I would say. Because there are cheap places to rent, localities, and everything for artists and for designers and small starting businesses. It's a big city and it's quite cheap to be there. Lund is not so cheap, so maybe not so easy to start a creative career in" (LU3F40s).*

But some participants reflected how it was access to certain collaborative workspaces and the reduced costs associated with co-operative workplaces that attracted them to certain geographical locations as this Leuven-based artist demonstrates:

> *"I wanted to move to Brussels, but I had an exhibition two months after I came back, so I had very little time to find a studio, make the work and do the exhibition. And a friend of mine was already working in this building where I'm now, and he said like, "Yeah, it's very cheap, you can rent a studio here, and we prepare the exhibition together", because it was both of us. And eventually, I just stayed longer than I was expecting, two years, something like this. But it was actually, yeah, it's quite difficult to find a studio in Brussels for the same prices as you could find here" (LE14M30s).*

Many arts and craft graduates reflected on the problematic shift from study to work in relation to access to resources such as space (and equipment). A ceramic graduate from Pécs disclosed how, whilst such resources

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were available whilst study, there was a sudden lack of resources in the city for graduates, including the tools and machinery needed for her craft: *"there is no place where I could move, it gives us a disadvantage. […] I work in Sándor's workshop, and we would like to create an association where anyone young or ceramist can enter […], me and a few more people would do this in Pécs. We are now looking for a place to do this" (PE21F20s).*

This is further emphasised by another artist in Pécs, who highlights how the inability to access space also means that creatives cannot make work and sell therefore make a living:

> *"Since I no longer have the opportunity to use the studio at the university [...] I used the university studio 8 hours a day, the rest of the time was in classes. […] I went home only at night. Now that's gone, so the number of my jobs has been reduced. […]. I haven't created since September. I think about it a lot. I couldn't work and make money during the year" (PE10F20s).*

Often accessing a studio implies sharing or compromising, or the studio space also might be offered in kind for other contributions. The picture is very informal and the sustainability of the model is questionable but reflects the 'make do' attitude of many creatives that prioritise the opportunity offered by a studio scape, even with constraints:

> *"I think it's quite affordable. I mean kind of, I mean, it isn't, it was a bit of a risk at the moment, getting a studio […] It's looking a little bit less affordable at the moment, but, you know, like, I'll figure it out. I share the studio with my girlfriend, so I only pay for half of it and her, she's working for a gallery, but she's not getting paid, it's like she's a committee member for this artist-run thing, but they pay for her half of the studio. It's like one of the perks of working there" (DU9M20s).*

Other cities, including Dundee and Enschede do provide either continued access to the art school facilities for graduates (Enschede) or have alternative affordable spaces housed in institutions such as the Print Studio in the Dundee Contemporary Arts (DCA), which is priced at £7 per day for all users (see Chapter 6). For others, like this Enschede-based artist, the presence of space is not perceived as an issue *"[b]ecause there are enough big spaces, like the museum and Concord and Tetum"* but the limitation is that, *"they're not really accessible if you're starting artists. So I think we need more places that are more accessible […] that you don't have to have had a really good CV. So, that you can exhibit there even if you don't – even if you didn't have really big exhibitions in your past" (EN15F20s).*

Networks: opportunities and patterns of inclusion and exclusion

Many participants highlighted how starting up or entering the sector, even while studying, the network/s they could access, benefitted and shaped their progression. In the case of this participant, the specific HE course enabled connections with like-minded people which led to a business partnership: *"By doing creative technology, then I could indeed just explore creativity combined with scientific technology knowledge, where I met like-minded people who by the way, became the co-founders of my company" (EN2M20s).* For this participant from Treviso, it was the shared agenda with a group of friends that lead to starting a new organisation *"after an internship during high school, at the Municipal Theatre of Treviso, I started working in management and event organisation. Two years ago, in 2018, we founded with some friends and colleagues a social promotion association in Treviso" (TR3M20s).*

However, support from the HEIs infrastructure is not only about space and facilities. Knowledge, connections with academics and wider networks outside of the creative HE course can be important in one's future career

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development as this example from Liepāja demonstrates: *"something I have learned during my studies, that I should keep a good contact also with lecturers who have given lectures during first years of my studies, and especially with those, who actually work within the field of culture. Because I can never know when I will need to turn to them for advice or some information that could be useful to me" (LI23F20s).*

A significant body of data from across the ten case study locations pointed to the value of Creative HE course peers and colleagues as a valuable network build within the university which enabled work or opportunities through friends and word of mouth opportunities:

> *"…for me a large part of my network is still the one I built up during the years of training between specialisation and Master's, those are precious years in which I invested a lot if not everything; and then with colleagues, but there it is also by affinity, that is, you talk to people who have similar interests. A big part of the credibility you have as a curator is also what the artists say, how serious you are in your relationship with the artists" (LA8F40s).*

> *"I guess my other network is still the creative technology bachelor. Yeah, I got this job with a friend of a friend of mine. Just someone from my study that I barely knew. We chatted one day on Facebook. And I was like, yeah, I'm looking for a job now in Enschede, and she knew the guy" (EN1M20s).*

> *"But from the moment I was in the higher institute I met a lot of people, and from there on you can say that I started working within an art community" (LE21M50s).*

As outlined in the DISCE case study framework (deliverable 3.1, 4.1 & 5.1; Gross et al. 2020) and in the DISCE *Creative Higher Education in Europe Statistics Report* (deliverable 3.2) part of the rationale for choosing the ten case study locations was the breadth of some form of a recognisable creative/cultural profile including HE provision. A proportion of our participants (not all) had studied in the case study location which points to the value of social connectedness both within the HEI and in relation to the wider CCE. This connectivity and the opportunities to foster relationships within a peer group is discussed in wider literature (Bridgstock et al. 2019) but through the DISCE research, we emphasize the network of relationships both within education and the wider CCE as a crucial element of early career access to CCW.

While networks were very important, they also presented limitations or challenges. All participants recognised that networks were very important in the sector, especially for beginners. The power of this network was seen as positive – when it allowed access to opportunity – but also negative or exclusionary where participants felt out of context or unable to enter those networks. This is perfectly summarised by one of the Pori participants: "*Networks are somehow really important in finding a job in this sector. This is both a good and a bad thing. It's very challenging for beginners" (PO4F40s).* These were 1) need for persistence and constant self-drive 2) struggle to access or navigate networks 3) gender barriers in accessing or fitting into networks.

In the literature there is a recognition that networks and **networking are dependent on continuous self-drive**, often done through personal time (Lee 2011; Grugulis & Stoyanova 2012) A participant from L'Aquila highlighted that networks in themselves did not make things happen, and that on top of networks it was important for the individual to drive and push forward ideas and opportunities, what was also required was "*great preparation, continuous training, great tenacity, even to carry out cultural projects, and then specifically on the contemporary scene"* furthermore

> *"Because the stakeholders in this world, from politics to economics and so on, with whom we dialogue, I have noticed that they often have resistance, which means that*

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*you have to be very tenacious and able to make people enthusiastic about this subject, to show them the potential that exists, sometimes even in economic terms. It also requires a good dose of multiformity, in the sense of the ability to manage many **different** things and to create a dense network of relationships and contacts" (LA18F30s).*

This facilitated people who were naturally more social or able to fit into specific social contexts and norms,

"Um, there are women around, but the roles are very split […] But all of the social stuff and the schmoozing and knowing how to chat to people in bars – straight over my head. Like not one of my skill sets" (DU12F40s).

For another participant, the attitude towards finding work was importance and there was recognition that this needed to be very pro-active. The importance of specific attitudes of course highlight how many – who might not be comfortable with pushing doors open or presenting a certain 'persona' might find themselves struggling to emerge. This student in Lund highlights the need to be *"quite aggressive"* in the field *"it says quite a lot about how you have to act to get jobs and to start working on, because it doesn't present itself to you, you really have to go looking for it, and be quite aggressive in this field" (LU1F20s).* This is in complete contrast with other participants that described the period after education as a moment of struggle, self-reflection and insecurity, like this participant in Dundee *"I was looking for jobs and I felt that the only job I could do was the job that had the title Interior designer […]. I couldn't see the value in any other skills that I had to give. […] I wasn't having much luck […] I think I've lost my confidence" (DU21F30s).*

The potential **struggle to access or navigate networks** as discussed in the literature (Lee 2011), is often not evident to people as they tend to acknowledge networks they are included in – rather than others – and cannot individually assess all the dynamics and forms of capital including one's own identity (Mao & Shen 2020) that are at stake:

"I must say that I had no difficulty at all in entering into a dialogue with the network of local artists, but also because I was introduced by friends who immediately made their knowledge available to me, and so I was really welcomed immediately. However, I don't know if this always happens and I don't know if it is typical, but I can say of my case that the network that started in Fontecchio was fundamental in order to put some small bases in L'Aquila as well" (LA13F40s).

Especially for younger participants or for the ones trying to enter/re-enter CCW navigating networks was a puzzle involving personal contacts, strategies and using the CCE – but a sense of being not clear of what route to follow was present,

"I feel like a young player who is trying to understand what to do, what people to make friends with […], I have several creative friends, […] This year I was planning to get involved in a business incubator, just to be able to […] meet people and understand what I have to offer […] chances are much greater because you attend events and meet and talk" (LI24F20s).

There was evidence of closed networks particularly in relation to younger early career entrants seeking access to a creative or cultural sector with limited opportunities which are dominated by older, more established workers or sectors that are themselves precarious:

"Publishing and publishing books in Hungary is not very easy. A lot of publishers have writers. This means if you are looking for a new publisher, you will see on most websites

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that they do not accept manuscripts, so you have no chance. There are exceptions when a publisher once a year open[s] up new space for new authors. […]. There are a lot of writers in Hungary who have a permanent publisher, the lucky ones. Whoever gets out of this circle, it is very difficult from there" (PE23F40s).

Another participant from Leuven described the skills required to move through the networks in order to access the most established one and keep the door open,

"There's like generations of networks that have already come together, which is actually plays a big role in how I also think how you can value yourself or how people get to know you. And I guess also more on a political level, the city, that you know people in the city who work at the city who also are stakeholders within the institutions already there […] you have to find your way into, if you open a door, it often stays open, but you have to open it first. So, you have to know someone who has the key and that's quite difficult because they're often hidden or not so easy to approach or it's quite scary" (LE24F20s).

However, others perceived specific **barriers to accessing work and networks as based on gender barriers**. While accessing work should be based on talent and commitment, often in CCW there is still a social requirement, which can leave certain people vulnerable to harassment or abuse.

"…if you're going to be talented, that should be enough. Like you need to be good and committed to what you're doing and that should be enough to get you in the room you shouldn't have to spend all night drinking with someone, a man who's 20 years older than you and fending him off to be able to get a part and that is just rife in theatre" (DU27F50s).

Two participants from Dundee express also how networking or trying to fit into specific networks was challenging. Participant DU12F40s expressed *"feeling out of place"* in the creative workplace due to not wearing the right clothing or having access to status symbols as previously referred to. Another participant expressed the challenge of gender barriers in workplace networks and feeling out of place in a male-dominated creative workplace:

"also like doing things like going on-site and dealing with contractors and live jobs and things like that. I found that hugely intimidating as a young female being sent down to site with a group of men, older men and having to deal with that and against at times I was backed into corners, and I was kind of about like my status as a young female was taken advantage of, and the sense that they could push through the things that they wanted to do in particular ways" (DU21F30s).

Even when women were not actively excluded or unsupported, many felt the lack of representation and female role models influenced their experience of accessing the sector:

"I felt especially in the beginning and still that I am a woman or a girl, that I am quite young, that there are still a lot of artistic leaders, and also teachers, that are men, old men, people really don't take you seriously, and so I think for me that is the biggest discrimination I experienced" (LE22F20s).

In Chapter 6, we continue our reflections on work-based exclusion based on identity. Questions of exclusion and inequality across the CCIs is one that has been addressed in the wider literature (Dent 2019; Wreyford et al. 2022), one that has particular negative impacts on early entrants in relation to the role models available

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to them (Allen & Hollingworth 2013; Allen et al. 2013). This is an ongoing question that requires active engagement from policy makers in relation to the accountability systems that support and protect CCWs.

Family Networks

While this is not discussed extensive in the literature, in the Chapter 3 it is acknowledged the importance of family as a primary step to engagement with creative, culture and skills development. Family networks were also recognised by some of the participants as playing a key role in the ability to access creative and cultural work. This participant from Treviso describes her early career entry as linked to the family business,

> *"I'm lucky enough to have a family, especially on my mother's side, which has a business in the city, so I've always been in contact with people, from small artisans. […]. From that, relationships opened up and I was lucky enough to make a couple of good contacts, a couple of companies that started supporting us" (TR3M20s).*

Other connections from the wider extended family, friends, and acquaintances were also identified as an important early career conversion factor;

> *"…after three years I got in contact with my nephew who called me and he just started […] a company developing new products and new devices for other companies. And that was first of all, because that really inspired me that it was a start-up at that time. So that was something I was really interested in […], it was very innovative that it's developing new devices, new things, things that does not exist already so that was really interesting for me so I didn't […] A few years later I also joined as a company owner" (LE13M30s).*

Family and the wider network of connections linked to the family were not the only resource described in relation to early career. This participant from Pori spoke of fostering skills through the family business, a restaurant, which provided the *"foot in the door"* which he then converted into developing a restaurant into a music venue and then a music festival;

> *"my mother had a restaurant, a cafe and restaurant, and starting from a very little I worked there. Then I bought mom's restaurant with my little brother when I was a young man […] And then, my restaurant business started. And the restaurant business was gigs, that was a club, and a restaurant. And through that, the business expanded to the point where festivals also came into play" (PO27M40s).*

Family ties were also very important at the moment of starting ones own business or venture across many of our case studies, from an individual starting a media company in Pécs with her husband: "*my family was always supportive, I work with my husband. You should be around people who build you, and who see you from the outside. It is not a problem for me to ask for help from my family and friends" (PE1F50s);* to a graduate starting a gallery space with his brother in L'Aquila;

> *"So I went back to L'Aquila before graduating and, together with my brother, I founded a fairly avant-garde art gallery because it was the first private gallery without public funding that wanted to set itself the goal of being a platform for observing contemporary culture, the creative culture that was happening in a small provincial town like L'Aquila" (LA15M50s).*

Family connections in CCW have hitherto been identified as productive of the wider inequalities associated with social ties and nepotism (O'Brien et al. 2020). This links to the wider question of socioeconomic status

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and CCW, when access to certain creative labour markets is filtered through closed social contacts (O'Brien et al. 2014; Friedman et al. 2017; Oakley et al. 2017). Much of this work has been based on UK studies of the creative economy with little empirical investigation into the relationship between socioeconomic status and CCW across Europe. The DISCE data suggests that the family networks and connections that operated within the ten case study locations did not indicate a social hierarchy or dominance of one social group across socioeconomic status.

Funding and financial support

For individuals trying to emerge with projects, it was clear that funding was a main issue. Some interviewee mentioned specific schemes that enable them to take project off the ground or develop ideas. These funding came from specific public policy (like the New Deal for Musicians) or other foundations or initiatives. It is interesting to notice the impact of these funding schemes in the UK and their grounding in the early 2000s New Labour policies (Gross 2020),

> *"I took myself off to play up and down the country doing three gigs in one day between Leeds and London. And I really put my focus on doing that. I was supported… I was suggested to something called the New Deal for Musicians which I used in the early noughties and that supported me in getting a music career. I received funding from UK training investments, music international conferences. I was supported by Radio 1, I released an album" (CH1F40s).*

Sometimes these funding or scheme can re-direct the work or career of the individual, for example; "*I got an apprenticeship at Canterbury Cathedral, paid for at the time by the crafts council, um part time, and it was in the wall paintings workshop. So I became a wall paintings restorer, a mural restorer, first of all, in the cathedral workshop" (CH16F60s).* For a participant from Dundee this meant that funding needs to come from personal saving to enable for his work and ideas to be presented and his career to take off

> *"I knew we didn't have enough gas in the tank, we didn't have any money. I re-mortgaged the house to fund the first show, and I knew that I needed a national critic, […], we need that critic and these programmers to come and see us. And they, and it took a lot. I mean, we threw everything at it, but because they did see that work, I then was commissioned by the National Theatre of Scotland, and then my career took off" (DU27F50s).*

In the case of a musician from L'Aquila, it was clear that there was a barrier in relation to funding to start with but those barriers eased with time, *"at the beginning when we did not have so much recognition, that yes it was a bit difficult, but then from the second third year it was much easier to find funds" (LA25F30s).* For others – like this participant from Lund, it was clear that the challenge of obtaining financial support was still open and something affecting his current work.

> *"So, a lot of people from my degree they took what I would say is regular office jobs, and things like that, just to get some money. […], it was very tough […], but how do I make this work now? How do I continue with this. And, of course, it's a common thing, but things like how to apply for funding, how to be resourceful" (LU26M30s).*

Being recognised versus feeling undervalued

Many participants described positive moments of 'recognition' from the sector, from being supported by individuals believing in them or supporting them. It is obvious there is an element of serendipity in these

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forms of support and recognition, which as conversion factors, cannot be fully systematised. However, they were often historical – suggesting that in a period with less precarity and competition – individuals benefitted from a more supportive environment where others were keen to foster (also discussed in Chapter 7). Like in the case of this Dundee participant, *"she gave me all the books, tonnes of them they were wildly expensive and, and there was just, there was just this sort of gentle encouragement from people when I mentioned I was interested in doing this" (DU7F40s).*

In the case of this participant from Treviso recognition came from the visibility and approval from an Italian national TV personality attending a show: *"he liked it very much. And he invited us to work with him at Channel 5. […] [T]hen it became our profession. In that phase, we alternated between theatre and television production, so we began to produce programmes for television" (TR10M60s).*

For another participant in Chatham a similar encounter shaped their career;

> *"I did various bits of fringe work, then I got an Arts Council bursary, which took me out of London. Um, and then from there, I guess the sort of pivotal moment for me was the young -- the person who was on the young directors' scheme at the Royal Court became an artistic director of a theatre in Scotland. And, he invited me up there, which was my, sort of, designing of my first, kind of, proper paid show" (CH7F50s).*

As discussed in 5.2.2 awards and degree show offered an important element of recognition but also often led to other forms of wageless work (see Chapter 6). In the case of this designer from Chatham it meant being able to build valuable contacts*, "the first year I graduated from my Master's[…] I was selected by Peroni beer they did a big show on the Millennium Bridge in London. […] I did profiles for like emerging designers and then moved on from there to a company […] and they were in the Royal Academy of Arts" (CH12M40s).* However, even if this recognition is valuable the interviewee concluded, *"great festival but it didn't pay the bills"* to highlight that recognition required work and time but did not result directly in the capability to sustain one's career. Similarly, this Chatham-based fashion designer expressed the struggle to get visibility and not getting paid*;*

> *"so initially I had to get onto the catwalk and to be part of fashion weeks to get my name out there because we've then got the press. […] [Y]ou've got the fashion stylists that will pull in so they'll borrow your clothes and shoot them for magazines […] But you don't get paid for any of that, they're doing you a favour" (CH12M40s).*

In some of the more historical career accounts (in the 1970s or 1980s), we found more freedom taken in giving people opportunities. Maybe because of fewer opportunities or a more structured way to access them, contemporary accounts lack such positive reflection on being trusted or given an opportunity to emerge. A participant from Chatham recalls being given the opportunity to run a new arts centre,

> *"my boss, god knows why, had the confidence to give me this new art centre, and I knew nothing about programming or running a venue or anything. I mean, I had a very steep learning curve, but that was a brilliant opportunity […]. So in many ways, really, what was kind of rocket fuel for me was having someone who believed in me and really, really gave me that freedom to do things that perhaps others would be afraid to do" (CH15F60s).*

Against these positive accounts, there was a recognition that young CCW and early career creatives in general faced an uphill battle in terms of how their youth and inexperience was perceived by the sector. For many, especially participants starting at a younger age there was a perceived struggled about being heard as this singer from Treviso, who had started performing at the age of 17 acknowledged,

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"I, of course if I look back, already being able to live well doing this job is already, are my songs… not doing ballroom dancing or weddings, you know? Doing theatrical things and concerts with my songs, so it's already a lot of stuff. But yes, I would like to expand, at least to succeed […] I but it's also difficult, in the sense that nine times out of ten they don't even listen to you, because rightly they receive an exorbitant amount of proposals, so you have to enter a circle, right? Where they, in fact, rely on promoters, on agents they trust" (TR4F30s).

Sometimes not feeling valued or recognised was not necessarily only connected to age as for example a new venture was anyhow perceived as less believable in the cultural space of L'Aquila.

"I returned to L'Aquila in 2015-16. From there came the idea of founding this association. It was difficult because we were a young association, even though each of us had between 10 and 15, sometimes even 20, years' experience, but being a young association, we had little credibility and therefore could not access substantial sources of funding, so we had to start with small projects, with small steps" (LA23F40s).

This was perceived as frustrating and a barrier for people trying to engage with the local context.

Similarly, a participant from Liepāja reconnects the challenge of young creatives to contribute to creative conversation, with a custom for authoritative rather than collaborative decision making,

"we have the bad habit of, I'm not sure whether those are some kind of Soviet customs, inherited thinking – to stay in line with subordination, but […] within the creative fields where people come together, subordination isn't really... it's not an argument. Okay, perhaps that person might be 12 years younger than you, but there is a chance that he is more competent than... than you are" (LI10F20s).

A refreshing perspective came from some of the participants. A student from Dundee highlighted how they felt appreciated within the local context (compared to the more competitive approach of other area of the UK) *"Students have value here. Like, students are seen and treated with respect. They're seen as potential future colleagues, not just, you know, inexperienced baby artists" (DU12F40s).* Similarly, in Twente an incubator manager highlighted the creative value that inexperience can have in bringing different perspectives,

"one of these big events that we host […] It's like a think tank with more than a thousand students that tackle challenges of the industry or companies or like societal challenges. They use these creative brains, bright minds, […] they don't have that whole baggage, luggage of the past with them,[…]. And because this world needs, not people that do R&D, locked up in a cave for 10 years, they need people that are in society who know and face the challenges of society to come up with creative solutions" (EN24M20s).

Teaching skills and teaching jobs to access CCW

One pillar that emerged from the data to both access to paid CCW and access and develop CC project relates to engagement of individuals in teaching in early stages of their career. HE plays also an important role in this moment of transition and can through interventions, hubs and infrastructure enable graduates' professional development and sustain practices – including retaining graduates in the local CCE (discussed further in 5.4).

In the transition from early career stages to SCCW, participants discussed the importance of teaching (acquiring teaching skills, accessing first teaching jobs and building a portfolio involving teaching). This is also

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discussed in Chapter 6 in reference to hybrid/portfolio working. This is extending further into more broadly retaining connections and collaborations with HEIs. Teaching (as also discussed in Chapter 4) was perceived safer option after university to find employment or add to a portfolio of work.

> *"I studied history at KU Leuven and I worked for three years as a teacher in high school, but I stepped into the museum sector" (LE11F30s).*

> *"I quite quickly end up teaching for the college on their youth programmes and but I also landed a job quite quickly for a big city-wide youth project in Edinburgh working to the council. […] it made me look more beyond my kind of sphere of reference to that point which was very much arts and cultural, and then suddenly I was working inside local government" (DU20M40s).*

> *"it seemed to me that the most logical thing to do in order to work was to teach. To teach art, you only had to take one exam, so I included an exam on the history of contemporary art in my syllabus" (TR9M50s).*

Across the case studies, there was a clear awareness that teaching (teaching qualifications or teaching skills) was an important strategy to differentiate and support one's career but also a strategy to enter the sector where often more opportunities are for a paid job (Brook et al. 2021):

> *"For craft graduates the job outlook in Finland isn't that good. I faced the problem myself for a long time; I realised that the products made with handicrafts do not bring food to the table, there has to be something else, too. My business idea is a bit of all areas, so there's teaching" (PO6F40s).*

Teaching was valued in early career stages also for the flexibility (part-time work, flexible workaround courses), giving opportunities for sustaining the individual while other options are explored.

> *"I graduated from the Master […] they asked me to fill it for a semester since I'd already been doing a little bit of teaching there, that was perfect for me because again, I wasn't entirely sure what I was going to do. And I was just looking at opportunities. And so that is part-time. And then one semester turned into another semester and then they were unsure if they would be able to get the funding to make a permanent job. But they did. So I applied for it and got the permanent part time job" (DU21F30s).*

> *"At the beginning, since I couldn't make a career out of it, I accompanied this path by working as a teacher at school. This helped me do the concerts because you don't spend many hours at school" (TR8F40s).*

For others education is perceived as a steppingstone to other work, as educational services was often connected to municipalities and organisations (like charities or foundations) work, this often led to other managerial positions later. This is discussed further in Chapter 7 in relation to fostering CCW and leadership.

> *"I was also freelancing, so I taught drama. I had this passion, I always have, about supporting the community. And cultural entitlement, particularly in minority groups. I taught about drama and musical theatre in play schools. I taught it at adult ed. I did it in, um, with young offenders for university. I did it in a disabled day care centre. So I was freelancing doing all this stuff" (CH17F40s).*

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"Then when I finished with the technology degree, I spent a few years in different schools teaching music for grades 7-9 and general upper secondary education, and then I ended up in youth services in Turku working all kinds of tasks" (PO10M30s).

For others, teaching becomes a default option in response to the lack of work opportunities, like in the case of Pécs where this organiser highlights the lack of perspective for early career artists: *"We are full of artists, but unfortunately there is no possibility. Every year 30 artists graduate from university, but nothing happens to them. They go and teach drawing" (PE14M30s).*

However, as highlighted by one of our respondents in Liepāja, teaching is not just a way in CCW can support themselves and sustain a portfolio career or their own creative practice, it is much more and it connects with the need for creative education to actually provide both theoretical and practical perspectives. So to have lecturers and people in HEIs that also have practical experiences and knowledge influence also the way knowledge is developed and other can acquire the creative and cultural skills discussed in Chapter 4. Education is also part of a need to re-invest or give back, to foster (as discussed also in Chapter 3 and 7) so teaching skills allow at different points in individuals careers to engage with culture and support others creative and cultural skills development.

"so in addition to my permanent job, which I do alongside my work as a collaborator with other associations, I am also involved in the interconnection between dance and art […] which is exactly what I have always done, when I was a pupil as a child, then I became a collaborator and teacher, and for example we are preparing a show […] It is a show of interconnection between dance and famous people from Abruzzo" (LA18F30s).

5.3. The capability to develop creative/cultural skills

It is important to note that the 'early career' stage (often after FE/HE) was perceived by many respondents as an important movement for developing further creative/cultural skills. It was a recognition that certain skills need developing within jobs (or were not fully developed in FE/HE as discussed in Chapter 4). Of course, many respondents articulated various accounts of this progression of learning and skills developed with work (Bridgstock 2011), however, two main dynamics: (1) the kind of organisations that provided better learning opportunities out of education and (2) the kind of patterns of working and professional development – within jobs and organisations – that allowed career progression. In relation to these patterns of working, we specifically engage with the Creative Trident model (Higgs et al. 2008) discussed in detail in Dent et al. 2020 (deliverable 3.2) to consider how a range of participants start creative and cultural careers was not necessary within the specialist role but more in the embedded or support roles. Similarly, we see that the evolution of knowledge, skills and learning in creative and cultural careers means that many move across and within a range of roles in the trident.

5.3.1. Learning by doing, mentorship and small organisations

Participants from different cities commented on the difference between accessing CCW in small and large organisations. Starting in a smaller organisation enables participants to quickly learn a range of skills and take on different responsibilities, which they would not be given in large organisations. As the director of a cultural institute in Dundee highlights, the start of their career was in a small organisation *"in a very small*

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organisation, you learn all that stuff super quick, you have to […] it is literally two people doing everything. I learned about doing receipts how to do a budget, how to have an argument with the tax office" (DU7F40s).

Another participant from Leuven, who is currently a small company owner, started his career working in a big multinational corporation and reflected that in a multinational environment it was very hard to influence the agenda and shape projects,

> *"within such a big company it was not exactly where I felt at the right place. Like it was too big and when I wanted to change things or when I had ideas I had to like discuss with 10 people and then ask for permission in Brussels and then first wait for the decision of the manager in Paris. So it took like a year just to start a new idea or to do something new" (E13M30s).*

However, participants also recognised that the limitation of smaller organisations – that provide great learning and experimentation settings – is that often they are not able to offer jobs or incorporate interns or others within their staff they do not always have the capacity to offer secure jobs. This was presented as a criticality by the manager of an independent design studio in Dundee that was keen offers (paid) internships to graduates. As the head of the studio highlights "*You know people have learned a lot in the studio qualified, but then, unfortunately, we can't offer, you know, we don't have the means to offer them a job at the end of that. […]. But you know we can't continue into proper employment so they do end up leaving […] there's been some amazing people that we would have loved to retain" (DU6F60s).* The value of internship for individual learning and career was discussed earlier (5.2.1), however, what emerges clearly from this example is the capacity of small organisations and companies in the CCIs to provide great learning and development opportunities for individuals but their limitation in scaling up and being able to grow to accommodate more individual within their business settings.

Initial steps and support from work are also used to increase the skills level of participants. This is even with small organisations, so in the example of this participant from Treviso his initial steps into a media company have led to new opportunities for leadership along the way.

> *"I started out as a video editor, which I had learnt a little at university, but clearly the world of work is different, so I had the chance to get involved and learn the trade, thanks also to those who were already doing it for the company. Over time, I also began to have other tasks with greater responsibilities, so let's say that I currently coordinate and manage the entire audio-visual editorial sector" (TR14M40s).*

However, it was clear that – because of the specific expertise needed in many positions in CCW the learning by doing was central and alongside that the patience, encouragement and support of individuals made that learning possible. In this account from a craft maker from Treviso, we can see how the importance of these dynamic for personal and professional development in transferring the knowledge of the materials and making (Comunian & England 2019). In micro-enterprises, situated business learning was pivotal and also learning from and through *'doing with others'* (Raffo et al. 2000)

> *"you work with two hands and you have to work symmetrically. If you have to make straight cuts and things like that he's very good. […] I always confronted […] by not telling him anything even if he made a mistake; I just explained to him better how to use the tools. […] [B]ecause if he broke a glass, he'll be even more afraid to work later. So I told him: don't worry, there are many glasses, acquire ease, tranquillity and don't be afraid. Because I could see he was good, and now we always work in pairs" (TR15M50s).*

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Similarly, for other fields, like animation in the 1980s, this respondent from Treviso highlights that very little could be touched in education and that training could only happen in the context of small studios working on this development

> *"there were no schools, even the experimental centre itself did not train professionals, but authors, artists... it was not yet considered a profession that could take hold. Even now, it's not like there's a very developed market, but back then there were lots of small studios where everyone worked with their own peculiarities, even the working tools, and everyone had their own register for the animation sheets" (TR18F50s).*

A similar experience is discussed by a curator in Treviso, who lamented the lack of focus in the Italian HE towards contemporary arts: *"dealing with the contemporary the university studies although being specific on the contemporary did not really get to talk about what was happening in the present day, I found that in the work" (TR17F30s).* Again for very different fields, we find that HE knowledge does and cannot always cover all required.

Similarly this Dundee based artists described a long trajectory of continuous learning where the learning happens in different projects (self-initiated, funded, informal) and highlights the way capacity, techniques and skills are developed and evolving as the CCW is involved in different commissions and projects. The CCW project-based nature highlight the need to keep "learning in projects" (Grabher 2004) and how project ecologies (*ibid.*) whether involving large corporations or small organisations and freelancers have a long-lasting impact on career development,

> *"we had a bit of a we had a basic knowledge of, certainly of woodwork. I mean, my girlfriend is a sculptor, she was in my year at art college. And she, she built like a gigantic loom that she was working on, so she had a really good knowledge of woodwork. And then, right after art college while I was doing this project with Norway, she got project with the Glenfiddich distillery that, that makes the whisky and she got a big materials fund and she paid for us both to learn how to dry stone walls um, build dry stone walls to help her with sculptures, so she employed me, which was funny. And yeah, so we had this basic knowledge, so we were able to initially, we were able to sort of say "Okay! We can" – we sort of bigged ourselves up a bit and said we could do these jobs and then kind of learned on the job how to do them. And so yeah we, we ended up building a greenhouse out of recycled wood and windows for an old school. Learned how to build window frames. And – but I think we just had enough basic knowledge that we could figure out how to do most jobs" (DU9M20s).*

5.3.2. Developing skills through work

The accounts of many participants highlight how skills and knowledge are developed once one enters the creative economy 'trident' (Higgs et al. 2008) even if one is not necessarily making a specialist creative contribution to the sector. These three different pathways acknowledge how opportunities for learning and developing skills also with the workplace can shape the overall career trajectory and development of individuals.

As we discussed in the next Chapter, there is a tendency for CCWs to undertake multiple jobs and to adopt hybrid modes of working (Chapter 6). However, here we focus more on the shifts of careers focus and jobs over time and specifically in the kind of learning and connected development of skills and knowledge taking

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place in these shifts. Table 5.4, based on Higgs et al. (2008) identifies 4 specific knowledge/skills pathways taking place.

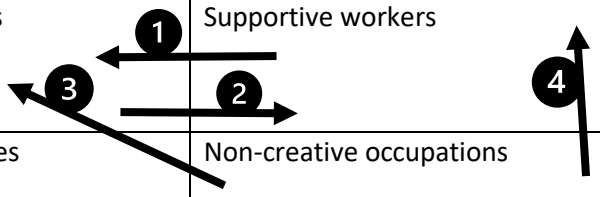
While the specific pathways are discussed below, it is important to notice how the overall skills and knowledge of the sector is made up of these components and inputs and how the transfer of workers across influence the development and future trajectories of companies and workers.

In the move across quadrants and jobs – alongside an interest towards culture or creativity – there was a clear drive for more learning and knowledge (as discussed also in Chapter 4) has driving career choices – sometimes even beyond monetary rewards (Comunian et al. 2010) as highlighted by this freelancer from Pori,

> *"at the university, I was working as a research assistant, so the pay was really small compared to my experience. I have also transferred from CEO to research assistant, maybe not in the order that would have been logical for the success. I have more gone with how interesting the task is and what would support my own learning, and also what I would want to learn next" (PO4F40s).*

Table 5.4: Four knowledge/skills pathways

	Creative Occupation	**Non-creative occupation**
Creative Industries	Specialist creatives	Supportive workers
Non-Creative Industries	Embedded creatives	Non-creative occupations



Of course, beyond these shifts, there were individuals that moved across different specialist creative roles across their career. Again this is connected with the evolution of knowledge and skills that take place over-time.

Work opportunities do not necessarily fit within the study or career trajectory of some respondents but the actual work and experience shapes they career and opportunity for future work but again this example also expand on the fact that even move within the same quadrant (specialised creative) can imply a very different set of knowledge and skills.

> *"I started with literature I thought I would be working with books in some way. Specifically children's literature […] But since I started with this Radio AF thing, I really think that it would be so much fun to work with radio. And I have a part-time job at the commercial radio station here in Lund too […] And I just think it would be very fun to work with something that has to do with either literature or radio" (LU10F20s).*

Another participant acknowledges that the career moves are not always dictated by the individual but by macro-changes in CCW and the sector, in this case the demise of journalistic photography as a paid profession,

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"in my opinion it is not a profession that you can keep afloat if you want to work with newsrooms, so from there I moved on to other things, such as advertising photography, which in my case is linked to the music industry – which, however, is also consistent with the whole beginning I had in the underground because there was also a strong imprint of musical research, so I find it consistent with what I did – and a lot of theatre. However I'm aware that probably in 5 years I'll have to change again, that is, I don't feel at all sure about the form it takes depending on the ideas. In five years' time I know it can change again" (LA17F40s).

Pathway 1: From supportive role to specialist role

For many of our participants it was clear that working in specific institutions or the attraction of working in the local CCE was central and therefore many were happy to start in the sector event in non-creative jobs. In fact, even from starting in basic tasks there were clear opportunities to progress and emerge in creative occupations for quite a few of our participants.

"While being in college, I became a janitor at the Pécs Gallery. I started from here. Then I was a decorator, I organized an exhibition, I studied project management […] The Antal Lusztik collection opened in Pécs in 2006 and was coming back. We also did contemporary exhibitions. I started working there again. In 2008 I was invited to the European Capital of Culture programme" (PE11M40s).

Pathway 2: From specialist to supportive role

For other it was the case that early in their career they entered the sector as creative producers (playing music or designing games) and then as their skills and work progress in the industry they were able to move in more supportive role whether technical or financial or similar

For some while the early career is driven by passion, to make things sustainable implies moving in related areas of CCW. In the case of this musician from Pécs *"I played guitar in many different bands, we gave a lot of concerts both in Pécs and in other cities of the country. Then in the end I didn't break away from this sphere, I always stayed in the Pécs music life. This is how I became not only a musician but also a manager" (PE20M30s).*

This is also reported by a participant in Enschede: *"we created our own company in the fringe for a time, then we were kind of taken to come to Enschede to become the youth theatre […]. Then I was playwright and organizer and producer at the same time, it was like a fringe company. But then more or less certainly, we started to be fully professional" (EN14M70s).*

Pathway: 3 From non-creative to creative economy

For a participant from Enschede the pathway to creative and cultural work is again different as they moved from a non-creative job and sector into creative work. The participant started studying history but had to move into technical education as – after having children – technical education was able to provide her with childcare support, to incentives women's participation in technology. However, after a while, through a film education programme she was able to access work in film and journalism

"...so, I finished my degree in telecom installations and I'm an engineer in telecom installation. But, it was not what I really thought I would do, but I liked to do it for a

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while. And, I stayed in the job for seven years. And then, I thought, okay, now I want to do something else with my life. And, I did an open studio, it's a film education programme, and I start to work in film and journalism. And, I worked making some documentaries" (EN33F50s).

Similarly another participant from Leuven moved from working as a psychologist to working in television and as a creative consultant,

"I worked seven years as a psychologist. Then I changed my career into television […] I used also my psychological insights to project it into storytelling. And now, in our creative consultancy, little firm, I think I use them all in a very mixed way" (LE18M40s).

There was a clear awareness that entering the sector was only a first step and that individual had to continue to self-invest in themselves and develop strategies to sustain the long-run of their career

"So it's a bit like a cat biting its own tail. But I repeat, everything in its own time. In any case, in my projects I am the artistic director and the production secretary, but because there is no one else to take them on, I created the project. If a theatre asks you to go and do what makes tickets, you also go and do it, in the sense that you know you are entering a circle which then pays off in the long run. And this is why I enrolled in the master's degree, because all the top positions in the public administration require it" (TR3M20s).

Pathway 4: From non-creative to supportive occupation

The last pathway highlights how skills and specialised knowledge that can be acquired in non-creative occupations and in non-creative industries are also entering the creative industries. Here in the case of this financial manager from Leuven the move was motivated by the interest in the sector

"I graduated in 2002 […] I just started to apply in various sectors, and I started in a bank. […] then I went to work for Toyota for 10 years as a project manager in engineering. So, it was completely different, but it was really all-around project management. But then I noticed two things, that first of all, I'm more interested in finance, and also my interest lies more in the public sector, in the cultural sector. So, I moved to a museum where I became the financial manager" (LE20M40s).

5.4. The capability to foster CCW

Across the case studies regions there were important considerations made around the importance to foster CCW, this is discussed further in Chapters 6 and 7. However, a core element of fostering CCW was for many around how to support young people or graduates into creative and cultural careers and create concerted opportunities for people to enter the sector. Many of our case studies struggled with graduate retention – especially creative graduates – this was often linked to the lack of local work opportunities in the CCIs (England 2021).

In the case of Dundee, with a strong creative HE infrastructure which attracts a significant student population to the city (Dent et al. 2022), local art institutions feel that it is their remit and role to not only develop creative and cultural skills but also to foster local work opportunities (as discussed also in Chapter 4) to retain the students *"a year cohort is maybe 70 students at fine arts or contemporary art practices. But not many of them stay in Dundee and that's the huge trouble" (DU19F50s).* Another participant in Dundee highlighted

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how there are not enough jobs *"there's not enough employment in the city to retain graduates. […] nearly all the students will leave quite quickly, will leave the city and go to larger cities or other areas" (DU6F60s).*

Similarly, in Leuven, a musician highlighted,

> *"the main challenge is that so you have like a music college and theatre college in Leuven but most of them after they graduate they just leave because it's really like a student city. And Leuven reputation of like the city where you practice and then you go to Antwerp, or Brussels. So there's a lot of people leaving which is a pity because they're often from Leuven and like me I'm leaving also next year" (LE26M20s).*

So as discussed in Chapter 4 we see that medium-size cities are often facing a reputation problem and end-up losing out in relation to larger (often close by) cities with more opportunities. In Chatham, very similar dynamics were described,

> *"So more low-cost space with good internet access to encourage people to set up a creative business. Because we've got three universities, four universities nearby full of creative people and they leave and often take their creative talents to other places whereas we need the investment in facilities and in space to encourage people and come in, you know we have got our studios but that is not enough" (CH4M40s).*

A lecturer in Enschede reported similar *patterns "one of the problems Enschede is facing is that we lose a lot of graduates. They go to Randstad, the western part of the Netherlands, because they can find a better job there, or there is more cultural life, there is more happening. They want to leave Enschede" (EN27F).*

In Lund, a policymaker described the same phenomena, *"those students, they come to Lund, they study in Lund and the very most of them, they then disappear. They go to Stockholm […]" (LU8M20s).* This affected according to the participant the whole population composition, with an older local population, a large percentage of young students but not many people in their 30s and 40s. However, it was not only creative and cultural jobs that were lacking, also other service sectors jobs, which often support hybrid working for emerging creatives. A student in Liepāja reported that *"a lot of young people fail to find work in Liepāja. Because, as far as I know, there are a lot of different small entrepreneurs in Riga, […] happy to hire young people, but unfortunately there are not so many such opportunities in Liepāja" (LI23F20s).*

For many participants, responding to this challenge and enabling better transition into CCW for young people and graduates requires a concerted effort, that bridges across the local CCE. As a performing artists articulate in Lund *"when people finish university or the academic system, and there's suddenly no support structure […] I have to have contacts, but then a lot of these contact, particularly in the art scene, they don't have the resources to get you involved, to pay you to work on projects" (LU26M30s).* Therefore, the local CCE and its commitment to support this transition phase are pivotal. In fact, while many identified key interventions and opportunities for specific players to contribute (see table 5.5), many others highlighted the importance of creating a local ecosystem able to support this through collaborations. As a HE leader in Dundee highlighted:

> *"I knew that working across boundaries, if we were going to regenerate the city that I was now working in. I had to work out how I could ensure jobs, creation of jobs. How is Scotland going to retain its graduates, its art and design graduates, what was the infrastructure for there? We were educating people and there was nothing, they would have to go to London, […] If a country is invested in all these individuals, it needs an infrastructure to allow these individuals to function economically within their environment. Why should they all have to leave their families or friends, their*

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infrastructure, because of a...there's nobody there to support them? So how do you build that?" (DU15F70s).

Table 5.5: Fostering CCW in local CCEs: early career

Interventions	Key player or CCE initiative
Incubators and affordable working space	Can be led by HEIs, local authorities or others including art charities or artists' cooperatives
Coordinated events/marketing strategy	While in many contexts local council or authority would lead on this, it is also possible for other cultural organisations, associations, or networks to drive this.
Entrepreneurship courses and programme	Often run within universities but also by other providers including commercial, public programme and not-for-profit organisations
Funding or interest-free loans and other finance	Often run by universities in partnership with others but also foundations and other third sector organisations
Cultural programmes and investment	Usually led by the local/regional authority but also requiring consortia or partnerships with key cultural institution

Incubators and affordable working space

A curator in L'Aquila confirmed the importance of workspace and the need for public intervention: *"In L'Aquila there is a lot of space and then we should offer space by the municipality to young creative people to find a hub, a creative and economic accelerator and also give a little 'time so maybe with small economic support for start-ups and projects" (LA8F40s).* However, they pointed out that for these to be successful there was a need

> *"to evaluate them without parameters of success that are not suitable, […] Without an immediate economic return, but maybe the measurability of success should be the impact on the territory, on the creation of networks, […] also for students it could become a place of excellence, as far as studios are concerned, again thinking of very low prices and also studios for artists" (LA8F40s).*

The manager of a local network in Dundee also points out to the role of policy in driving a space agenda for CCW:

> *"we need more affordable space. I mean, it's the usual basic stuff, but affordable space for people to kind of enter the creative economy and grow through it. We need adequate provisions when people come out of art school to be able to make and create so maker spaces, […] We need, we just need a willingness by the city to actually act on things that are and yeah, and listen to artists and creatives" (DU16F40s).*

A participant running a hub/artist space in Chatham highlighted how retaining local graduate can boost local economies but also put them on the map with recognitions and awards that they might receive,

> *"to give you an example, one of our artists […] she has just won the UN European Creative Young Person of the Year award, it's a huge award, and she's based in Medway now, and she wants to stay. […] she went to university nearby, set up a space with us, set up a business, and now she's winning UN awards, and that's the kind of talent that could be there, if we could get hold of the spaces, if we could convert old shops, empty*

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buildings. And it doesn't have to be us, I'm just saying that because that's what we do as a charity" (CH4M40s).

Another Chatham participant highlighted the role of co-working spaces in responding to the needs of young people, however, they specifically emphasised the role that policy can play (see also Chapter 7) *"how to support councils to be able to afford to give more rent relief to the sector. […] [Y]ou need the right spaces to give opportunities to young people and have space to be able to nurture them and time to be able to nurture them."* However, they also recognised the challenge for public sector to be able to offer these *opportunities "all these things are fragile. I know that, you know, they have to make income from their estates" (CH16F60s).* There are clear challenges for the public sector to be able to break some of those barriers.

An example to highlight the potential of universities to make a difference in the provision of space for recent graduates is a student from Dundee who praised the university for introducing a programme for recent MA graduates to still give them access to university infrastructure as artists-in-residence:

"so you don't have to hire studio space and equipment and buy your own equipment. So they really set you up. If you're talented and they want to give it to you, there are several of these post-grad artists-in-residence opportunities, which sort of bridges that portfolio building year, so you can establish your career before you need to invest in it, like, out of your own pocket" (DU12F40s).

In Lund an education manager also highlighted the importance of policy intervention to support young people and their needs *"for them to be able to start working or establish themselves in Lund. I think there's a lack of spaces for them and I think there's a lack of funding to apply for" (LU3F40s).*

Obviously alongside affordable working space, for many the affordability and availability of housing (discussed further in Chapter 7) was a specific challenge.

Networking events and platforms

On the other end, networking events and platform can sometimes start from very basic actions, like in the case of Chatham where a local participant described their agenda and commitment towards connecting the local CCE:

"I had to get cleaning work because I just had to make sure I had an income, […] started organising events in the co-working space. So, film screenings, kind of networking opportunities, and started doing a bit of film production as well. […] I started to get more attention from the arts point of view about what I was doing. […] I promoted what was going on locally and then helped to connect people, I had interviews with local artists and things. So that was all, I wasn't making any money from that. So I had these on-off events where I was earning money from it and then I guess I was just really immersed by that point in the local creative community" (CH20F30s).

The model of Creative Dundee as a form of sustainable network building through a strategically inclusive model is discussed in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7, however, for many it was important to have a local network or organisation leading the way in connecting the creative efforts of the CCE so that young people could benefit from its connections.

In Liepāja a young participant lamented the fact that at the early stages of their careers, young people are not confident and therefore struggle to put ideas forward: *"they have an idea, but they don't know what to do next"*. The problem identified is that while some support is in place *"I don't think that many young people*

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know about them. But they are there. I guess it's because young people don't really know what is going on in Liepāja, how many opportunities we are given, how many those support points we have, associations where they can get help free of charge, or that you can found your own business for free" (LI25F10s). Therefore, what seems to be missing is the ability of local organisations, schemes and opportunities to be networked and coordinate to provide support. *"I think perhaps Liepāja should make a website where everything offered in Latvia is listed, like where young people can go […]. If there were one place with all the information that is necessary" (LI25F10s).* A central coordinating role in the network of opportunities was felt as missing.

Coordinated events/marketing strategy

For participants, the ability of CCW in the early stages to access opportunities, depends also from the other local strategy for development as well as in relation to placemaking (Courage & McKeown 2019), place branding (Richards 2017) and events, including institutions and projects. These allow young people to acquire intelligence of the opportunity across networks and activities in an accessible way. This creative entrepreneur from Treviso highlights how these coordinated initiatives help establish a collaborative framework for the city

> *"we have a wonderful network with all the main cultural activities, at least in the province of Treviso, in the northeast, with whom, when we create the playbill, we always work in synergy. Everyone puts in what they can, there is always a certain amount of freedom and this allows us to have greatness, which goes beyond the small association that puts on its season. Because by taking part in the city's main events, in the co-production of shows, such as this year's inauguration of the municipal theatre was done in synergy. […]. So small events in which everyone puts something in, we act as a hat, we put in what's missing, but we also try to create this network and so it's all easier. Even in terms of image communication, it gives the idea of an association that works with the territory. Not on the territory, but with the territory and the other realities to create a unified project" (TR3M20s).*

As a participant involved in city marketing in Enschede highlighted:

> *"we have distilled the DNA of the city and there it's like technology, innovation and creativity are the three main core elements and we're gonna combine that with the quality of life we have here because it's like a green region. You have, housing is still affordable and you get some space, you get a garden, we have all the facilities you expect from a large city but it's still the, it's quite compact and it's a Dutch word what I'm gonna say 'nabuurschap', it's, people care about their neighbours" (EN19M).*

The role of a coherent message about the city is perceived as very important. Creativity here plays an important role but only in connection with technology and innovation.

The image was also described as playing an important role in graduate retention and allowing for the opportunity for local students to remain in our case study cities to live. As this student from Treviso highlights

> *"the city is often unable to recognise the talents it has and does not have the capacity to develop itself sufficiently. We need to work on the image of the city outside the Veneto because it is still a small peripheral centre. I would suggest to the politicians that they pay much more attention to the image of the city, not just as a showcase or as an advertisement to be made outside, but as a model for the people who live there, for*

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people like me who come from outside and decide to stay, studying and working" (TR21F20s).

This echoes some of the recent academic literature that has criticised how even cities that actively promote their image as 'creative cities' to the outside, often neglect to focus on their talent and supporting CCW (Comunian et al. 2021).

Training courses and learning opportunities

Beyond the formal provision of FE/HE, there was a shared view that training and learning opportunities were keen to integrate young creatives in the local CCE. For the manager of an incubator space in Enschede it is important that the inclusiveness agenda is take seriously and stretched further:

> *"we give everyone the chance indeed, and we want to facilitate everyone when you take the step into entrepreneurship and that's why we have for instance our bootcamps are open to everyone, we have people, just regular people from the city joining the bootcamps before, because we want to provide them the opportunities to make use of the available resources and just indeed be inclusive to have that first step" (EN24M20s).*

This also involves local employers getting involved in the agenda, like in the case of this CEO of a media company trying to facilitate opportunities for local recruitment in his company.

> *"We work with the local university really closely. Our HR team do, yeah we recruit from the university, we give talks at the university, we have some strong links there. […] most of the people we get, local people we get are people who come in at the ground level, um, tend not to, this is a generalisation, we tend to recruit senior people from outside the area and junior people from inside the area, and those junior people can become senior people, they do. They tend to come in much more on the ground floor" (CH14M50s).*

It is important therefore not only to focus on the hard infrastructure (space) but also on programmes, courses and other incentives that can facilitate entering CCW. A local institution highlighted the need for opportunities to be created locally for student interested in gaining experience in different areas of entrepreneurship,

> *"we've taken 4 or 5 which the university funds for a 2-3 week period of internships for their student. We get 4 people to come to us every year. One of the key departments for students on site is the school of business that tends to generate people interested in working with us on our marketing and communication team" (CH22M60s).*

Training and development opportunities are important agendas not only of universities but also of a range of other organisations. The concerted opportunity to offer access to a broad range of people has the capability to think about strategic interventions in the local CCE. In Dundee this was acknowledged by different participants across varied examples:

> *"So the V&A was looking for access to communities, BME communities in Dundee and Amina having a presence, I think that is from what I understand. The other kind of reason was – as you probably are aware – there is loads of barriers for access for BME folks into the creative sector. So we saw this as an opportunity where we break down some of the stigmas associated with being in the creative sector, but also in the same time give women something which is tangible so not only will they go through this very*

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bespoke support, where they not only learn how to express themselves, but also be able to use that as a means to get employment" (DU14F40s).

Cultural institutions themselves have the capability to foster creative and cultural work and provide specialised training. This topic is returned to in Chapter 7 where we consider the value of this fostering work to the local CCE. In the case of this theatre in Liepāja the organisation is able to provide specialised training but also absorb the individuals providing work for them,

"we have our own company of actors, we have a new training course with 10 people scheduled to graduate next year and we would like to keep eight of them […]. In terms of theatre – all that is here on the spot". However, the importance of providing this connection between training and work is also determined by the limited number of opportunities in the city: "there is not much that they can do in Liepāja as well […]. They have one theatre in Liepāja" (LI4F30s).

This highlights how creative and cultural organisation engaging with specialised training need to also think carefully about the opportunities and sustainability of this training in local labour markets.

This emphasis on youth and training was not only taken forward by HEIs (Chapter 4) and policy institutions (Chapter 7) but also by other third-sector organisations, like in the case of this participant work in Leuven,

"last year we set up a not-for-profit organization with the aim to facilitate, again, I go, sorry, to facilitate youngsters who, for one reason or another, are not able to enter the labour market, in spite of many efforts done by public labour offices, in spite of many efforts done by existing not-for-profit organizations, so the point we wanted to make is to give these youngsters a chance, in an alternative, in a quite alternative way, by giving them a job, a paid job so they are paid to work with us two months" (LE15M50s).

However, as discussed also in Chapter 3 and 7, learning opportunities are key feature to support access and inclusion, so the role of learning institutions does not have to about making the city attractive but about the change that this brings to the quality of life of its citizens, in the case of Enschede as an incubator manager highlights *"making sure that there is impact for society, for this region, so all these universities also with their feet in the city, in the region, impacting people's life on a daily basis, like now even in new vision like the 'people first university', it's about people, not about science" (EN24M20s).*

Financial investment, loans and cost of living

In many of our case studies, there were opportunities for young people to start up as creative and cultural entrepreneurs to access funds or loans (as discussed also in 5.3.3). In the case of this research participants from Enschede the university offered "an interest-free loan to set up the company if you graduate at the University, directly afterwards" (EN18M). What is interesting about this case is that the loan was obtained even if the other person involved was not part of the university (but a graduate from the local art college) "he is the artist where I was more the technical person. And if you want to make games you need both. So, we thought let's give it a shot. Might as well. It was only the two of us but we'll see how far we can get. And we used the loan to build up, to buy the first stuff, the machines, desks... get office space" (EN18M). This kind of incentive demonstrates commitment towards bridging CCW and broader technological and innovation infrastructure in the city.

"In other contexts, for example Pécs, a participant highlights how it is hard to get support after university, the University (and funding from a foundation), "sponsor the creators by purchasing one work at a time[…] This is the only way you can win an award as a sculptor student. After college, I don't know what would help" (PE10F20s). Another

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Pécs graduate reflected on the inability to access finance: "How will I make my money for the potter's wheel, the oven, the studio? […]. We produce 30 ceramics in 5 years, but approx. 5 people continue as potters, […] the finances are the biggest problem, and to get started. If there is no help from family, they have nothing to go on with. I can go to work like office work, bartending" (PE21F20s).

A similar need for finance frameworks was discussed by an academic manager in Dundee:

"I think there are ways to establish an investment fund potentially. I don't know if the university could have its own investment like Edinburgh do eventually. So that'd be interesting. I think it's good that university put core funded interest because it's a good selling point for university […] I think we were the first university in Scotland to have a business accelerator programme running on campus" (DU8M30s).

However, while funding opportunities are not there, the low cost of living and space and the closely knitted creative community is seen as contributing to local CCE *"Its very low cost to live in Dundee as well, to start up a business its very low cost to set up a business. I think people like most students see this, the staff really care about helping students in the city as well. Just a really nice environment"* (DU8M30s).

Another participant from Lund highlighted the importance of providing funding for a range of creative interventions – not only traditional technological start-ups,

"to put funding in these areas, funding for newly started theatre groups, or funding for artists incubators, or funding for just experimental cultural creativity, which is what Stenkrossen, the place we talked about, is, but I think there needs to be much more, there needs to be a sense, created a sense of ease and attainability of these basic needs fulfilled, for starting artists, or starting musicians or starting dancers, because now it's quite difficult and very scarce. So, I think that's, politicians should see the value in attracting these young people and keeping them, that there are already here and helping them along, because that would be an investment in the future. So, I think that would a smart thing to do, so making it easier and making it available with funding" (LU3F40s).

Cultural programmes and investments

Funds invested by councils and local authorities in supporting the local creative and cultural infrastructure can play a really important role in boosting opportunities for young people and graduates to enter the sector. The European Capital of Culture title in Pécs had this effect – however investment in local artists nowadays has not been very strong as local art graduate explains,

"The Nádor Gallery provides an opportunity for university students to exhibit, but no one deals with artists who have already graduated when they are young. I haven't had an exhibition since college, even though I applied. My only option was during the 'Design Pécs', when we were able to exhibit our materials in unused shop windows. It meant a lot to me. There are plenty of hidden artists and they don't notice" (PE9F20s).

In Dundee a local manager highlighted how historically, at the end of the 1990s, Dundee City Council had started investing in a number of roles *"around training and facilitation for working with people, largely around employment, education and training"* but also more recently with *"Nesta to help form one of their big startup programmes, Starter for Six […] on a number of creative economy programmes" (DU16F40s)*.

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Similarly, in Treviso the representative of a local association highlight how the presence of the organisation and its work has attracted funding from national institutions and calls and how this funding – even if not large – can make a real impact on the visibility of emerging artists locally, "*we won […] a production grant for contemporary art of almost €100,000, which, as an event in itself, […] itself is not a large sum, but as a promotion of single works by a 35-40-year-old target artist, […] it is still a product of a relevant nature" (TR16M30s).*

In Leuven the emphasis was on the bid to the European Capital of Culture in 2030,

> *"they will, they are trying to become the cultural capital by 2030, which means that in the next nine years, they really are going to spend so much money on culture, which is why they're building this new big theatre hall, which is why they're supporting new organizations like us, because one problem there was, so there, well, we are trying to do solve this a little bit, but there still isn't that much opportunity for new young makers in Leuven. […] There are cultural institutions, but they are so, like they just, they don't look for new people every year, you know? Or not enough anyway. So, most of those people went to either Antwerp or to Brussels. So, each year, Leuven lost like their own talent" (LE27F20s).*

Therefore, a range of local organisations and intermediaries (explored further in Chapters 6 and 7) has the capacity to create a critical mass of funding and initiatives which can be directed in supporting accessing early career opportunities for local CCW.

These connects also with the possibility to HEIs themselves investing more in their cultural infrastructure and programming as discussed in Chapter 4 and as also highlighted by this participant, *"on the other hand there was the radio […] they were still starting to launch it. They set up the editorial office inside the university, I think the year after I left. It was a time of ferment because there was a desire to start something new, so there were a whole series of interesting activities, which I would not otherwise have had the opportunity to do" (TR13M30s).*

In Chatham a lecturer highlighted that the lack of local investment in venues was very damaging for local musician but also for students who do not have access to valuable experiences in performing and enjoy performance, *"there's no live performance in Chatham. There's no opportunity for musicians in Chatham to make a living, let alone the students to even perform" (CH23M60s)*. In response to this lack of local opportunities, another lecturer highlighted how the university tried to take a lead and provide some music opportunities *"[we] tried to drum up some engagement on the campus and the dockyard and trying to engage with the tourists. So we used to put on lunchtime concerts every Friday. Some evening concerts as well" (CH1F40s)*. However, the reach of those activities proved limited: *"the majority of the audience for those concerts were parents […] they may have been about 10-15% of the audiences that were local people" (CH1F40s),* highlighting the need for concerted efforts in cultural provision in local CCEs.

A similar lack of investment and cultural programme was also commented on in relation to L'Aquila and its music scene,

> *"in the current system, the tendency is to close down because unfortunately when the money runs out, when there is no more money for culture, […] we can hardly find the money to pay the musicians and there are a lot of musicians who unfortunately are not in the business and in the end maybe even leave music. Since L'Aquila is a city that produces music and musicians, the Conservatory produces, they can't all work; this is a logical consequence, especially in a situation where culture no longer has the funds it used to have" (LA20M60s).*

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Overall, across all the case studies there was a shared vision that more needed to be done for young people. In L'Aquila specifically, reconstruction targeting these groups was seen as a priority to keep its population,

> *"we are losing a lot of intelligence and energy due to the delays in reconstruction, and the priority above all is the opening of new spaces for socialising, which could be squares, new concert halls, new meeting places, everything is too decentralised and the centre of L'Aquila is freezing in every sense; this is a very strong deterrent to staying, so if we talk about sustainability and inclusiveness, we should really consider the possibility, first and foremost, of getting people to stay and live here" (LA25F30s).*

As discussed, the purpose of this Chapter has been to present the various resources, conversion factors and structural constraints that emerged from the DISCE data in relation to the capability for individuals to access SCCW in the early stages of their career. We found a number of strategies available to participants, many of which were filtered through a HEI but that the connection between the HEI and the local CCE was an enabling factor. This is a crucial stage for many potential CCWs, one which due to structural measures such as the normative use of work-based internships can be seen as either enabling or inhibiting depending on personal characteristics. Policy interventions with regards clear guidelines for both HEIs and creative/cultural institutions, organisations and businesses could be developed to ensure fair and inclusive practice.

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6. Accessing, developing and sustaining CCW

6.1. Chapter overview

This chapter summarises the resources and constraints identified that enable access to and development of creative and cultural work (CCW). As outlined in Chapter 1 we define SCCW as a creative or cultural job providing a stable income and livelihood. In the wider capability literature (Suppa 2019; Wolff & de-Shalit 2007) the importance of labour and work as an element of wellbeing has been addressed both in terms of the resources and freedoms that work enables through monetary benefits but also, for the wider social and cultural benefits beyond financial gain. This literature acknowledges that assessing the advantages/disadvantages of work in relation to wellbeing is complicated as various aspects of labour e.g., job satisfaction, what constitutes 'decent work' (Leßmann 2010 in Suppa 2019) varies across multiple dimensions. Creative and cultural work has received much attention in the wider scholarly literature on its complicated relationship with notions of 'decent work' (Arvidsson et al., 2010; McRobbie 2016a; Sandoval 2018; Brook et al. 2020). DISCE deliverable 3.2 provides a comprehensive review of this literature, identifying three interconnected fields of critical research on the creative and cultural workforce divided across: the diversity agenda, the precarity agenda and the spatial agenda (see Dent et al. 2020).

Referring to the life cycle model of SCCW (**figure 1.1)** this Chapter is concerned with stage 4, the stage when stakeholders are able to access and/or develop a creative or cultural job that provides a stable income and livelihood. As discussed in Chapter 1, the capability to access/develop creative or cultural work can be time-bound, temporary, subject to multiple interruptions that can alter the individual's career pathway, resulting in either a return to education (as discussed in Chapter 4) or into new forms of fostering CCW as discussed in Chapter 7.

In relation to those participants within our study who were, at the time of interview, discussing their experience of CCW, not all nine capabilities were relevant and there was a distinct hierarchy in terms of which capabilities were most prevalent with the *capability to access and/or develop creative and cultural work,* the *capability to sustain creative practice and/or projects* and the *capability to foster creative and cultural work* being the most relevant in terms of the functionings and conversion factors that enabled access to SCCW. However, as discussed, all capabilities are interconnected and interdependent on each other and this Chapter starts with a connection between the *capability to access creativity and culture* and its relationship with SCCW. Three main themes emerged from the across all ten case studies that relate to the capability of SCCW, which can be summarised as:

1. **Hybrid/multiple work model – for both individual workers and creative businesses.**
2. **Institutions, including the State, as both drivers of and barriers to SCCW.**
3. **The role of creative intermediaries in SCCW.**

One key intervention from the DISCE research project is the reflection that the current understanding of concepts such as precarious work/precarious labour that are associated with CCW (as discussed in deliverable 3.2) are more complicated than the wider literature suggests. Our research reveals that creative and cultural workers are embedded in a series of multiply occupied employment patterns either within a specific creative and cultural sector or across different sectors some of which are related and others such as care work or construction which do not have a clear connection with the creative economy other than a similar employment model of project-based labour (Blair et al. 2001). This is relevant in relation to the reliability of standardised occupation classification systems hitherto applied in relation to the creative economy (see Dent et al. 2020). In our data, numerous CCWs sustain their work by combining creative work with education,

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which proved to be a critical form of financial sustainability in light of the impact of COVID-19 on CCW. Much of this work is in FE or HE but also some in Adult Education, child education and also social care.

As such, the relationship between CCWs and different institutions from HEIs, schools, cultural institutions, charities, libraries, care homes etc. becomes a critical element in accessing and developing SCCW. Expanding our understanding of the range of institutions and organisations that are interconnected with CCWs is an important element of the CCE and the DISCE data is able to provide further evidence on how these relationships are enabled at the local city-level due to the resources available within a geographical context.

Finally, our data illustrated the important role played by creative intermediaries in local CCEs in relation to accessing, developing and sustaining CCW. By 'creative intermediaries' we draw on the wider literature (O'Connor 2015; Jakob & van Huer 2015) to describe a range of organisations, bodies, groups that shape creative and cultural production from arts and cultural councils, policy networks, economic development agencies many of which are directly funded or related to the state either at the local government level or at a broader regional framework but in addition to these more macro level or publicly funded intermediaries a range of groups and spaces including unions, support networks, foundations, co-working spaces, collectives, festivals, incubators all of which act as an intermediary between the creative/cultural producer and their ability to access SCCW. The role of creative intermediaries continues into the discussion in Chapter 7, looking at stage 5 of the life cycle, fostering SCCW, however in this Chapter it is relevant to consider how creative and cultural workers have utilised creative intermediaries in their locality and the impact that this has had on their ability to access and develop SCCW.

6.2. The capability to access creativity and culture

A range of functionings emerged from the DISCE data that illustrated how the capability to access culture interconnects with CCW. Two main themes emerged first, was the ability of creative and cultural workers to access culture themselves within their city-region. This capability to access different cultural pursuits and/or activities acted as a draw for certain CCWs to that area, the knowledge that a local CCE was in operation had an impact on the reported wellbeing of locally based CCWs. The second, was how the capability to access culture within the city operated as an attraction to wider audiences, either as tourists or locally based consumers which provided either employment or monetary based opportunities for locally based CCWs. In this second iteration, there are a series of both conversion factors, resources that enables the conversion of the function to a capability but also structural constraints that impact the conversion factor and therefore inhibit access to CCW.

6.2.1. CCWs and the capability to access creativity and culture: personal perspective

As stated, the capability to access culture was a key draw factor to a specific city for many creative and cultural workers. This capability is related to a series of functionings that are interconnected with other capabilities, such as access to affordable housing and workspace. Being able to access culture was cited as positive not just for its draw factor to the city but as an important aspect of work/life balance. This reflects the wider literature on the importance of culture and quality of life factors for creative and cultural workers (Brown 2015; Noonan et al. 2021). In Liepāja, for example, there was cluster of references to the range of cultural activities including restaurants and wider surrounding natural area as a positive attribute for CCWs in the city as this reflection from a freelance creative worker illustrates (emphasis added):

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"the rhythm of work is already quite stressful, and all the time around people, and it is important for me to have peace after that, after the work is done. When I can at least go somewhere one day and sit by the sea or anywhere else, but to be in a peaceful environment […] And I like that Liepāja offers those cultural opportunities, if I want to go to see something else, just to see, there will always be concerts, there will always be performances, and it is always full of good restaurants. I don't know any city outside Riga where there would be so many good restaurants as in Liepāja" (LI5M50s).

As discussed in the DISCE regional case study, Liepāja's local government has strategically fostered the development of creative and cultural activities in the city since Latvia gained independence in the 1990s (Popova et al. 2022). As stated in the "Liepāja City Development Programme for 2015-2020" (2015) published by the Liepāja City Municipality the strategy has been to envision the city as "a creative and active city by the sea, where people live, educate, work and rest to the fullest" with its main aim "to strengthen the role and recognition of Liepāja on an international scale by attracting knowledgeable and creative people, investments, tourists to the city" (Popova et al. 2022). As such, a series of interventions have been implemented such as the development of a regional multifunctional concert hall in 2015. The support and fostering of the local creative economy in Liepāja was acknowledged by participants interviewed for DISCE. A Company Director who managed large scale sporting events across city spoke of the strengths of the city services provided by the local municipality, including waste management, fencing, police escort etc., as a critical attribute in relation to their capability to produce such events:

"Liepāja is able to provide us with almost all services we need. It's not in-kind of support – we need to pay for it but, what regards service, the waste, some lease of toilets, some lease of fences, the arrangement of roads, also the hotels […]. With all the service we need, Liepāja can provide it, but, it is, well, it is a question about the form of collaboration…. Also, the municipal police is involved, and it helps also. So, regarding the services, it was one of the reasons why we went to Liepāja – because they are here, they are wide enough, and they are steady, and they can provide us with all these services, everything we need… It is not so that I'd have to say to you that we need to import something to Liepāja from Riga" (LI11M30s).

Here we see a relationship between the capability to access culture, the capability to engage others with culture and the capability to foster creative and cultural work (discussed in more detail in Chapter 7) across three stakeholders: the municipality, the events company and the mass audience. The infrastructure provided by the local municipality enables the production of the sporting event, which in turn provides wider economic value for the surrounding area and enables the development of CCW and local producers (Comunian 2017). The speaker is clear to articulate that this is not a free service, the company pay for the support provided, and for access to the range of resources required for such logistics contributed to the decision to bring such events to the city.

This connection between accessing culture, fostering CCW and then engaging others with culture is evident in other cities, however, the wider infrastructure and support available can have an inhibiting impact, particularly in relation to publicly funded large-scale events. In Dundee, for example, the costs associated with providing services for large-scale events produced by the local council were described as inhibiting the proportion of creativity that could be enabled:

"I'm sure it's universal, our challenges are our budgets. We don't have a recurring event budget and so we can't do as much as we would like, and anytime we were doing anything big, we have to go to elected officials to get some cash to do stuff. So fundraising, cash and fundraising is always a barrier, for any of your ambitions, isn't it?

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… The proportion of our budget that is spent on making sure that our events are safe compared to how much we get to spend on any of the entertainment and the fun stuff is always a struggle because actually, we spend all of our money on first aid, security and fencing and toilets. And then we'd have like £3.50 left to spend on any actual entertainment. […] when our budgets are cut, so, for instance, recently our fireworks budget was cut by 10 grand and... there isn't anything to cut" (DU11F40s).

There is a question in this discussion on recognising the multiple resources required to put on major public cultural and creative events and also the capacity for this to be delivered by local municipalities. As discussed in Chapter 7 there has been a continuous and significant reduction on local government funding across Europe since the global financial crash of 2008 with consequences for the capacity of local governments to fund creative and cultural activity (Pratt 2012 2015)**.** In Chapter 3 when we consider stage 1 of the life cycle, early access, we reflect on the impact of public participatory cultural events as a gateway for the capability to aspire to CCW. The DISCE data illustrates the importance of investment into local infrastructure that enables participatory art festivals and cultural events that actively involved local communities, not just in terms of creative placemaking (Courage & McKeown 2019) or place branding (Richards 2017) but as an opportunity to provide wider access and inclusion to creative career pathways (Chapter 3). The following section discusses in more detail the structural constraints on accessing culture and that interconnection with SCCW but an additional point on the capability to access culture illustrates the relationship between creative placemaking and city branding as discussed in the wider literature (Courage & McKeown 2019; Brokalaki & Comunian 2019). The importance of this cultural infrastructure at the early career stages was also discussed in Chapter 5. In the case study cities that were seen as having low levels of cultural access, for example Chatham in the UK and Lund in Sweden, participants spoke of the wider effects of the absence of cultural opportunities, from mental health and wellbeing to actively driving populations to other areas where creative and cultural opportunities were accessible. In Chatham a university lecturer explained how the lack of live performance affected students' wellbeing: "*there's no live performance […]. So, they're all sitting at home or they're sitting in accommodation, university accommodation and they're trying to find things to do. […]. It's not good for them. It's not good for their mental health (CH23M60s).* Similarly in Lund a local photographer reflected on the lack of opportunity.

"as a citizen, forget that I'm also you know an artist of some kind, as a citizen my wife and I very seldom go out and see anything. There's no theatre you really go to and see some interesting stuff […] And that's a sad thing for a city that has tons of resources which has already an international image and in which there's a potential for these things. Historically, culturally, economically, I mean it's not a poor city […]. And I don't understand why they don't see art as something that promote, cynically speaking, instrumentally speaking, it would, it could place very quickly Lund on the international map for art or culture" (LU16M60s).

In Chapter 7 we reflect on the 'city in decline' concept that emerged from an observed reduction in the amount of creative and cultural opportunities fostered within the city. This is problematic as placemaking and reputation for cultural access play an important role in attracting CCWs to an area (as discussed also in relation to graduate retention in Chapter 4 and 5) and also in relation to the employment opportunities that it fosters. The next section discusses in more detail how the conversion factors and structural constraints can have an impact on the capability to access culture which in turn impacts SCCW.

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6.2.2. Barriers to accessing creativity and culture: impact on CCWs

One of the key findings that emerged from across the DISCE data was how structural constraints to the ability to access culture in a city had an impact on fostering SCCW and wider public engagement. This can be illustrated through policy measures that limit either the gathering of grassroots, creative activity or limitations to live music/performance events.

In Dundee, there was a recognised absence of smaller/middle size music venues, a concern identified in the Dundee Music Strategy (2017 in Dent et al. 2022a). The closure of a popular nightclub in the city was articulated as a limitation to accessing dance music in the city and the suggestion that one form of cultural engagement (property development for tourism) was being favoured, at a strategic level, over another (club culture):

> *"the best like night club place to put on events was this old library called the Reading Rooms, which was fantastic, they had such a variety of things they had big drag shows, they had really good, really like interesting music nights and all of this stuff. And it was a draw for people, you could go along and there would be 18 year olds there and you have a 65 year olds there and it was just a place where everyone in Dundee mixed. They built a hotel next to it and the council basically sided with this hotel and were like, 'Okay, we're having too many noise complaints. The club's gone.' So now it's gone and that was like, I don't know, just a real pity. And it does seem a bit like they're stamping out all these little fires to make sure that the hotels can rush in and make some money for the city" (DU9M20s).*

This structural constraint to the capability to access culture was repeated within the following case study locations: Chatham, Leuven and Enschede, each citing the use of abatement orders on local music venues, bars and pubs which prevents them from developing/fostering either a music scene or club culture for SCCW. There was also a recognition of the destruction of certain forms of creative and cultural activity in relation to property development which resonates with established literature on neoliberal cities (Diaz Burlinson 2017).

A participant from Enschede described the importance of an alternative kind of scene for the city in order to attract other artists and CCWs :

> *"it attracts, when you see what happens with Berlin and Rotterdam. First of all, the students from the arts community went to Berlin and last years to Rotterdam and Leipzig … you can tell that that will become hot cities, and Leipzig, because all the artists are going there, you know what was happening next? And it was also famous pop musicians who all went to Berlin. Everybody wanted to go to Berlin. Rotterdam is the same" (EN31M).*

As stated, we see here the interconnection between different capabilities. Here, the capability to access culture intersects with the capability to foster creative and cultural work in how structural limitations on either the existence of or access to spaces, venues and, opportunities create barriers for certain groups, in the example provided above it is students and young people to have the freedom to engage in those forms of creativity and culture.

This links back to wider concept of the CCE, in order for the ecosystem to thrive, all aspects and components of the local creative economies need to be fostered and here we see how the failure to foster an underground creative scene, or the recognised importance of a night-time economy (Rowe & Bavinton 2011) limits the capability to access and develop SCCW. There is a particular concern that the absence of certain forms of

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creative and cultural opportunities related to a younger age group creates issues for talent retention in the area. This is significant as the two cities included in the examples provided, Dundee, Enschede both have a need to attract and retain young people in order to develop their local economy. Access to jobs post-graduation is articulated as a clear policy drive in response to the question of talent retention (see Dent et al. 2022a and Kim et al. 2022) with little policy on the need to foster cultural access across a range of different interests. The issue around fostering alternative forms of creative and cultural work as a means to engage wider audiences is returned to in Chapter 7.

There are clear policy-driven inhibiting factors as illustrated above when one form of economic activity (tourism) supersedes another (live music events) and as we discuss throughout this document and our accompanying policy paper, the interconnections and interdependencies between the various resources within the CCE are vital to the sustainability of local creative economies. As this section demonstrates, the capability to access culture is relevant in terms of accessing SCCW through the employment opportunities generated or inhibited through cultural activity and also through the opportunities and wellbeing that culture provides for CCWs**.** In the next section, we focus on the next capability that emerged as relevant in relation to accessing and developing SCCW, the capability to aspire to creative and cultural work. There are connections with this capability and the previous chapter on education and skills, here we show how resources that enable aspiration have wider implications for accessing SCCW.

6.3. The capability to access/develop CCW

The capability to access and/or develop creative and cultural work produced a range of data which illustrates the range of functionings, conversion factors and structural constraints that enable or inhibit access and or development of SCCW. This section is divided across three main themes that emerged from the DISCE data:

- **The capability to work across multiple creative and cultural forms of employment**
- **The capability to work for free or in wageless work**
- **The role of networks and creative intermediaries**

6.3.1. Working across multiple occupations

As discussed in deliverable 3.2 there is a large body of scholarly literature concerned with new practices of ‘work’ associated with the creative economy (Dent et al. 2020). Part of this literature is concerned with the evolution of the portfolio career and fragmented work trajectories framed under concepts of choice and individualism association with neoliberalism (Brown 2003; Deuze 2007; Lazzarato 2017; Tanghetti et al. 2022) which are productive of problematic patterns of exclusion and inequality particularly in creative and cultural labour markets. A key finding from the DISCE data in relation to the capability to access and/or develop creative and cultural work was the functioning of **hybrid or multiply occupied employment models**. Table 6.1 below provides a snapshot of the various job roles held by individual CCWs at the time of interview. It is important to note that this table is not exhaustive, it does not reflect the number of previous roles held by CCWs as they developed their careers (also discussed in Chapter 5), or the multifunctioning model of work held by one creative/cultural position. The table represents individuals who spoke of the various jobs they currently held or had held up until the interruption to creative labour caused by the COVID-19 lockdown.

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Table 6.1: Hybrid/multiple occupations detected across the 10 DISCE case study locations

Job one	Job two	Job three	Job four	Job five
Lund				
Artist	Teaching			
Performance artist	Festival worker (v)			
Architect	Teaching (HE)			
Music composer	Runs a cultural incubator			
Festival organiser (v)	Customer service			
Pori				
Cultural producer	Policy work for the local municipality			
Artist	Illustrator	Teaching (HE)		
Filmmaker	Writer			
Film Festival organiser (v)	Policy work for the local municipality	Teaching (HE)	Art critic	
Works for youth association	Teaching (HE)	Illustrator		
Artisan/craft maker	Teaching (HE)			
Chatham				
Musician	Teaching (HE)	Board Member on different music support bodies (v)		
Manages cultural co-working space and café	Runs tourism business			
Tattoo artist	Runs local festival (v)			
Manager of an events production company	Local tour guide (v)			
Artist	Legal advisor			
Manager of dance company for elderly performers	Teaching (HE)			
Founder of creative engagement organisation	Runs community allotment	Project youth services work with local council.	Runs community allotment	
Dundee				
Artist	Bartending	Life Modelling	Support Care Worker for charity	Odd jobs in gardening, construction, fruit picking.
Artist	Teaching (HE)			
Designer	Teaching (HE)			
Theatre Director	Creative consultancy			
Musician	Music teacher on social education programme			
Enschede				
Engineer in technology company	Writer			
Musician	Web designer			
Social Entrepreneur	Editor of local newspaper			
Theatre set designer	Teacher			
Musician/DJ	Works in a supermarket			
Artist	Board member at Artist Foundation/co-working space (v)	Works for another foundation to promote local artists, museums	Cleaner	

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		and galleries to the people in Enschede		
Leuven				
Furniture designer	Teaching			
Freelance curator	Project coordinator	Administrator for artist collective/co-working space		
CEO of a television production company	Consultant for the European Commission on social and legal subjects			
Policy work for the local municipality	Runs a theatre company	Teaching (multi ages)	Provides mentoring support for young people (v)	
Creative consultant	Psychologist			
Artist	Exhibition scenographer	Lecturer		
Performer	Teaching	Founder of a local Festival (v)		
Actor	Teaching (HE)			
Musician	Theatre and comedy programmer at cultural centre.			
Artist	Teacher			
Runs a small cultural institution (v)	Bartending	Website design		
Liepāja				
Product Designer	Teaching (HE)			
Manager of own events production company	Cultural project manager for local institution.			
Musician	Events organiser			
Entrepreneur	Owner of tourism experience	Music Teacher		
Pécs				
Lighting designer	Puppeteer	Makes puppet toys/craft maker	Teaching programme	
Tattoo artist	Illustrator	Graphic designer	Barista	
Curator at local Museum	Teaching (HE)			
Artist	Teaching			
Glassmaker	Farmer	Bartender	Landlord	
Sculpturer	Teaching (HE)			
Stage Manager	Social Media Manager			
L'Aquila				
Art Historian – Curator	Teaching (HE)			
Curator	Teaching (HE)			
Musician	Works at cultural heritage organisation			
Archaeologist – tour guide	Teaching (HE)			
Architectural photography	Teaching (young children)	Curator/exhibition		
Musician	Sound Designer	Festival event producer		
Artist	Carer			
Artist	Set up exhibition space			
Film Director	Teaching			

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Treviso				
Musician	Choirmaster			
Musician	Works for a cultural organisation			
Tourist guide	Teaching (HE)			
Art Historian for museum	Works with SEND/Italian society for the blind to connect those with disabilities with visual arts and sculpture.			
Photographer	Documentary Filmmaker			

This concept of the hybrid/multiply employed worker differs from previous concepts of the portfolio career or identifying CCWs as 'freelance' a widely deployed term suggesting an element of self-employment[1]. The hybrid/multiply employed worker is occupied across different roles and different employment contracts some of which may be self-employed, and others employed. There is a further distinction between those CCWs who work across a number of different and yet interconnected roles for example the writer, director and producer in film/television or the musician who works across a number of musical roles as a session artist and combines that with music teaching and those CCWs who sustain their creative practice through various unrelated forms of employment. Other contemporary terms associated with this form of employment pattern are 'slashies' or 'side hustle' (Giuliani et al. 2020).

Within this model, there is variance across demographic factors relating to age, stage in the career life cycle and the type of CCW undertaken. The most common combination in this model is the combination of CCW with some form of education work (discussed also in Chapter 5), either within FE/HE or across other forms of teaching in local schools, colleges, adult education programmes. This demonstrates the interconnection between SCCW and education, with many CCWs acknowledging the interdependency between their CCW and teaching practice, across multiple conversion factors, as a network, as a way to access facilities including space, research facilities, technology and equipment and as a means to foster further connections that created opportunities for further creative and cultural work. One emergent finding that related to this model of work was issues with managing taxation systems and a need to simplify mechanisms for taxation for those who are employed across different forms of contractual labour. A participant from Liepāja highlighted how CCWs struggled to fit in existing taxation models or understand how to work within them

> *"I think that the State Revenue Service should develop a very good marketing campaign. Not to intimidate people with taxes, but motivate them to pay these taxes and not to be afraid of these legal and similar matters. Because the system has to be very easy to understand, because I think it's one thing that stops you from operating in the creative field, because you simply don't understand. You are an artist, not an accountant. But often you are an artist, you have no money and you cannot afford an accountant. What to do then? But in that sense, the incubator is a very useful tool" (LI24F20s).*

There are policy recommendations on reforming labour market intelligence gathering systems to ensure a clearer understanding of such employment patterns, reformed taxation system for hybrid/multiply employed workers and also a need to rethink skills development for future CCWs in order to equip them with the range of administrative and managerial skills that are necessary for sustainable creative and cultural practice.

[1] The term 'freelance' connotes individual, self-managed business owners or self-employed workers. As discussed in deliverable 3.2 (Dent et al 2020) there is no definitive understanding of the term and it is not deployed in official labour market monitoring.

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Multiple job holding is a condition of CCW that counters the precarity often associated with creative labour, with the narratives of sustainability disclosed across participants whose creative and cultural labour had been interrupted as a result of COVID-19 yet were able to remain financially stable due to other forms of labour (Tanghetti et al. 2022; Comunian & England 2020). Training for the form of work comes with caution, as discussed in a blog post for the UK based Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre, that it does not lead to increased levels of over-work and burnout (Giuliani et al. 2020) but accompanied with a series of updated employment regulations that both enable and protect workers who occupy hybrid/multiple/portfolio job patterns.

6.3.2. Unpaid labour/'wageless' work

Working for free is another topic much discussed in the wider literature on creative labour. Much of this literature, as discussed in Chapter 5, is focused on the normative use of internships and work experience for early entrants to creative labour markets, highlighting the structural inequalities that emerge across those who are able to sustain unpaid labour in comparison to those who are not **(**Siebert & Wilson 2013). In the DISCE data however, working for free was a continuous form of their employment model, often facilitated by the hybrid worker model and seen as an important function of SCCW. Alakovska (2021) defines this model of work as 'wageless work', relating it to the wider literature on diverse economies and alternative economic spaces (Gibson-Graham 2008), consumption work (Wheeler & Glucksmann 2015) and commoning (Caffentzis & Federici 2014).

> *"Usually, when we talk about volunteering, something social comes to mind. Yes, I have done this too, but I was referring more to audio-visual experiences, such as taking part in no-budget or low-budget productions, precisely because of the possibility and the interest in meeting other professionals from various backgrounds, from various parts of the world, with various experiences, to do something together that we would not otherwise have been able to experience. For example, I spent a summer between France and England to make a short film, and that was a very important opportunity that I could not have done staying at home; in that case I was on holiday. I call it volunteering because in a certain sense it takes willpower to make choices like that" (TR14M40s).*

This aspect of CCW is an important aspect of alternative models of economic growth, linked to concepts such as 'post-growth' (Jackson 2021) and more ecological, sustainable models of economic interaction linked to bartering and sharing (Alakovska 2021). While some participants highlighted how this was sometimes problematic, they also expressed the value they felt drove their contribution was making to project "t*hen we have the pro-bono and this is a bit problematic also but I want to keep doing those projects"* (*LU12M40s*). This re-thinking of the value of wageless work requires a paradigm shift in relation to the dominance of precarious work within the creative economy, acknowledging that not all wageless forms of work result in the absence of value as our data illustrates:

> *"I do quite a lot, of that actually. You do quite a lot of free stuff because you want to get your work out there. So you'd rather go to the gig and do a session and then hope that maybe you'll get something back from that, which has happened. You go do a presentation and then somebody else will say 'well, how much do you charge?' or 'would you like to come?' That's what happened to me when I was doing another workshop. I was doing a workshop at the library and then this group approached me and said 'well, we will pay you to come and do a session for us'. So a lot of the time, it's a kind of, a bit of give and take. It's a bit of both to be fair. Um, you get some paid gigs and you'll get*

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gigs that you just go along because you just want to go and perform at that place or wherever it happens to be" (CH26F30s).

Data drawn from creative and cultural institutions illustrates the added value provided by unpaid volunteers, here articulated by a Producer based at the Mejeriet cultural venue in Lund as a form of 'sponsorship',

We don't really have any sponsors, we don't have any corporate sponsors whatsoever. But then maybe you, one could consider also the volunteers like if those would be paid that would be quite a big amount of money, so I would say also that is the informal exchange there and that actually, like we wouldn't be able to run the programme that we do unless we have them, when you do these type of pie charts they are rarely considered, so that's also why I think that's a very important aspect in creating some more sustainable business model or what to say, for an organization like Mejeriet, I think that's maybe where we should focus the most, on the volunteers and the people who are engaged without needing to get paid in a way" (LU17M30s).

This interconnection/interdependence illustrates the value of wageless work to the wider CCE. On the flip side, expectations that certain aspects of CCW should be unpaid also emerged as a structural constraint, with particular consequences for early career entrants as discussed in the previous Chapter. Here we see the paradox between different forms of 'wageless work' (Alakovska 2021) and the issues of agency across CCW that is willingly provided for free and work where unpaid labour is demanded and exploit those who do not operate in a labour market with legitimate forms of protection and accountability. This was experienced across all our case studies and across various sub-sectors of CCIs. A performing artist in Lund pointed out, "*there's still that hang up of people expecting you to work for free, that stays with you for quite a while. And, I've seen artists, other artists, also price themselves really low" (LU26M30s).* In Dundee a designer highlighted how unpaid work is often determined by low pay or restricted time allocated to a project "*I don't think they expect you to work for free, but they just don't pay enough, or they don't give you enough hours to do things" (DU21F30s).* Similarly dynamics are also experienced in the journalism field in L'Aquila:

"I have a bit more experience, first hand as a writer and as a creative person, as far as writing is concerned, I know a lot of people who have written a book, but they basically wrote it for the glory. In other words, they don't earn anything. Or I know a lot of people who write for online newspapers and earn very little, so little that when we talk about money they say to me: 'You're lucky because elsewhere they pay very little compared to the journalists at Abruzzoweb'. So, there is a crazy level of exploitation in the world of creativity, I mean, I don't know all the sectors, obviously I don't know how it works for dance. But certainly, for the world of publishing the biggest problem is the fact that they are not sustainable jobs" (LA5M30s).

There are examples of CCW being required to work for free by companies, cultural and creative institutions even HEIs from across all ten case study locations and the various sectors included in this research. Working for free could entail being paid for less hours than the job required with institutions refusing to pay the full hour, or forms of creative practice like writing or art, which carried with it the risk of not being financially rewarded for labour.

"I know it's a complex job and one in which there are many compromises to be made, but I believe that the possibility of giving artists and musicians a stable source of income is one of the priorities of any government that cares about the cultural development of its country. In reality, I work even when I rehearse, I work even when I do research, all this part of my work is not considered, is not paid; we are not paid only for the concerts,

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not for the hours of rehearsals we have, and this becomes a very big obstacle in the long run, it can become a deterrent for many young people who do not have a family behind them that can support them and protect them at least in the early years of their career" (LA26M20s).

There are various solutions to the issues surrounding unpaid labour for CCW with the quotation above articulating some form of universal basic income for CCWs. In Pori this comment from an with three volunteers who were part of Friends of Satakunta Museum describes a formal process of managing volunteers through an association which provides some form of management and safeguarding against exploitation;

"The volunteer work here is done by Ystävät [the association]. We don't take people outside of the friend association, except for in very certain cases. During the work for the main exhibition, the volunteer group included a spouse of one the members of the Museon Ystävät and then a few spouses of the museum personnel, who wanted to be involved. But because there has to be some kind of coordination or that we know the people, we have decided that the volunteer work can only be done by people in the Museon Ystävät association" (PO32M60s, PO32M70s, PO32F30s).

Deliverable 3.4 proposes a series of policy-led interventions but here we argue that a clearer understanding of the different forms of 'wageless' work which operate within local creative economies would enable targeted interventions including adequate employment support for freelance and project-based workers, clearer guidance on the use of volunteers and interns alongside reforms in taxation and social security that satisfactorily address the reality of multiple employment contacts for creative and cultural workers.

As discussed in Chapter 4 but relevant here is the reliance on hidden forms of income that operate across the CCE. Deliverable 3.2 (Dent et al. 2020) addresses the problematic discourse of 'resilience' that were applied in relation to the apparent economic robustness and growth of CCIs in Western countries post the 2008 economic crash (De Propris 2013). What this apparent growth failed to acknowledge was the level of economic stimulus injected into creative economies from external sources. Adkins et al. (2021) discuss the impact of 'intergenerational asset reproduction' in the housing sector which is based on the financial input taken from growth earned in a previous generation often a parent, grandparent or family member which enables younger generations to access the property market. Intergenerational asset reproduction divides social structures across the lines of buyers and renters within property markets, or as identified by Adkins et al. (*ibid.*) an asset-based class scheme divided across those with housing assets and those without which includes renters and homeless (p.61). This model reflects 'new class realities' which displaces previous concepts of class division that were based on occupation or indebtedness with 'asset-ownership' as a key element in life chances (p.62). Access to external assets such as financial support or housing was acknowledged as a conversion factor for a number of the precariously occupied CCW across the data. Many CCWs, across case studies and field of work expressed these limitations. A writer in Pécs reflected that, *"this is not easy for us because my husband is the breadwinner. My family supports me in this. I'm not happy with my income" (PE23F40s).* Similarly a writer from L'Aquila reflects on the need to live with his parents, *"Before I was on my own, now with my mum and dad, I'm not on my own. Let's say 80% is newspaper work, 20% guide work which is very seasonal and I earn about €2000 a year... how can you think of going to live alone?" (LA5M30s).*

This point relates to the capability to sustain creative practice and/or projects as discussed in the following section but is raised here as an important yet often hidden by-product of the neoliberal working conditions operating within creative and cultural about markets, that of how risk is passed on to the individual members of the workforce (Scharff 2016; Dent 2020; Tirapani & Wilmott 2021). Hiding the multiple costs passed on

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from employers to individual acts as a barrier to those who do not have access to external assets for support. This impact the capability for those who can enter CCW due to family support over career experience or abilities as this curator from Lund highlights;

> *"You pay so badly and then you end up always with the same problem. Its people form affluent families that can work as curators. And, it's white people from upper middle class, or upper class, that can work as curators. So, nothing has been done in the past to try to address this issue. In fact, the UK had done quite a lot of programmes to address this. So, I guess, first the thing about the social capital, and about entry level salaries, and about scholarships for people from diverse backgrounds, and so on. But, Sweden is miles away. Also, because of the size. There aren't that many curatorial jobs in Sweden, for example, if you compare with other countries" (LU6F40s).*

It is interesting that the Swedish-based creative worker reference intervention programmes linked to access and inclusion in the UK. There is a significant body of UK focused research on equity, diversity and inclusion (EDI) within the national CCIs with some evidence of a political commitment to address the issue (Wreyford et al. 2022). The reflection from the speaker above suggests a need for national investigations into EDI within the CCIs across Europe with targeted implementation programmes.

Relating to the hidden costs embedded within CCW are functions such as project development, networking and fundraising – aspects that are all part of accessing and developing creative and cultural work and yet often unacknowledged and unpaid as this Dundee-based theatre director articulates:

> *"I'm going to say that we spent 10% of our time on the actual work, if we're lucky. I think that would be the equivalent of like six weeks a year. 10 to 15% is spent on the actual reason that we do it, the rehearsing, the delivery. I'd say just as much time is spent on research, so that's taking me up to 30%. I would say, okay, company administration and setting up projects, that's not funding applications per se, but setting up projects and attending the events that let you do that and managing the networking, you know, managing the partnerships […] then, let's say company admin takes up 10% of my time and then, probably networking away from home is 20%-30%, maybe, is spent networking and often away from home or at events and everything else is funding and producing. Whatever is left in that pie chart that that's the majority of my stuff is funding applications, producing, it's just doing the hustle, and it's not doing the hustle within the project dates, it's doing the hustle outside of the project dates. So that's unpaid" (DU27F50s).*

What our data demonstrates is the complexity of the creative economic model, particularly in relation to sustainable creative and cultural work. Some aspects of unpaid labour/wageless work are seen as offering alternative forms of value distinct from the economic, but, unpaid labour/wageless when constructed as a requirement of CCW can lead to exclusion. Within this discussion, is the need to highlight the multiple aspects of CCW that are unpaid and hidden in that they are not recognised aspects of the specific employment.

6.3.3. Hidden elements of CCW

There is also a recognition that certain aspects of accessing CCW work are also wageless, for example project development and fundraising. For many CCWs, access to funds, either public funds provided at the National or Local level was an important aspect of SCCW and the relationship with the state will be discussed in more detail in section. In this section we discuss fundraising as an aspect of SCCW. Many spoke of the skills,

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expertise and time that went into accessing public funding with lengthy funding applications requiring a multitude of planning and budgeting skills as the previous comment from the Dundee participant illustrates.

Another aspect of wageless work is the level of personal administration that is required in terms of managing multiple jobs. This is particularly relevant in relation to taxation systems. As stated, multiple CCWs sustain their livelihood through hybrid or multiple employment contracts (see table 6.1). Some contracts are considered fixed term and taxation is taken via the employer, but the majority are not and those who are not able to access financial support in relation to advice in bookkeeping, accountancy etc., have the extra wageless demand of managing their taxation responsibilities themselves. A clear policy recommendation from the DISCE research is a review into taxation procurement systems across Europe, modernising the process in line with the norms of multiple employment occupation. In the next section we discuss how different organisations can help individual CCWs with various aspects of wageless work through mentoring, support with administration and promotion representing a relationship between the capability to access and/or develop CCW and the models that sustain and foster that access. For this section, however, it is relevant to state that the multiple wageless aspects of work for CCWs can be both positive and negative, seen as part of their role but also as enabling exploitative and disadvantageous expectations on CCWs. A system of taxation that recognises parts of the hidden wageless labour undertaken by CCWs and adjusts in line with shifts in contemporary working lives is an important commitment to developing inclusive and sustainable creative economies.

As discussed above and in Chapter 5, networking is an important aspect of both securing and developing creative and cultural work. The wider literature on networking within the creative and cultural sectors points to the inequalities that have emerged from closed networks, those that are based on limited social groups such as old boys networks that prevent access and employment opportunities for marginalized identities (Lee 2011; Grugulis & Stoyanova 2011, 2012). What emerged within the DISCE data was the creation of formal, work-based networks that operated as an open means of supporting access to creative and cultural work.

6.3.4. The role of networks and creative intermediaries for CCWs

In the DISCE data however, we were able to compare the functionings of different types of networks and the conversion factors that made networks a valuable resource in the capability to access/develop SCCW and constraints that acted as barriers to them. We were able to distinguish between organic, informal networks that operated within cities against formal structured networks that had some form of organisational infrastructure, governance and purpose. One of the key strengths of the DISCE data was the comparison across cities of similar scale. The size of each city led to a cross-data theme of small networks, ease of knowing who people within the CCE were as an enabling factor for the access of SCCW but some cities talked of ‘closed’ networks or of multiple networks that did not interact or connect. As discussed in Chapter 5, the creation of a network either within a HEI or through the means of continuous volunteering/internship provided an individual CCW with a range of contacts that can be drawn on to access and develop CCW. In addition to the development of a personal network, the DISCE data disclosed a series of formal networks which operated within the individual city and acted as a means of securing CCW. Formal networks could be labelled ‘associations’ or ‘foundations’ depending on the city in question, or they could be linked to a specific co-working space or incubator, but they existed as purposively designed systems to support access to CCW. In the following section we include networks as part of the wider concept of ‘creative intermediaries’ but here we include some examples of different models of both formal and informal networks that emerged from the data to show how they intersect with the capability to access/develop creative and cultural work.

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There was evidence across all ten case studies on how networking was considered an important element of CCW, one that is considered a necessity for accessing work:

> *"I used to spend lots of time in networks. It's something I learned I think 10 years from someone who said okay, if you want to do what you want to do, then you need to spend 80 per cent of your time in networks. And I said that's a lot, 80 per cent. And he said yes, but it's true. And that idea was always in my mind and I think he has a point. I think networks are very important to be able to do what you want to do" (LE8M40s).*

As discussed, networks can be a supportive element of accessing and development creative/cultural work but they can also be limiting, reduced to those who have the capabilities to put in the time required for network development. There can be social barriers to networks that adopt exclusionary tactics that impact negatively on marginalised identities (Grugulis & Stoyanova 2012). In Enschede, we identified existence of multiple yet unconnected networks from our interview data. Certain participants spoke of the role of informal networks that operate within the technology side of the CCE:

> *"personally I get it often, the conversation starts that I'm from Berlin, people often will get a question, "So, why Enschede? Isn't there anything entrepreneurial in Berlin?" […] I was amazed by coming from Berlin and being like German is how things are collectively done here, and then as you see how it's constituted, like there is so many partners that are involved and there is this collective effort in doing these things, it's a great environment where you can just find the right next step, and then get the support that you need to act and as you said yourself, we're quite lean, which is not only us, but you see that in different locations as well, and in general that provides a great environment to just do things, because to reach – it's a regional goal to just stimulate things, change things up, and to rally just improve ourselves. And that provides a great environment to do our work in" (EN24M20s).*

Following the review of the available policy literature (Dent et al. 2022b) and our empirical data there is a clear strategy, led by the local municipality to foster the growth of the creative technology sector in Enschede:

> *"Well I just started a year ago, in March 2019. And my life since then is about re-formulating the city marketing vision, what do we envision for the next 20 years…because the last vision was from 2011 and then we had, a lot of shops were empty […] because the shops left the inner city didn't have the appeal that you want as a city centre. So, there was a strong focus on attracting new visitors, getting the inhabitants of the city to make use of the cultural activities. And in the last ten years that have been very successful. Now, as in the rest of the world, we have* ***the war on talent…[I]t's like how can we position the city to be attractive for the, for people who could really help the city move forward? So higher educated, creative class****. The golden hands, you know […] the making industry […] Now we have formulated that with the 50 stakeholders in the city. So what should we emphasise on and now my work is to set up partnerships, with the university of applied science, but also with the diverse cultural partners to see how can we all move […] how can we make the DNA of the city visible and how can we let people who live here experience the city of technology, innovation and creativity?" (EN19M).*

Chapter 7 discusses in more detail the decision-making processes and leadership related to fostering creative/cultural work. There is a clear focus within Enschede of creating a network across the different stakeholders connected to "*technology, innovation and creativity"* as part of the *"war on talent"* yet other

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participants referred to the absence of organised of formal networks and a desire from the individual to set one up:

> *"There's hardly any organised networks, it's all just personal networks and these networks were created through doing all kinds of different stuff, meeting people, Enschede is not that big city. So, I easily meet all the people that do anything, also people that don't know anything, I meet them as well. So, that's interesting, I guess. Everybody who does something that's within this creative or cultural round, it is really easy to meet everybody because it's a kind of small city. I would find it really hard to name a network like a more organised network where this is possible. So, also a kind of a reason why I want to do this like the cultural entrepreneurial business club because there's just not a lot of connectivity" (EN13M30s).*

The existence of multiple, co-existing but unconnected networks within Enschede was articulated by a locally based artist who was part of the Stichting Vierkwart foundation and co-working space:

> *"Well, in this building it's nice that there are a lot of artists working here, so, you can talk about your work together. But in the city there are not very much people that can help you to bring your art career to a – to a higher level. It's not that we have really great galleries here. I mean, if you want that you have to go to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague" (EN15F20s).*

The value of networks is that they are enhanced by the multiple connections within and across them. Operating in siloes fails to recognise the importance of the interconnections and relationships that sustain CCEs. A policy-led approach to developing inclusive and sustainable creative economies that does not recognise the value of the interconnections across the ecosystem and put in place an infrastructure that can sustain it will find the process challenging.

Creative Dundee – case study in sustainable network building

An interesting case study in sustainable network building is the Creative Dundee network and its operation within Dundee's CCE as a model of developing SCCW. Creative Dundee was set up, initially, as a blog by a local creative worker Gillian Easson who was interviewed as part of the DISCE research project. Easson grew up Dundee before leaving the city to go to university. Returning to the city she observed that much of the creative life of Dundee lacked visibility within Dundee and beyond, and so she began the blog as way to address this. Ten years after it began, Creative Dundee is now one of Creative Scotland's Regularly Funded Organisations (RFOs) and plays a high-profile role in the city.

It describes itself as a **creative network organisation.** According to its website, its mission is to "Amplify, Connect and Cultivate Creativity in Dundee," and it seeks to "support Dundee's strong creative ecology"[2]. The organisation has a range of means for doing this. Following the initial success of the blog, Easton began to organise events to enable people to meet in person which evolved into the Creative Dundee Pecha Kucha nights, in which Dundonians give a short presentation about what they do. These have proven enormously popular, they are held at different creative and cultural venues and spaces across the city and attract between 500 – 700 people per event. These are now the largest events of their kind in the UK. They are intended to foster visibility and connection, with the aim of involving not only those within the creative industries but a much broader range of Dundee citizens and community groups. During the COVID-19 pandemic the organisation continued to connect people, offering a weekly Zoom breakfast and developing

[2] https://creativedundee.com/

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their digital presence. Easson explains that it is understandable that many organisations focus on their particular building or venue, but that one of Creative Dundee's distinctive features is that it is city wide in its activities and ambitions, explicitly seeking to contribute to positive social change.

Multiple stakeholders interviewed as part of the DISCE research project cited Creative Dundee as key to the sustainable development of the CCE within Dundee and as a key enabling factor in their ability to access and develop their own creative practice. This could be through an engagement with the Amps network, the opportunity to share ideas at the Pecha Kucha nights or by accessing the online platforms and public engagement forums facilitated by the organisation.

> *"I started initiating my own projects, never done I'd always facilitated other people but I did a Pecha Kucha talk with Creative Dundee and I stood on stage and I talked about the work that I like to do. So I put myself out there in a different way" (DU11F40s).*

> *Whilst networks, the ability to network was cited as a key enabling factor across all ten case study locations, Creative Dundee provides the only example of formally evolved and constituted form of accessible city-wide networking across the creative economy. Linked to other capabilities including the capability to sustain creative/cultural practice and the capability to foster creative/cultural work. It is also linked to the capability to lead in the approach to networked leadership that has been actively embraced by Easson. That said, the scale of the organisation's reach does not match its appearance. The organisation is led by Easson with a small scale support staff. Easson described their impact as the "Wizard of Oz" syndrome: "I described it as the kind of Wizard of Oz syndrome where people were getting in touch with me thinking that we like control the whole creative sector in Dundee. And then you pull back the curtain and there's just me … on my laptop" (DU16F40s).*

This observation and questions of scale in terms of delivery and impact is discussed in more detail in the next Chapter on fostering creative/cultural work where we consider the data on the capability to lead/drive culture. There is an additional connection here with the impact of creative intermediary organisations as discussed below. Fostering connection across the CCE and the significance of an organisation such as Creative Dundee as an enabling factor to access and develop SCCW is related to the capacity of such organisations to both sustain themselves and reach wider stakeholders. That said, there was evidence of other sustainable networking models across the DISCE data for example the HARP association (Heritage Art Research Project) in L'Aquila established in 2017, which describes itself as "Un'associazione al servizio del patrimonio culturale" (translation: "An association at the service of cultural heritage"). One of the HARP members interviewed for DISCE acknowledged the need for increased members of the network with legal and economic skills;

> *"There are many skills, in fact we are a quite varied working group, there are designers like me, but there is also an art historian, an archaeologist, a photographer, a musician, each of us has a different previous training; what we probably need now, in order to take a step forward, a quality leap in our work, is to expand to more managerial professionalism and also people with a better knowledge of the legal and economic aspects" (LA23F40s).*

As stated, networks, both formal and informal are a key element of SCCW. Formal networks can be understood as part of a wider body of organisations/institutions/spaces that operate as creative intermediaries CCWs.

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6.3.5. Marginalisation, creative intermediaries and the 'Who cares about CCWs' survey

The previous section discusses the role played by networks and the creation/management of accessible forms of networking as either an enabling or inhibiting aspect of developing the wider CCE. The creation of such models fits with a wider concept of 'creative intermediary' which we apply using Jakob and van Heur's definition of 'intermediaries' as ranging from "arts and cultural councils, policy networks, economic development agencies, foundations and unions to artists collectives, cultural centres, creative industries incubators, festivals and tradeshows" (2015, p.357). Following Comunian et al.'s (2022) work on the diversity around forms of intermediation we apply the term 'creative intermediaries' to signify a shift from the concept of 'cultural intermediaries' (Bourdieu 1984) which focused on connecting producers with consumers, to reflect those concerned with the welfare and sustainability of the creative and cultural workforce rather than the cultural content itself. The existence of creative intermediary organizations within the ten case studies demonstrated the value of such spaces to matters of inclusion of sustainability across the wider CCE through the different resources such institutions provided, from access to space in the case of co-working models, hackerspaces, incubators but also as models of care and support that such spaces offered. As part of the DISCE project, WP3 conducted a separate survey of the existence of 'creative intermediaries' across Europe. The survey, released through the DISCE platform in July 2020 targeted intermediary support organisations including unions, guilds, networks, collective groups, grassroots activist groups that related to the creative economy asking questions on their mission, purpose and the forms of support they provided. The survey results were pan-European. Questions were translated into four languages (English, French, German and Italian) and generated data from 100 organisations across 26 countries across Europe. The findings from the 'Who Cares' survey have been included within a separate publication (Dent et al. forthcoming) but point to the importance of such organisations in providing access and support to creative and cultural workers across the wider European creative economy.

The existence of creative intermediary organisations within the ten DISCE case studies relates to the spaces and support they provide to both access work (as the comment from participant DU11F40s included above in relation to Creative Dundee articulates) but also sustain creative and cultural practice as discussed in the next section. They also provide important fostering creative and cultural work support as discussed in Chapter 7. As such this is a term returned to throughout this document. Their existence can act as an important brokering tool for creative/cultural workers who do not have access to formal types of employment support such as union intervention on unfair pay. One interesting reflection from the DISCE data and the rationale for including this observation within stage 4 of the SCCW life cycle is that creative intermediary organisations also offer further opportunities for work for multiply employed creative/cultural workers. We noted that a sample of CCWs from across the DISCE data adopted intermediary roles or sought out support from creative intermediary organizations because of barriers they had faced in relation to accessing and developing creative/cultural work and a desire to support others. Participant CH1F40s, a multiply employed CCW, articulates the inclusion of intermediary work when describing the range of roles she occupies;

> *"You've got academia, PhD. Songwriting is a tiny, tiny sliver these days I mean it really is, there's no money in it. Production and mixing, so that would be producing tracks, mixing tracks, stuff for radio so I write radio jingles in there. Ivors, MU, so I'm on the songwriting committee, equality, diversity and inclusion committee, awards committee and then I've put divisions in that, so women and music, music publishing, music and education, writers committee for MU, then any other industry stuff, so networking, meetings" (CH1F40s).*

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The references made to 'Ivors, MU' relate to the Ivors Academy[3] and the Musicians Union[4], two separate organisations, one an association the other a trade union both of which provide support for UK based musicians. This participant articulated how her involvement across equality, diversity and inclusion issues within both organisations was driven by her own experience of gender inequality and the barriers she faced sustaining her career within the music sector after having a child, *"I was told in no uncertain terms even before I had my son that if a woman has a baby, then she's not serious about her music career. I witnessed that one first-hand, I mean I sit on a lot of committees in the music industry and I'm on the equality and diversity committee for Ivors Academy and one of the reasons is because of this" (CH1F40s).*

Thus, her voluntary contribution to creative intermediary organisations is part of her wider portfolio of work but also driven through a desire to foster creative and cultural work for others. The impetus to enter creative intermediary work is discussed more in Chapter 7 where we consider the various pathways into fostering creative and cultural work. There is an additional reflection on how some forms of creative intermediary work are valued. The Chatham participant described experience stigma for her engagement with EDI intermediary work which impacted her capacity to develop and access creative work, "*That has been a problem for me despite being on all these committees and doing all this industry work, everyone knows who I am but they're very cautious about engaging creatively with me. And that's a problem" (CH1F40s).*

The question of marginalisation in relation to accessing creative/cultural work across factors of race, gender and socioeconomic status emerged across the DISCE data. In relation to gender, the issue of childcare and wider caring responsibilities emerged as a structural constraint, either through experiences of direct discrimination as experience by this CCW based in Chatham;

> *"I got made redundant when I was pregnant with my first child... which was an absolute shocker and I should have sued them. I took advice that said, you know, it was unfair dismissal, constructive dismissal, sexual discrimination, you know, you've got three month old baby, you don't have the mental fortitude, I didn't anyway, but yeah, incredibly and when I tell people that they're like 'but that's illegal' and I'm like yeah, so that was difficult" (CH6F40s).*

Or, due to the lack of wider structural support for caring responsibilities as this participant from Pori articulates:

> *"By the way, I could add to the previous point that it is a really big and sensitive question, but it is a thing that causes soreness to many, because the actors of creative fields and arts, in a way the position and the small income, as well as the fact that there may be no money involved, it does reflect on the family-starting plans and the reproduction in many ways. I believe that in some cases, not all, of course, but I believe that it has an effect" (PO11M30s).*

Socioeconomic status was raised as a barrier to accessing/developing CCW predominantly in Chatham (although, as articulated in the previous section there were socioeconomic access barriers identified in Sweden) as this Theatre programmer describes;

> *Interviewer: "You mentioned that, and I did want to come back to, the idea of someone saying you didn't have the right voice, or you didn't fit. Like, where has this come from?"*

[3] https://ivorsacademy.com/
[4] https://musiciansunion.org.uk/

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Speaker: "Senior management. You know, and I think because I have a London/Medway accent. I refuse to pretend I'm somebody I'm not, because it always comes back and bites you later, in my opinion. Most of the promoters that I deal with are like, oh, here's {…} on the phone, and we have a bit of a laugh, because it's all about customer service and being friendly with people, in my opinion. But I have been told that, 'well […] you should have tried to talk a bit more clearly and you know, people aren't going to take you seriously.' And even in the restructure at the moment, I've been told I can't apply for the role similar to my job because I don't have the qualifications, because I don't have a degree even though it's a job I've been doing for the last nine years … so basically, you know, reading between the lines, they don't want me to do the job anymore. Which is fine, I'll go work at Tesco's or something, become the manager in Tesco's instead. But, I think is a shame for the arts, because I think I do have sort of grassroots knowledge of what the people of Medway actually want. Not what some people in the arts may aspire to. They are two slightly different things" (CH5F50s).

The above quotation also demonstrates the increased precarity of CCWs who do not have formal qualifications and entered the university through the direct to work pathway as discussed in Chapter 5. As this participant articulates, the local embedded knowledge plus the skills developed on the job were not valued in comparison to aspects such as formal qualification or access. This is one incident, but it speaks to wider studies on class inequalities in the British CCIs (O'Brien et al. 2016: Oakley et al. 2017) and studies that consider the interconnection between class and gender as a barrier to accessing and developing SCCW (Dent 2019).

Race as a barrier emerged in relation to early access and the gatekeepers/role models who acted either as structural constraints to accessing CCW as the direct racism from a senior educator experience by this participant demonstrates. The comment also describes the positive role models she was introduced to through access to a youth group as discussed in both Chapter 3 and 7, but here we see how racial discrimination continues to act as a barrier within CCW;

"there was this assumption, you know, growing up that you're black you're good at sports and you're good at cricket, running or if you're going to work, you're going to work in a factory and I remember the head of our sixth form saying, you know he was overheard by one of my friends saying I don't know why all you Asians are coming … they're only going to end up working in factory like the rest of you, so we were never really encouraged, I think the person that hand on heart, encouraged me the most was our youth lead a woman called […] and she was like a Mum to everybody so she got me involved, in community based work through the youth club, from a very, very early age, and I think people have all kind of assumptions about you or about me and my abilities ***and even throughout my career, still facing some of those barriers about well you stay in this corner, don't punch above your weight, you know, and it still happens now****" (CH3F50s).*

The DISCE work on creative intermediaries across Europe showcases the various models of support that these organisations can provide and the interventions they can make in relation to ensuring CCWs can fairly access and develop their creative/cultural work. This is an important element of local CCE and also of inclusive and sustainable creative economies, but the capacity and impact of creative intermediary organisations is dependent on their own sustainability (see Dent forthcoming).

This section has discussed the interdependency of the different resources that both enable and constrain the capability to access and develop SCCW. Creative intermediary organisations can be understood as spaces that both enable others to access and develop SCCW and also contribute to the multiple forms of work

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undertaken by CCW. It is a term we return to when considering the role played by different stakeholders that work to either foster creative/cultural work and/or sustain creative practice.

6.4. The capability to sustain creative practice and/or projects

As defined in the methodology section, this capability refers to the range of resources including buildings, spaces, geographical locations, funding models that sustain creative practice. The functionings that emerged from the data linked to this capability ranged from the micro level, an individual's ability to access a printmaking studio based within a cultural institution to broader funding streams that sustained major cultural institutions. Like all the capabilities linked to SCCW, there are connections with the capability to access and develop creative/cultural work and the capability to foster creative/cultural work. As stated in the previous section, the hybrid/multiple is an important factor of both accessing/developing SCCW but it also an important factor of sustaining creative/cultural practice. Referring back to table 6.1, which lists the various jobs held by participants across the 10 DISCE cities, some forms of employment are side jobs, unrelated to their ability to further develop SCCW and simply a means of financial income. In this section, we concentrate on the conversion factors operating within the case study locations that provide good practice in enabling SCCW and highlight the structural constraints that emerged from the data.

6.4.1. Access to space

As discussed in Chapter 5 in reference to early access, access to certain physical spaces and the resources they provide to enable creative practice is a key function also of SCCW in the long-term. There are multiple examples of different forms of co-working and artistic spaces operating across the 10 DISCE case studies (table 6.2) that were identified across the interviews.

An interesting reflection for policy is the question of who or what body takes responsibility for funding and managing such spaces and how accessible they are to CCWs both in terms of usability and affordability. In Chapter 7 we describe the various forms of incubators set up across the different ten case studies that foster CCW. This is also an important element of early career pathways, the emergence of spaces that are designed to generate income-generating opportunities for early entrants (Chapter 5). Access to space however is an important element of sustaining creative and cultural practice and or projects through both networks but also resources including technology that enable creativity. In Leuven, the Cas-Co organisation both provides and maintains equipment necessary for creative and cultural production;

> *"…we provide working and presentation space for artists. So, in the first place, they are for the residents that are tied to the ateliers or to the residency spaces in Cas-co. But whenever possible, we also try to open the doors and make them accessible to other artists in Leuven. So, we have "fotolabo", we have "zeefdruklabo" [which is] a silkscreen room space. We have the metal and wood space. And lastly, we have like, we have a big polyvalent space where people can work during the day, but then, during the night, it has to be clean again. So, it's a space that can always renew itself in its function" (LE12F20s).*

Examples of organisations like Cas-Co existed in other case study locations (see table above). How those spaces were organised in terms of funding, management and affordability had an impact on the capability for individual practitioners to sustain their practice. The Print Studio in Dundee which is part of the Dundee Contemporary Arts (DCA) was cited as a key functioning resource that sustained creative and cultural practice within Dundee.

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Dundee: Print studio at Dundee Contemporary arts (DCA)

The DCA is a part publicly funded contemporary arts centre situated in Dundee's West End (see section x for a description of the DCAs funding model) and the DCA Print Studio is included within that institution. The Print studio's history proceeded the DCA however, it was set up in 1977 as the Dundee Printmakers Workshop[5]. The DCA Print Studio is publicly funded and provides a wealth of resources/facilities for local and visiting artists. DISCE researchers interviewed the Director of the Print Studio who spoke of the value of the public subsidy in enabling the affordability and accessibility to the space:

> *"we run education programmes, gallery programmes to some extent. The great thing about having that subsidy, is that you have the resilience, you know the place isn't going to fold next year unless COVID gets... But we're not totally reliant on income generation. For instance, an equivalent print studio in England has to generate the income to cover their costs. Very few get any of amount of subsidy so which means the membership costs are high, course fees are high and makes it quite difficult to access and in other countries it's even worse. I've heard things like $500 a day. We charge £7 a day" (DU6F60s).*

Alongside the facilities and open accessibility, which provides opportunities as a working space for CCWs, the Print Studio works closely with the Education and Engagement department of DCA to run a series of education programmes, workshops and fosters connections with local based schools and charities to widen participation not just with the Print Studio but with art and design more broadly. Chapter 7 discusses in more detail the value generated by outreach programmes in relation to fostering creative and cultural work, both as a form of employment in and of itself but also in widening participation, increasing audiences and providing access opportunities for all ages (Chapter 3). What is clear about the DCA Print Studio model, is how it is part of a wider system of connections with different stakeholders, education and engagement, the local HEIs, local festivals, charities and schools that work together to enable access and participation. This is a clear benefit of the awareness of and participation within a CCE and challenges notions of individualism that have been previously associated with creative and cultural work**. A key policy recommendation is the need to support such spaces but also ensure that they are accessible.**

Cities that did not have the facilities that provided CCWs with the capability to sustain their practice spoke of the resulting talent drain for example in Pécs, there was a notable lack of such spaces in the wider city beyond the HEI, "*The biggest obstacle now is that there is no workshop like at the university. Procurement of materials is also a difficult thing. I also have to get the tools myself, so I have to do everything on my own. Sometimes we ourselves are the biggest obstacles" (PE15M30s).* This issue is discussed in Chapter 5 in relation to how such spaces creates early entry opportunities for creative graduates and others developing a creative career, with access to space beyond HE a necessary resource for stage 3 of the SCCW life cycle.

This talent drain is particularly acute in cities which neighbour a larger city that provides such opportunities for CCWs as this comment from Pécs indicates, "*It's on the periphery. The centrality of Budapest is also a problem here. We are full of artists, but unfortunately there is no possibility. Every year 30 artists graduate from university, but nothing happens to them" (PE14M30s).* This issue was repeated in other cities such as Lund with the draw to Malmo, Leuven with the draw to Brussels and Dundee with the draw to Glasgow/Edinburgh. As discussed, Dundee as a city does have resources that can sustain the practice of some CCWs but, the amount is not sufficient, particularly in proportion to the large creative student population attracted to the city via the creative HE offering (see England 2021; Dent et al. 2022a). There is a clear connection between the resources that attract potential or future CCWs to an area (e.g. HEIs, costs of living),

[5] https://www.culturalprofiles.org.uk/scotland/Units/623.html

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access to resources that enable and sustain creative/cultural practice and proximity to another city in the competition to resources in relation to retaining local talent as we discuss further.

6.4.2. Affordable living

As part of the wider capability to sustain creative/cultural practice was a recognition across the 10 case studies of the need to foster opportunities for the development and retention of local talent. Each of these cities had a local HEI and FE presence although Leuven is notable for its absence of an Art School, a factor that was acknowledged to create a barrier to attracting young creative talent to the region. Across all the ten case studies however was the question of how to retain talent. Access to affordable space was an important conversion factor. It was notable that affordable cost of living was regarded as an attribute across 8 of the 10 case studies, apart from Leuven and Lund where high costs of rent for both living and workspace was cited as a barrier. In Leuven a participant highlighted that the cost of living of a barrier "*the bad thing is that it's fairly expensive. It's a university city. Which means there's a lot of R&D facilities and important businesses. And this drives up the prices for living. I mean, I'm looking for a flat right now. Not as a student, but to also live here. It's basically impossible" (LE25M20s).* Another participant linked this also to the proximity to Brussels, as well as the local quality of life *"Leuven is the most expensive city at this moment to live in in Flanders. That is not quite a good thing! But it is because it's a very good city to live. […] it's only 15 minutes from Brussels, so[…] that's also why we are becoming so expensive, because many people working in Brussels are looking for places in Leuven" (LE17F50s).*

The proximity to another major centre, in this case a cheaper city, was also mentioned in Lund and its bond to *Malmö.* Two participants highlighted this conflicting relation

> *"A lot of the young people will go to Malmö to go to events, to go to concerts, to go culture in general, it's only around 15 minutes away with the train […] Malmö as a city is becoming sort of the start-up city in Sweden, it's still quite cheap to live, I live in Malmö, it's still quite cheap to live in Malmö and you can get like spaces for studio or for an office very cheaply" (LU17M30s).*

> *"A lot of the creative trade is in Malmö because it's much cheaper to live there so you have a different dynamic there because Lund is so expensive. Lund is like some Oxford thing, all the rich people are driving the creative people at least to other parts. My staff, almost all of them live in Malmö, so maybe that's sad. Maybe that's an effect of all the tech companies coming here and all the expats and everything driving the prices up so the creative economy is a bit strangled by that" (LU12M40s).*

The question of affordable living, property and the creative economy is one that is widely addressed in the literature (Adkins et al. 2019, Sassen 2001). Acknowledging the wider needs of CCWs in order to sustain SSCW which includes the resources necessary for their creative/cultural practice, the resources needed to sustain their livelihoods and the resources needed for their wellbeing which includes access to affordable homes, healthcare, care providers for dependents etc are critical aspects of the wider ecosystem. The absence of these elements can drive talent away from a city, as the comments from Pécs illustrate, however in other cities, it was the access to affordable housing, wider care infrastructure (including family support) that become an enabling factor for attracting talent to the city, like in the case of Pori "*one thing that drove me to Pori. […] it was also the cheap rents, because I still calculated that I would need some kind of headquarters, even if I had temporary jobs. That because the rents are so cheap in Pori, then you could easily have an apartment even if you would move here" (PO28F30s).*

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There is a balance to maintain for local governments on keeping the cost of living for CCWs low to attract them to the city but not allow for the city placemaking value that they provide to result in high levels of property development that work to then exclude such workers from the area. This is an important reflection, one that is considered in the wider literature as previously referenced and also relates to the discussion on leadership and creative/cultural strategy in Chapter 7. In order to maintain the CCE, all aspects of the ecosystem need to be supported however, local governments have in the past concentrated on the higher profit earning aspects of the creative economy, creating situations which push CCWs who occupy less economically valued occupations out of the ecosystem and thus inhibiting its sustainability (Comunian et al. 2021; England 2021; Tanghetti et al. 2022). Thus, the question of retaining local talent becomes a larger issue of the resources that enable the continuous reproduction of the capabilities to sustain creative/cultural practice in connection to the capability to foster creative/cultural skills, the capability to access/develop creative/cultural work and the capability to aspire to creative/cultural work. This requires a long-term, strategic policy approach to both attracting and sustaining creative and cultural talent within the local ecosystem, one that puts measures in place around property development and resources that balance economic development across the entire CCE model (England 2021).

6.4.3. Mainstream vs alternative forms of income

Alternative funding models for organisations and institutions

As discussed in the previous section – individual CCWs need to access funding in order to both access/develop work and sustain practice but the labour required to obtain funding is often unwaged and requiring a multitude of skills and resources including time to convert the function into a capability. In addition, creative and cultural institutions need to access funding in order to sustain themselves. The funding provision models of creative and cultural institutions vary across European states, but the majority of institutional representatives interviewed as part of the DISCE research project spoke of a funding model that combined elements of public funding at the state and local level with private income. Within the state/public funded proportion of publicly funded creative/cultural institutions was a variable list of partnership and project-based funding initiatives which provided opportunities for additional outreach or project-based work that provided further employment opportunities for CCWs (see also section in Chapter 7 on fostering work undertaken outside the CCIs).

Cultural and creative institutions provide opportunities to both access/develop SCCW through the direct employment opportunities within the institutions themselves, but they also provide functionings for other capabilities. As discussed in the previous section, they can create access space for local creative practitioners to use facilities necessary for their practice, they can be hired as venues and, through outreach and engagement programmes provide further project-based work that widens participation and creates opportunities for project-based workers, "*A lot of my-- my projects, my wellbeing projects are funded, it's just coming to an end of six years. Fantastic funding from the Rank Foundation." (DU1F50s).* As this comment articulates, outreach and project work provides opportunities for creative and cultural institutions to access funding from alternative sources, including trusts and foundations, HEIs, private donors etc.

> *"the solution has been, as I have said before, that there are these projects, [that gain] external funding, as we do not have allocations in our own budget, we have a lot of projects from foundations, funds, the EU fund, the provincial development money, the Satakunta cultural fund and so on. We have performed cooperation, such as series of lectures. The university centre was a partner in one of our lecture series, as well. But our regular partners are the civic college and the Pori summer university. We join forces and receive funds by joining lecture series, common lectures" (PO17M50s).*

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Funding for creative and cultural institutions is based on multiple sources, a part of which is reliant on and sustains different forms of project-based labour. This provides work opportunities that can sustain practice, but they also help sustain the institution. That said, recent work on the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on CCWs based in Dundee revealed that many project-based CCWs in Dundee were not supported by local cultural institutions, with agreed contracts for projects impacted by the lockdown not being honoured exposing the fragility of this model for CCWs who are not employed by an institution (England 2021).

There is a clear policy recommendation on the need for secure contracts and accountability systems in terms of how publicly funded creative/cultural institutions value their project-based CCWs but also a value of the multiple opportunities that creative and cultural institutions provide across the city and the need for continued public investment in creative/cultural institutions.

Renting out and other forms of income

Another functioning that enabled the capability to sustain creative/cultural practice was property ownership and rental income whereby some organisation or project that had either acquired or received property as part of endowment and were able to rent those spaces out as a form income. Across ten case studies we uncovered different combinations of employment and business models deployed by both individuals (table 6.1) and companies/organisations (6.4.3) as examples of the resources that enable the capability to sustain creative/cultural practice. Some further examples from the data include a co-working space in Chatham that managed to have access to a car parking space and they make a sizeable income from car park fees which sustains their own creative practice and their capability to foster creative/cultural work for others, *"So I'd say this one is like tenants like residents who pay for space like studio lease. This one is very boring but it's our car park. It's what sustains us the most and then has the most potential to make more money as well as I'd say" (CH9F30s).*

Other forms of ' income': bartering and commoning

CCWs described how one form of creative/cultural practice was sustainable because of previous employment with a more stable income as this theatre practitioner from Dundee demonstrates:

> *"But the other reason I was able to do it was absolutely to do with I say the economic privilege of the fact that I got in this programmer job that was very well paid, Local Authority, proper pension and easy, like easy hours, and I met my partner who was doing, he was the other half of the arts unit. So he was the galleries and visual arts, and I was programming the theatres, and he agreed to stay in there, it's in his nature to work for someone rather than to work as a solo person but he agreed to let me out under the wire, and economically we didn't know if I was going to bring money in or not. And I haven't earned to my potential for 20 years …. **theatre has never been able to afford me, so I have had to find other ways to afford it**" (DU27F50s).*

In addition, we saw examples of the operating of a barter economy as a model of sustainable creative and cultural practice. This functions as a form of wageless work (Alacovska 2021) but also relates to a series of systems of exchanges for work between creative and cultural professions. An artist in Dundee rejected a description of his work as voluntary "*So it's not exactly voluntary work in the sense that I'm, I don't know, volunteering at a soup kitchen or something. But like, just helping other people out with projects that they've got going on" (DU9M20s).* When a performance artist in Lund was asked if he considered a festival he was running voluntary work, he explained.

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"it kind of is. It's also a way for me, it can be work for me as well, because I have presented some of my own works at it. And, because of the funding rules, I can take money for doing that, but my colleague and I can't take money for running the festival from there. So, in terms of curating and the admin of the festival, that has to come on top of work time, as a voluntary thing. But then, it also has benefits for me as an artist, because I can then get artists that we really want to have, ones that I might end up working with in the future and collaborating, or people I have collaborated with. So, it's a networking thing, it's a place for me to show my own projects as well. Because, people who come to the festival and talk to us, they're always like, oh, my colleague works at the Konsthall and she's an art curator and education. So, they're interested in talking to her about what she does, and they're interested in talking to me about what I do. So, it's a useful networking tool as well, but, yeah, essentially it's a voluntary thing" (LU26M30s).

Within the framework of the barter economy we also saw examples of how CCWs make use of their local physical resources, from creating events in local parks, cemeteries or using local resources taken from local scrap/recycling stations:

"Tayside Reusers, there we go. Actually more and more, this whole area, I realised it's just a gold mine. I, I have to build all my strips, all my canvases out of wood, and so actually, there's quite a good relationship between these creative companies and the other businesses around. So all of these businesses, I've just been going and speaking to them and raiding their skips and all of this, so they're all very, they've all got a good attitude" (DU9M20s).

The barter economy further expands our understanding of the various resources that are required to sustain creative and cultural practice within the CCE and the need for local policymakers to foster those spaces. There was also evidence from the data how the barter economy fosters a mindset of sharing and support that was required during the COVID-19 lockdown:

"Well, to say that COVID was lucky... no, but I was ready. We were closed for three months, but I didn't sit on my hands for three months thinking 'the state gives us this', no, I thought: I have to find a solution. I called four masters in Murano, all of whom were in a bad way, and who had had to close their kilns, and I proposed that we go to them, take the things they had already made and transform them: exchange goods. If you do things well, I'll do them well and we're ready. Then we're a small business, and when we closed down we lost a lot of things including the various awards, savings put aside, but if you feel sorry for yourself you'll never get out of it. Like restaurateurs: if you look for a solution you can organise yourself even in a disaster situation" (TR15M50s).

As discussed, there is a clear connection between the capability to access/develop creative work and the capability to sustain creative and cultural practice. When coding across these two capabilities, it was difficult to distinguish between a resource that related to accessing/developing creative work or sustaining practice. Multiple forms of work within and across the creative and cultural alongside forms of wageless work most commonly fit with accessing/developing creative/cultural work and yet work that involved side jobs/alternative models of livelihood was linked to sustaining practice. Having access to spaces that enabled CCW was seen as a form of sustaining creative practice whereas the functioning of networks more often as a pathway to accessing/developing work however it is important to again acknowledge the interconnection between capabilities whilst also recognising the subtle differences between them and how they relate to

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different aspects of the CCE. This complexity is further acknowledged in the next Chapter where we discuss the resources, conversion factors and structural constraints on the capability to foster creative/cultural work.

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7. Fostering (sustainable) CCW

7.1. Chapter overview

Fostering CCW represents the final stage of the WP3 SCCW life cycle yet interconnects with each stage and the wider CCE. Fostering creative and cultural work refers to the different institutions, organisations and individuals that foster and enable others to both access creativity and culture but also, either directly or indirectly creative and cultural work. As we discuss in relation to the capability to access/develop creative and cultural work, fostering CCW can be an employment opportunity in and of itself, with examples provided of individuals who shifted into fostering roles within the creative economy following a period of CCW, or those who came to these roles from other sectors. The data illustrates the wider infrastructures that enable fostering CCW. Models such as trade unions or education institutions with career development programmes are the more established and traditional examples of fostering CCW but within the ten DISCE case study locations, a network of different support organisations identified as 'creative intermediaries' and funding models emerged which provided other examples.

Whilst there was some degree of similarity between the different forms of fostering CCW across the ten case studies, there was no emergent singular model or framework that had been adopted as part of a wider CCE. Conversion factors strongly depended on the resources available within the city, from the funding capability of the local governing authority, the availability and cost of space, different localised forms of financial support, the relationship between the city and local related institutions such as HEIs, charities within the CCE and so paying attention to those support infrastructures became an important focus in the analysis. There is a connection here to the systems of care and care-ful work (Alacovska & Bissonnette 2021; Alacovska 2020; Wilson et al. 2020) that operate within a geographical location and how those systems enable fostering practices.

Four key capabilities emerged in the analytical process, *the capability to access creativity and culture*, *the capability to engage others with creativity and culture, the capability to foster creative and cultural work and the capability to drive/lead creative and cultural work*. An individual's capability to access creativity and culture or engage others with creativity and culture was strongly dependent on the resources available within the case study location, and those resources were in turn dependent on either decisions taken at a strategic governance level or through the bottom-up, grassroots driven activity from local citizens. Focusing on these capabilities unpacks the different models/infrastructures including the different physical spaces such as incubators, co-working spaces, studios etc., all of which have been considered in previous Chapters, but in this stage are relevant in relation to the models of governance that both create and sustain those spaces. Thus, the capability to lead and drive creativity and culture is key in relation to the conversion factors that enable individuals to convert the functionings into a capability. Who drives and leads creativity and culture within a city is also relevant as those conversion factors are distributed across macro, meso and micro levels of governance that exist across the broader CCE. As such, the first section of this Chapter focuses on the question of leadership and how leadership and the drive for creative and cultural structures are distributed across the macro-level of political governance, the meso-level of institutions and the micro-community and individual level. Following that, we consider how the capability to access creativity and culture, the capability to access/develop creative and cultural work and the capability to engage others with creativity and culture are enabled through these different levels that operate within the CCE. Included within this discussion is a consideration of 'sustainable leadership' in relation to the impact of COVID-19 on funding models and systems of governance and how the wider value placed on creativity and culture threatens the future development and sustainability of the CCE. Our analysis exposes the fragility of sustainable and inclusive

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creative economies when reliant on conversion factors that are not recognised or valued for their economic and social benefit.

The data analysis resulted in some cities producing a far greater amount of data on fostering and support systems than others (see table 7.1). This does not mean that fostering does not happen in those cities where it was not discussed, but that potentially, creative and cultural policy was identified as a meaningful area of discussion in those cities with more data. Geography (and other regional economy dynamics) might also explain this. It is interesting to notice that with the exception of Leuven the two cities where fostering was discussed the most were locations that have in the literature (see regional case studies reports Dent et al. 2022a, b and c and Kim et al. 2022) been portrayed as 'lagging' regions, where policy has actively intervened to re-balance economic and social development. They are also locations – specifically in UK – where over a decade of neoliberal policies have weakened the financial infrastructure around arts and culture and where need for fostering might have emerged more strongly. Locations were fostering was discussed only partially belong to the North Europe geographical area where, possibly, social-democratic frameworks already embed fostering within public agendas, instead of the sector. Finally, locations where fostering was only marginally discussed are the ones from Eastern and Southern Europe, where creative intermediaries and other practices of fostering might have emerged only more recently, due to the strong public-sector (and public ownership) traditional framework of local CCE. While these might be motivations that help contextualise the rest of the Chapter, they are not exhaustive. The way the case study data is used here aims to provide reflections on capabilities, functionings and constrains that span across the specificity of the location discussed.

Table 7.1: Fostering codes and data coverage

Fostering CCW – final coded data		
High	**Medium**	**Low**
Chatham (309) Dundee (284) Leuven (216)	Pori (148) Lund (107) Enschede (98)	Pécs (66) Treviso (42) Liepāja (41) L'Aquila (40)

7.2. The capability to drive/lead CCW

7.2.1. Who drives creativity and culture in cities?

In order to consider the functionings of the capability to drive/lead CCW it is useful to reflect on who can drive/lead creativity and culture within a geographic location. By creativity and culture, we refer to the different spaces and places where citizens can access or participate in creative and cultural activities that foster CCW. Rather than a focus on what these spaces represent for the individual CCWs in terms of their ability to access or sustain their work/practice, in this section we look at what facilities are available, how they are funded and governed, who takes responsibility for their creation and what that indicates in relation to how creativity and culture are valued in that area. This is an important aspect of our analysis as it enables us to examine how resources are distributed across the city and who has the capacity to convert them into functionings. Following Robeyns (2017) conversion factors and the choices that are available to individuals can be altered by policy (p.47). In deliverable 3.5 we provide a series of recommended policy interventions based on the functionings and conversion factors uncovered through the WP3 analysis of the DISCE data.

In order to structure this section, we divide the question of who drives and/or leads creativity and culture across the macro, meso and micro levels of governance that operate within the city.

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7.2.2. Creative and cultural leadership

There are varying levels and approaches to creative and cultural governance across the national and city level represented across the ten DISCE case study locations. The DISCE consortium has published a detailed review of the existing documentation in relation to how the 'creative economy' has been understood within each case study location (Publications & Reports – DISCE). Part of these reviews has included the relevant policy documentation alongside academic studies that consider approaches to fostering and developing creative economies those locations. The ten DISCE case studies represent 8 European countries all of which have different national approaches to creative and cultural spend. The online database Compendium of Cultural Policies & Trends provides an overview of the cultural policy framework across 43 countries, which includes the countries included in the DISCE research project. These documents give an indication of the current national and local infrastructures for creative and cultural policy, with different models of public spending and obligatory services in relation to creative and cultural activity across of the DISCE case study locations. One unifying factor across each of these models is the reduction in public spending on creative and cultural activity at both the national and local level since the 2008 financial crisis (see also Pratt 2012, 2015). As discussed in Chapter 6, access to public funding has an impact on the amount of creative and cultural activity available within the geographic location and a decline in access was observed across a number of the cities that spoke of a decline in creative and cultural spaces such as theatre, music halls, other venues OR a shift from public access to the privatisation of those spaces.

Where local investment and fostering creative and cultural work appeared most prominent was in the investment in local facilities that enabled access but also directly fostered creative and cultural work, for example co-working spaces, incubators etc. and linked to mega-events, such as the decision to bid for a major creative city competition such as the European Capital of Culture or other flagship development projects that were linked to property development and creative placemaking. Access to co-working space and incubators has been discussed in Chapter 5 in relation to early career pathways and in Chapter 6 in relation to accessing and sustaining creative and cultural work. Here, we consider the policy imperative to develop such spaces for the local creative economy and consider the different approaches both in terms of what sort of spaces are developed and what sort of organisation has caretaking responsibility for those spaces.

7.2.3. Creative/cultural strategy: cultural-led flagship projects, mega-events and fostering CCW

There has been an increasing rise of scholarly interest emerging from the intersection of critical studies on the creative economy and urban planning on creative placemaking, culture-led regeneration projects, particularly so-called 'flagship cultural developments' and creative city 'mega-events' (Comunian & Mould 2014; Oancă 2015; Mould 2018; Courage & McKeown 2019). Public investment in flagship buildings such as large creative/cultural institutions alongside creative city 'mega-events' such as the European Capital of Culture have increased as part of a 'new urban politics' (Cox 1993 in Oancă 2015) linked to the economic development of a city in terms of increased tourism but also supporting the growth of the CCIs from a fostering job creation perspective. The rise of investment in flagship developments as a form of creative placemaking has taken place in parallel to the wider reduction in public spend on creative and cultural activity through austerity measures. This represents a paradox in the relationship between policy and creative placemaking at the urban level and raises questions about the actual value of creative placemaking activity in relation to fostering locally embedded creative and cultural work.

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Table 7.2: DISCE cities and creative city mega-events

Lund	ECoC 2014 (failed)
Pori	Linked to Turku Capital of Culture 2011
Chatham	Medway UK City of Culture 2025
Dundee	UK City of Culture 2017 bid (failed) UNESCO City of Design (success) European City of Culture 2023
Leuven	European Capital of Innovation 2020
Liepāja	European Capital of Culture 2027
Pécs	European Capital of Culture 2010 (success)
L'Aquila	Italian Capital of Culture 2022 (failed)
Treviso	Italian Capital of Culture 2020 (failed)

The DISCE regional case studies provide information on the relationship between local policy and the creative economy. Dundee was an early adopter of the creative placemaking policy drive, establishing a strategy to redevelop the waterfront and create a cultural quarter around the two universities in the West End of the city as part of their 'cultural re-imaging' policy established in the late 1980s, a policy that has contributed to the opening of the V&A Dundee on the waterfront in 2018 (Dent et al. 2022). Part of the success of Dundee's cultural re-imaging project has been driven by individual councillors at the local council level acknowledging the wider benefits of creative and cultural investment and we discuss the individualism of sustainable creative leadership within this Chapter.

Other cities included in the study who had engaged in this process through either consultation for a flagship venue of mega-event spoke of the benefit created through the planning process even if the final outcome was negative. For example, in Lund, the Future By Lund organisation, a platform created to develop Lund's Smart City strategy evolved from the locally based planning for a European Capital of Culture (ECoC) bid:

> *"I was recruited to the European Capital of Culture, the campaign in Lund to sort that economy, to sort out the organization, to sort the thing that goes on in between the structure and the nitty gritty and everything that needs to be in place and the creative content… And then, suddenly you slip into a path when you are doing this campaign, you do all the content and suddenly I was also assigned for all the infusion work, citizens, NGOs, because no one else was caring. So I basically walk the walk all around, besides the world economy and rest, so I have been flexing between sort of, sort of economy, law, entrepreneurship. I know everything about how to start a company or to close one, but I can just as well do something else. So we didn't win. Thank God, we would not have become a very good European Capital of Culture, but we was a very good runner up. Because we made a plan B. In the plan B, we were doing something for the city and the surroundings instead of something for Lund. And we kept the local money and all the, the political sort of forest that we have gathered in the in sort of this competition of becoming European Culture Capital" (LU14F50s).*

The planning process enabled a form of stakeholder engagement across the wider CCE and the failure to secure the ECoC opportunity created the possibility to develop a more local focus on the city itself. A similar reflection on failing to secure a mega-event title was provided from Dundee:

> *"…it was a great process to be part of, shame that we didn't win, I wasn't that fussed in the end, because obviously, we gained so much more through rather than just a one year fix. It led us on to, you know, to bid to becoming a UNESCO city of design and I think the city has benefited far more probably, than what would have happened at that time,*

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which would have been a lot glitzy events, I think, still at that time, I think obviously now European Capital of Culture and UK City of Culture titles are revising what it means to be a kind of annual designation" (DU16F40s).

What emerged from our analysis of this data was how developing cultural led flagship projects or bidding for creative city mega-events provides an opportunity for a creative/cultural strategy for that city. However, as evident from the wider literature, these interventions do not necessarily end up supporting or favouring local CCWs (Comunian & Mould 2014; Oancă 2015). The absence of such a strategy at the municipality level is articulated by a number of participants from different case study locations about the structural constraints to fostering creative and cultural work due to the absence of strategic leadership. Interestingly, the locations that we identified at the start of the Chapter as having engaged less with the importance of fostering, are also the one that lament a lack of leadership and coordination. In our two Eastern European countries, the absence of leadership and drive was a strong theme in relation to this capability:

"The people of Pécs are proud of where they came from. This is an advantage that would be important to take advantage of from an early age. Because of this, I see a lot of opportunities in the city. Obviously, this should also be a vision of city management. Let this mission be here" (PE13F40s).

"I think that in Liepāja, speaking between us, it would be if there was a strong cultural management, for example, in the municipality. It is the cultural management that they do not have to be producers, they could work more, invite a lot of creative people, and... What is difficult is that any person in the municipality, they feel that they understand, that they have an opinion, but the same as for all of us, they have the unprofessional – like/dislike. And they don't understand, if they don't like it, then it seems to them that the other 50,000 people will definitely not like it either" (LI5M50s).

In the two Italian case studies, data indicated fostering and development work emerging at a grassroots, bottom up level, with little top-down support:

"I don't want to be repetitive, but what I do see is that most of the creative economy is created from below, and there are no large institutions that make themselves available or in dialogue with contemporary artists. Neither from the administration nor from museums, even if in reality right now there is only the world we have then when the Maxxi finally opens in L'Aquila what will happen but at the moment the creative economy seems to me to be really stagnant; there are some places that stoically continue their work like the Polarville bookshop or like some galleries that are along the narrow street and therefore give some vitality to this sector" (LA4M40s).

"There is a number of associations that do a good job, but not real poles of attraction or reference for the city. But I don't see a specific place that can be a light in these terms, I'm sorry. Probably, I'm not so optimistic but the city really suffers that" (LA4M40s).

The absence of a creative/cultural strategy was attributed to the lack of engagement or acknowledgement of the value of the creative economy by leaders at the municipality level and an awareness of the lack of diversity/knowledge of the creative and cultural sector. Cities with municipalities that do engage with locally engaged creative and cultural partners such as Dundee, who partnered with Creative Dundee in their bid to become UK's first UNESCO City of Design appear to have more success as this participant reflected,

"… on that note I think that actually carries through into our involvement in the city of culture bid. And I was asked to join that panel group, and that was when we were still a

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voluntary gig and everyone I knew was getting asked about what they could bring to the table and all we could really bring to the table was community. And we had developed, quite well-developed expertise around how you do that digitally and so it seemed to make sense to create a crowdsourcing platform that was around how to build people's pride in place but not just be a cheesy, crass marketing campaign that's like "I support Dundee" is actually genuinely about how do we harness the ideas from citizens across Dundee and use them to inform the bid" (DU16F40s).

The next section of this Chapter discusses leadership skills in relation to fostering creative and cultural work in more detail but here we focus on Chatham as a case study of a local municipality undergoing a new direction of creative/cultural planning. This is an interesting reflection as this process was concurring at the time of the DISCE research project's data collection.

As discussed in the regional case study review (Kim et al. 2022) Chatham is one of the five towns that were incorporated in the late 1970s into a wider unitary authority called 'Medway'. As such, the local council is the Medway council however Chatham has a separate parliamentary constituency (Chatham and Aylesford) and, as discussed from our qualitative research, contains its own distinct identity from the other five towns incorporated within the Medway unitary authority. Chatham has directly benefitted from creative placemaking investment through the regeneration of the historic dockyard. The Chatham Dockyard was closed in 1984, resulting in massive job losses across the area (see Sana et al. 2022 for detailed overview) and the site was divided into three and sold separately, one part that was converted into the commercial Medway Ports, the second sold and converted into a mixed commercial, residential and leisure development and the third transferred to a charity called the Chatham Historic Dockyard Trust which is now open as a visitor attraction. The site has received millions of British pounds in terms of public funding and capital spend and has a multitude of resources that create the possibilities for income generation. The dockyard commercial property site fosters multiple employment opportunities through the rental opportunities for creative business, tourism and education facilities including a subsidiary campus that is part of the University of Greenwich. In addition, the dockyard location is used for major film and TV productions including British television programme *Call the Midwife* and Hollywood Movie *Les Miserables*. Despite the level of investment and opportunity, there was a reported disconnect between it and the local communities of Chatham. As discussed in the regional case study, there are high levels of multiple social and deprivation across the wider communities living in the Chatham area with a number of issues linked to poverty, unemployment and poor housing (Sana et al. 2022). One creative worker, who worked within an organisation based on the dockyard illustrated the gap between the dockyard and the local town by advising visitors to avoid the ten minute walk from the train station to the dockyard due to the levels of deprivation;

"…you know, Medway, there are pockets of the Medway that are very challenging and Chatham town centre is one of them. It's a challenge for us for recruitment in that when you get off the train, you have to walk through the town, if you walk, you have to walk through the town centre to get to us, you know, try to make sure everyone always gets a taxi, put it that way, rather than do the ten-minute walk, because I don't, you know. You wouldn't wanna come work here if you walk through the town centre" (CH14M50s).

This disconnect is also demonstrated through the cost to access the dockyard as a visitor. Ticket prices are set at a rate that is not affordable to the majority of local citizens and their families[6]. Here you see an example of a capability to foster creative and cultural work that works against the capability to access culture, with the economic value gained from the property and location rent opportunity afforded by the dockyard not being dispersed back into the local CCE. There is a reflection here on how, if the dockyard was made more

[6] https://thedockyard.co.uk/plan-your-visit/buytickets/

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inclusive and locally engaged with economic resources invested back into the local economy, if that would make recruitment to creative and cultural businesses based in the dockyard more attractive to CCWs.

The interview data from Chatham revealed a historical, longstanding tension between the locally based creative and cultural workers, community workers and fostering support workers and the council, however, the interviewees spoke positively about the newly appointed Head of Culture at Medway Council who had been implementing a new creative strategy which included local participatory engagement:

> *"I think it comes from the new officer from the new head of culture who's listened, come in, listened, realised and then the collective voice supporting that, embracing it, feeding back, and you know and having input to this strategy. And then the idea is that the strategy and the bid are owned by the community, whether that's artistic community, voluntary community, other communities of Medway. I mean, without it, we won't, there's not even a credible bid, is there? So there's an incentive. But the incentive city of culture has made some very positive change happen and some very positive conversations happen. And people are beginning to feel really optimistic. Those practitioners who have been around in Medway for a very long time talk about having been disappointed and bruised by experience in in the past… But what I see is something in the process of changing very much for the better and a really good energy and will around that change" (CH16F60s).*

Part of this new direction for creative and cultural planning that was being implemented at a strategic level was driven by a combination of creative placemaking activities including a Medway-wide bid to become the 2025 UK City of Culture (which was unsuccessful) and plans to develop a new co-working space, the Docking Station, a flagship project developed across the University of Kent in partnership with Creative Estuary, a wider urban regeneration project across both Essex and Kent, the local authority areas surrounding the Thames Estuary and Medway Council;

> *"… before I took on the role, the university, and Medway Council and the Dockyard Trust had put in a bid to be one of the regional centres for Channel 4, and they weren't successful. But, what they found really interesting was how well they worked together as a partnership of putting a bid together. So they decided to have another meeting, which I was invited to, about the next big thing that they might do together. So I was struggling, thinking, because we struggle to get students to come to Medway, to be honest, and it's, you know, it is a challenge. I wanted to think of a way that we could create something that is unique and you know, iconic, as everybody would want any project they're involved in. So together we came up with this idea, which I called the Docking Station and through Creative Estuary, we have money for feasibility" (CH15F60s).*

The impetus for The Docking Station development came, as articulated above, from the former Director of Culture based at the University of Kent, another HEI with a Chatham based campus who was concerned with the issue of attracting students to the campus because of the lack of creative and cultural opportunity in the area. It is interesting that investing in a flagship building was identified as the model to improve the area despite the evidence that previous investment into the Chatham Historical Dockyard and not yielded positive results in terms of local regeneration.

Pécs, who were awarded ECoC in 2010, talk of the negative legacy of that title due to the unsustainability of the funding.

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"Interestingly, in 2010, the European Capital of Culture programme closed a lot of places of worship. Afterwards, I wrote about the government and the municipality that everything started to go down. Civic initiatives have been suppressed, although the civil society is strong. I see this as a negative for work. It went down the slope from the 90s and the city could not get out of it. The mines, multinational companies were closed. Between 2010 and 2015, 10,000 people left the city. The effect is very strong. Because of this, the labour market is strange, the university is the largest employer. Traditional crafts industry is not really present. Either you do intellectual work or you go to a factory" (PE19M30s).

There is a distinction to be reflected on in relation to the benefits of developing a creative/cultural strategy which brings together a range of different stakeholders from across the CCE and the actual creative placemaking activity itself. COVID-19 has illustrated the tension between investing in buildings as opposed to people by radically disrupting the business model of creative/cultural venues, which then required significant public funding in order to sustain that space. A report on Dundee's Cultural Recovery post COVID-19 published in 2021 demonstrated how recovery funding for the creative economy in Dundee was absorbed by the large creative/cultural institutions at the expense of local creative and cultural workers (England 2021). The example from Pécs suggests an issue with the long-term sustainability of the benefits offered through mega-events if there is a lack of continued strategic leadership. Leadership skills in relation to fostering creative/cultural work as part of a wider strategy that involves different stakeholders across the CCE becomes an important attribute in relation to developing inclusive and sustainable creative economies.

7.2.4. Incubators and fostering CCW

There are different models of incubators that emerged across the DISCE data and Chapter 5 details their relevance in relation to early career pathways into CCW. A participant from Enschede claimed that the first incubator was created at the University of Twente (UT) as a space to foster innovation and start-ups. The Kennispark Twente (English translation 'Knowledge park') was established in the 1980s as part of the UT campus, an area that now hosts over 400 different start-up businesses. It represents a collaboration between the two local HEIS, UT and Saxion alongside the local municipality, the Twente Region and the Province of Overijssel. The Kennispark Twente Foundation was renamed Novel-T in 2017 and representatives from Novel-T were interviewed as part of the DISCE research programme. The Novel-T Foundation uses the language of an 'ecosystem' but one that is driven by an entrepreneurial/innovative mindset in much of their public literature (https://novelt.com/en/ecosystem/) and was a term that was frequently deployed in the interview:

"…we created this kind of programmes and bootcamps, under the flag of that ecosystem, […] one of these ingredients that we were also lacking, and what we heard from students, is that we were missing a physical place where we can work together on business. Because we always said like it doesn't matter if you work at your student hall, or in a library, you always had already access to all the programmes. So, that's why we created Incubate, as a physical location where you can work on that business, […] a new practical physical location where the support that was already there is even more available, but by the fact that if you sit here, yeah, you can make more use of it […]under the ecosystem Novel-T, we have multiple ingredients, you have a pillar really just university tech transfer, you have a pillar that's really just start-up business, and under that you have incubators and you have a pillar that is really helping existing companies grow" (EN24M20s).

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The above quotation illustrates the incubator model deployed by Novel-T acting as a go-between the university and start-ups as a means to foster and develop creative and cultural work opportunities. In Enschede, the role of the HEI in partnership with the local municipality and local businesses is a key driver of this model.

The University of Dundee has adopted a similar approach. The Centre for Entrepreneurship was established at the University in 2017 through a partnership with a social enterprise, Elevator. Like the Novel-T model, Dundee's Centre for Entrepreneurship's mission is based on developing Dundee's entrepreneurial and enterprising culture in order to have a positive impact on the area's economy and employability. The building is based on the University of Dundee campus and provides opportunities for local undergraduates and postgraduates but also runs a series of skills programmes, master classes and offers funding for start-ups that is available to staff and students:

> *"I think the university's got a very strong focus on entrepreneurship and we want to be entrepreneurial in the way we think and do things and the fact we've got a public access centre, we encourage people to come onto campus to get this advice, it works really well. We pass our students and staff on to the Elevator accelerator programme as well, which works really well, they're going off for 3 months, the summer one is virtual just now due to COVID. It's two months. But usually we've had students that have created some amazing companies from Dundee University, spin outs have been like there's some really high potential spin outs that have come from the university, a couple of really high profile start-ups one called Snap 40 which is called Club Health and they're flying now" (DU8M30s).*

Both Dundee and Enschede have developed incubators based on a partnership between the local HEI and other stakeholders from across both the private and public sector. Their aim is to foster and develop local talent and to enable the creation of jobs and opportunities that will in turn benefit the wider local economy. As discussed in the regional case studies (Dent et al. 2022a and b) and Chapter 5, both cities attract high numbers of creative Higher Education students but have an issue with graduate retention. Fostering spaces aimed specifically at HEI, driven by a multi-partner institutions, highlights clear leadership drive to benefit local economy but doesn't harness the wider CCE as discussed in the following sections of this Chapter where other forms of creative and cultural work are not supported and don't have access to space of funding to start up and develop their practice.

HEIs, however, are not the sole custodians of incubators. In Liepāja we see an incubator model funded by the European Union via the local municipality;

> *"…as a public administration, the participants do not pay us anything at all. We are a free service to the participants. The funding for the incubator is European funding, so it is a overall budget, it does not change for us either, which is somehow both good and bad news that we have that money, the question is simply how efficiently are we using it? We, of course, keep track of those expenses, and we also try to follow the best practices so that the administrative costs form a certain percentage of the total costs we have, that is, how much we give as seminars to the participants or in the form of grants. Therefore, I don't have so much to say about funding of the incubator, because we don't have any revenue, we are, well, as a public administration, we have our overall budget, and we spend the budget... as we should" (LI2M20s).*

Taking the incubator out of the HEI model opens up access to a wider range of stakeholders and in this case, the incubator operates as a creative intermediary that manages the administration and bureaucratic process

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of accessing and managing finances on behalf of the beneficiaries. As the following quotation indicates, the purpose of the incubator is to intervene and support stakeholders with the hidden elements of CCW (as discussed in Chapter 6) in negotiating funding applications etc.:

> *"What I am trying to do, as I mentioned earlier is that almost half of my time goes to bureaucracy, then I also believe that it is to some extent my task to cut the red tape for participants. Of course, I could be, well, a relatively typical public servant, and say if you've filled out a grant application incorrectly, then fill it in correctly, but I usually want to call them and explain why they have to fill it out this way instead of that, and then they can do it themselves, but, but we must explain in simple terms so that they understand the meaning of why they have to do it. And, of course, there we also think of all sorts of ways in which we can reduce their bureaucracy so that, for them, the process is a bit automated, both for them and for us. So far, I think we have been quite successful" (LI2M20s).*

In Lund, the Klump incubator is housed within a cultural centre Subtopia (cultural centre) and, as a representative from the organisation articulates, cognitively operates as a supported, development programme distinguishing their intervention from 'tech incubators' through a commitment to long-term development:

> *"So, I try to be a facilitator, or a catalyst, and not do anything for them. And in the same way some of my colleagues, especially tech incubators that usually have a very detailed programme of different stations that you have to go through in order to become a fully good incubator person, and then when you're done with the programme, you're basically done and then you can go out to the world. But to me this may be very interesting to see the incubation period as an education, but on the other hand it's very entrepreneurial to do that, and to me it's more interesting that they want to achieve this themselves. So, I figured out a special workshop called the Time Machine, where they more or less from a very long term vision draw out their own training programme, what they need to develop in order to become better, or to achieve their goals. And the goal is basically that they should make a living out of what they do, their arts. And if they can hire more people, that's great, and if they can't, that's also great" (LU19M50s).*

In Enschede, the development of incubators as spaces that foster creative/cultural work has become part of a wider national strategy to foster creative and cultural work. Tetem, an Enschede-based organisation that operates as an exhibition platform, education provider and maker space across digital media, technology, science and design spoke of the funding model provided by the Dutch government for the creation of an incubator across different stakeholders within the city:

> *"…the incubation spaces. And, that's in the beginning and that's a project we start now for four years. And, the government wants to give all those incubation spaces money, and it's money that they have the first year 70% of the financial need. And, the year afterwards 50, and then 30, and then reduced to 10%, and then nothing. And, our role is that we connect these incubator spaces to the maker spaces … in society, and to the generators in all those societies. And, to the rest of the cultural and social structure of the society. So, we have social, cultural and creative network, with companies as well. There's a lot of companies, in all the fourteen governments. And, in this platform is also our maker festival. And, this maker festival is working in all the fourteen local governments" (EN33F50s).*

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This suggests a clear policy recognition of the value of incubator spaces that foster certain forms of creative/cultural work. The need for a physical element of the incubator as discussed by the representative from Novel-T provides an interesting reflection on the desire, pre the COVID-19 pandemic, to create spaces that bring different creative and cultural workers together. This is also present in the discussion in section 6.4 with access to space and resource seen as an important part of sustaining creative and cultural practice. Other spatial models in the form of co-working spaces and artists' studios emerged in the data in relation to fostering creative and cultural work.

7.2.5. Co-working spaces, property development and fostering CCW

As discussed in Chapter 5 and 6.4, access to co-working spaces are an important part of career development and sustaining creative/cultural practice. In this section, like the governance of incubators, how co-working spaces are created, funded and maintained has repercussions for the wider CCE. In Enschede, the local municipality has explicitly financed the development of co-working space through the purchasing of and development former textile factories and other such spaces into co-working spaces. Representative from the local municipality spoke of the acquirement of the Spinnerij Oosterveld (a former spinning mill), and its conversion into a co-working space for local businesses. The project started as in Enschede there were no "*places where you have a lot of small companies by each other";*

> *"we said, okay, we can give it a push and how can we do that? And so, we found Spinnerij Oosterveld and I think we bought it for one Euro. […]: But you don't want to know how many Euros we have invested in it. Very much! And... then after several years, we had to, we did a lot of activities within our municipality. And our government said what are the things that we have to do as a municipality? When someone wants to build something we need to check the … and okay, that's a part we have to do. But we are not going to have buildings and rent them for companies, That's not our goal. And so, we find Walas and Walas took it over from us. And we also see when you have a commercial party it can handle quicker. When a company wants a reduction of the price, we have to discuss over ten layers, and then the company's gone. And they can decide in two seconds. And we also see that the whole building is a better field with the companies" (EN4F40s).*

As indicated, the acquirement and conversion of the factory was part of a policy-drive from the local municipality to develop working spaces that can foster the local economy, however, as signalled in the quotation above, the management of the building was passed on to a commercial developer Walas Europe. The transfer from the local government to a property developer took place in 2017[7] in part, due to the lack of occupancy. Fostering certain forms of work is therefore a key economic priority for local municipalities in order to recuperate funds and investment into local property regeneration. However, our data disclosed a tension on the availability of affordable space for creative and cultural workers when the property ownership shifted from the public to the private sector as one local games developer articulated. Their company had benefitted from municipality owned low rents for workspace but were then forced to move when the prices increased:

> *"So, … they converted the old beer brewery into an office complex and to draw in people of the right kind of industries, they offered a cheap rent. And since we were moving from one municipality owned area to another municipality owned area, there wasn't a lot of – the biggest hurdle was just moving our stuff over. And it was a pretty nice new building.*

[7] https://cultureelerfgoedenschede.nl/wordpressnew/2017/10/02/spinnerij-oosterveld/

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But then, after two years, they just cut out the discount completely, on the basis of seeing, yeah, this is the market, what's the term... Market conform? … The price is representative for the rental market for office space. That's what they were saying. They weren't saying why they were going – but that was way too expensive. So that's then when we moved over here" (EN18M).

The tension between property development and creative and cultural work has been addressed in the wider literature in relation to the impact of gentrification on property prices in urban areas (Adkins et al. 2020; Sassen 2001). The data that related to property and cost of living across the ten DISCE case study cities varied with some of cities including Leuven and Lund cited as having high cost of rental accommodation for both working and living spaces, whereas other cities including Dundee and Chatham cited low cost of living and/or studio space as an enabling factor (see also Chapter 5). The high cost of housing and rental space for workshops is cited as a significant barrier to the capability to access and develop creative and cultural work in Leuven and Lund as these comments articulate:

"And that's a pity, that Leuven is great, they do a lot for innovation, they do a lot for students, but there I miss... yeah, I'm lucky for example that I have a good job, because otherwise I couldn't afford me this little house, for example, and that's why young people left Leuven, because it's too expensive" (LE10F50s).

The issue of affordable housing in Leuven was discussed by a local policy maker who indicated how this is an issue that affects many demographic groups and how, within that context, prioritising affordable housing and spaces for creative and cultural workers couldn't be seen as a priority issue:

"I think if you could solve the problem of housing prices in the city, then you're, yeah, well, wow. Then for me, you get my vote, I mean, because it's also, what I think is also interesting and difficult in that conversation is, I often talk about it with the social department, and I say we need more affordable houses for artists. They're like, yeah, it's true, but for so many more, you know, people who don't own a lot of money, people who are disabled, people, and then you realize, who am I to talk about affordable housing for artists, if actually it's more general, it's affordable housing, period" (LE19F30s).

In Pécs, rising costs in housing is attributed to the expansion of the university and 'economic measures' that have been invested into the city:

"I must mention that, thanks to the university and economic measures, rental and property prices are terribly high, and I am not just thinking of residential users here. Few CCI players have the opportunity to rent their own space, making this difficult everyday. There are many traditional buildings that are iconic, yet nothing happens to them, they are lost" (PE21F20s).

Access to affordable working and living space is discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to both affordable living and alternative sources of income for some creative workers/organisations, which in turn sustains creative/cultural practice and/or projects. In this section, we consider the different approaches to making space accessible in order to foster creative and cultural work within a city from top down (local governance) to bottom-up (individual CCWs/grassroots collectives etc.). As discussed above, in the city of Enschede, the municipality's investment into the re-development of former textile factories into co-working spaces led to significant costs which were unsustainable, resulting in the building being acquired by a property developer. The municipality's shift to focus on fostering and retaining talent within Enschede is discussed in both Chapter 5 in relation to early access and the retention of graduates and Chapter 6 in relation to sustaining creative and cultural work. What also emerged was a feeling from other creative and cultural workers of a lack of

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support for different forms of creative and cultural co-working and exhibition spaces: "*For me, it means that there is cheap studio spaces in the city. And also that they support the galleries and exhibition spaces so that they can pay artists when they show their artwork" (EN15F20s).*

This participant who was part of the board that managed the Stichting Vierkwart co-working and exhibition space referred to in 6.3 spoke of the lack of investment into spaces specifically designed for artists. The Stichting Vierkwart is an artist co-operative housed within a former pyjama factory in the city, it has artist studios from which rent is collected, a vegetarian café and hosts exhibitions, events and parties, however other than some public funding offered to the foundation gains very little in the form of subsidy and sustainable funding. The space is managed and maintained by a board of volunteers and represents a more grassroots, micro level form of fostering creative and cultural work. Participant EN15F20s, when mapping the creative economy across Enschede identified another grassroots based artist space operating within the area;

> *Speaker: "then there's another organization that's a little bit like this one. And it's somewhere over here…it's Studio Complex. Did you have contact with those people? It's a little bit like this place but more underground and more anarchist."*
>
> *Interviewer: "Anarchist or activist?"*
>
> *Speaker: "I think both I guess! Yeah. So they don't rent a space but they… it's kind of like 'officially squatting' and they don't have heating or hot water, and stuff like that. But those are also for young artists" (EN15F20s).*

Section 6.1 provides examples of a series of bureaucratic interventions implemented in some of the DISCE case study locations including noise abatement orders or the closure of dance music venues. As discussed in that section, the capability to access creativity and culture is an important functioning of SCCW both in terms of attracting and retaining creative and cultural workers to a geographical location so grassroots organisations such as the ones identified above are important elements to the wider CCE which sustains CCW. There are some interesting reflections here on what elements of the CCE local governments should focus on and the impact of structural barriers on the health of the wider CCE. In Enschede, there is a clear focus at the macro, municipal level on fostering spaces that link technological innovation with business opportunities to foster economic growth with a potential neglect of other elements of the CCE which, as discussed, are also important resources for the attraction and retention of creative/cultural talent. But there is also a paradox where an increased investment in knowledge based activity including creativity can lead to urban regeneration which in turn prices creative and cultural workers out of the housing market. This issue is addressed in the wider literature on creative clusters and creative placemaking (Mould 2018; Courage & McKeown 2019) alongside literature on widening inequalities across housing (Adkins et al. 2010; Sassen 2001) and debt (Lazzarato 2011; Piketty 2014). As such, local governments need to include measures relating to affordable/social housing as an important element of the CCE.

7.2.6. Caring about CCWs: alternative co-working models

Section 6.4 introduces the relationship between creative/cultural institutions and property with certain organisations or individuals investing in property as a means of developing their income portfolio but also as a way to create working spaces for others. These spaces are not driven by a HEI or local governance institution, but include examples from a private benefactor, a gaming entrepreneur, social entrepreneur and community-based volunteer all of whom have invested in local property in order to create spaces that foster creative and cultural work. Two examples emerged from Dundee, with the development of Water's Edge, an office space located in 'Shed 25', one of the oldest buildings in Dundee's former docks, on the banks of the

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River Tay. It was set up in 2018 by two locally-based gaming entrepreneurs who had established a successful games company which had enabled the development of an investment company which provided the capital funding to build the Water's Edge co-working space. One of the founders, interviewed as part of the DISCE research project spoke of their desire to create "a different kind of workspace", identifying demand for this kind of workspace from other companies in the city, too. Part of the aim was to create offices that are small and flexible whilst providing high levels of connectivity. Water's Edge also seeks to create opportunities for its tenants via communal areas – including event and exhibition space – where organic forms of interaction can happen:

> *"A big project … is Water's Edge, which is where I'm standing talking to you now, and Water's Edge this is kind of really what Paddy and I care about because we wanted a different kind of workspace for the stuff that we were doing and nobody had a workspace that did what we needed to do, we kind of asked ourselves why and came to the conclusion that it was because what we developed was so fundamentally, making buildings for an investment market banks not for the companies that we're in them, and a creative environment, forget COVID, we saw this whether there was a pandemic or not, it was about a smaller more flexible space, that you know, WeWork is the, is almost the comedy version of what we've done, so we take all of the bullshit side of what happens in Shoreditch WeWork, and stripped it back into what businesses want, basically managed spaces that have both fantastic connectivity, are really flexible and easy and, and actually create some form of community without forcing it" (DU10M50s).*

Alongside the creation of the office space, which is situated in close proximity to Dundee's universities and many of its most high profile cultural organisations, including the V&A and Dundee Contemporary Arts (DCA), the investors seek to develop a wider creative cluster that provides further fostering support for creative and cultural work within Dundee. The founder spoke of the number of collaborations that their investment company were engaging with including supporting spin out companies from the local HEIs and their aim to contribute to a longer-term vision of the creative economy within Dundee. This is a future in which a high proportion of businesses in the city are located within the creative economy, including enterprises able to scale up, and in which the city develops a reputation as a sustainable location for large creative technology companies. This relates to the founder's desire to create workspaces that foster connectivity and community in order to scale up the creative economy of Dundee.

Another 'space' operating within Dundee is The Circle which was set up in 2015 by Kirsty Thompson, a social entrepreneur who had previously been running a third sector consultancy in Dundee. The Circle is situated to the north of the City Centre, just beyond the A-Road that runs around the northern side of the city, known as the Kingsway. The site was an industrial building converted into a skills training centre in the 1970s, operating as such until its closure in 2005. The Circle was created in response to the demands from third sector clients for an affordable, community hub. Responding to this need, Thompson leased the building and converted it into offices, an events space and a café. The organisation defines itself as a *"a hub for charities, social enterprises, community groups and socially aware businesses in Dundee" (DU18F40s)* and is driven by "More Than Profit" values. Alongside the workspace provision, it runs The Circle Academy, a 12-week training programme focused on developing skills and knowledge in the following areas: mindset, business model, finance, legal, governance, people, social impact, and sustainability through multiple income streams. It also runs the Circle Café, based in the building, which is a training and employability programme for looked after young people and care leavers. The Café is a partnership between Dundee City Council, Leisure & Culture Dundee (a charitable trust independent from the local authority) and a national UK charity that supports young and vulnerable children, Barnardo's. The Circle Café training scheme received National Lottery funding and provides the young people on the 12-month programme with a living wage and a qualification in

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hospitality. Alongside the training, the café and third sector consultancy, The Circle runs a series of community engagement events including Dundee Soup, which it produces in partnership with Creative Dundee (see below), where attendees pay £5 towards a soup supper and hear pitches from local people for projects for the community.

In her interview, the organisation's founder spoke of her desire to create a space that provides learning and development opportunities for the various populations across Dundee is driven by values of social justice, a commitment to learning opportunities, and to supporting the prosperity of the place from which she hails.

> *"So the income streams that I mentioned, the one that gives us the biggest income right now and the most reliable income source is our property through our tenancies and our rooms. The academy and the cafe are focused on training and development and in terms of getting support for that we have already had numerous conversations with funders and individuals who would like to be able to sponsor places on it however, incentivising that is really tricky within the CIC structure. So if there was an ability to gift aid or some get some sort of tax relief or something they could put their investment into the charitable arm and that would be the training and development side of it. And finally, the property company, itself would be essentially, the company would purchase the buildings and a percentage of the profits would go back into the charitable arm as well so that could help in terms of sustainability in the long term" (DU18F40s).*

Water's Edge and The Circle represent alternative models of fostering creative and cultural work that are driven by locally based entrepreneurs both committed to developing opportunities for workers based in Dundee and for the city itself. This is a different model than that of the global city where profit exists outside the place where interactivity takes place (Sassen 2001).

Other models that demonstrate the relationship between creative and cultural organisations or workers and property include Nucleus Arts in Chatham. Set up through a large endowment from Hilary Halpern, a locally based Architect who had spent his professional career working on the development of British supermarket chains. The Halpern family set up the New Arts Centre in Chatham in 2002, which soon evolved into Nucleus Arts funded by the Halpern Charitable Foundation. The Halpern Foundation was driven by a combined desire to provide flexible spaces for artists based across the Medway towns to develop but also driven by a desire to access questions of loneliness and isolation. Thus Nucleus Arts has a joint remit of provide and fostering creative and cultural work but also engaging others in creativity and culture through community-drive focus. Their property portfolio is a critical sustaining factor of their business model as CEO David Stokes described in his interview:

> *"So roughly half of our income comes from our portfolio of property. So – and by that, that is all charitable, so it's studios, you know, we've got 46 studios and creative offices that we rent out. Then about an eighth of it comes from things like gallery sales, gallery rental and things like that, which have to be taken separately because that varies. Then there is also meeting room hire and things like that. About another eighth comes from investments. So we were left quite a lot of money it is in stocks and shares and at the moment that generates an income. Then we get about, about another eighth from grants, we're getting better at that. And one of the issues my predecessors had was, because they didn't have a grants background, whereas I do having been an academic so they would just get the project. They wouldn't think about staff costings, management costings, buildings and so on. So that's a growing part of it. And then another eighth is probably the cafe on its own. I've taken the cafe out because the cafe rents three spaces from us. They also, we also have a profit share on a lot of things they do. So the big*

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room, that could be a community room. They pay us about £1,500, £2,000 a month just to hire that room on its own the building is beautiful. And they do very expensive cream teas in there" (CH4M40s).

Another example, also from Chatham is Sun Pier House, a co-working space, exhibition space and café that was set up by two locally based creative workers. The founders, a couple, originally decided to start their own festival due to the lack of cultural activity in the area:

"I was getting bored about Medway not really having a lot going on and also what I figured out as I was trying to get lots of jobs I was applying but I didn't have the experience people want to me to have so I didn't know how to find a website I didn't have marketing skills I had no experience in it. So I decided to start my own festival because it would give me all the relevant experience so that someone could employ me" (CH9F30s).

During the process of setting up the festival, the founder's partner's family, who owned an empty building on the Waterfront in Chatham and through the ownership of the building coupled with funding from a European Union urban regeneration fund that was specifically targeted at developing empty buildings for arts and culture, they were able to set up Sun Pier House:

"the same time I started open studios in February so the preplanning of it, I went to look at a building in Chatham with my boyfriend cause I was like, Oh, I need to find an empty building to host this arts festival and his family had an empty building …. they had a big office space in Chatham so we went and had a look at it. And it's huge and it was just right on the river and it was massive just like dead space" (CH9F30s).

The founder spoke of the personal time and resources she and her family had invested into creating and managing the space,

"We want to be paid for our time, so this year, we're doing better in some ways because we have funding and we've been some of us have had to stop. It actually helped us we're now our ratio is much better on time and money and stuff like that, and it's also giving us, sort of we're allowed to not bring some of these things back. We've decided it's not worth it financially. So we always sit on that fine line I think between we are community focused and an art space. But we do think like a business as well, which I think sometimes the community don't like, but I think this is because they don't have the overheads we do so they wouldn't understand. We pay a big amount of rent" (CH9F30s).

These examples provide a range of models of creating spaces that foster creative and cultural work by a range of individuals all of which have a personal investment and desire to generate opportunities within the local creative community. These are very different models from policy-led large-scale regeneration projects linked to creative placemaking that are driven by a desire for economic growth, although the scale of influence across these three examples varies according to personal capital with the Water's Edge demonstrating a clear economic advantage in contract to an example like Sun Pier House. That said, these are spaces that have been set up by local citizens and are driven by an ethos of fostering opportunities to provide not just work opportunities, but training, exhibition, networking, personal and community based development as opposed to city-wide marketing strategies designed to generate income.

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7.2.7. Leadership and fostering CCW

As discussed in the previous section, the absence of a clear creative/cultural strategy was articulated particular in cities including: L'Aquila, Treviso, Liepāja and Pécs. Participants based in Pécs spoke of the absence of strategic creative/cultural planning beyond the ECoC title and in other cities including Enschede and Leuven, there is evidence of a strategy which appears to be focused on one element of the creative economy, talent retention across certain sectors without a consideration of the wider CCE. The policy based on cultural flagship buildings and/or mega-events appears to be precarious, particularly in light of the COVID-19 phenomenon with little evidence that these interventions generate opportunities for sustainable creative and cultural work at the local level. However, new models of creative leadership and partnership building have emerged through the DISCE research where we see interesting partnerships across the macro/meso/micro level being developed in order to both foster creative and cultural work but also develop the local creative economy.

The involvement of the organisation Creative Dundee in Dundee's local creative/cultural policy planning has already been discussed in the previous section, however the model of creative and cultural policy within Dundee City Council is an interesting case study on sustainable leadership. Dundee's creative and cultural policy and publicly managed venues is done so through the subsidiary organisation Leisure and Culture Dundee. Leisure and Culture Dundee was established by the now retired Head of Culture for then Dundee City Council, Stewart Murdoch who was referred to by name across multiple interviews gathered in Dundee as an important enabler of creative and cultural development in the city. Murdoch's background prior to moving to Dundee City Council in 1990 was community development and he has played a leading role in developing the local authority's approach to cultural and community planning over the past three decades, before his retirement in January 2020. In around 2010 he was central to setting up Leisure & Culture Dundee as a charitable trust, moving a number of key functions away from the local authority into an arms-length body with a local board of governors. Setting up the Trust at an arms-length from the local authority is what enabled the creation of major creative development in Dundee. In his interview with DISCE researchers, Murdoch states that the UK Capital of Culture bid, UNESCO City of Design bid, bringing the V&A to Dundee all happened outside of local government under the remit of the Trust. The budget of the Leisure and Culture Trust when it was set up was 70% local authority money 30% earned income. In 2020 pre COVID it was 65% earned income and the balance coming from public sector funds so it was that shift in reliance on public funding that gave the Trust the flexibility and freedom to engage in the city's creative and cultural development.

In his interview, Murdoch spoke of the need for a mutual recognition between those who were defined as working within the 'creative economy' and those who were working or part of the wider community, but that the divide, within Dundee, was being mitigated through strategic interventions managed by different creative/cultural organisations within the city including Creative Dundee and the Dundee Reparatory Theatre,

> *"I think that the label when you start talking about creative economy, people can say, 'Oh, that is not about my community. Because I'm not in the economy. I'm out of work.' So, I would position myself as looking for a high quality of work and community life, which is highly engaged, which is collaborative, which is communitarian, which is a set of values at the core of that, that are highly respectful of principles of equity if you like and a kind of sharing collaborative economy that can that could be the creative industries economy, and certainly it is, the Pecha Kucha events that have been developed by Creative Dundee are spectacular and they're so collaborative and so open. There's an infiltration into those of people from communities, but there is still a separation and*

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that's probably an inevitability because the people who define themselves as being part of the creative and cultural sector have had educational advantage and occupational advantage from those who come from the community sector. What I love is that the migration is now happening. There's an increasing recognition from the creative and culture sector that they need to engage on issues like food poverty, on dealing post-COVID responses, and trying to make people have better digital activity enabled. And then and then the other side of that's true, so people who have come through community organization, community development, community decision making, and who have been invited in through very deliberate strategies, to the Rep to theatre, to the Pecha Kucha's are now embracing that and going along, bringing their friends. So you get this kind of interface between the two. It's far less pigeonholed than it would have been even 2, 3, 4, or 5 years ago, much more integrated" (DU30M60s).

In section 7.5 we discuss in more detail different forms of community engagement and outreach work that is fostered through the creative/cultural sector which, as articulate in the quotation above, is seen as an important factor of fostering inclusion and mutual recognition between the CCIs and the wider local communities. Who the gatekeepers are that act as a 'bridge' between the CCIs and the wider communities including their skills in recognising the needs of different communities and the various direct and indirect barriers to engagement is important as discussed. One of Murdoch's key strengths was his ability to bring different groups into the policy and planning space, for example, including Creative Dundee who, along with their strengths in community engagement and public participation, were able to bring a 'city-wide approach' but also one that was framed from a grassroots, 'activist' model of change-making:

"by attending meetings of stakeholders and that kind of thing, like directors of organizations, that's why we need to do it because actually, there's very few organizations thinking citywide. Like, other cultural organizations are thinking about their buildings or their venues, understandably. So that city wide network that is diverse, in its kind of intentions and, and also its very open and can be like more free with our words and you know, we're not so restricted that other organizations might be. Increasingly so as we become more activist, rather than advocates of, you know, we need to, we're quite used to operating in that space of inclusivity and diversity and like, how do we be open, and so I think there's a lot that Creative Dundee can help others on that journey, too and let's face it, we all need to do it" (DU16F40s).

Despite the enabling infrastructure that has allowed forms of mutual recognition between the creative/cultural sector and broader community in Dundee to take place, Murdoch expressed concern in his interview in 2020 that some of the conditions he had been able to create for 'cultural and community development' within Dundee may come under pressure as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic with a rolling back of the 'trust' that has made this kind of work possible and a fear of the loss of a development mindset:

"…I don't mean to be critical of colleagues, it's very easy because of the demands of the job, just to deal with the governance of the budget, and the management of the service you are responsible for and ***doing nothing developmental.*** *And for the people, not universally, but for those that I've enjoyed working with most,* ***they bought into this idea that our role was developmental****. And if we'd never have a chunk of our week or a month, year, where we're doing developmental things really, the joy would go out of the job. So we tried to make about a third of what we did really developmental and that would be in* ***trying to bring the V&A to Dundee*** *or* ***trying to work with Eden*** *or trying to* ***develop Westward Works****. These kind of developmental projects, there's no route map,*

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*there's no pre-set budget, you had to invent it from square one**. You needed people who were essentially, self starters developmental, risk takers, outward looking, and able to form relationships with others,** that skills mix that you might want to talk about was absolutely critical to who was successful in that role. It takes nothing away from the people who are very good managers of services, the people who are safe pair of hand. But if it was always safe pair of hands, I don't think Dundee would have moved forward like it did in the last 20 or 30 years, the exciting things. And actually**, I do fear the future of local government I fear for the future of Dundee and I fear for some of the stuff that we developed**" (DU30M60s).*

The 'developmental mindset' that Murdoch referred to appears to be an attribute linked to a more collaborative based approach to creative and cultural policy making. That, coupled with a knowledge of the realities of 'work' across the broader creative economy are important elements of developing sustainable creative/cultural leadership models that can foster creative/cultural work. There were examples of policy makers who had direct experience or knowledge of the creative economy operating in Leuven however, they spoke of the issue of being a singular voice in a much broader bureaucracy:

*"…a lot of my projects are about creativity and art in the public space, and for them, it's still, it's like, 'oh you want a piece of art in that street to just, you know, make it more happy?' You know? And they still don't realize that creativity and art in public space can be so much more. And if they ask you what does it have to cost that, then you're like, 'Yeah, well, it's more than 5,000 Euros', 'What? for a piece of art?', and it's strange, **the value for creativity and the value of art, it's still a battle**. Or another one is, I often get from other departments, they ask me, 'Don't you know any artists or creatives who want to design this?' […] Or, 'Okay, do you have like this artist who can make this Finnish thing?' And I say, 'Yeah, well, what's the budget?' 'Oh, no. I mean, just like, you know, it's exposure, don't you know an artist who just feels like, it's on television, you know?' And that's so frustrating. But still, I'm optimistic. I think even in those five years, I've seen things change, I've seen people change. But **for me, there's a huge role that local policy, local city can play to participate in this creating value for the culture and the creative organizations and industries**" (LE19F30s).*

In section 7.5 of this chapter, we consider in further detail the question of value and fostering creative and cultural work. Here, however, we see a clear recognition from a Leuven based participant who herself worked across both CCW and policy articulating a shift on how creativity and culture is valued at the municipality level, despite her continuous battles, and the need for local policy to lead on demonstrating that value.

In Chatham, as previously discussed, the new Head of Culture at Medway Council had initiated a Cultural Strategy, which was based on similar concepts of public participation and community engagement in policy planning:

"The whole thing is about trying to move that ownership and that leadership to others, to others in the sector. So it's, you know, and that that eventually I suspect we may be setting up a trust or something like that to take this forward and to take it away from the… I don't want to call it a dead hand, I just did. But to take it away from that sort of, you know, because it doesn't matter where you live and it doesn't matter what the authority is like actually, there is always mistrust of that. It feels top down to people. It doesn't feel that they can own it and feed into it. And so that the consultants that have listened and supported that process and so we've got a very good proposal on the table.

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It will take time to fully change things. But that process is underway and has been very positive as I said" (CH16F60s).

This recognition of the 'lack of trust' and the need to involve partners and stakeholders from communities across the CCE is a key element of fostering creative and cultural work, because those decisions have an impact on the capabilities of those wider communities to either access/develop creative and or cultural work or sustain creative practice or projects. There were multiple comments on the lack of trust from various stakeholders towards policymakers and political leaders and concerns raised on their inability to be inclusive:

"They can't reach everyone. Especially foreigners, because [...] they are living their own life. And if you want to come there or to reach them to have your own people to, or the professionals in that people that can help you in that. For example, we have an Assyrian cultural house here that the city call wants to do something, to create something, maybe it's good to send some email or invite us also to talk about things. And that's what I'm missing, to be honest" (EN20M40s).

"And the biggest challenge is that... well, when politics is starting to get in there. That they say, well, that they say to each other, he says – don't touch this organization, you better get along with them. And that is my biggest problem. This dishonesty, and that I, I have, nevertheless, unlike others, I have, in a way, to turn a blind eye" (LI1F60s).

"In Liepāja, it is sometimes quite difficult to convince officials that creativity is something you pay for and something that must be taken into account when looking at the future if it won't be here anymore. But it seems to me that it is one of the biggest magnets of Liepāja, why people come here, that it is creative, but now... It is terribly difficult to make officials understand how it is" (LI5M50s).

The issues related to leadership and the capability to drive/lead cultural are critical to the overall health of the CCE. As discussed in sections 6.3, 6.5 and 7.4 below, there is lot of activity and leadership in relation to fostering creative and cultural work driven at the grassroots, micro and organisational meso-level but strategic level fostering that is based on notions of participatory engagement, at the local governance level were scarce, in part due to the failure of local policy-makers to recognise the wider value of creativity and culture as this comment from a locally based educator and CCW in L'Aquila demonstrates:

"Certainly yes, certainly lack of knowledge of the specific sector, but also a certain amount of superficiality and I make an example and then hook another piece to the forgotten work matter this I do not remember the year, so I have to let you know fairly recent I think 2017/18, I was a member of the evaluation committee of cultural projects of the City of L'Aquila following a public call. So there I was able to see how funding works for cultural projects and I must say that I noticed – I also had some experience of funding in the Region – that there is not only a lack of knowledge, but also a dose of superficiality and arrogance, pass me this term, that is, a feeling of superiority, even on the part of a certain political class, with respect to the issue of culture and therefore treating culture as entertainment for bored ladies. So, yes, in short, this was a bit of a wall I had to come up against" (LA18F30s).

There are recommendations for local policy makers on engaging wider communities in creative/cultural strategic planning at the city-level through fostering the support of gatekeeping organisations and recognising their value to the wider CCE. Section 7.5 develops this question of value in more detail and considers the need to scale up models of engagement to ensure the sustainability of creative and cultural

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leadership. In the next section we discuss how the absence of this recognition at the local level has led to a discourse of 'city in decline' in relation to the creative/cultural spaces that have been lost due to a lack of sustainable planning.

7.3. The capability to access creativity and culture

The capability to access creativity and culture in relation to the broader SCCW life cycle has been discussed in relation to early access interventions that enable participants to imagine the possibility of CCW and in relation to its importance for attracting and retaining both students and CCWs to a city. In this stage of the life cycle, fostering CCW, we consider data from respondents who reflected on the decline of creative and cultural activity in their location and the wider impact this had on the interconnected stages of the life cycle and the CCE.

7.3.1. Cities in decline and barriers to access

Having a recognised capability to access and engage in culture or creative activities in the local community was an important functioning in relation to the city's ability to foster SCCW. This became particularly relevant in cities that were geographically close to other cities to which they were in competition for cultural consumers. In section 6.2 we discuss the capability to access culture in relation to the barriers placed on certain cultural venues such as noise abatement orders to foster creative and cultural activity. structural interventions can be considered as part of a wider discourse of 'city in decline' referring to the closure/disappearance of past creative and cultural spaces. As discussed in the previous section, the shift in local policy and urban planning towards creative placemaking activity has coincided with a parallel reduction in local government funding since the 2008 financial crash. A number of participants who were long-term residents of the case study location demonstrated the scale of reduction in creative and cultural activity including this example from Lund:

> *"When I came to Lund in the early 70's, it was a tremendously dynamic place. Of course it's the university town above all, about half of the people living in Lund at least, if not more, are attached to in some kind of way with the university. It's a campus […] and there were lots of experimenting there with wild student life from the 60's. There were art and book cafés, there were particularly one gallerist who imported … paintings from the US and from around the world. There was a very dynamic art hall in the centre of town. You would also have you know provocative things with naked women or something like that, happenings where the police would be called and things like that you know. But things happened. Compare with that 50 years later, today it's an enormously boring place. Nothing is happening here. Now, you will talk with other people who will say that's not true. We have a fabulous museum which is called Skissernas museum and that's archival and public art museum where we've had a very dynamic director for seven years who came from Brooklyn museum, a Swede, and he has made this the most interesting cultural place in Lund in five-seven years. We have a very interesting Kulturen which is a mixture of all kinds of textiles, history, archaeology etc. Good museum. But there is one art gallery left which is permanently operating so to speak. There is very little going on in the Art Hall that you would remember five minutes after you've been there and if you go there, there will not be more than five people at a time" (LU16M60s).*

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There is a similar reflection from a Chatham participant who spoke of the rich creative and cultural legacy that had been a part of Chatham but how now, due to lack of sufficient venues and opportunities, those opportunities were no longer accessible;

> *"So it's just on that corner there, sort of the South, Southwest Corner, that's it, that's where the MIC was. And that's where […] the preeminent Medway band, Billy Childish's band would play a brilliant album called The Last Night at the MIC, so it was a gig that was recorded, which feature the Milkshakes and the other big Medway band called The Prisoners. James Taylor was the keyboard player […] and he's gone onto bigger things and yeah everybody would play there and then, what else have we got? There's just loads, every pub there would have bands playing at some point. It was funny we were chatting the other day about how, um so say 1973, you'd been a 22 year old bloke working in the dockyard earning a reasonable wage. What could you do at the weekend, well you could have gone to see David Bowie or T Rex or John and Beverly Martin, you could have gone to one of five huge cinemas that were in the Medway towns, Big Art Deco cinemas, you could have gone to any number, you had a choice of 200 pubs, 300 pubs I don't know, but masses and masses of pubs, you could have gone to. The Odeon doesn't exist anymore, this is a new one. The Odeon that I was talking about would have been at the Star Hill end of the line, you drew the Rochester end of the line, yeah there was so much culture so many things to do. Yeah, if jazz was your think there were loads of little pubs with the jazz going on the Medway Little Theatre which sits on that line as well, which, the little theatre is still going, was founded in 1958. It was a great little place to go, 80 seats capacity but they would regularly have jazz on a Sunday afternoon and there, so people like Tubby Hayes would come along play. And there is an album recorded at the Little Theatre in 1967 of Tubby Hayes playing there. But yeah great loads and loads of stuff to do. Yeah. And now we struggle for venues, there's none really of any of any size" (CH24M50s).*

Mapping creativity and culture

Much of this data emerged when interviewers asked participants to 'map' creative activity in their city. During the interview process, a Google map was shared and each participant invited to point to the spaces and places that had meaning and provided creative/cultural opportunity to them. Figure 7.1 provides an image of map developed in Leuven, with the black marker in the city centre representing a dance music club that no longer exists.

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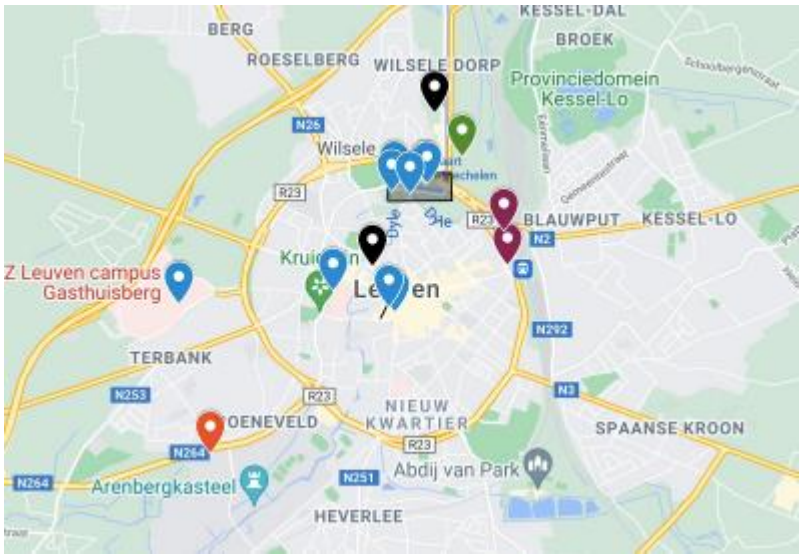

Figure 7.1: Participant map of Leuven

Alongside the closure of certain forms of creative/cultural venues as a barrier to access culture was the recognition of the impact of the cuts in public funding as this example from Pécs demonstrates;

> *"Let's see it in a non-economic point of view for the first time. A lot of creatives come to Pécs… like artists and musicians. We can reach really a lot of creatives in the city and we can build on that. On the other hand... a lot of money has been taken away from Pécs. It's a sin city... Money has been taken away from the university too. There is a big economic problem... and there will be more…. The leadership is not that kind. We are out of the league. Other cities are okay, but this region is far behind others" (PE5M30s).*

Again, we see a reference from Pécs on the absence of strategic creative/cultural leadership and the impact that has on the local CCE. As discussed in the data, Pécs has a strong community of creative and cultural talent but their talent is not fostered at a structural level;

> *"The number of concerts has decreased, the performances have stopped. Now Saturday night you see foreign students drinking there. They had a cultural mission, we miss that. […] Unfortunately, the Rock Marathon left Pécs. There could be things, but unfortunately, they are not very... The pubs operate alone. I feel like there is nothing for our generation" (PE12M30s).*

What emerged in this data was a disengagement with fostering creative and cultural activity that was both affordable and aimed at a younger generation. The loss of associations or spaces enabled wider participation were recognised as being shut down and empty contribution to urban degradation, or transformed into expensive activities:

> *"No, between the last 10 years, With the work of some patrons, the Benetton foundation and a whole series of initiatives that they are carrying out, they have an important role in the cultural life of the city, which was previously held by the Cassamarca foundation, which today, due to serious financial problems, has in fact disappeared, it was also one of the reasons for the failure of that project in which many resources were invested, it was the main player that in the golden years when Gentilini was mayor, was an important player, it had financed very successful exhibitions, it had attracted attention,*

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today it has completely disappeared, its exhibition place is now a restaurant-wine bar" (TR12M40s).

It was also articulated that investment in large cultural flagship projects was not supported by wider communities as this reflection from an encounter with a Dundonian taxi drive demonstrates:

> *"When the V&A was first opened and I remember getting into a taxi and I was going to the opening actually I was very excited and said to the taxi driver, 'isn't this just brilliant for Dundee' and he said 'no. Just absolutely not. Its just terrible and I don't think this is some sort of solution to what's happening in Dundee.' It was just a horrible interaction" (DU11F40s).*

The city in decline discourse relates in part to the physical and geographical barriers to accessing culture. In Dundee, this was articulated through both the description and mapping of the physical barrier to creative and cultural access exemplified through the Kingsway, a road that runs in a semi-circle around the North side of Dundee and separates the city centre from the wider housing schemes that were built post WW2.

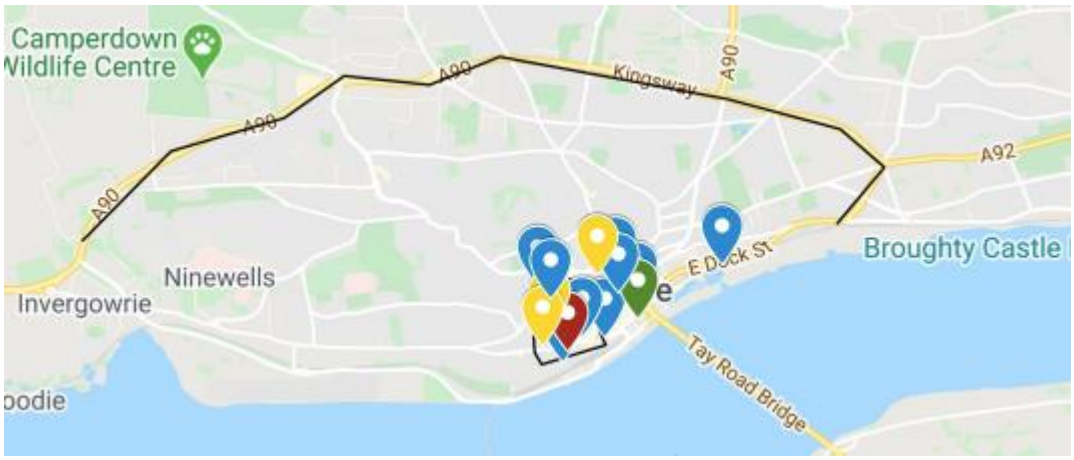

Figure 7.2: Participant map of Dundee

The 'Tale of Two Cities' concept has been applied in the local media and policy documentation on the city (see Dent et al. 2022) and represents Dundee as both a city of multiple social deprivation and creative/cultural development. The map image above represents the clustering of creative and cultural spaces and opportunities in the West End and on the banks of the River Tay and the gap between that and the wider city;

> *"And so part of, one of the big challenges for Dundee is that going back to that kind of 'Tale of Two Cities' thing, there's a lot of, there's a lot of opportunity, there's a lot of goodwill and there's a lot of people trying to do things to make Dundee the best that can be for all its citizens, but actually making that connection beyond the Kingsway I think, is something that, it happens, but I think it's a challenge, and you have communities, either that don't come into town much because they feel like, 'why would I? Because I've got my local shops or I've got my, this is my, my borough.' Or they just think 'well, town, can't afford anything there anyway. It's full of, what would I go to an art gallery for?'" (DU2M40s).*

> *"...you can see this yellow line that runs around the outside, the A90. Anything north of the A90 was council housing, social housing but is still the less affluent part of the*

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Dundee economy. So Dundee is probably one of the largest intensities areas of multiple social deprivation, certainly in Scotland if not in the UK, it's not a wealthy city. It´s very difficult to engage the communities beyond the Kingsway if what you´re doing is focused in the city centre which is where most cultural activity tends to be. So a lot of the companies the Rep, the DCA are quite good at doing outreach work and engaging the communities beyond the wealthy suburbs or the centre of town, but it´s an ongoing challenge and its a story that the city actually tells very well and knows very well and I guess, still has a way to reflect that part of the community back to itself in cultural terms" (DU17M50s).

As articulated in the comment above and discussed further in the next section, one aspect of 'fostering' work undertaken by creative and cultural institutions is through outreach and engagement work. The capability to access creativity and culture for many was directed through those CCWs who had shifted into different models of fostering. As discussed in Chapter 6, some of that work was undertaken by CCWs alongside their creative/cultural work or practice but for others, fostering CCW provided alternative career pathways.

7.4. The capability to access/develop CCW through fostering

7.4.1. Pathways into fostering work

In Chapter 6, as we consider the stage of CCW in the life cycle we reflect on pathways into fostering work. The DISCE data illustrated multiple pathways into fostering CCW, some as a progression from employment CCW and others as a progression from employment in other sectors. There is a connection with creative intermediaries and the multiply occupied employment model as many combine fostering with their creative practice. For others, fostering work is an important element of sustaining practice, combining different forms of 'hope' labour (Alacovska 2019), which we understand as future-oriented support work that is conducted as a means to counter the precarity associated with creative labour.

Fostering creative and cultural work refers to work that is directed towards enabling others' to participate in CCW. There are a range of actors that are interconnected across fostering CCW, from cultural and creative institutions large and small, businesses, venues including co-working spaces, HEIs, schools but also charities, youth engagement programmes and the strength of connectivity between these different actors illustrates the importance of attending to the full CCE rather than specific creative industries or clusters. In this section, we consider the different pathways into fostering work to both illustrate the importance of the institutions that enable this form of practice but also to consider the skills and experience required.

In Chapter 3 we discussed the example of Hot Chocolate a Dundee based community organisation working with young people as an organisation that provides early access opportunities to wider communities. Here we reflect on the interviewed participant's progression into this form of fostering work. He had studied graphic design at the local art school, DJCAD, and initially started working in television production graphics after graduation but started volunteering for the Hot Chocolate and combing that voluntary work with paid employment until an opportunity to work for the charity arose:

"…a friend that I'd been at university with who I knew had started this charity called Hot Chocolate Trust and I thought I'll go down there and see what they're doing. So I had a chat with her, she said why don't you come on Saturday and come and visit, and then I was there every Saturday for about a year and a half, and I just loves it and I think that's the thing, often with I think particularly youth work but I think communities in general

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they just get their claws in you, I suppose if it's the right fit but particularly I mean Hot Chocolate was open to all kinds of young people and there's no kind of distinctions or boundaries, but certainly at that time, it was very. It was a very alternative culture within the city centre" (DU2M40s).

It is interesting to reflect on the value of community support work both for the individual '*but I think communities in general they just get their claws in you*' but also how skills in creative design can be used to engage others with culture. The participant had an interesting reflection on how organisations such as Hot Chocolate can shift the narrative on how to value art and design for young people:

"…we do these big community projects over three weeks and one year we did one called the Cardboard City and our theme was all about kind of our relationship with the city but we just literally built a massive city of cardboard in our sports hall. But it was interesting then when we began stockpiling cardboard that some of those kind of types of guys would come in and be like, 'what's up, what's that's for' [...] 'oh we're doing this thing, you know'. 'Oh, right, can I build a fort?' And then you're like 'yes, yes, you can'. And then, all of a sudden you're like, 'you do know you're doing sculpture right?', and that kind of conversation shifts, or you begin to talk about roles in different ways" (DU2M40s).

Another programme within Dundee that provided an opportunity for fostering work is the Sistema Big Noise programme. Sistema Scotland is a music charity, a model adopted from the El Sistema (translation 'the System'_ music-education programme founded in 1975 by Venezuelan educator, musician, and activist José Antonio Abreu. The Sistema model is aimed at providing classical music education for children growing up in challenging communities. There are five centres across Scotland with the Dundee centre established in 2017. Sistema Big Noise Dundee works across two primary schools based in the Douglas area of Dundee, which currently stands in the second decile of multiple deprivation according to the SIMD. DISCE researchers interviewed their manager, who had formerly trained as a musician at the Royal College of Music in London and had started a career as a professional classical musician. It was following an injury coupled with the awareness of the precarity associated with orchestra playing that prompted his pathway into fostering work.

"…I had carpal tunnel syndrome. I couldn't play for six months and I was completely self-employed, so my income from playing just dropped completely overnight effectively. …. So this job came up that was like 500 miles away from where I live, but it was a social programme, so it was in a really deprived area of Birmingham they were teaching these kids how to play orchestral music…. And now it's almost 8 years since I moved up here….I think the idea of, having had a job with a salary and stuff, going back to being self-employed and freelance and stuff seemed quite high risk. So seemed like quite a good choice….My current role, so I have three jobs at the moment. First of all, as a musician, so just teaching the kids. Then I became a more senior role, so sort of line management as well. So when I joined, it was just the one centre in Raplock and then we had Govenhill in Glasgow and then Torrie up in Aberdeen. And then my centre, Douglas in the East End of Dundee opened three years ago now. So when we were going to begin that new centre, that was something that really appealed to me, you know, trying to set up the new centre, seeing the first group of kids. So I applied for the job as team leader there" (DU3M40s).

Both Hot Chocolate and Sistema Big Noise Dundee have multiple connections with creative and cultural organisations including acting as gatekeepers between large venues and the communities that are normatively disengaged with accessing those spaces:

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> *"the city centre's not very far away, so you can catch a bus from Douglas to the centre it would take about 20 mins or so. So I think people in Douglas are quite connected with the city centre, they'll go to the shops and stuff they'll catch the bus in. What they probably won't do is engage with the art and cultural venues in the same way. So actually we did a concert at Christmas about a year and a half ago at the Caird Hall and we got 50 free tickets for the parents. And we asked before and I'd say two thirds of them hadn't been in the Caird Hall, which is this big concert venue, it's been there for 150 years or something so they'd have seen it and walked past it but never been in there. V&A it wasn't a public concert that we did, most of the kids haven't been in there and that's completely free, the V&A's free so that's quite interesting" (DU3M40s).*

There is a question here about the role of trusted gatekeepers in bridging the gap between the CCIS and wider communities As discussed in Chapter 3 and the wider literature, there are subjective barriers to inclusion within the creative economy based on subjective and embodied notions of participation (Dawson 2019). This topic is returned in to in section 7.5 when we consider questions around valuing fostering work.

7.4.2. Fostering work done by workers outside the CCIs

As stated, the DISCE research uncovered multiple examples of pathways into fostering work by individuals driven by a motivation to improve access to creative and cultural skills for disadvantages others, development opportunities for others and also cultural engagement opportunities. In Enschede, we interviewed the manager of the Assyrian Cultural Centre, a centre established as an important space for migrants to the city from Syria, Iran and Iraq to connect and gain support from others who had migrated to and settle in the Netherlands,

> *"My goal to achieve is I want that the youth, or Assyrian youth in Europe, or in Holland, they become educated. That they know what the problems are here in the Netherlands. And, that to help them to make a good life. That's my goal with my work that I don't get paid for, so all the cultural things. That's my goal. So, to give the information to help the people, the Assyrians in Holland and in Europe. To develop themselves and to become, yeah, well integrated and to have a future in Holland. That's my goal" (EN20M40s).*

Another participant from Turkey, whose main form of employment was in social work, worked as a volunteer curator of film and theatrical programmes for the Turkish community in Enschede,

> *"Nothing happened what I thought it was interesting for me and people like me coming from Turkey. Because I enjoy to visit in theatre or enjoy to go to concerts, but there was nothing. So, I thought why then not to do it by myself. And I went to, I looked up what was possible and came to the city, town" (EN28M50s).*

There is a connection around motive that has been discussed in Chapter 6 when we consider creative intermediary work based on widening access and addressing unfair practices in CCW and also in the previous section where we consider the creation of co-working spaces driven by an ethos of access and inclusion for the benefit of local CCWs in the city rather than city-wide marketing. Here we see motives based on access and inclusion to creativity and culture driven by individuals who would not be counted in official census monitoring of the creative and cultural industries, but who both provide added value to the local CCE. A significant amount of fostering creative and cultural access work is undertaken by individuals or organisations who are not counted as part of the creative economy in official labour market intelligence (see D3.2). Individuals such as the two participants cited above or organisations such as the International Women's

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Centre in Dundee and the Amina Centre in Dundee, a muslin women's centre who establish relationships with local creative/cultural venues. In Dundee, a tour-guide training programme for women linked to both charities mentioned above was created which not only widens access to these cultural venues from the communities associated with these organisations but also creates the possibility of job creation;

> *"we've had one of our – I can't give you the exact details of that because I oversee the project, I'm not actively involved – but I am certain there is one woman who's ended up getting a job in a museum in Paris. She was based in France, she was here for some period, and then she went back, and now she's found a full time job. Some of them – we've had a bit of money to give them opportunities to do tour guides for the community and that's where we were going to be partnering with the DCA as well because they've got that space where you can have exhibitions, but COVID happened so we've not been able to go through with that. But I think two women have gotten a job and the cohorts have been like, on average, six women, so about 12 to 14 women have been engaged through this programme over the last 2 and a half years" (DU14F40s).*

These partnerships provide multiple added vale to local creative and cultural venues and the wider CCE but are often hidden in official forms of monitoring. It is worth considering that some aspects of this work is undertaken by volunteers, as was the case of both the Enschede participants cited above. Recognising the value created by such gatekeeping individuals or organisations such as charities, youth engagement programmes, committed individuals both in terms of job creation, early access engagement and widening participation is an important reflection for both policy-makers and the CCIs.

7.5. The capability to engage others with creativity and culture through fostering work

In this section we consider how the capability to engage others with culture connects with fostering creative and cultural work through the employment opportunities created as part of creative/cultural organisations to engage others with their work. As discussed in the previous Chapter, this engagement can be fostered through external organisations such as charities, youth programmes, volunteers but it can also come from creative and cultural institutions themselves. Many of the creative/cultural venues that we included outreach work as part of their overall engagement strategy. This work was undertaken by professional creative/cultural workers with skills in community development. The manager of the Engage Team at the Dundee Rep (Theatre) described the range of activities provided;

> *"I run regular groups weekly from Children groups on a Saturday five to sevens. I run a group called Bright Sparks. Bright Sparks is a youth theatre for children, neurodiverse children. I run a theatre group for the older generation. I've done a theatre group called Feel Good Fridays, which is for people who are living with health inequalities and I also have, maybe not right this moment, but I have worked with young parent groups out in the community. In fact the community in Whitfield that I talked about earlier, the community that I was brought up in that's still quite high on teenage pregnancy and is still quite deprived. So doing projects like that, that's the projects that are really meaningful to me because I'm just Amanda going to the community, I'm accepted straight away, there's no barriers to break down, you know? So I can go and do drama anywhere. Anywhere. In the middle of a field with a group of lads who are like muck, you know what I mean? It's just like the people of Dundee, I feel safe here and yeah, it's good" (DU1F50s).*

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This participant was born and lived in one of the estates beyond the Kingsway. She had become involved with the Dundee rep as a teenager through a summer youth engagement project and that fostered a long-term relationship with the organisation that led to her employment as manager of their outreach team. As indicated above, the question of trust, of being accepted as a valuable gatekeeper is a key attribute in the capability to engage others with creativity and culture. Thus, skills in community engagement, trust are an important resource for fostering creative and cultural work. The Head of Learning at the Dundee Contemporary Arts (DCA) spoke of the decision to enter this form of 'fostering' work rather than other forms of curation because of the continuous skills development opportunities it afforded:

> *"I choose to be in learning and public engagement as opposed to being a curator, because as a curator, although one worked with different artists in many different contexts, the actual range of what you're doing is very similar. Whereas with learning, you're constantly learning. We have to pick up skills, or we bring in people to work with us, that have skills, and you get almost to a point where you're a jack of all trades, maybe master of none, or you know is that is everything from speaking writing, listening, empathizing" (DU28F50s).*

Enschede had an interesting model of fostering/outreach work through the municipality funded positing of the 'Cultural Coach'. This was a funded position managed through one of the local cultural organisation for an individual to act as a mentor, gatekeeper and provide support for local creative and cultural groups across the city:

> *"Officially I'm supporting the cultural organisations of Enschede. But, in reality, I'm focussing most of the time on the amateur art groups and amateur art individuals. So, like, all the choirs, all the theatre groups, all the music groups. Everything, everybody who is doing something in their spare time, is being creative in their spare time, can ask me for help. And they don't need help with their core business. So, like a choir doesn't need me to sing and a music group does need my advice to make music. But, a lot of these groups have questions about where to get money, where to perform, how to get extra members. All stuff like that. There, where a professional organisation hires people for all these things, like PR, or funding, or whatever. Well, an amateur group comes together because they have a passion for singing or dancing but, they don't necessarily have all the information in their group to have a strong organisation for themselves" (EN22F).*

Another model of participation and engagement was provided by the Communication Manager at 30CC a Leuven based cultural centre that showcases live events and festivals in the city as well as running talent development programmes. Again, this participant spoke of the value of intermediaries/gatekeepers who can transcend the physical and subjective barriers to creative/cultural engagement experienced by some communities in order to encourage participation and widen access:

> *"…looking at the social demographics, we have an overrepresentation on older segments, and Leuven is a university city, and then, of course, we get a higher appeal people, in general, there's a higher percentage of people with higher education, but they're really overrepresented in our audience. So, that's a challenge. How do we challenge that? It is by working a lot with intermediates on getting certain segments or, not always organized groups, but appealing to those audiences who wouldn't normally come, or would have a certain, I don't know, reluctance to enter one of our buildings. And there's also the formats and the formulas that we use. Like for instance, in a festival formula, where there's a lot of, how do you say it, just walk-in culture or where you can*

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just participate without having, going through the real steps. Like, okay, I need to get informed. I need to buy a ticket. I need to be there. I need to follow certain (unclear) to get there. Whereas in a festival, there's a lot of going on, you can just arrive at a certain site and participate, see what it is, get done. We also do, like I said, we work with a lot of intermediates, or we have partnerships. For instance, reaching out to the elder population, those who are in retirement homes, we do streamings there. We also have a specific neighbourhood programmes where we can, people who want to organize a neighbourhood gathering or a party, we have a list of artists and bands who are ready to perform there" (LE7M40s).

What these examples demonstrate is how fostering engagement with creativity and culture is a valuable part of creative and cultural work, with employment opportunities for those interested in combining aspects of creative/cultural skills with care. The value is spread across multiple stages of the SCCW life cycle, this work provides early access, it creates the space for the development of skills, there are early career pathways that can be developed and it can help sustain CCW. However, as discussed in the previous section, many of these roles are either unpaid or low paid in line with the broader trend in care work and the devaluing of care (Dowling 2021). One key DISCE recommendation is the need for greater visibility of and future investment into fostering CCW.

7.5.1. How fostering is measured and valued

As indicated in the section above, certain forms of fostering creative and cultural work can be seen as enabling others to work in the creative/cultural sector. Other forms can be about widening audiences and others are what we would describe as systems of care or care labour. As discussed, much of this form of fostering work is driven by individuals with a strong ethos in providing support and opportunities for others to engage in either creative or cultural work or access creativity and culture. There is little adoption of the importance and value of fostering CCW as a form of community engagement with the model discussed in Dundee as an exception. That said, the Dundee approach, as articulated by the now retired Head of Leisure and Culture Dundee was based on the recognition by a few policy leaders of the value of community engagement with the local creative economy and he himself articulated the fear that that value will not be continued by policy-makers in the wake of COVID-19 and potential further cuts to local spending.

The previous section discussed the multiple forms of value that fostering CCW provides to local CCEs but, as this comment articulates, there are challenges with evaluating and reporting on that value and a continued emphasis from funders on economic rather than social value:

"Other sort of characteristics of the creative community I think, certainly the values at the core of these organisations are certainly, you know, the people on the ground that are developing outreach programmes or curating exhibitions or cinema programmes is very much about care and inclusivity and wellbeing and diversity but it feels like, to me anyway, it feels like the reporting of these activities is still very much as an emphasis on economic growth so we're often asked to evidence how this has had an impact on like, as if culture and tourism are intrinsically connected, it can't be seen as separate entities with their own values" (DU13F30s).

Linked to the issue around measuring fostering work is the continuous fear that budgets that support different cultural and creative venues and institutions will be cut

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Speaker 2: "I do think that we'll be facing some difficult years. Now that Pori has a negative net migration rate too. People are leaving here all the time, people leave or get old. So there are fewer children being born."

Speaker 1: "And fewer jobs."

Speaker 2: "I mean it's probably not going to get better. And I do think that this city is past its best years already. And the museum too. Probably headed to a worse direction. I'm sorry, but this is the stuff that I think at night when I can't sleep."

Speaker 1: "Yeah especially if people here can't realise that culture could be one saving force in the midst of this gloom. So the money will really run out" (PO24F40s, PO24F50s).

The manager of Dundee's UNESCO City of Design occupied a similar fostering creative and cultural work role as the Culture Coach in Enschede. This role alongside two other staff members was part funded by the local council, a local charitable trust and the two local HEIs. For that, the officer manages and programmes a series of different design based events across the city including the Dundee Design Festival in partnership with local design agencies alongside a full outreach and engagement programme with local schools across the city.

"Nope we don't get any money from UNESCO. This is all in public domain anyway. Dundee City Council gives us 60k a year and a Charitable Trust gives us 30k. And between the two of them that's our staff costs our running costs and a little bit of project money like I think our staffing cost is 80,000 pounds a year, just off the top my head. And that would be 90 so they give us 60 they give us 30, so it's like 10 grand project money. Northwood Charitable Trust is the DC Thompson's family and the DC Thompsons family are the printers they did like The Beano. So they own West Ward Work where we did the Design Festival and it's because of that relationship with the Design Festival that we have this money now because they think we're great. And then and then we get annually, this is the University of Dundee they give us 20,000 pounds and Abertay University give us 15,000 pounds and that's our annual income. It's all annual income, these pots of money here, they're quite risky. So like they annually fund us for 3 years, constantly the Unis are like: ***'What am getting for my money?' And I'm like, 'Oh my god, all of this stuff.' So we're always reporting to them"*** *(DU5F30s).*

It is important, therefore, to consider this question of how to measure the wider forms of value that fostering CCW provides to the local CCE and, to find ways to communicate that value to local policy makers and funders. There is also a question of how to train and develop leaders on the value of the CCE and sustainable models of leadership to ensure that the knowledge of this value is not reduced to a small number of engaged individuals and shared more broadly. As stated in the introduction to this Chapter, fostering CCW connects to every stage of the SCCW life cycle and yet much of this work comes from grassroots organisations, individual workers, volunteers or low paid outreach programmes which are themselves, due to funding availability, precarious.

In the next Chapter of this deliverable, we offer a series of conclusions based on the research findings presented in this report. These findings and conclusion feed into our complimentary deliverable 3.4 which outlines a series of policy recommendations based on WP3s analysis of the DISCE data.

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8. WP3: conclusions

8.1. Chapter overview

Overall, the DISCE data in relation to Work Package 3's focus on understanding skills and training needs for the creative and cultural workforce within the broader creative and cultural industries CCIs has illustrated a complex system of functionings and resources available within a CCE which enable a series of interconnected capabilities that together represent individuals' freedom to access and develop sustainable creative/cultural work SCCW. Our application of the capability approach to data analysis is based on the normative claim that it is better to be part of an inclusive and sustainable creative economy and have access to inclusive and sustainable creative/cultural work than not and this normative claim has been based on our examination of the available functionings and capabilities as the evaluation space.

In this conclusion firstly, we aim to summarise the key findings in relation to capabilities and functionings for each stage of the CCW lifecycle (8.11 – 8.15). These key learning points are then used to establish how, as mentioned, capabilities do not operate in isolation but are interconnected in a complex ecology. Unpacking this complex ecology (figure 8.1) we consider how capabilities connect, depend and interact with each other to sustain creative and cultural work within a local CCE. Finally, we reflect back on the learning developed across the stages of the life cycle to consider how each case study evidenced presence of important conversion factors (resources available that enables the individual to convert a capability to a functioning) and also structural constraints that have an impact on the conversion factors.

8.2. The capabilities and key findings across each stage of the SCCW life cycle

Table 8.1 provides a summary of the key findings that emerged at each stage of the life cycle. As demonstrated, across each stage there are interconnections and interdependencies between the resources that enable the capability which are represented in Figure 1. Through this document we have provided illustrative references, quotations, snapshot case studies and examples taken from the data gathered across the 10 DISCE city, including both the review of the wider policy literature on that particular city and workshops/interviews. This has enabled an in-depth qualitative investigation into the place-based resources that enable/inhibit SCCW. Table 1 represents themes that emerged across all 10 case studies. In section 8.3 we provide city-specific overview of each case study location.

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Table 8.1: Summary Table

	S1. Aspiring to create (0-16)	S2. Preparing to create as profession (Higher and further education / skills/ training)	S3. Entering a creative/cultural profession / Early career	S4. Making a living out of CCW	S5. Fostering (sustainable) CCW
C1. The capability to access culture	• Family is the primary enabler of cultural access that ranges from ordinary to highbrow experiences. • Compulsory education offers access to culture via school trips and extracurricular activities. • Diversity, vibrancy and accessibility of a city's CCE is correlated with the capability to access culture.	• FE/HE as offering opportunity to access culture via club/societies/venues • City-life and cultural infrastructure of the city gives students participation/experience opportunities • Programmes that bridge local communities and universities enable students to connect with culture and communities • The main barrier to possibility to engage and access culture during HE is time and strict framework of degree programmes		• Creative and cultural opportunities attract and sustain CCWs to/within a city. • Cultural access resources in a city provide work opportunities for CCWs.	• Local governments can foster access to creativity and culture by funding/supporting flagship creative/cultural venues, institutions, projects. • Creative city 'mega-events' also enable access. • Alongside major venues and events, local governments can sustain smaller venues, organisations and spaces. • Structural barriers such as noise abatement orders, absence of affordable space can hinder creative and cultural access.
C2. The capability to develop creative/cultural skills.	• Beliefs around talent can be both an enabling and inhibiting factor for skills development • Family is a key source of resources necessary to develop skills. Family resources (money and time) become an	• FE/HE are a primary site for developing creative and cultural skills • FE/HE pathways are varied (before, during and after work experiences) • Geography and mobility (in particular move from medium-size to the larger city) influence access to FE/HE		• CCW provides continual opportunities for skills development. • Certain skills required for SCCW e.g., fundraising, project management, administration, personal marketing are hidden/unpaid/unrecognised.	

	important prerequisite for this capability. • Providers of compulsory education offer continual opportunities for skills development as part of the curriculum and extracurricular activities including school clubs, societies, and events. • Diversity, vibrancy and accessibility of a city's CCE is correlated with the capability to develop creative/cultural skills.	• The cost of fee and financial support (loan, scholarships, family) affect the ability of access creative and cultural skills • The value of creative HE is connected to a broader framework of understanding of work and creativity • Creative HE experience was articulated as a complex balance between practical and theoretical knowledge to navigate			
C3. The capability to engage others with culture.	• Compulsory education providers function as a key gatekeeper			• Connected with C1, resources that enable cultural access provide work opportunities for CCWs which in turn enables wider public engagement.	• Fostering work linked to creativity and culture such as outreach work, partnerships, youth engagement programmes etc widens participation to creativity and culture. • There are specific roles/places which can act as trusted gatekeepers between the creative economy and wider communities.
C4. The capability to foster creative/cultural skills.	• There is a correlation between one's ability to foster creative/cultural skills of children and young people and the vibrancy and diversity of the surrounding CCE.	• Previous students are now involved in fostering creative and cultural skills of others • FE/HE and other infrastructures play a key role in fostering the connection of city with creativity	• When entering CCW opportunities for learning (especially in small organisation and projects emerge) • Skills evolve as people move through work from the early stage	• Hybrid work across creative/cultural practice and education means CCWs continuously develop skills that can be shared with others.	

		• Fostering CCS means inputting on what will be the future of CCS	and across the creative trident		
C5. The capability to aspire to creative/cultural work.	• Beliefs around talent can be both an enabling and inhibiting factor for developing aspirations for CCW. • Family can function as a major inhibitor for developing aspirations for CCW due to concerns around unstable career prospects. • Due to a lack of awareness of career pathways within CCW, compulsory education providers used to function as a major structural restraint to this capability.	• FE/HE are for many an occasion to develop confidence, ability and feedback to aspire to CCW • The stigma of CCW means that also creative HE is not seen as a sound educational choice • Socio-economic background and feedback/care of HE professionals is important to increase diversity of CCW.		• Role models/gatekeepers within SCCW have an impact on who can aspire to creative/cultural work. • Historical barriers to marginalised CCWs based on identity politics impact career development and feed into current/future role models. Connection with C9.	• Linked to C3 fostering CCW provides viable alternative career pathways for those wishing to combine creativity with care labour.
C6. The capability to access/develop creative/cultural work.		• Varied experiences of transition from education to work • Role of employability, internship and another platform to facilitate transition	• Adoption of various strategies to enter the world of work, including volunteering, internships, placement and migration • Incubation, collective endeavours and/or competitions can	• Networks/creative intermediaries critical to this capability. • The strength and model of the network in relationship to the geographic location impacts individuals' capability to access/develop work. • Hybrid/multiply employed worker is new model of creative/cultural work.	• Linked to C3 and C5.

			• get a venture established if individual wants to lead his/her own project • Space, networks and funding are key to be able to initiate a project or access work	• Wageless work rather than precarious labour enables a deeper reflection on access/development of creative/cultural labour.	
C7. The capability to sustain creative practice and/or projects.		• Learning (HE / informal training / learning by doing) important aspect of sustaining CCW • Lack of frameworks for supporting continuous professional development • Range of skills that are necessary to sustain CCW is very open		• Access to space and resources within those spaces key. • Relationship between creative/cultural institutions and access to space, how those spaces are funded, managed, who takes responsibility for them has an impact on their accessibility. • C7 is critical to retaining local creative/cultural talent. • Connection with C6 and hybrid work model, CCWs who work across different employment sectors in order to sustain practice.	
C8. The capability to foster creative/cultural work.		• HEIs play an important role in fostering CCW in city Networks and platforms across HEI and local CCE key factor to attraction and retention of CCW		• C8 connects with C7 in relation to spaces and resources that sustain creative practice but also the connections between these different resources and the wider city/space.	• Fostering CCW includes intermediary organisations including unions, collectives, issue-based support groups that both support and develop opportunities for CCWs
C9. The capability to drive/lead culture.		• Opportunities for leadership development are rear	The local context (HE, policy and third sector) play a key role in retaining graduates in the local	• Different models of creative/cultural leadership and cultural development are	• Local governments with an inclusive creative/cultural city-wide strategy can implement policies that widen

		• Capability to develop skills in leadership is not as advanced in the creative field (often one off courses)	context with a range of programmes and initiatives	emerging as more diverse examples of leaders evolve.	participation (C1), foster CCW (C6), sustain creative/cultural practice (C7). These capabilities then connect to others including C3, C4 and C5.

8.3. Identifying SCCW through an ecological/capability application

Overall, the data revealed that the key capability of sustaining a CCW depends on a complex network of capabilities feeding into this one (figure 8.1). To sustain CCW it is vital to access CCW but unless individuals are able to aspire to CCW (via accessing culture) and develop creative and cultural skills, there is very little scope for them to enter the sector. Similarly the capability to foster CCW and to provide leadership for the local CCE development often come from experience working in CCW but also being supported, introduced and engaged into the sectors by others.

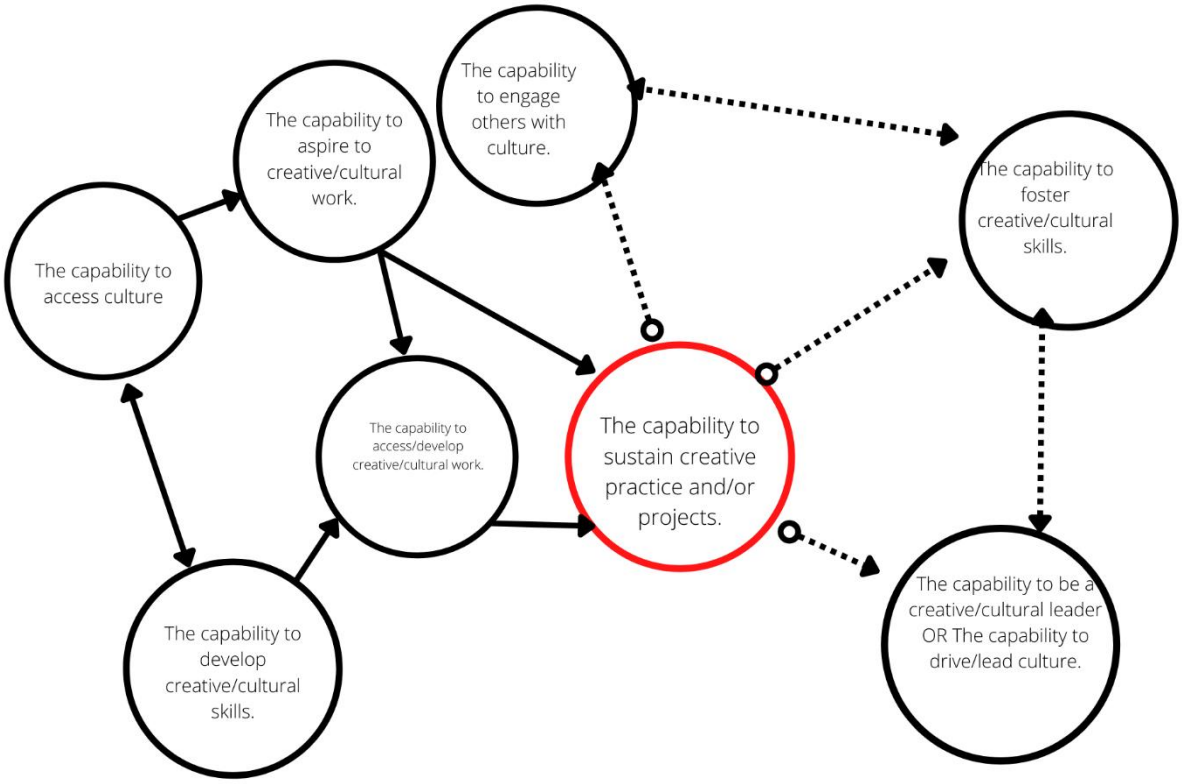

Figure 8.1: Complex ecology of capabilities need for sustaining creative and cultural work

8.4. Early access and aspiring to create

This chapter considered how childhood and adolescence experiences of engaging with creativity/culture were identified as an important element of the SCCW lifecycle. Following our analysis, the family emerged as an important enabler of access during childhood in relation to their capability to introduce participants with a range of creative/cultural activities and opportunities.

Whilst the family was described as a key conversion factor, identity elements such as socioeconomic status affected what forms of creative and cultural engagement participants' had access to. Compulsory education became another important conversation factor for the capability to access creativity and culture with variable

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accounts from participants on the impact that their school education had on both access and aspiring to CCW. Resources such as school trips, extracurricular activities and the school curriculum all had an impact however many participants spoke of the particular positive effect of strong role models/gatekeepers/champions within compulsory education that, in some cases, could by-pass any inhibiting impacts from other sources for example the family, and foster both access and aspiration to CCW. This was not universal however, and in other cases we saw examples of the school as a barrier to access. In such examples, role models and support provided from other resources in the wider CCE for example youth engagement programmes, clubs, local libraries can shift conceptions about and barriers to accessing creative and cultural skills and aspiring to CCW.

Chapter 3 highlights that through various social exclusions and inequalities, many structural constraints are being imposed on individuals before they even reach the stage of HE. As such, in deliverable 3.4 we outline a series of targeted recommendations aimed at both compulsory education but also national and local governments on the importance of enabling early access to creativity and culture within local communities. For compulsory education, we provide examples of the value of embedding creative and cultural subjects into the curriculum from early years up until the end of formal education. The past ten years has seen a policy shift across European education towards the important of STEM based subjects which we argue have been at the expense of creative education provision. Connected to this discussion and our recommendations linked to Chapter 7 on fostering CCW, we provide a series of recommendations on ensuring the increased support and sustainability of fostering organisations, creative intermediaries and outreach/engagement work in relation to widening participation and early access.

8.5. Preparing to create as a profession

Chapter 4 explore the stage where an individual invests in skills and training (often through FE/HE). HE and university life offer a key stage in personal and professional development. They offer access to cultural facilities and opportunities to experiment with knowledge and practice in the creative field. However, access to HE is also something that needs to be questioned. In order to access it (beyond initial access to culture and creativity in early years discussed in Chapter 3) a complex system of finance needs to be put in place (including parental support, grants, loans and work). HE value is perceived in many different ways, not only skills and knowledge, but confidence, networks and opportunities to experiment with ideas. While for some more practical and business skills could be included in specific courses, for others it is the openness, problem-solving oriented nature of creative HE that makes it so valuable. HE are investing in more opportunities and connections with industry to enhance the employability agenda, however, should also value more that skills, knowledge and networks – as well as the caring practices – of HE staff that shape that learning process.

8.6. Early career and access to CCW

As we discussed in Chapter 5 there is conflicting data around the value of work placements / internships in relation to questions of access and inclusion. Referring to the different pathways into CCW, many participants highlighted the value of placements and internships as the first stepping stone on their career trajectory. There were seen as valuable opportunities to 'test' different creative and cultural workspaces and learn valuable skills. However, we also uncovered data on the impact of multiple internships, how those who do not have the necessary financial support to undertake unpaid placements and other subjective barriers can lead to unfair advantage for some and exploitation for others. There is need to develop clearer guidance on

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the purpose of internships and how they can be fairly adopted across both HEIs and the CCIs. In deliverable 3.4 we outline a series of recommendations for fair practice with regards work-based learning, internships and volunteering within CCW. Co-working spaces play a vital role in the development of local CCEs (also discussed also in Chapter 7) and for many of our participants they provided a step into the sector and an opportunity for joining essential networks (see 5.2.3).

8.7. Accessing, developing and sustaining CCW

Chapter 6 explores the dynamics of accessing and developing sustainable creative and cultural work, based on the data presented by CCWs who were, at the time of occupied understood as a creative or cultural job providing a stable income and livelihood. Following our analysis, three main themes emerged in relation to the capabilities than enabled access to SCCW. The first was the high frequentness of CCWs employed across hybrid (i.e. occupying two separate jobs roles of CCW + another a job from another sector) or CCWs who were occupied across multiple jobs/employment contracts either all within the creative economy or a portfolio of work across unrelated sectors. A high proportion of hybrid/multiple employed workers combined some form of education work with their creative work and or practice. Our second theme considered the role played by different institutions including the State/local government but also including different creative and cultural venues, organisations, co-working spaces as creating both drivers of and barriers to SCCW. Finally our research uncovered the role played by creative intermediaries in relation to access and developing creative and cultural work. Across those themes, we discussed the hidden and often unpaid characteristics of CCW and how a broader understanding of the concept of 'wageless work' (Alacovska 2021) is required as a paradigm shift from the discourse of precarity that is commonly associated with models of project-based labour within creative labour markets. We found multiple examples of wageless work that indicated significant value to the broader creative economy but a need for clearer understand and regulation to ensure protection for CCWs again unfair pay, exploitation and burnout. The role of creative intermediaries in providing structures of care for CCWs are key players in undertaking the monitoring of CCW and ensuring robust systems of regulation and accountability. As such a series of recommendations will be outlined in Deliverable 3.4 on the support for creative intermediaries in local creative economies, including support for physical spaces that provide access to support and develop creative practitioners with their work. We provide a series of recommendations on application processes for public funding that are accessible to individual CCWs and call for a systematic approach to support equity, diversity and inclusion (EDI) across Europe with targeted implementation programmes. Linked to this, we provide recommendations on a review of the monitoring of CCWs in relation to Labour market intelligence to ensure larger quantitative studies include questions that produce knowledge of hitherto hidden forms of creative and cultural labour but also the hidden barriers such as access to affordable housing and workspace. We also provide recommendations on a review of national taxation systems to realistically reflect the realities of hybrid/multiple forms of occupation.

8.8. Fostering creative and cultural work

Chapter 7 explores the different institutions, organisations and individuals that foster and enable others to both access creativity and culture but also, either directly or indirectly creative and cultural work. As we discussed, fostering CCW provides significant added value to local creative economies and CCEs through outreach and engagement programmes that wider participation with creativity and culture. Fostering CCW is also an employment opportunity in and of itself, with examples provided of individuals who shifted into fostering roles within the creative economy following a period of CCW, or those who came to these roles

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from other sectors. Linked to this are specific recommendations for education bodies, both FE and HE on how they communicate the existence of such fostering roles as career pathways to creative HE students and what sorts of skills are required for the future. There are specific recommendations for both creative/cultural institutions and policy makers on the value of fostering outreach work and then need to continue sustained investment in such programmes. There are also recommendations in relation to the different spaces and institutions that enable fostering work with input on what values should drive the rationale for creating and supporting those spaces. Our policy recommendations will also consider the skills and needs for future creative and cultural leaders and provide detailed information on the importance of developing a creative/cultural strategy for local communities but one that has a public participatory purpose with guidance on how to make that process inclusive. There is a connection here to the proposal outlined in Deliverable 5.3 and the pilot Cultural development index (CDI) which can be used as a tool to measure the local creative and cultural opportunities within a geographical location against the value and need of those opportunities demonstrated by citizens.

8.9. Emerging strengths and weaknesses across the 10 DISCE case studies

Our learning from the data has focused on capabilities and what functionings support their development, rather than the specific context of the 10 case studies. However, in this part of the conclusions, we want to summarise some of the strengths and weaknesses emerging in the different case studies across the CCW lifecycle. These will also form a relevant background to involve the development of policy recommendations and best practices identified across the case studies.

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8.9.1. Lund

Table 8.2: The SCCW life cycle: enabling and inhibiting factors in Lund

LUND	Enabling functionings	Inhibiting constraints
Early access	• Music Checks/Voucher scheme for music lessons • Mejeriet Lund • Kulturskolan Lund • Lund provides a broad range of cultural experiences in art, music, dance, theatre, literature, film, cultural heritage etc. • A good range of museums and libraries are available across Lund • Municipality to Lund is committed to maintaining quality and accessibility of creative/cultural opportunities for children • School teachers within compulsory who are engaged in and recognise the value of access to cultural/creativity • Compulsory education providers that give resources of time and funds for teachers to engage in local creative/cultural opportunities • Rising significance and range of creative/cultural subjects within the compulsory education curriculum	• Music Checks/Vouchers scheme does not cover creative/cultural subjects beyond music • High costs of music lessons • Barriers to peripheral communities in Lund in terms of creative/cultural skills development • School as a gatekeeper. Local creative/cultural organisations experience difficulties engaging with children beyond compulsory school visits
Creative skills	• Mejeriet Lund • Lund University • Vibrant student life (extra-curricular activities) • HE is low cost (subsidised by the national government)	• Lack of creative HE infrastructure. Lund University provides Bachelor's and Master's degree studies in fine and performing (music, theatre) arts on their campus in the city of Malmö, which is located about 20km from Lund) • Education orientation to science and technology
Early career	• Ideon Science Park • Stenkrossen (municipality-funded workspace for people working in art, culture or innovation to develop their activities)	• High cost of housing • Proximity to Malmö (brain drain) • Relatively few independent grassroots artists (limited peer support) • Lund has been replaced as a vibrant regional capital of 'living'

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		culture by a nearby city of Malmö (Lund continues to be a capital of cultural heritage and cultural institutions)
Sustaining CCW	• High quality living and jobs • Regional centre for high tech companies • Strong partnership between the university, industry and public sector • Ideon Science Park • Stenkrossen	• High cost of housing
Fostering CCW	• Ideon Science Park • Stenkrossen	• Lund has been replaced as a vibrant regional capital of 'living' culture by a nearby city of Malmö (Lund continues to be a capital of cultural heritage and cultural institutions)

8.9.2. Pori

Table 8.3: The SCCW life cycle: enabling and inhibiting factors in Pori

PORI	**Enabling functionings**	**Inhibiting constraints**
Early access	• Diverse and easily accessible creative/cultural offer for families with children • Pori Centre for Children's Culture in collaboration with local museums offer a wide range of easily accessible creativity/culture for different population groups from babies to pensioners • Pori Sinfonietta's Godchild programme started low-price concerts for children (born in 2017 in the Finland's 100th anniversary year) with their families • Porin Kulttuuripolku [the Cultural path] – cultural education plan that integrates creativity/culture into the school curriculum • The Culture House "Annis" • Pori art school (visual art) and Palmgren Conservatory (music) offer subsidies education in visual arts and music	• School teachers within compulsory education who are not engaged and do not recognise the value of access to culture/creativity • Compulsory education providers that do not give resources of time and funds for teachers to engage in local creative/cultural opportunities • Lack of funding

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	• School teachers within compulsory education who are engaged in and recognise the value of access to cultural/creativity • Compulsory education providers that give resources of time and funds for teachers to engage in local creative/cultural opportunities • Local libraries • Pori Theater Youth • Rakastajat	
Creative skills	• Low cost HE (subsidized by the national government) • Pori University Consortium (UCPori) (creative/cultural degrees in Cultural Production and Landscape Studies) • Satakunta University of Applied Sciences (includes the Kankaanpää Campus of the Art School) • Palmgren Conservatory (vocational studies in music) • Pori Art School (for adults) • Close cooperation between the university, industry and public sector • Assignments and assessment/research projects related to real-life projects in creative/cultural fields	• Subsidiary campuses of Turku and Tampere universities (possibly complicate forecasting the future of HE of the city/region) • Closure of the satellite campus of the School of Art at the Aalto University • Lack of planning regarding formal creative HE infrastructure for the city of Pori • The strategic focus on technical, innovation skills development • UCPori has a reasonably small student population
Early career	• Mentoring programme in collaboration with local business managers and the local business development agency for the students of UCPori • Mentoring programme as part of the studies and start-up support for the art students of the Kankaanpää campus of the University of Applied Sciences	• Lack of entry level job opportunities generated by local creative/cultural institutions. • (EU-)Project funded jobs
Sustaining CCW	• Well-networked CCIs (e.g. Kulttuurifoorum, The Cultural Producers of Satakunta, Taikusydän, International Game Developers Association (IDGA)) • Cooperation between the associations of various fields of creativity/culture	• Population decline, and ageing population • Lack of job opportunities • Lack of co-working spaces • Absence of smaller/medium sized venues • Bureaucracy in event management

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	• A regional representative the national Arts Council • Cooperation between the associations and individuals of both professionals and the third sector actors • Pori Jazz Festival, Porispere festival and other events/festivals that offer platforms for cross-sectoral collaboration	
Fostering CCW	• Small size of the city, short distances • Low rents and cost living • High number of grassroots, citizen-led cultural initiatives funded by the city of Pori create additional opportunities for local people to engage with creativity/culture • The business strategy of the city focused on event management business • Cooperation of the third sector actors (e.g. Pori Film festival, Tehdas ry, Reposfääri festival) • A plan for an experimental cultural space/quarter "Aarre" [treasure] that brings together several cultural actors and activities of the city • Individually driven cultural/creative leaders operating across the city	• Ageing and declining population • Disconnection between CCW and other renowned local industries • No resources budgeted for the construction project "Aarre"

8.9.3. Chatham

Table 8.4: The SCCW life cycle: enabling and inhibiting factors in Chatham

CHATHAM	**Enabling functionings**	**Inhibiting constraints**
Early access	• Community centres • Local community programmes/ organisations such as Arches Local (part of Big Local), Medway African and Caribbean Association (MACA), Ideas Test • Theatre 31 – a programme aimed at engaging young people with theatre • School teachers within compulsory education who are engaged in and	• High levels of social deprivation • Low aspirations among local communities • High levels of digital exclusion • Lack of cultural activities for children and available locally and on a regular basis • Open and Hidden costs of accessing creative/cultural opportunities

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	recognise the value of access to cultural/creativity • Compulsory education providers that give resources of time and funds for teachers to engage in local creative/cultural opportunities • Programmes that connect compulsory education providers with the cultural sector such as the Royal Opera House Bridge (current) or Creative Partnerships (2002-2011) or help embed arts into the curriculum such as the Artsmark Award	• Poor bus service across Medway • Social barriers to peripheral communities of Chatham. • School teachers within compulsory education who are not engaged and do not recognise the value of access to cultural/creativity • Compulsory education providers that do not give resources of time and funds for teachers to engage in local creative/cultural opportunities
Creative skills	• Satellite campuses of the University of Greenwich, the University of Kent and Canterbury Christ Church University • UK student loan system • Work-based learning opportunities • Intergenerational mentoring opportunities offered by actors within CCE • Programmes targeted at developing skills for the creative sector provided by organisations such as Ideas Test • The Docking Station – a proposed creative space expected to open in 2025	• Closure of the satellite campus of the University for the Creative Arts (UCA) in Rochester in 2023 • Lack of synergy between the satellite university campuses and the local creative economy stakeholders • Absence of a vibrant creative/cultural scene locally • UK Student loan system • Lack of student bursaries • Social class discrimination in Creative HE • Race-based discrimination in Creative HE
Early career	• Cost of living, affordable housing	• Lack of multidisciplinary skills for Creative HE graduates on specialised degree courses • Lack of training around professional skills including leadership, management and digital competence. • Absence of a vibrant creative/cultural scene locally
Sustaining CCW	• Medway Cultural Partnership • Cost of living, affordable housing • Nucleus Arts • Sun Pier House • The Southeast Creative Economy Network (SECEN) • Proximity to London	• Lack of co-working spaces • Lack of creative/cultural venues such as art centres and dedicated live music venues • Funding cuts to national funding bodies for creative/cultural workers • Complicated and competitive funding application processes

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		• Proximity to London and increased opportunities for CCW in London
Fostering CCW	• Medway Cultural Partnership • Medway Cultural Compact (part of the Cultural Compact initiative) • Individually driven cultural/creative leaders operating across the city • UK City of Culture 2025 bid (unsuccessful)	• Lack of engagement from the local satellite university campuses and other big institutions (e.g.., the Historic Dockyard Chatham) with the wider CCE • Lack of awareness about the value of creativity/culture to society among local authorities

8.9.4. Dundee

Table 8.5: The SCCW life cycle: enabling and inhibiting factors in Dundee

DUNDEE	Enabling functionings	Inhibiting constraints
Early access	• Sistema Big Noise Dundee • Partnership between Sistema and DJCAD • Hot Chocolate • Engage department at the Dundee Reparatory Theatre • DCA Learning & Children's Art week • Dundee International Women's Centre • Dundee Science Centre • V&A Dundee • Community Centres • School teachers within compulsory who are engaged in and recognise the value of access to cultural/creativity • Compulsory education providers that give resources of time and funds for teachers to engage in local creative/cultural opportunities • West Fest • Dundee Design Festival • UNESCO City of Design programme of cultural events • Leisure and Culture Dundee programme of cultural events	• High levels of illiteracy • High levels of social deprivation (SIMD) • Open and Hidden costs of accessing creative/cultural opportunities • Creative cluster as a geographical and social barrier to peripheral communities in Dundee • Absence of local venues • School teachers within compulsory education who are not engaged and do not recognise the value of access to culture/creativity • Compulsory education providers that do not give resources of time and funds for teachers to engage in local creative/cultural opportunities
Creative skills	• DJCAD • University of Dundee • Abertay University • Dundee and Angus FE College • Creative Dundee Amps Network	• Audition fees and hidden costs to access auditions (travel, accommodation etc) • Limitations on the number of Art schools students can apply to

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	• The Circle training programme • Contextual offer at local HEIs for local Dundonian applicants • Work-based learning opportunities • Targeted cultural leadership programmes • UK Student loan system	• UK Student loan system • Lack of student bursaries • Gender discrimination in Creative HE • Social class discrimination in Creative HE • Race-based discrimination in Creative HE
Early career	• The Centre for Entrepreneurship • DJCAD degree show • GENERATOR Projects • Creative Dundee Pecha Kucha nights • Multidisciplinary creative degree	• Lack of early entry job opportunities • Lack of multidisciplinary skills for Creative HE graduates on specialised degree courses • Lack of skills training in fundraising, self-management and promotion, budgeting, administration
Sustaining CCW	• Creative Dundee • DCA Print Studio • WASPS studios • Waters' Edge • Tayside Reusers • Creative Scotland • Cost of living, affordable housing • Multidisciplinary creative degree • Scottish Union for Artists	• Lack of co-working spaces • Absence of smaller/medium sized venues • Lack of sustainable employment opportunities generated by local creative/cultural institutions • Funding cuts to national funding bodies for creative/cultural workers • Complicated and competitive funding application processes • Increased opportunities for CCW in Glasgow/Edinburgh
Fostering CCW	• Creative Dundee • V&A Dundee • DCA • Dundee Reparatory Theatre • Leisure and Culture Dundee • UNESCO City of Design • The Dundee Cultural Partnership • Dundee Cultural Agencies Network (Dundee CAN) • Dundee International Women's Centre • Amina Centre Dundee • The Circle • Hot Chocolate • Community Centres • Individually driven cultural/creative leaders operating across the city	• Closure of music venues • Hotel and tourism development • Creative cluster in the West End • The Kingsway • Local authority budget cuts • Lack of engagement from the local Games industry with wider CCE • Individual burnout • Community centre closures

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8.9.5. Enschede

Table 8.6: The SCCW life cycle: enabling and inhibiting factors in Enschede

ENSCHEDE	**Enabling functionings**	**Inhibiting constraints**
Early access	• High number of grassroots, citizen-led cultural initiatives create additional opportunities for local children/youths to engage with creativity/culture • Tetem • De Museumfabriek • Rising significance of creative/cultural subjects within the compulsory education curriculum • Assyrian Cultural Centre	• Exclusion of ethnic minorities (of Turkish, Syrian and Iranian descent) from institutionalised spaces of creativity/culture due to cultural and language barriers
Creative skills	• University of Twente • Saxion University of Applied Science • ArtEZ University of the Arts • ROC van Twente • Tetem • Cultuurcoach Enschede	
Early career	• Tetem • Local incubators and funding opportunities for start-ups • ArtEZ University of the Arts enables access to facilities for graduates • Spinnerij Oosterveld (workspace)	• Language as a barrier to job opportunities for international students of Enschede • Lack of diversity of the cultural sector • Lack of employment opportunities locally • Lack of non-mainstream cultural spaces (e.g. creative incubators) • Outflow of highly skilled workers
Sustaining CCW	• Proximity of Enschede to and connections with Germany • Tetem • Enschede's commitment to fostering technology start-ups • Kunst Nonstop • Gogbot Festival • Stichting Muziekbank Overijssel • Spinnerij Oosterveld (workspace)	• Rising prices for housing and workspaces • Complicated and competitive funding application processes • Lack of jobs for highly educated people • Enschede located in an isolated border region with slow connections to other cities • Outmigration of high-skilled workers to other cities • Low rate of freelancers • Low income of freelances
Fostering CCW	• Tetem • Cultuurcoach Enschede	

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	• Kunst Nonstop	

8.9.6. Leuven

Table 8.7: The SCCW life cycle: enabling and inhibiting factors in Leuven

LEUVEN	Enabling functionings	Inhibiting constraints
Early access	• Part-time education in the arts (Deeltijds Kunstonderwijs - DKO) • SLAC • KinderKuren • Stelplaats • 30CC • PARCUM • School teachers within compulsory who are engaged in and recognise the value of access to cultural/creativity • Compulsory education providers that give resources of time and funds for teachers to engage in local creative/cultural opportunities	• Social barriers to peripheral/marginal communities in Leuven • School teachers within compulsory education who are not engaged and do not recognise the value of access to culture/creativity • Compulsory education providers that do not give resources of time and funds for teachers to engage in local creative/cultural opportunities
Creative skills	• The KU Leuven • WISPER • Het Depot • PLATEAU festival • Part-time education in the arts (Deeltijds Kunstonderwijs - DKO) • STUK	• Lack of creative/cultural courses offered by the KU Leuven apart from the performing arts and linguistics
Early career	• Het Depot • Platform In De Maak • PLATEAU festival • Cas-co • STUK • FLEGA (Flemish Games Association) • Inuit • Werktank • OPEK (cultural site) • De Hoorn (workspace)	• High costs of living • Lack of co-working spaces • Lack of affordable studio spaces
Sustaining CCW	• Het Depot • 30CC • Cas-co • STUK • FLEGA • Inuit • Berserk Art Agency • KU Leuven • OPEK (cultural site)	• High costs of living • Proximity of Leuven to Brussels • Lack of co-working spaces • Lack of affordable studio spaces • Noise issues and complaints from local citizens impacting creative/cultural events

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	• De Hoorn (workspace) • Leuven offers fertile environment for tech and innovation	
Fostering CCW	• Leuven Mindgate • Creative Ambassadors scheme by Leuven MindGate • STUK • FLEGA • Belgian Tax Shelter initiative • Approachable/reachable local authorities • Active local authority leaders that work continuously on creating a fertile atmosphere for local creatives • Fostering community projects initiated by local creative/cultural organisations and businesses such as De Kemping by De Chinezen	• Top-down tendencies of local cultural governance • Challenges around benefiting from/engaging with the Tax Shelter • Lack of awareness/ understanding among individual representatives of the local authorities regarding the multiple values of creativity/culture and CCW

8.9.7. Liepāja

Table 8.8: The SCCW life cycle: enabling and inhibiting factors in Liepāja

LIEPĀJA	**Enabling functionings**	**Inhibiting constraints**
Early access	• Centre of Competency Based Professional Education Liepāja Music, Art and Design Secondary School • Liepāja State Technical School • Youth associations, e.g. 'You+' • Youth House (a department of the municipal education institution 'Liepāja's Children and Youth Centre') • Diverse and easily accessible creative/cultural offer for families with children	• Competition between schools. The "money follows the pupil" model of school funding can discourage mainstream schools from directing their pupils towards creative careers-related schools. • Difficulties to involve ethnic minorities (i.e., Russian-speakers) and some social groups in institutionalised spaces of creativity/culture due to cultural and language barriers • Declining number of students in Liepāja
Creative skills	• Eight HE institutions (mostly branches of the HE institutions from Riga) • University of Liepāja • Art Research Laboratory (MPLab) (research unit under University of Liepāja) • Liepāja Business Incubator (run by Investment and Development Agency of Latvia)	• Relatively stagnant scientific results, lack of funding and competitiveness of the University of Liepāja (best results in humanities and arts) • Overproduction of graduates in humanities and a lack of specialists in the natural sciences and engineering

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		• Declining number of students in Liepāja
Early career	• Liepāja Business Incubator • Kurzeme Business Incubator • Active business environment and growing share of small and medium-sized enterprises • Art Research Laboratory (MPLab)	• Lack of structural and institutional framework for fostering creative/cultural initiatives into industries
Sustaining CCW	• Liepāja is known as the capital of Latvian rock music • Free-thinking spirit and the bohemian character of Liepāja • Well-developed cultural and sports infrastructure • Regional multifunctional concert hall 'Great Amber' • Karosta neighborhood (developing as military tourism destination and other creative interventions) • Liepāja plays an important role for the neighbouring municipalities in terms of creative/cultural offer, infrastructure as well as professional and higher education • Increasing cultural participation • Established fashion and textile production	• Continuous decrease in population in Liepāja and the surrounding areas • Outflow of young population to Riga and abroad • Internal competition among the municipal and private cultural institutions in the context of shrinking audiences. • Difficulties to involve ethnic minorities (i.e., Russian-speakers) and some social groups in institutionalised spaces of creativity/culture due to cultural and language barriers
Fostering CCW	• European Capital of Culture bid for 2027 (successful) • Liepāja Creative Industry Cluster (no longer active) • Kurzeme Creative Industry Development Center	• Fragmented policies (at the municipal level) directed toward facilitating the growth of the creative economy, with more emphasis on leisure/free time activities, tourism and entertainment offer

8.9.8. Pécs

Table 8.9: The SCCW life cycle: enabling and inhibiting factors in Pécs

PÉCS	**Enabling functionings**	**Inhibiting constraints**
Early access	• Secondary School of Arts in Pécs • Zsolnay Cultural Quarter • School teachers within compulsory education who are engaged in and recognise the value of access to cultural/creativity • Compulsory education providers that give resources of time and	• Lack of creative/cultural provision for children and young people in Pécs • School teachers within compulsory education who are not engaged and do not recognise the value of access to culture/creativity

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	funds for teachers to engage in local creative/cultural opportunities	• Compulsory education providers that do not give resources of time and funds for teachers to engage in local creative/cultural opportunities
Creative skills	• University of Pécs • University of Pécs Library and Knowledge Centre	• Lack of HE programmes that could fuse, or serve as a bridge between the creative/cultural courses offered by the university and business subjects
Early career	• University of Pécs • Pécs Cultural Creative Industry Cluster	• Lack of studio space after graduation
Sustaining CCW	• Pécs Cultural Creative Industry Cluster (active in local creative entrepreneur support and EU collaboration project development) • Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Pécs-Baranya (active in Enterprise Europe Network) • Zsolnay Cultural Quarter • Kodaly Center • KOHO CoWorking House Pécs	• Budapest-centred creative economy • Outflow of the young population to the capital or abroad
Fostering CCW	• Pécs is known for its cultural heritage and cultural scene • Zsolnay Cultural Quarter • Kodaly Center • Pécs Cultural Creative Industry Cluster • Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Pécs-Baranya • Freeport Cultural Center (Szabadkikötő) • Pécs was awarded the title of European Capital of Culture in 2010, triggering large investments into the city's creative/cultural infrastructure, the most prominent of which were Kodaly Center, South Transdanubia Regional Library and Knowledge Center, Museums Street, and Zsolnay Cultural Quarter	• Lack of long-term cultural vision and leadership for culture in the municipality • European Capital of Culture lacked follow up activities

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8.9.9. L'Aquila

Table 8.10: The SCCW life cycle: enabling and inhibiting factors in L'Aquila

L'AQUILA	Enabling functionings	Inhibiting constraints
Early access	• L'Aquila is well endowed in terms of libraries, theatres, and music halls • School teachers within compulsory education who are engaged/encouraging and recognise the value of access to cultural/creativity • Compulsory education providers that give resources of time and funds for teachers to engage in local creative/cultural opportunities • Youth projects by Ente Musicale Società Aquilana dei Concerti BONAVENTURA BARATTELLI • School and youth programmes by museums MUNDA and MAXXI	• School teachers within compulsory who are not engaged/encouraging and do not recognise the value of access to culture/creativity • Compulsory education providers that do not give resources of time and funds for teachers to engage in local creative/cultural opportunities
Creative skills	• University of L'Aquila • The 'Alfredo Casella' Conservatoire of Music • Academy of Fine Arts of L'Aquila • Gran Sasso National Laboratories • Gran Sasso Science Institute • High numbers of students and visiting researchers • MAXXI L'Aquila – a new branch of Rome's national contemporary art museum opened in 2021 – hosts workshops and training activities including the Digital Think-in lab • TRA Association (Abruzzo Reunited Theatres) • Additional student housing is being created in the historical city centre	• Competition for high-level creative education from Rome attracts students there and Pescara (at regional level)
Early career	• MAXXI L'Aquila • "Incubatore di creatività" launched by the City Council in 2021 (including nine projects: ACSI (Associazione Cultura Sport Tempo libero), Comitato Abruzzo "Centro Arti Visive – Visualize", AIACM (Associazione Italiana Arte e Cultura nel Mondo "L'Aquila Art Festival"), Associazione I Cavalieri del Venerdì Santo "Museo Laboratorio di Arte Sacra", Associazione Caratteri Fusi	• Competition for CCW opportunities in Rome and Pescara (at regional level) • Geographical isolation (multiple rural and remote contexts in the region)

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	"Sheep Parade", Associazione Gran Sasso Anno Zero "Casa della Montagna", Associazione 180 Amici "L'Aquila creativa", Teatri Riuniti d'Abruzzo "Arti e mestieri dello spettacolo", L'Aquila Danza "La Fabbrica dei sogni" e Associazione Culturale Ricordo) • Innovalley - Start-Up incubator that operates through Open Innovation programmes and supports initiatives that have a positive impact on the territory • Carlo De Marchis Foundation	
Sustaining CCW	• L'Aquila is an attractive destination for outdoor and religious tourism • Considerable development of tourist facilities, especially for winter sports • Developed metal, textile, wood and leather sectors • MAXXI L'Aquila • Large university population is beneficial in terms of generating increased demand for creative/cultural services • Osservatorio Culturale Urbano – the first cultural urban observatory in Italy launched by the Municipality of L'Aquila and the GSSI	• City devastation, loss of life and cultural/historic heritage caused by the 2009 earthquake • Small size of the city • Non-competitive wage and market access • Accessibility to Rome metropolitan area • Slow speed of the post-earthquake reconstruction process
Fostering CCW	• Efforts by the state, local authorities and communities as well as high-impact cultural actors to reconstruct the city following the 2009 earthquake • RESTART – a programme supporting private investments aimed at enhancing the attractiveness and tourist offer of the L'Aquila earthquake crater area • Ente Musicale Società Aquilana dei Concerti BONAVENTURA BARATTELLI • L'Aquila's bid for the 2022 Italian Capital of Culture (unsuccessful) facilitated the development of a new cultural strategy, which is currently being implemented • Creativity Incubator • L'Aquila has an integrated policy approach addressing the cultural and creative economy, enacted	• Lack of long-term cultural vision and leadership for culture in the municipality • Lack of funding for cultural projects in the municipality • Lack of labour unions • Lack of recognition of CCW as proper work among municipal and national leaders

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	through an active involvement of multi-level institutions (National, Regional, and Local level) and local stakeholders (Higher Education Institutions, voluntary sectors, and cultural institutions) • Heritage Arts Research Project (HARP) • Osservatorio Culturale Urbano	

8.9.10. Treviso

Table 8.11: The SCCW life cycle: enabling and inhibiting factors in Treviso

TREVISO	**Enabling functionings**	**Inhibiting constraints**
Early access	• Treviso Creativity Week • Gruppo Alcuni • Musicantus • Intergenerational value of culture with many young people attending theatre and music performances • Antonio Canova High School (Liceo classico) • Music Conservatoire (Agostino Steffani) • Fondazione Benetton	• Fewer creative/cultural facilities (e.g. museums, exhibition facilities, etc.) compared to other territories in Italy • Lack of strategic thinking about linking young audiences with museums and other institutionalised types of creativity/culture beyond visits through compulsory education
Creative skills	• Fabrica • H-Farm (H-Farm education campus) • Music Conservatoire (Agostino Steffani) • Opendreams • Musicantus • Satellite campuses of the University of Padua and Ca' Foscari University of Venice	• Higher education in Treviso is not very well developed, as the city hosts subsidiary branches of universities located in other cities and it has a reasonably small student population • Proximity to other major university towns (Padua and Venice) both reachable with short train journeys makes it less likely for the city to develop in this direction • Closure of two satellite campuses of Università Iuav di Venezia (IUAV) in 2015 due to funding cuts • Local creative/cultural institutions that lack resources and appeal to attract young people

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Early career	• Fabrica • H-Farm • Opendreams • Treviso Creativity Week • TRA Treviso Ricerca Arte Association • Fondazione Benetton	• Proximity to another more renowned creative and cultural city (Venice, Verona) • Disconnection between CCW and other renowned local industries
Sustaining CCW	• Fabrica • H-Farm • Opendreams • Developed textiles, clothing, and food sectors • Strong social capital and collaborative attitudes of local creative/cultural workers • TRA Treviso Ricerca Arte Association • Treviso CCIAA (Chamber of Commerce) • Fondazione Imago Mundi	• Outflow of highly skilled workers
Fostering CCW	• Fabrica • H-Farm • Opendreams • Treviso Creativity Week • "INN Veneto - Brains returning for the Veneto of the future - Social innovation projects" implemented by Veneto Region within the POR FESR 2014-2020. This initiative promotes the return of highly skilled workers and entrepreneurs who, after a period of stay abroad, want to work in social and cultural innovation projects in the region • TRA Treviso Ricerca Arte Association • Fondazione Francesco Fabbri • Fondazione Cassamarca • Fondazione Imago Mundi	• Public spending on the cultural and touristic attractiveness of Treviso (including European funds) is among the lowest in Italy • Main funds for CCW are linked to private investors that determine orientations and selection criteria

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Appendixes

Appendix A: DISCE methodology overview

Introduction

This appendix includes detailed information about the data collection processes and initial data analysis undertaken by DISCE consortia.

It builds on the DISCE case study framework that has been compiled from the deliverables D3.1, D4.1 and D5.1 (Gross et al. 2019). In the case study framework we set-up the DISCE approach and motivated the choice to undertake 10 regional case studies across Europe (in Northern Europe, the UK, Central, Eastern and Southern Europe) building on "the desire to understand complex social phenomena." (Yin 2014: 4) . We also provide extensive details about the motivation behind the case studies choice. Ten, small-scale European cities with populations of between 100-150,0000 were selected as case studies with a series of research methods undertaken to explore the overarching DISCE research question:

What are inclusive and sustainable creative economies and how can they be developed?

Building on the case study research framework and ecological thinking (De Bernard et al. 2021; we approach each case study via the need to investigate across scales (Comunian, 2019) from micro (individuals) to meso (organisation and interconnecting structures) and macro (the broader policy frameworks and contexts).

Going in reverse order, the macro level of analysis led by Work Package 2 explored macro-level interactions and outputs – specifically, creative economy manifestations in terms of geographical ecosystems and the interactions between creative production and consumption, and the role of policy within these. At this level, we examined the overall profile of the city-region, in quantitative but also policy terms, providing an overview of the relevant data and policy literature presented in a series of regional case studies that summarised available information on local creative economies and their relationship with the DISCE approach (see Regional Case Studies, 2022). The meso level enabled an exploration of the organisations, institutions and infrastructure at the city level that brought actors within the creative/cultural ecology together and at the micro-level we were able to focus on individuals: creative and cultural workers, freelancers and entrepreneurs, aspiring creatives, students, graduates, as well as individuals that contribute to the local creative economies in a multitude of ways, these have been the focus of WP3, WP4 and WP5. WP3, WP4 and WP5 adopted other methods and collected other data alongside the main case study framework shared here. These are explained in further details within each WP deliverables.

In terms of actual research methods deployed, the initial fieldwork visits which took place in the pilot city of Enschede, The Netherlands from October 2019 – February 2020 included a series of four Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) workshops (see Hargreaves and Hartley 2016) with citizens from across Enschede cultural ecosystem. The ABCD workshops were held across three different locations in the city, one being the Saxion University located in the city centre, one in an Assyrian Cultural Centre located in a South-West suburb of the city and one in an Artists co-working foundation and exhibition space located in a former

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textile mill in the South-east part of the city. Each event attracted different communities that contributed to Enschede's creative economy, from policy makers and academics, artists, cultural producers and migrant workers from Syria, Turkey and Iraq. Alongside the ABCD workshops we held 35 interviews with a range of stakeholders some of whom had attended the workshop and some that we met for the first time. In total, we engaged with 94 participants from the city of Enschede in The Netherlands.

In March 2020, the outbreak of the Covid-19 virus and subsequent pandemic interrupted the research approach. At this point it was necessary to pivot to a digital approach to data collection and all subsequent research activities were conducted online.

Building on Gross et al. 2019, this appendix details the steps undertaken in the initial data collection and analysis. It is structured in 3 parts which outline the collaborative stages of qualitative data collection undertaken by DISCE Researchers from across the consortium. Firstly, we discuss how data collection and preparation took place across the case studies; secondly, how data was prepared and coded for analysis. Finally, we direct readers to each WP deliverable to consider how the data were used by each specific WP.

Phase 1: data collection and preparation

SAMPLING AND FIELDWORK

Building on the plans outlined in Gross et al. (2019) and with the awareness of the importance of adopting an inclusive approach, DISCE researchers paid attention in mapping the local creative ecology of each case study from the bottom-up with a commitment to inviting a broad range of participants associated with the creative economy, from creative and cultural producers and representatives from cultural institutions alongside participants from various charities, training bodies, volunteers, educational establishments. We invited workshop participants (for Enschede, Liepāja and Pori) and interviewees to recommend other people or organizations for the study. Hence, snowballing is an important technique for identifying the research participants (Neergaard, 2007) and it will be prioritized over the sectoral coverage, for example. However, given the goal is to develop a holistic understanding of each ecology, the DISCE Consortium applies a heuristic checklist for including the multiple voices from within each ecology. In particular, following shared guidelines developed in Gross et al. (2019, p. 23) we made sure recruitment included a minimum of representation across these broader categories in each city:

- Policy makers (1 to 3 individuals)
- Network / community managers (1 to 3 individuals)
- Companies (10 to 16 individuals)
- HE providers (1 to 3 individuals)
- Creative worker or recent creative graduate (20 to 30 individuals)
- Volunteer and community groups (16 to 20 individuals)

In addition to checking that the various categories will be covered in each case study, interviewees in each category are selected to represent maximum diversity (Neergaard, 2007). This means that for example business representatives will be selected not to represent only one industry but the variety within the ecology. On the other hand, given our approach of bottom-up mapping of the ecologies, it does not make sense to specify a-priori the industries that the business representatives need to represent.

Altogether, we conducted 280 interviews for the DISCE. Some interviews had multiple participants i.e. two or three persons were interviewed at the same time resulting into a total number of 290 interviewed

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individuals. The Table 1 below summarises the overall number of participants in each case studies articulated across the categories highlighted above. Moreover, many interviewees were involved in multiple activities at the same time reflecting portfolio careers which are typical in cultural and creative sectors (see e.g. Ball et al., 2010; Eikhof, 2013; Hennekam & Bennett, 2016). For example, a person was simultaneously a business owner and an employed worker, or a student and a volunteer, or a creative worker and a representative of a company, and the interview covered his or her multiple roles. This portfolio nature of work greatly enriched our data collection and resulted into a total number of 533 roles across the six categories (see the last row of Table 1).

Table 0.1: Interview participants in each case study locations

	Policy maker	Network/community manager	Company	Higher education provider	Creative worker or recent creative graduate	Volunteer and community groups	TOTAL
Chatham	1	2	16	4	5	3	31
Dundee	2	0	16	2	7	3	30
Enschede	3	4	16	2	9	1	35
L'Aquila	2	2	12	1	9	0	26
Leuven	1	5	9	2	8	2	27
Liepāja	1	2	11	2	9	1	26
Lund	1	3	14	2	6	0	26
Pécs	0	3	11	2	9	0	25
Pori	1	3	19	3	10	3	39
Treviso	1	1	12	1	10	0	25
TOTAL (individuals)	**13**	**24**	**135**	**21**	**82**	**14**	**290**
TOTAL (roles)	**21**	**57**	**197**	**48**	**175**	**35**	**534**

Note to the table: 'Network/community manager' category includes venues for cultural life (e.g. cultural centres) and various public or private 'umbrella' organisations (e.g. national or international sectoral associations); 'Company' category includes private companies as well as cultural and creative institutions (e.g. museums and theatres); 'Creative worker or recent creative graduate' category includes also students, and the number of freelancers/entrepreneurs is divided equally between 'companies' and 'creative workers' based on the rationale that many of them are one-person businesses; 'Volunteer and community groups' category includes volunteers as well as participants representing civil society (e.g. members of a local ethnic community). The regional breakdown of participants is based on their primary role (e.g. a policy maker who is also a part-time entrepreneur is categorised here as a policy maker). The multiple roles each participant may have had is acknowledged in the 'TOTAL (roles)' in which Interviewees were categorized based on all their roles across the six categories. An average, each individual had just under two work roles.

The DISCE-approach included co-creation activities with a variety of stakeholders throughout the project. To this end we organised various workshops at different project stages. ABCD and Visioning workshops focused on mapping a range of assets a community has (Gross et al., 2019) in a total of ten events in Enschede (five events), Liepāja (two events) and Pori (three events) regions between October 2019 and May 2021. Co-creation Labs were aimed at facilitating and observing interaction between creative professionals (DISCE, 2019) in three events in Dresden, Timisoara and Bratislava (one in each) between May 2019 and September 2021. Policy workshops were organized to test and validate our preliminary research findings in each of the ten case study regions between November 2021 and January 2022. The DISCE workshops were organised onsite until the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, which resulted into online meetings and in one instance to a hybrid format. The breakdown of workshops across different categories of participants is presented in the Table 2.

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Table 0.2: Workshop participants in each case study location

	Policy maker	Network/community manager[1]	Company[2]	HE provider	Creative worker or recent creative graduate[3]	Volunteer and community groups[4]	SUM
ABCD & Visioning workshops	28	1	31	13	31	27	131
Co-creation labs			7		8	69	84
Policy workshops	7	8	17	6	15	2	55

Note to the table: participant categories are described in more detail in the Table 1. 'ABCD and Visioning workshops' includes participants from five workshops in Enschede, three in Pori and two in Liepāja. 'Co-creation Labs' includes participants from workshops in three location: Dresden, Timisoara and Bratislava (one in each). 'Policy workshops' includes participants from all the ten DISCE case study locations (one in each). All DISCE workshops were organised between May 2019 and January 2022, either onsite, online or in a hybrid format.

OVERVIEW PARTICIPANTS' DATA

In total, the DISCE research project interviewed 290 individuals across the ten case study locations. Slightly over half (55%) of the interviewees were Fs, but the gender ratio varied across the locations so that Fs were in clear majority in Liepāja and Chatham and Ms in Enschede (see Table 3). The age range of interviewees formed a bell-shaped curve, the peak being those in their 40s. Again, there were regional differences in the distribution so that youngest participants were from Liepāja and oldest from Chatham.

Table 0.3: Interview participant demographics across the ten case study locations (%, n=290)

	Gender (%)			Age groups (%)					
Case region	F	M	Sum	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 or over	Sum
Chatham	71	29	100	3	10	32	32	23	100
Dundee	63	37	100	3	17	33	27	20	100
Enschede	40	60	100	27	14	14	41	5	100
L'Aquila	50	50	100	8	27	35	19	12	100
Leuven	44	56	100	22	30	26	22	0	100
Liepāja	72	28	100	32	32	20	4	12	100
Lund	54	46	100	15	23	23	27	12	100
Pécs	48	52	100	16	36	32	8	8	100
Pori	56	44	100	6	28	39	19	8	100
Treviso	48	52	100	12	24	28	28	8	100
TOTAL	55	45	100	13	24	29	23	11	100

Following the aims of the DISCE project, we reached out for a large variety of different types of stakeholders. This inclusiveness was reinforced by the fact that portfolio careers are common in cultural and creative sectors (see e.g. Ball et al., 2010; Eikhof, 2013; Hennekam & Bennett, 2016). Consequently, individuals in our data were typically involved in several work activities at the same time. The largest groups of interviewees

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were those representing a company or cultural institution, or those being creative workers or graduates (or both), while policy makers constituted the smallest participant group (see Table 4). There were some regional differences, for example Dundee had the largest share of those who were interviewed in their capacity as a company or a cultural institution representative, whereas creative workers had a dominant role in Lund. Moreover, network managers had a relatively large share among interviewees in L'Aguila and higher education institutions in Pécs.

Table 0.4: Interview participant types (multiple types per person possible) across the ten case study locations (%, n=534)

	Policy maker	Network/ community manager	Company or cultural institution	HE provider	Creative worker or recent creative graduate	Volunteer and community groups	SUM
Chatham	4	10	39	10	27	10	100
Dundee	4	2	48	13	24	9	100
Enschede	7	13	36	6	34	4	100
L'Aquila	8	22	37	12	19	2	100
Leuven	2	16	36	4	37	5	100
Liepāja	2	8	33	14	33	10	100
Lund	2	5	32	4	46	11	100
Pécs	0	7	36	18	37	2	100
Pori	3	9	34	8	38	8	100
Treviso	7	14	39	5	33	2	100
TOTAL	4	11	37	9	33	6	100

Reflecting the inclusiveness of the DISCE project, we interviewed people from a rich array of cultural and creative sectors. Based on the UNCTAD's (2008) classification, our data include participants from all the eight major fields so that creative services and performing arts were the most common ones (see Table 5). The distribution of interviewees varied by the region, for example creative services had a largest representation in Liepāja, whereas visual arts were most common in Dundee and performing arts in Lund.

Table 0.5: Interview participant sectors (multiple sectors per person possible) across the ten case study locations (%, n=400)

	Audio visuals	Creative services	Cultural heritage	Design	New media	Perform ing arts	Printed media	Visual arts	SUM
Chatham	9	31	12	6	3	24	3	12	100
Dundee	12	0	4	20	8	20	0	36	100
Enschede	4	37	10	6	14	19	2	8	100
L'Aquila	8	11	17	9	6	19	11	19	100
Leuven	5	32	2	5	10	27	2	17	100
Liepāja	2	42	9	14	5	14	7	7	100
Lund	4	28	14	4	4	28	4	14	100
Pécs	10	32	8	13	0	10	5	22	100
Pori	10	19	21	9	3	21	0	17	100
Treviso	14	8	27	13	3	22	0	13	100
TOTAL	8	25	13	9	6	20	3	16	100

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Table 6 summarises – maintaining anonymity – the key characteristics of the individual interviewees across all the case study locations. The information includes citation code, region, age, gender, occupation, participant type and sector. Participant type is slightly more accurate in this table in comparison to the other tables in this subchapter as cultural institutions (labelled 'other organisation'), students / recent graduates and freelancers/self-employed are identified separately before merging them to broader categories for the other tables.

Table 0.6: Interview participant characteristics (n=289)

Case region	Citation code	Age	Gender	Occupation or job title	Participant type	Sector (adopted from UNCTAD 2008)
Northern Europe						
Lund	LU1F20s	20s	F	Student	Creative worker (employee), volunteer & community groups, student / recent graduate	Cultural heritage, visual arts
Lund	LU2M60s	60s	M	Managing director	Other organisation, creative worker (employee)	Performing arts
Lund	LU3F40s	40s	F	Unit manager	Educational institution, creative worker (employee)	Performing arts
Lund	LU4F50s	50s	F	Freelancer (co-owner of two companies, fully owns yet another company)	Company, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services
Lund	LU5M30s	30s	M	Community & communications manager	Network/ community, creative worker (employee)	Creative services
Lund	LU6F40s	40s	F	Curator	Other organisation, creative worker (employee)	Visual arts
Lund	LU7M60s	60s	M	Owner	Company, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Printed media
Lund	LU8M20s	20s	M	Policymaker (vice-chairman of the board)	Policy maker	Cultural heritage
Lund	LU9M40s	40s	M	Museum director	Other organisation, creative worker (employee)	Cultural heritage
Lund	LU10F20s	20s	F	Station manager	Other organisation, creative worker (employee), volunteer & community groups, student / recent graduate	Audiovisuals
Lund	LU11M30s	30s	M	Promoter	Other organisation, creative worker (employee)	Performing arts
Lund	LU12M40s	40s	M	Architect & owner	Company, creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services
Lund	LU13F40s	40s	F	Managing director	Company, creative worker (employee)	Performing arts
Lund	LU14F50s	50s	F	Project manager, entrepreneur	Other organisation, creative worker (employee)	Creative services
Lund	LU15F30s	30s	F	Network/community manager/coordinator, freelancer	Network/ community, creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Performing arts
Lund	LU16M60s	69	M	Researcher, photographer	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Visual arts
Lund	LU17M30s	30s	M	Producer	Other organisation, creative worker (employee)	Performing arts
Lund	LU18F30s	30s	F	Festival director	Other organisation, creative worker (employee), volunteer & community groups	Performing arts

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Lund	LU19M50s	50s	M	Incubator director, freelance composer, musician, project manager, a workshop leader)	Network/ community, Creative worker (employee)	Creative services
Lund	LU20F50s	50s	F	Graphic designer, self-employed, owner-manager	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Design
Lund	LU21F20s	20s	F	Student, executive director	Other organisation, creative worker (employee), volunteer & community groups, student / recent graduate	Creative services
Lund	LU22F50s	50s	F	Potterist, self-employed, owner-manager	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, cultural heritage
Lund	LU23F50s	50s	F	Film maker, vr-artist, self-employed, owner-manager of two companies	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	New media
Lund	LU24F50s	50s	F	Art teacher (employed); painter & illustrator (self-employed, owns a company)	Creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, volunteer & community groups	Visual arts
Lund	LU25M40s	40s	M	Academic advisor, communication officer, doctoral student	Educational institution, creative worker (employee)	Creative services
Lund	LU26M30s	30s	M	Performance artist, self-employed (owns a company)	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, volunteer & community groups	Performing arts
Pori	PO1M30s	30s	M	Customer service assistant	Other organisation, creative worker (employee)	Cultural heritage
Pori	PO2F40s	40s	F	Coordinator	Other organisation	
Pori	PO3F40s, PO3F40s	40s, 40s	Fs	Head of cultural center	Creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services
Pori	PO4F40s	40s	F	Freelancer, creative worker, project coordinator	Network/ community, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, new media
Pori	PO5M70s	70s	M	An artist, retired teacher	Educational institution, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Visual arts
Pori	PO6F40s	40s	F	An artisan, entrepreneur (yarn manufactory)	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Design, visual arts
Pori	PO7M40s	40s	M	Cultural producer in free and public sector (events, films)	Network/ community, creative worker (employee), volunteer & community groups	Audiovisuals, creative services, performing arts
Pori	PO8F40s	40s	F	Director	Creative worker (employee)	Performing arts
Pori	PO9F40s	40s	F	Freelancer, director of cultural community	Network/ community, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services
Pori	PO10M30s	30s	M	Cultural manager	Policy maker	
Pori	PO11M30s	30s	M	Project coordinator, creative worker	Network/ community, educational institution, creative worker (employee)	Audiovisuals
Pori	PO12M40s	40s	M	An artist, musician	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Audiovisuals, performing arts
Pori	PO13F50s	50s	F	General manager	Creative worker (employee)	Performing arts
Pori	PO14F50s	50s	F	Key account manager	Company	Cultural heritage
Pori	PO15M50s, PO15M40s, PO15F30s	50s, 40s, 30s	M, M, F	Team leader, lecturer/project mgr, student	Educational institution, student / recent graduate	Visual arts

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Pori	PO16M40s	40s	M	Media instructor, self-employed film maker	Other organisation, creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Audiovisuals, performing arts
Pori	PO17M50s	50s	M	Museum director	Policy maker, other organisation	Cultural heritage
Pori	PO18F30s	30s	F	Museum assistant (collections), museum director's substitute	Other organisation	Cultural heritage
Pori	PO19F50s	50s	F	Specialist in tourism	Other organisation	
Pori	PO20F50s	50s	F	Curator	Creative worker (employee)	Cultural heritage
Pori	PO21F20s	20s	F	Student in cultural production and landscape studies, oriented in game industry	Student / recent graduate	New media
Pori	PO22F30s	30s	F	Librarian, poet	Other organisation, creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, cultural heritage, performing arts
Pori	PO23F30s	30s	F	Graphic designer, entrepreneur	Company, creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, design, visual arts
Pori	PO24F40s, PO24F50s	40s,50s	Fs	Av: museum director; mrs: intendant	Other organisation, creative worker (employee)	Audiovisuals, creative services, cultural heritage, performing arts, visual arts
Pori	PO25M40s	40s	M	Poet	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Performing arts
Pori	PO26M30s	30s	M	Creative worker, independent researcher	Network/ community, creative worker (employee), volunteer & community groups	Creative services, cultural heritage
Pori	PO27M40s	40s	M	Founder and promoter of a festival	Company, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, performing arts
Pori	PO28F30s	30s	F	Scenographer (theater); graphic designer	Creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Design, visual arts
Pori	PO29M30s	30s	M	Bartender / an artist, rapper	Other organisation, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Performing arts
Pori	PO30F30s	30s	F	Self-employed graphic designer	Company	Design
Pori	PO31F20s	20s	F	Shoe designer, self-employed	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, student / recent graduate	Design
Pori	PO32M60s,PO32M70s, PO32F30s	60s, 70s, 50s	M, M, F	Volunteer, volunteer, representative of the museum	Volunteer & community groups	Cultural heritage
Pori	PO33M40s	40s	M	Community, artist	Network/ community, creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Performing arts, visual arts
UK						
Chatham	CH1F40s	40s	F	Musician, songwriter, university lecturer	Educational institution, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Performing arts
Chatham	CH2F40s	40s	F	Dancer, examiner for IDTA, runs a dance school	Company, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Performing arts
Chatham	CH3F50s	50s	F	Co-chair	Network/ community, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Cultural heritage

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Chatham	CH4M40s	40s	M	Chief Executive Officer	Company, Creative worker (employee)	Creative services
Chatham	CH5F50s	50s	F	Programme Manager	Policy maker, Company, Creative worker (employee)	Performing arts
Chatham	CH6F40s	40s	F	Project Director	Policy maker, Other organisation, Creative worker (employee), Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	
Chatham	CH7F50s	50s	F	Theatre designer / lecturer / advocate	Network/ community, Educational institution, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Design, Performing arts
Chatham	CH8M10s	<20	M	Student / volunteer	Network/ community, Volunteer & community groups, Student / Recent graduate	
Chatham	CH9F30s	30s	F	Arts manager / director	Network/ community, Company, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services
Chatham	CH10F60s	60s	F	Electrologist / volunteer	Network/ community, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, Volunteer & community groups	Creative services
Chatham	CH11F50s	50s	F	Artist	Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Audiovisuals, Performing arts, Visual arts
Chatham	CH12M40s	40s	M	Fashion Designer	Company, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Design
Chatham	CH13F60s	60s	F	Professor of Contemporary Art and Photography	Educational institution	Visual arts
Chatham	CH14M50s	50s	M	Deputy Chief Executive Officer	Company, Creative worker (employee)	Audiovisuals, New media
Chatham	CH15F60s	60s	F	Director of Culture	Educational institution	
Chatham	CH16F60s	60s	F	Director	Company, Other organisation, Creative worker (employee)	Creative services
Chatham	CH17F40s	40s	F	Director of Education	Educational institution, Other organisation	
Chatham	CH18F50s	50s	F	Artistic Director	Company, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Audiovisuals
Chatham	CH19F40s	40s	F	Theatre Director	Company, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Performing arts
Chatham	CH20F30s	30s	F	Creative Practitioner, Founder	Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services
Chatham	CH21M40s	40s	M	Head of Culture and Libraries	Policy maker	
Chatham	CH22M60s	60s	M	Head of Heritage, Learning & Outreach	Company, Creative worker (employee)	Cultural heritage
Chatham	CH23M60s	60s	M	Lecturer, Director of Employability, music practitioner / consultant	Educational institution, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Performing arts
Chatham	CH24M50s	50s	M	Events producer, DJ, local historian & tour guide	Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, Volunteer & community groups	Creative services, Cultural heritage
Chatham	CH25F40s	40s	F	Freelance researcher & strategy consultant	Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services
Chatham	CH26F30s	30s	F	Independent Artist	Network/ community, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, Printed media
Chatham	CH27F50s	50s	F	Creative Director	Company, Educational institution, Creative worker (employee)	Performing arts

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Chatham	CH28M40s	40s	M	Co-Ordinator	Network/ community, Other organisation, Creative worker (employee), Volunteer & community groups	
Chatham	CH29F60s	60s	F	Co-chair	Network/ community, Other organisation, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, Volunteer & community groups	Cultural heritage
Chatham	CH30F50s	50s	F	Independent Artist	Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, Volunteer & community groups	Creative services, Visual arts
Chatham	CH31F50s	50s	F	Printmaker/Director	Company, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, Visual arts
Dundee	DU1F50s	50s	F	Creative Practitioner	Company	Performing arts
Dundee	DU2M40s	40s	M	Creative Arts Lead	Other organisation	
Dundee	DU3M40s	40s	M	Manager	Company	Performing arts
Dundee	DU4M60s	60s	M	Voluntary Community Organiser	Network/ community, Volunteer & community groups	Cultural heritage
Dundee	DU5F30s	30s	F	Project Manager	Other organisation	Design
Dundee	DU6F60s	60s	F	Head of Print Studio	Company, Creative worker (employee)	Visual arts
Dundee	DU7F40s	40s	F	Director	Company	Visual arts
Dundee	DU8M30s	30s	M	Head of Centre for Entrepreneurship	Educational institution, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Audiovisuals, New media
Dundee	DU9M20s	20s	M	Artist	Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, Student / Recent graduate	Visual arts
Dundee	DU10M50s	50s	M	Technology Entrepreneur	Company	Audiovisuals, New media
Dundee	DU11F40s	40s	F	Principal Events Officer	Policy maker	
Dundee	DU12F40s	40s	F	Student and Artist	Student / Recent graduate	Visual arts
Dundee	DU13F30s	30s	F	Lecturer, Artist, Curator, Festival Founder	Educational institution, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Visual arts
Dundee	DU14F40s	40s	F	Manager	Other organisation, Volunteer & community groups	
Dundee	DU15F70s	70s	F	Retired - Ex Deputy Principle	Educational institution	
Dundee	DU16F40s	40s	F	Director	Other organisation	
Dundee	DU17M50s	50s	M	Dean of Design & Informatics, Professor of Applied Creativity	Educational institution	Design
Dundee	DU18F40s	40s	F	Social entrepreneur	Other organisation, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, Volunteer & community groups	
Dundee	DU19F50s	50s	F	Artist, curator, educator	Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Visual arts

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Dundee	DU20M40s	40s	M	Executive Director and Joint CEO	Company, Volunteer & community groups	Performing arts
Dundee	DU21F30s	30s	F	Designer	Educational institution, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Design
Dundee	DU22F50s	50s	F	Artist and educator	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Visual arts
Dundee	DU23M60s	60s	M	Runs a Service Design and Innovation company	Educational institution, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Design
Dundee	DU24F60s	60s	F	Artists and sculpturer	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Visual arts
Dundee	DU25M30s	30s	M	Runs a design agency	Company, creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Design
Dundee	DU26F50s	50s	F	Project Manager	Other organisation	
Dundee	DU27F50s	50s	F	Story Engineer	Company, Other organisation, Creative worker (employee), Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Audiovisuals, Performing arts
Dundee	DU28F50s	50s	F	Head of Print Studio	Company, Creative worker (employee)	Visual arts
Dundee	DU29F40s	40s	F	Music Teacher and Musician	Company, Creative worker (employee)	Performing arts
Dundee	DU30M60s	60s	M	Director (retired) of leisure and culture	Policy maker	
Central Europe						
Enschede	EN1M20s	20s	M	Freelancer	Company, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	New media
Enschede	EN2M20s	20s	M	Co-founder, director of communications (bachelor's degree in creative technology)	Company, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	New media
Enschede	EN4F40s	40s	F	Account manager	Policy maker	Creative services
Enschede	EN5M30s	30s	M	City poet, marketing professional, communications studies	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Printed media
Enschede	EN6F20s	20s	F	Quality engineer; master's degree in philosophy of science, technology and society	Student / recent graduate	New media
Enschede	EN7M50s	50s	M	Museum director	Other organisation, creative worker (employee)	Cultural heritage
Enschede	EN8M20s	20s	M	Musician	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Performing arts
Enschede	EN9F30s	30s	F	Fashion and textile designer	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Design
Enschede	EN10M40s	40s	M	Strategic development (online), visionaire	Company	Creative services
Enschede	EN11M		M	Founder	Company	Creative services
Enschede	EN12F50s	50s	F	Visual artist and storyteller, student	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner,	Audiovisuals, cultural heritage,

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					volunteer & community groups, student / recent graduate	performing arts, visual arts
Enschede	EN13M30s	30s	M	Chairman, electronic artist, performer	Company, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, new media, performing arts,
Enschede	EN14M70s	70s	M	Project initiator	Other organisation	Creative services, performing arts
Enschede	EN15F20s	20s	F	Artist, printmaker, works for two foundations	Network/ community, creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services
Enschede	EN16M		M, F		Other organisation	Creative services
Enschede	EN17M50s	50s	M	Director	Educational institution	Design, visual arts
Enschede	EN18M		M	Co-Founder	Company, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	New media
Enschede	EN19M		M	Director of city marketing	Policy maker	Creative services
Enschede	EN20M40s	40s	M	Multiple.	Network/ community, creative worker (employee)	Cultural heritage
Enschede	EN21F		F, F	Entrepreneurs, start-up programme for immigrants, community manager for a community of entrepreneurs, inter-cultural NGO	Creative worker (employee), Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services
Enschede	EN22F		F	Culture coach (coaching e.g theatre and music groups)	Creative worker (employee)	Creative services
Enschede	EN23M50s	50s	M	Director	Network/ community, creative worker (employee)	Audiovisuals, creative services, performing arts, visual arts
Enschede	EN24M20s	20s	M, M		Network/ community, creative worker (employee), student / recent graduate	Creative services
Enschede	EN25F50s	50s	F	Local government advisor	Policy maker	Cultural heritage
Enschede	EN26M50s	50s	M	Creative worker	Educational institution, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, design
Enschede	EN27F		F	Lecturer	Educational institution	New media
Enschede	EN28M50s	50s	M	Family social worker	Network/ community, volunteer & community groups	Creative services, performing arts
Enschede	EN29M50s	50s	M	Musician	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Performing arts
Enschede	EN30F		F	Musician	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Performing arts
Enschede	EN31M		M	City programmer	Network/ community, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, performing arts
Enschede	EN32F		F	Entrepreneur, civil cervant	Policy maker, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, cultural heritage, new media
Enschede	EN33F50s	50	F	Director	Other organisation	Visual arts
Leuven	LE1F40s	40s	F	Managing director	Company, Creative worker (employee)	New media

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Leuven	LE2F30s	30s	F	Artist (painter, photographer)	Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Visual arts
Leuven	LE3M40s	40s	M	Managing director	Network/ community, company, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, new media
Leuven	LE4M40s	40s	M	Entrepreneur; managing director	Network/ community, Company, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services
Leuven	LE5M30s	30s	M	Entrepreneur	Company, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services
Leuven	LE6M30s	30s	M	Bartender; self-employed	Network/ community, Other organisation, Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, Volunteer & community groups	Audiovisuals, Creative services, New media, Performing arts
Leuven	LE7M40s	40s	M	Communication manager	Network/ community, Other organisation, Creative worker (employee)	Creative services, Performing arts
Leuven	LE8M40s	40s	M	Furniture designer, university teacher	Creative worker (employee), Freelancer / Self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Design
Leuven	LE9F30s	30s	F	Manager	Network/ community, Company	Creative services, Visual arts
Leuven	LE10F50s	50s	F	Volunteer at theatre, community activist	Volunteer & community groups	Creative services, performing arts
Leuven	LE11F30s	30s	F	Expert in dialogue, diversity and immaterial heritage	Network/ community, other organisation, creative worker (employee), student / recent graduate	Creative services, cultural heritage
Leuven	LE12F20s	20s	F	Coordinator, freelance curator	Network/ community, other organisation, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, visual arts
Leuven	LE13M30s	30s	M	Owner	Company	Creative services, design
Leuven	LE14M30s	30s	M	Artist	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, student / recent graduate	Performing arts, visual arts
Leuven	LE15M50s	50s	M	Lawyer, company owner	Company, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Audiovisuals
Leuven	LE16M50s	50s	M	Runs a music venue	Network/ community, creative worker (employee)	Performing arts
Leuven	LE17F50s	50s	F	Professor	Educational institution	
Leuven	LE18M40s	40s	M	Company owner	Company	Creative services
Leuven	LE19F30s	30s	F	Creative industries expert, dramaturg	Policy maker, company, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, performing arts
Leuven	LE20M40s	40s	M	Work for a social profit organization that provides art courses for adults	Other organisation, creative worker (employee)	Performing arts, visual arts
Leuven	LE21M50s	50s	M	Runs an art studio	Network/ community, creative worker (employee)	Visual arts
Leuven	LE22F20s	20s	F	Musician	Creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, student / recent graduate	Performing arts
Leuven	LE23F50s	50s	F	Professor	Educational institution	New media, visual arts

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Leuven	LE24F20s	20s	F	Actress	Volunteer & community groups	Performing arts
Leuven	LE25M20s	20s	M	Journalist	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, student / recent graduate	Performing arts, printed media
Leuven	LE26M20s	20s	M	Musician	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, student / recent graduate	Performing arts
Leuven	LE27F20s	20s	F	Student	Student / recent graduate	Creative services
Eastern Europe						
Liepāja	LI1F60s	60s	F	Public administration specialist	Policy maker, network/ community, volunteer & community groups	
Liepāja	LI2M20s	20s	M	Director	Network/ community	Creative services
Liepāja	LI3M30s	30s	M	Director	Company	Creative services
Liepāja	LI4F30s	30s	F	Board member	Other organisation	Performing arts
Liepāja	LI5M50s	50s	M	Light artist	Company, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Design, performing arts
Liepāja	LI6F40s	40s	F	Artistic director	Company	Performing arts
Liepāja	LI7F20s	20s	F	Product designer and teacher	Educational institution, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Design, visual arts
Liepāja	LI8F40s	40s	F	Writer, teacher, pr specialist, volunteer	Educational institution, creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, volunteer & community groups, student / recent graduate	Creative services, printed media
Liepāja	LI9F40s	40s	F	Singer-songwriter, culture event director and moderator, director of a foundation	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, volunteer & community groups	Creative services, performing arts, printed media
Liepāja	LI10F20s	20s	F	Pr specialist, museum educator	Other organisation, creative worker (employee)	Creative services, cultural heritage
Liepāja	LI11M30s	30s	M	Director	Company	Creative services
Liepāja	LI12M30s	30s	M	Event manager, producer	Company	Creative services
Liepāja	LI13M30s	30s	M	Musician, culture event manager	Network/ community, other organisation	Audiovisuals, creative services, performing arts
Liepāja	LI14F40s	40s, 40s	F, F	Co-founder, Co-founder	Network/ community, company	Creative services
Liepāja	LI15F40s	40s	F	Co-owner	Company	Creative services, cultural heritage
Liepāja	LI16F20s	20s	F	Youth mentor, client and communications manager	Creative worker (employee), volunteer & community groups, student / recent graduate	Creative services, cultural heritage
Liepāja	LI17M30s	30s	M	Career consultant, project manager	Educational institution	Creative services, design, performing arts, visual arts
Liepāja	LI18F30s	30s	F	Head of creative lab, director of a bachelor's degree program	Educational institution	New media

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Liepāja	LI19F70s	70s	F	Teacher/tour guide	Educational institution, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, cultural heritage
Liepāja	LI20F60s	60s	F	Theatre critic, lecturer, journalist	Educational institution, creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, printed media
Liepāja	LI21F30s	30s	F	Freelance event organizer, career consultant	Educational institution, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services
Liepāja	LI22F20s	20s	F	Ba student in functional design	Student / recent graduate	Design, visual arts
Liepāja	LI23F20s	20s	F	Ba student in culture management, attendant at concert hall, assistant	Creative worker (employee), volunteer & community groups, student / recent graduate	Creative services, design
Liepāja	LI24F20s	20s	F	Entrepreneur, student, designer	Company, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, student / recent graduate	Design, new media
Liepāja	LI25F10s	<20	F	High school student, social media manager	Creative worker (employee), student / recent graduate	Creative services
Pecs	PE1F50s	50s	F	Professor, head of department, entrepreneur	Company, educational institution	Creative services
Pecs	PE2M60s	60s	M	Professor, vice-dean, ceramist	Educational institution	Cultural heritage, visual arts
Pecs	PE3M30s	30s	M	Entrepreneur, fashion designer	Company	Design
Pecs	PE4F40s	40s	F	Representative of the chamber of commerce and industry	Network/ community	Creative services
Pecs	PE5M30s	30s	M	Photographer, entrepreneur	Company, educational institution	Audiovisuals, visual arts
Pecs	PE6F50s	50s	F	Entrepreneur, journalist, editor	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, printed media
Pecs	PE7M20s	20s	M	Cinematographer, tv editor	Creative worker (employee)	Audiovisuals
Pecs	PE8F40s	40s	F	Sculptor, lecturer	Educational institution, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Visual arts
Pecs	PE9F20s	20s	F	Tattoo artist	Creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Design, visual arts
Pecs	PE10F20s	20s	F	Student	Student / recent graduate	Visual arts
Pecs	PE11M40s	40s	M	Head of tourism association, entrepreneur	Network/ community	Creative services
Pecs	PE12M30s	30s	M	Light artist, paper art designer	Other organisation, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, design, performing arts
Pecs	PE13F40s	40s	F	CEO	Company	Creative services, visual arts
Pecs	PE14M30s	30s	M	Exhibition organizer at an art gallery	Educational institution, other organisation, creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services,cultural heritage, design, performing arts, visual arts
Pecs	PE15M30s	30s	M	Sculptor, teacher	Educational institution, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Visual arts
Pecs	PE16M30s	30s	M	Light and sound artist	Company, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Audiovisuals, creative services, performing arts

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Pecs	PE17F40s	40s	F	Entrepreneur, creative content creator	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services
Pecs	PE18M40s	40s	M	Tv and film producer, co-founder, general manager	Company	Audiovisuals
Pecs	PE19M30s	30s	M	Doctoral student, news editor	Educational institution, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, student / recent graduate	Creative services
Pecs	PE20M30s	30s	M	Musician, stage manager, student, social media manager	Company, educational institution, creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, student / recent graduate	Creative services, performing arts
Pecs	PE21F20s	20s	F	Ceramics artist	Creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, student / recent graduate	Cultural heritage, visual arts
Pecs	PE22F30s	30s	F	Manager	Network/ community, volunteer & community groups	Creative services
Pecs	PE23F40s	40s	F	Children book writer, poet	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Printed media
Pecs	PE24F60s	60s	F	CEO	Company	Design
Pecs	PE25M40s	40s	M	Freelancer, social media manager	Creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services
Southern Europe						
L'Aquila	LA1M40s	40s	M	Mayor	Policy maker	Cultural heritage
L'Aquila	LA2M50s	50s	M	Director	Policy maker, company, other organisation	Cultural heritage, performing arts
L'Aquila	LA3M40s	40s	M	Artist	Network/ community, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Audiovisuals, new media, performing arts, visual arts
L'Aquila	LA4M40s	40s	M	Artist	Other organisation, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Visual arts
L'Aquila	LA5M30s	30s	M	Writer	Network/ community, other organisation	Printed media
L'Aquila	LA6F40s	40s	F	Director	Educational institution, other organisation	New media, performing arts, visual arts
L'Aquila	LA7M50s	50s	M	Librarian	Company, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Printed media
L'Aquila	LA8F40s	40s	F	Curator	Network/ community, educational institution, other organisation	Cultural heritage, new media, performing arts, printed media, visual arts
L'Aquila	LA9M50s	50s	M	Artisan	Educational institution, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, visual arts
L'Aquila	LA10M40s	40s	M	Director	Network/ community, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Audiovisuals
L'Aquila	LA11M60s	60s	M	Artist	Network/ community, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Design, performing arts, visual arts
L'Aquila	LA12F20s	20s	F	Artist	Creative worker (employee), volunteer & community groups, student / recent graduate	Visual arts

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L'Aquila	LA13F40s	40s	F	Vice-director	Company	Performing arts
L'Aquila	LA14M30s	30s	M	Artist	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Visual arts
L'Aquila	LA15M50s	50s	M	Creative worker	Company, creative worker (employee)	Creative services, design
L'Aquila	LA16F30s	30s	F	Teacher/tour guide	Educational institution, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, cultural heritage
L'Aquila	LA17F40s	40s	F	Photographer	Network/ community, other organisation, creative worker (employee)	Audiovisuals, design
L'Aquila	LA18F30s	30s	F	Art historian	Network/ community, educational institution, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Cultural heritage
L'Aquila	LA19F50s	50s	F	Mayor	Policy maker	Creative services, cultural heritage
L'Aquila	LA20M60s	60s	M	Musician	Network/ community, other organisation	Performing arts
L'Aquila	LA21M30s	30s	M	Journalist	Network/ community, other organisation	Printed media
L'Aquila	LA22F30s	30s	F	Student	Student / recent graduate	Design
L'Aquila	LA23F40s	40s	F	Vice-president	Network/ community, other organisation	Audiovisuals, creative services, cultural heritage, printed media, visual arts
L'Aquila	LA24F60s	60s	F	Director	Policy maker, educational institution	Cultural heritage
L'Aquila	LA25F30s	30s	F	Musician	Network/ community, company	Performing arts
L'Aquila	LA26M20s	20s	M	Musician	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Performing arts
Treviso	TR1F40s	40s	F	Art historian	Other organisation, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Performing arts
Treviso	TR2M30s	30s	M	Entrepreneur	Policy maker, company	Cultural heritage
Treviso	TR3M20s	20s	M	Entrepreneur	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner, volunteer & community groups, student / recent graduate	Performing arts
Treviso	TR4F30s	30s	F	Musician	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Performing arts
Treviso	TR5M50s	50s	M	Musician	Network/ community, other organisation	Creative services, performing arts
Treviso	TR6M50s	50s	M	Creative worker	Company, creative worker (employee)	Audiovisuals, design
Treviso	TR7M60s	60s	M	President	Network/ community, company	Creative services, cultural heritage
Treviso	TR8F40s	40s	F	Artisan	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Design
Treviso	TR9M50s	50s	M	Entrepreneur	Policy maker, network/ community, other organisation	Cultural heritage, visual arts
Treviso	TR10M60s	60s	M	Designer	Company, creative worker (employee)	Design

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Treviso	TR11M50s	50s	M	Councellor	Policy maker	Cultural heritage
Treviso	TR12M40s	40s	M	Professor	Educational institution	Cultural heritage
Treviso	TR13M30s	30s	M	Photographer	Creative worker (employee), freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Audiovisuals
Treviso	TR14M40s	40s	M	Media manager	Company	Audiovisuals, design
Treviso	TR15M50s	50s	M	Artisan/entrepreneur	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	New media, visual arts
Treviso	TR16M30s	30s	M	Curator	Network/ community, company	Cultural heritage
Treviso	TR17F30s	30s	F	Curator	Network/ community, company, creative worker (employee)	Cultural heritage, performing arts, visual arts
Treviso	TR18F50s	50s	F	Creative worker	Company, creative worker (employee)	Audiovisuals, design
Treviso	TR19F30s	30s	F	Art historian	Other organisation, freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Cultural heritage
Treviso	TR20F50s	50s	F	Head of museum office	Network/ community, educational institution	Cultural heritage
Treviso	TR21F20s	20s	F	Student	Student / recent graduate	Performing arts
Treviso	TR22F40s	40s	F	Museum educator	Creative worker (employee), student / recent graduate	Cultural heritage
Treviso	TR23F40s	40s	F	Curator	Other organisation	Performing arts, visual arts
Treviso	TR24F40s	40s	F	Entrepreneur	Freelancer / self-employed / entrepreneur / business-owner	Creative services, performing arts
Treviso	TR25F20s	20s	F	Student	Student / recent graduate	Audiovisuals, visual arts

DATA COLLECTION AND FOLLOW-UP DATA PREPARATION

Data collection took place in each case studies over several months, to allow for snowballing and consideration of inclusivity as discussed above.

Overall interviews followed the 'Interview template' presented by Gross et al (2019, p.130) allowing for flexibility and openness as recommended in the case of semi-structured interviews (Galletta, 2013). Each interview was consequently verbatim transcribed by the local research team and in the case of interviews not undertaken in English a process of translation was adopted to allow for each researcher across the consortia to use the data. Transcriptions and translations were conducted either within the local research team or the team used external service providers. In the latter case, each transcription and translation was proofread by a member of a local research team.

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Table 0.7: Data processing steps and schedule

Research Team	Case study	Data Collection	Data Transcription	Data Translation
UTU	**Lund**	Jun – Nov 2020	Oct – Nov 2020	[English interviews]
UTU	**Pori**	May 2020 – Jan 2021	Oct 2020 – Jan 2021	March – May 2021
KCL	**Chatham**	Sept – Dec 2020	Jan – May 2021	[English interviews]
KCL	**Dundee**	May – Oct 2020	Jan – May 2021	[English interviews]
UTU,KCL, SSE Riga, GSSI	**Enschede**	Feb 2019 – Aug 2020	Oct – Nov 2020	[English interviews]
UTU,KCL, SSE Riga, GSSI	**Leuven**	Mar – Jun 2021	Apr – Jun 2021	[English interviews]
SSE Riga	**Liepāja**	Oct 2020 – May 2021	Nov 2020 – May 2021	March-May 2021
SSE Riga	**Pécs**	Nov 2020 – Mar 2021	Nov 2020 – Mar 2021	Jan – Jun 2021
GSSI	**L'Aquila**	Jun 2020 – Nov 2020	Jun 2020 – Nov 2020	Dec 2020 – Mar 2021
GSSI	**Treviso**	Jun 2020 – Dec 2020	Sep 2020 – Dec 2021	Dec 2020 – Mar 2021

Phase 2: initial data systematisation

CODES GENERATION PROCESS

The DISCE codebook was developed collaboratively with involvement of each of the four DISCE university partners: University of Turku, King's College London, Stockholm School of Economics in Riga, and the Gran Sasso Scientific Institute. The process involved the following stages:

1) Members of the research teams from each of the partner universities made initial proposals of codes to include in the codebook. These initial code suggestions drew on:

- The research questions for each work package
- The literature reviews for each work package
- Initial insights from and discussion of the Enschede (pilot case study) data

2) The research teams annotated the initial set of proposed codes. This served to identify:

- Codes that needed to be added to the codebook
- Codes that could be combined, and codes that needed to be separated into two
- Codes that were unclear

3) A further round of code suggestions was made by each university partner. At this stage, additional information was added to the codebook, with more detailed description and possible 'sub codes' added for each of the codes.

4) On the basis of this updated codebook, a team of researchers from all partner Universities then undertook an exploratory coding exercise with one interview transcript, using the ATLAS.ti qualitative data analysis software. The researchers then met to discuss their experiences of applying the codebook to the interview transcript.

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Discussions covered a range of topics including whether the codebook covered all the codes it needed to, and the range of ways in which different researchers applied the codes to the transcript. (For example, there were variations in the length of quotations that different researchers typically coded, and variations in the extent to which different researchers applied multiple codes to a single piece of text.) Drawing together some of these conversations, one member of the research team drafted a document providing guidelines / reminders for how to make use of the codebook. This document was later added to by another member of the research team, incorporating subsequent suggestions.

5) Following those discussions, two further steps were taken. Firstly, one more round of testing the codebook – applying it to interview transcript extracts (again, using the ATLAS.ti software). This was undertaken with the same purpose as the previous round of exploratory coding: to enable the researchers to compare their experiences of applying the codebook to a transcript, testing whether the codebook contained the codes we needed it to, and identifying any points for discussion in terms of the practicalities of the coding process – such as the use of multiple codes on the same piece of text. Secondly, a further and final set of edits to the codebook was made, adding a new column in which researchers suggested potential 'clusters' of codes: indicating which codes are likely to often be used in conjunction with each other. The purpose of this was to support the research team to be actively thinking about the potential connections between different codes, helping to further clarify what is distinctive about each code, but also to recognise the ways in which quite often a single quotation will need to be marked with multiple codes.

6) The researchers met for a final codebook conversation. This was focused on the relationship between different codes, concluding the exercise described above: clustering codes together. This conversation rounded off the process of developing the codebook. The final version of the codebook contained 47 codes with short descriptions of each (see Table 1).

Table 0.8: DISCE Codebook

Code no	Code name	Description for the code
1	Accessibility	Any talk about accessibility to the creative and cultural sector (for example, linguistic, cognitive, physical); Includes talk about accessibility to career opportunities; accessibility as an audience member, customer, participant; and/or accessibility to particular spaces - e.g. for financial, physical, or psychological reasons.
2	Activism / political action	Any talk about being an activist/engaging in political action such as political protests / manifestations; Campaigning / changemaking; Art as a protest, etc. societal statements.
3	Aims, goals, aspirations (individual)	Any talk on i*ndividual / personal* aims, goals and aspirations (distinct from *organisational* aims, goals & aspirations); Any talk about indicators / measures of success / achievement of goals.
4	Aims, goals, aspirations (organisational)	Any talk on *organisational* aims, goals and aspirations (distinct from *individual / personal* aims & goals & aspirations); Any talk about indicators / measures of success / achievement of goals..
5	Audiences, customers, constituencies, participants	Any talk on the people that matter to the organisation / individual in doing what they do; Any talk about the duration of the relationship (e.g. one-time, new or regular customers)
6	Care (individual)	Any talk concerning what people care about and care for (practices of care); Any talk about what people feel they have a responsibility for. This might focus on traditional caring practices, such as caring for children and elderly relatives, but it might also include caring for a neighbourhood, caring for an art form, caring for nature, etc.
7	Care (structures)	Any talk on structures, institutions, infrastructures, resources etc. that support people caring (structures of care); Any talk about conditions that support people to take responsibility for what they care about.

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		(For example, does the town have a strong network of voluntary organisations? Does the interviewee have a strong network of friends who support each other? Does an organisation have any policies for environmental responsibility, or for looking after the wellbeing of their staff?)
8	Career steps/changes/transitions	Any talk about past or future decisions to become a freelancer or start a business; any talk about previous professions, employers, unemployment etc.; any talk about the past or future/alternative careers; career plans.
9	Communication / dialogue / marketing	Any talk about the communication, sharing of information and/or dialogue between different actors involved in the creative/cultural sector (lack of, constant, occasional), including talk about specific modes of communication (e.g. annual town hall meetings about culture in the city, monthly Zoom calls for creative industries CEOs, Facebook groups for audience members); Any talk about communication channels (marketing, advertising).
10	Competition	Any talk about competition; can be negative or positive aspects: e.g. competitors as 'enemies' or as collaborators.
11	Covid-19	Any talk of Covid-19 (effects of, responses to)
12	Cultural ecosystems (city-wide / region wide / sector wide)	Any talk about the ecosystem across the city / region / sector / industry as a whole. Several other codes will of course speak to the theme of cultural ecosystem, but this code is specifically for any comments about the cultural ecosystem of the city or region or industry / sector as a whole.
13	Cultural/creative clusters, creative hubs & cultural quarters	Any talk about creative clusters / creative hubs / cultural quarters (groups or constellations of people or organisations) in which they work / live. (e.g.) What does it consist of? Characteristics? What is its size?
14	Cultural institutions (local arts organisations)	Any talk about the role of local cultural institutions (museums, orchestras, etc.) in the CC sector (valorisation, promotion, cooperation, relationship, etc.); Any comments about a particular cultural organisation (arts organisation) and its place in the ecosystem - rather than comments about clusters or networks of cultural institutions, which will be coded within other codes.
15	Digital technology	Any talk on digital tools, social media [used or not willing to use, enthusiasm or fear of using, necessity, starting up a web shop, a blog etc.], e-products (digital-born products or products that are turned into digital versions e.g. books to e-books, audiobooks etc., any products that are used with digital devices), digitalisation (positive or negative talk, change).
16	Education – individual	Any comments about educational experiences; also what people are learning in work / on the job
17	Education – system	Any talk of institutional/systemic/organisational aspect of education (including teaching)
18	Entrepreneurial mindset / behaviour	Any talk (positive (having) or negative (lacking)) about opportunities, adaptability, proactiveness (forward thinking, leader vs. follower, courage or boldness), lack of ideas / having ideas, taking initiative, attitude towards mistakes / learning from mistakes. Individuals or organisations.
19	Entrepreneurship: starting up / running a business	Any talk about starting up or running a business, starting or acting as freelancer / entrepreneur, being self-employed (difficulties, success, strengths, weaknesses, practices).
20	Family & friends	Any comments about family & friends
21	Festivals & temporary events	Any comments about festivals or other temporary events; may include comments about temporary exhibitions.

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22	Financial resources, money, costs & debt	Any talk about financial resources, money and/or debt. This includes any talk about income, revenue, investments or costs either at individual or organisational level. This can include description of in-kind support, including in-kind support from family members, etc.
23	History	Any comments about the history of the neighbourhood, city, region, sector or organisation.
24	Hobbies, interests, everyday creativity & play	Any discussion on free-time (creative) activities outside the profit-making 'creative industries' and the publicly-funded 'arts'. (e.g. singing in a community choir, making Christmas cards with family at home, school kids making up a dance with friends in the park.); Any talk around use of time for non-work (leisure, hobbies).
25	Inclusion & exclusion / equality & inequality / social (in)justice	Any talk about individual, organisation or structural dimensions of inclusion / exclusion / social (in)justice. May include: descriptions of personal experiences of inclusion / exclusion / social (in)justice; comments about inclusion / social justice at an organisational level (including strategies & initiatives for achieving inclusion / social justice); comments about structural / social factors influencing inclusion / exclusion / social (in)justice.
26	Keywords & terminology	Any discussion of terminology and vocabulary. For example, some interviewees say, 'I never use the phrase creative economy, I call it the cultural economy', others say, 'sustainability is such a buzzword, it's meaningless".
27	Location & physical setting, buildings	Any comments about the significance of location and place, physical setting, buildings, workspaces, equipment.
28	Mobility (and immobility)	Any comments on having moved / not moved from location to another, for any reason (including work, family, education travel for its own sake), or mobility [travel] as part of current work.
29	Modes of employment	Any talk about the individuals' or organisation's modes of employment and/or contractual arrangements: Employed, self-employment, multiple contracts / multiple contract types; Also any comments about the challenges of working in these ways, such as describing feeling precarious or stressed.
30	Networks, partnerships & collaborations	Any talk (e.g. names, availability, value, size) about organisational or individual networks, partnerships and collaborations, both formal and informal; any talk about personal relationships that have supported or hindered something, for example career development (e.g. mentoring, role models)
31	New / innovative activities & changes (in businesses / organisations & in everyday life)	Any talk about doing things in new ways (as individuals or in their organisations); e.g. setting new goals, creating new types of services/products, with new networks, targeting new audiences, new sources of income
32	Offering / products / services	Any talk about products, services or pieces of (art) work which individual or organisation provides / offers to audience or customers; e.g. range of products/services; developments in the offering(s) over time; including any talk about barriers and challenges that are experienced with relation to offering/product/services
33	Organisational type	Any comments on organisational form or legal status, and its significance. E.g. any comments about the importance / consequences of being a charity, a community interest company, etc.); Any talk about organisational structure, owners / ownership, or organisation's size.
34	Peripheral	Any talk about where people consider the city and the cultural/creative offer/sector to be peripheral/marginal/ unattractive or comments about where an interviewee considers themselves or their work to be peripheral, (e.g. 'my work is outside the mainstream of the arts scene in this town, nobody notices me'.)

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35	Policy & policymaking (including governance of civic bodies / funding bodies)	Any comments about policy and policymaking, including any comments about decision-making processes and governance of civic bodies (e.g. town council, citizens' council, neighbourhood council) or funding bodies (e.g. the national or local arts council). Also including comments about any specific policies.
36	Pricing	Any talk about pricing (practice, satisfaction, etc), including alternatives to pricing for example discussion of offering services for free
37	Regional development	Any talk about territorial enhancement/regional development (through cultural and creative economies)
38	Risk, uncertainty, failure	Any talk about risk, risk-taking, (fear of) failure, learning from failure, (experiences of) uncertainty, ways of managing uncertainty; includes all kinds risks / uncertainty, e.g. financial, health, social.
39	Sales and delivery channels	Any talk about the ways in which individual or organization sales / delivers its offerings / products / services, such as through exhibitions, on-line-shop, ticket sales, renting or contract work / ordered work.
40	Satisfaction / dissatisfaction (with career, personal life or education)	Any talk about whether this person is satisfied with their overall situation as an individual or in their organisation; Or specific aspects of their career / work, personal life, education
41	Skills and other human resources	Any talk around skills (one has / has not, needed for, shortages of) or other human resources (needed for, shortages of); Any talk about the importance of particular skills; Any talk about the strengths or unique characteristics of individual or organisation.
42	Sustainability	Any talk around different meanings of sustainability, strategies for achieving sustainability, now and in the future)
43	Time use – work/professional arena	Any talk around use of time related to individual's or organisation's professional activities [either paid/unpaid]
44	Trust	Any talk around trust (value of, presence of, lack of, strategies for achieving). For example, interviewees may describe a presence (or lack) of trust between different actors within their ecosystem or processes through which trust has been developed (or lost).
45	Value creation & co-creation	Any talk about the value / benefits (value creation as an outcome) that the individual or organisation is seeking to create/provide for the audience/customer. Any talk about the ways in which audience or customers participate in the 'production' or 'value creation' as a process, e.g. provide ideas, content, feedback, wishes or instructions or other type of 'co-creation'.
46	Values as principles of action	Any talk about of the values the individual or organisation holds to be important as they do their work / live their life, any talk about processes of valuation / evaluation, e.g. how do people reach judgements about value / what's valuable.
47	Working conditions in the sector (systemic)	Any talk about systemic working conditions in the sector: the rules of the game (in the sector), barriers and challenges to working and progressing in the sector, as well as aspects of the systemic working conditions in the sector that are positive. Negative examples may include: precarity, exploitation, 'old boys network' hiring practices; but positive examples could include conditions such as the availability of good information about new job opportunities, a supportive trades union, good employment practices across the sector in supporting flexible working hours for parents, etc.

ANALYSIS VIA ATLAS.TI ACROSS DISCE TEAM

The first cycle of coding was conducted jointly among the DISCE researchers each of whom was assigned a number of interview documents. The 9th edition of ATLAS.ti programme was utilized for the coding. To

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organize the first cycle of collective coding, it was agreed that one researcher operates as a technical master, who creates a Master file in ATLAS.ti and manages the process of creating and sending Project Bundle files to each coder, who would then return the coded file back to the technical master to be merged to the Master file (see ATLAS 2018). Every coder was also advised to consult the Teamwork Manual (ATLAS 2018) provided by ATLAS.ti . The coding was done on transcribed, translated (if needed) and proofread English interview documents. All the 272 documents where coded following the final codebook (containing 47 codes), and those documents which were already initially coded during the codebook development process were recoded applying the final version of the codebook.

Some level of individual variation in coding was considered unavoidable, but a number of guidelines and good practices were created and shared with all coders in order a) to align/harmonise our coding process and b) to give some hints and tools (e.g. use of a coding diary) for identifying possible individual differences in coding practices. Furthermore, after each researcher had coded their first document(s) a joined online meeting was organized in which everyone shared their experiences and various practicalities were discussed and agreed upon, if needed.

The following guidelines and good practices of coding was shared with all coders:

- As the DISCE project is covering a wide range of topics and research questions the researchers shall code in rather great detail to allow all the codes to gather the valuable information from the rich material gathered.
- Before coding the researchers have got acquainted with the codebook and more detailed descriptions and explanations as well as with the file in ATLAS.ti where coding of several researchers are visible. From these materials each researcher coding the interviews shall align his/her coding approach to the DISCE team in terms of interpretation of the codes as well as detail level and styles of the codes. Still the differences among individuals and even for the same researcher on different moments in time are reasonable and expected.
- Relatedly, it is probably impossible, and at least impractical, to try to fully align all researchers' coding practices. This results in a situation, where two researchers might well apply two different codes to the same quotation. Therefore, it is important that the researcher who is analyzing the coded texts has an understanding about the codes that will speak to the same broad theme and, therefore, could have been applied by another researcher. As an example, the code for 'Cultural ecosystems' is closely related to such codes as ‘Creative clusters, creative hubs & cultural quarters’, 'Local cultural institutions', 'Location & setting, buildings' and ‘Networks, partnerships & collaborations’. As a consequence one coder might have applied 'Cultural ecosystem' to an extract, while another coder might have ended up applying 'Creative clusters...' to the same extract instead.
- In case the coder is unsure about any of the coding practices, it is advisable to do one or all of the following, to consult a) the codebook, b) the coding materials from the test rounds, c) this guideline document, d) the fellow coders, e) and to make notes.
- The coded text shall not be only one word, but often more than one sentence to ensure that the reader who reads the coded text as an excerpt can understand the meaning and context.
- Despite trying to code concisely, there are situations when a whole long paragraph shall be coded to convey the main facts plus the contexts rather than trying to select few sentences (e.g. in test round 2 the question about the aims of the organisation).
- If case of doubt the researcher shall rather apply a code than not.
- In case the researcher feels that the interviewee talks about a relevant topic to which there is no code in the codebook, it is advisable to do the following: to apply the closest possible code as a 'second best option', to make notes, and to inform fellow researchers (especially if the same relevant topic appears often – so that all the researchers can possibly align their coding practices in regard to

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this possibly missing code). NOTE: the coder does not add any new codes to the ATLAS.ti master project file but only applies the existing codes.

- After the first coding of the interview which might be rather more technical, researchers are advised to look back on less used codes and review the coding by checking for more subtle and indirect messages (especially for less often used codes or codes that the researcher feels less familiar with). So, a quotation (extract) may contain the same word as in the name of the code in which case coding is rather straightforward, but very often the coder needs to interpret the text with the help of the 2nd ('Description of the code'; this info is also available in ATLAS.ti) or in same instances even by checking the 3rd ('Why a code matters') column of the Codebook (this info is only available in the Codebook file in Seafile) to figure out a suitable code.
- Each researcher is advised to create a coding diary.
- It is quite possible, often even likely, that several codes are relevant to a single segment of text (extract); sometimes this may mean that the coder has been unsure about which code to apply but oftentimes it means that even a short amount of text is so rich that it contains multiple themes, each of which is subject to a different code. As a very simple example, if the interviewee would have said something like 'my goal is to reduce social injustice from the world', one would apply two codes here: 1) the code for 'Aims, goals, aspirations (individual)' and 2) the code for 'Inclusion & exclusion / equality & inequality / social (in)justice' . Similarly, if the interviewee would have said something like 'It would be awesome if I had an online store but I wouldn't know how to set up one', the coder would apply three codes to the sentence: 1) 'Digital technology' , 2) 'Sales and delivery channels' and 3) 'Skills'. Moreover, if the interviewee would have said something like 'Economic goals are important to our company, but we also want that as many young people as possible can attend our events, for which reason we do not charge a fee for admission for children under 12 years of age', one would apply four codes for this sentence: 1) 'Aims, goals, aspirations (organisational)', 2) 'Audiences, customers, constituencies, participants', 3) 'Accessibility', and 4) 'Pricing'. Note also, that in each of the above examples the coder would mark the whole sentence and apply all the codes to the entire sentence rather than try to split it into smaller segments and apply separate codes for each.
- Every code is applicable to all types of interviews, whether individual, business, higher education institution, policy maker, association etc.
- Every researcher utilizes the whole codebook. In the analysis phase different researchers might be interested in different codes, but during the coding phase everyone applies all codes to the interviews.
- Any code may be applied to any part of the interview text i.e. although there are specific questions about various themes (e.g. time use, skills or income), the interviewee may talk about any topic at any point during the interview.
- It is a good idea for each coder to review their coding practices from time to time, especially in the early stages of coding. For example, it is useful to the check which codes one has been using the most and which the least to avoid a situation where one (or more) of the codes have become a ''catch-all' / 'miscellaneous' in one's mind or, alternatively, one has forgotten the existence of a code. The frequency of use of each code is marked in parenthesis after the code name in ATLAS.ti (the list of codes and their names can be found under 'Codes' heading in an open ATLAS.ti project).
- The coder does repetitive coding. This means that coding is not selective in a sense that a code would be applied only when an interviewee speaks about something for the first time, but the code is applied every time the interviewee talks about the same thing. Repetitive coding may be more likely with some, relative broad codes, such as 'Offering, product or service' than some other codes.

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STATISTICAL OVERVIEW OF DATA AND CODES

The first cycle of coding resulted into creation of over 16700 quotations across the coded documents. Several codes were typically applied to each quotation summing up o over 48700 quotations across the 47 codes (Table 5), the average being 1037 quotes per code and 179 code uses per document. The most often applied code was related to 'Financial resources, money, costs & debt' (4.7% of the quotes), while the least frequently used code was about 'Sales and delivery channels' (0.5% of the quotes).

Table 0.9: Number of quotes per code

Code no	Code name	No. of quotes per code	% of quotes per code
1	Accessibility	1486	3.0 %
2	Activism / political action	348	0.7 %
3	Aims, goals, aspirations (individual)	1428	2.9 %
4	Aims, goals, aspirations (organisational)	1057	2.2 %
5	Audiences, customers, constituencies, participants	1395	2.9 %
6	Care (individual)	520	1.1 %
7	Care (structures)	725	1.5 %
8	Career steps/changes/transitions	1145	2.3 %
9	Communication / dialogue / marketing	1280	2.6 %
10	Competition	332	0.7 %
11	Covid-19	1132	2.3 %
12	Cultural ecosystems (city-wide / region wide / sector wide)	1523	3.1 %
13	Cultural/creative clusters, creative hubs & cultural quarters	682	1.4 %
14	Cultural institutions (local arts organisations)	1155	2.4 %
15	Digital technology	749	1.5 %
16	Education (individual)	1769	3.6 %
17	Education (system)	1641	3.4 %
18	Entrepreneurial mindset / behaviour	859	1.8 %
19	Entrepreneurship: starting up / running a business	533	1.1 %
20	Family & friends	941	1.9 %
21	Festivals & temporary events	712	1.5 %
22	Financial resources, money, costs & debt	2203	4.5 %
23	History	499	1.0 %
24	Hobbies, interests, everyday creativity & play	545	1.1 %
25	Inclusion & exclusion / equality & inequality / social (in)justice	1842	3.8 %
26	Keywords & terminology	646	1.3 %
27	Location & physical setting, buildings	2072	4.2 %
28	Mobility (and immobility)	997	2.0 %
29	Modes of employment	719	1.5 %
30	Networks, partnerships & collaborations	2104	4.3 %
31	New / innovative activities & changes (in businesses / organisations & in everyday life)	948	1.9 %
32	Offering / products / services	1511	3.1 %
33	Organisational type	643	1.3 %
34	Peripheral	429	0.9 %
35	Policy & policymaking (including governance of civic bodies / funding bodies)	1340	2.7 %
36	Pricing	342	0.7 %
37	Regional development	694	1.4 %
38	Risk, uncertainty, failure	1322	2.7 %
39	Sales and delivery channels	234	0.5 %
40	Satisfaction / dissatisfaction (with career, personal life or education)	1280	2.6 %

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41	Skills and other human resources	1630	3.3 %
42	Sustainability	746	1.5 %
43	Time use – work/professional arena	1101	2.3 %
44	Trust	291	0.6 %
45	Value creation & co-creation	986	2.0 %
46	Values as principles of action	1048	2.1 %
47	Working conditions in the sector (systemic)	1182	2.4 %
TOT		**48766**	**100 %**

Phase 3: WPs analysis

Each work package built on Phase 1 and 2 and applied specific consideration approaching the data across particular codes or focusing on particular case studies. Details of each WP analytical approach following the data coding process is described in more details in each spcific deliverable.

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Appendix B: Modular view of the capability approach

Table 0.10: Ingrid Robeyns's modular view of the capability approach (2017, p.74)

A-modules: non-optional core of capability theory		**Description/ relevance to DISCE WP3**
A1	Functionings and capabilities are core concepts	These are the basis of analysis. They are the dimensions by which interpersonal comparisons of 'advantage' are made. Capabilities are real freedoms or real opportunities which do not refer to access to resources or opportunities for satisfaction. Functionings are what is constitutive to human life.
A2	Functionings and capabilities are value-neutral categories.	As in not all functionings have a positive value. Some can have no value or be painful for example the function of being ill from a disease, the impact of stress. Need to allow for the conceptual possibility that there are functionings that are always valuable, never valuable, valuable or non-valuable in some contexts but not in others or where we are simply not sure.' (44-45)
A3	Conversion factors	The idea that people have different abilities to convert resources into functionings so need to consider the conversion factors that are available to them. These can be personal, social or environmental. They are not always fixed or a given. Conversion factors can be altered by policy and also the choices that are available to individuals.
A4	The means-ends distinction	Should be clear when we value something whether this is an end in itself or as a means to an end. The ultimate end are the valuable capabilities but need to consider the preconditions that are in place. Policy implications in addressing whether there are the means and enabling circumstance in places to enable people the capability of sustainable creative work
A5	Functionings and capabilities as the evaluative space.	If the CA is normative (i.e. one thing is better than the other) then the value judgement can be used to compare the position of different persons or states of affairs. This is useful in the context of WP3 both by making comparisons within each case study but also between the case studies. If we build our analysis on the value claim that it is better to be part of an inclusive and sustainable creative economy and have access to inclusive and sustainable creative work than not, then we can make those normative claims based on functionings and capabilities as the evaluation space.
A6	Other dimensions of ultimate value.	That the functionings and/or capabilities are not the only elements of ultimate value. Other aspects such as procedural fairness can be added in which compliments the ecological approach to data anaylsis.

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A7	Value pluralism.	That there are two type of value pluralism within the CA. The first being objects of ultimate value – the functionings and capabilities that have value as ends in themselves not because they are useful for some further end. The second refers to the multidimensional nature of the CA. That dimensions of public value e.g. justice, solidarity, ecological sustainability, are multiple.
A8	The principle of each person as an end	Each person counts as a moral equal. This takes into account Nussbaum's principle which is known as ethical or normative individualism (p.57). Individual persons are the units of ultimate moral concern.
B-modules: non-optional modules with optional content		**Description/ relevance to DISCE WP3**
B1	The purpose of the theory.	This is non-optional but the content can be chosen. This is relevant in regards to WP3's purpose and scope, thinking about the relationship between sustainable creative work, the skills needed for sustainable creative work but also the wider cultural ecology which fosters sustainable creative work.
B2	The selection dimensions	In doing this we need to specify which capabilities matter (p.61). Robeyns's points out that this is a normative question, one that 'touches the core of the different that the capability approach can make' (61). Selection of dimensions is a methodological question that relates to B1 – the purpose of the theory as discussed in previous box.
B3	Human diversity	This is a core characteristic and core motivation of the CA in the first place but Robeyns highlights that concepts of human diversity can differ across factors of class, gender, ethnicity, race etc. Whatever approach or concept adopted, ' the capability approach rejects the use of an implicit, unacknowledged account of human diversity.' (63).
B4	Agency	Sen's definition of an agent is 'someone who acts and brings about change and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives, whether or not we assess them in terms of some external criteria as well.' (Sen 1999a, 19 in Robeyns 64). Thus, applications of the CA should taken into account some of agency unless there is a particular reason why agency should be taken to be absent, Robeyns uses a measurement between income metric and functioning as an example.
B5	Structural constraints	These are the institutions, policies, laws, social norms that people in different social positions face which have an influence on their conversion factors and thus their capabilities. This is particularly relevant for WP3 as it points to a number of factors which make sustainable creative work problematic.
B6	The choice between functionings, capabilities or both.	This is around what we think matters most, the functioning or the capability or the combination of both?
B7	Meta-theoretical commitments	Questions on inclusivity are relevant in this context, what do we mean by that, and what role do institutions play in normative constructs of both inclusivity and sustainability?
C-modules: contingent modules		**Description/ relevance to DISCE WP3**
C1	Additional ontological and explanatory theories	Robeyns makes the point that two capabilitarian theorists could each aspire to make a theory of justice but have very different views on human nature and on the degree to which

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		certain outcomes can be explained by people's choices, their capacity to chose and the structural constraints that they are subject to (68). Links to a lot of the work on identity politics. Therefore, different ontological options are available to explain human nature but that these should be compatible with the propositions of the A module and linked to the purpose of the application (B1).
C2	Weighting dimensions	For some capability theories, weighing the dimensions might not be necessary but in others it is and therefore need to consider the different methods to weight the data.
C3	Methods for empirical analysis	This links to B1 and the sort of study that is chosen. C3 allows for methodological choices as to which method to apply to the empirical analysis e.g. quant or qual or combination. Robeyns states that this will depend on the goal/ purpose, 'is one trying to measure functionings and/or capabilities directly, or, is one measuring resources and conversion factors in order to infer the capability set?' (72)
C4	Additional normative principles and concerns.	The modular approach provides the space for other normative concerns of moral principles that are relevant to the capability theory, Robeyns gives the example of principles of empowerment that stress the relevance of 'power' as a relational aspect which may lead to adding enhancing empowerment or prioritising the empowerment of the worst off as an additional normative principle to be included in the module.

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