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The Gendering of Work in Sheffield's Cultural Industries Quarter (CIQ)

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Contents

Abstract

Cultural and creative activities have been part of life since the earliest periods of human history. Their meanings and roles in society have changed over time and have been interpreted in a variety of ways by different groups of people around the world. In this thesis, I focus on the 'creative industries', a term that has only become prominent in the UK since the late 1990s, in national economic and cultural policy, and in arts and social inclusion literature. Although a lot has been written on the important role of the creative industries in the economic growth of cities, regions and the nation, there has been very little research conducted on the subject of work in the creative industries, and even less on gender and work. Thus I aim to build upon a small area of literature, by focusing on the gendering of work in the context of Sheffield's Cultural Industries Quarter, an area that houses numerous creative industries organizations.

The study is based on a social constructionist epistemology. In my research I have been concerned with, and involved in, sense-making practices within creative industries discourse, including policy documents, conference proceedings and the accounts of participants that I interviewed in Sheffield's CIQ. Taking a social constructionist approach to gender means that in the thesis I present gender, not as something we inherently are, but as something that is accomplished through social interaction. The research is also informed by feminist and post-Marxist theories.

The thesis focuses on two key aspects of gender at work in creative industries discourse. The first relates to the way in which the creative industries have been constructed and presented as pioneers of the 'new economy'. Creative industries policy literature uses terms such as 'enterprise', 'innovation' and 'creativity' to emphasize the economic role of the creative industries. I show how the discourse of the new economy is based on individualistic ideologies which mean that arguments and campaigns for gender equality and other aspects of social equity are undermined. The discourse of the new economy promotes a version of the ideal worker-the entrepreneur. I examine how the entrepreneur is constructed in policy literature, at conferences and through interview talk, as the archetypal individual with certain personality traits. I demonstrate that the model of the creative entrepreneur is a masculinized one, that combines with gender divisions at work and in the domestic sphere to maintain and reproduce gender inequalities in creative industries work.

The second aspect of the gendering of work in the creative industries that I examine is the accounts of people working in Sheffield's CIQ . In particular I examine how they account for gender divisions and inequalities at work. I argue that the people I interviewed tended to justify gender divisions at work using a number of discursive practices. These practices draw on gendered discourses and thus contribute to maintaining and reproducing gender inequality. I also explore the examples in the accounts of resistance to gender inequality.

The thesis is based on interdisciplinary research, which draws on sociology, psychology, cultural and urban studies. The aim is for the thesis to be a useful addition to critical writing on gender and work, the creative industries and enterprise culture.

Acknowledgements

Chapter One

Introduction

> This Government knows that culture and creativity matter. They matter because they can enrich all our lives, and everyone deserves the opportunity to develop their own creative talents and to benefit from those of others. They matter because our rich and diverse culture helps bring us together-it's part of our great success as a nation. They also matter because creative talent will be crucial to our individual and national economic success in the economy of the future (Blair 2001:1).

The above statement is quoted from the UK Prime Minister Tony Blair's introduction to the Government Green Paper of 2001, entitled *Culture and Creativity: The Next Ten Years* (Blair 2001). The document forms part of a 'new' cultural policy that emerged in the UK[1] in the 1980s and 1990s, and which has been consolidated since New Labour came to office in 1997 (Jones 2001, McRobbie 2000). This new cultural policy forms the ideological backdrop against which I have conducted research into 'The Gendering of Work in Sheffield's Cultural Industries Quarter'. I explain below how it employs an ideological rhetoric to which I have paid careful critical attention during the course of my research.

In this chapter I present a rationale for examining the topic I have chosen. In doing so I explain the reasons for focusing on the creative industries and creative industries policy, on gender and work in this context, and on Sheffield's Cultural Industries Quarter (CIQ) as the area in which the research is located. I then go on to state the basic premises which underpin the research, and which need to be understood at the outset, as they inform the methodology, theory and analytic approach of the study. These are, the belief, based on a feminist standpoint, that there is gender inequality in creative industries work, a recognition of the importance of epistemology to the research, and a

commitment to a reflexive research practice. Finally, I provide an outline of the remaining chapters of the thesis, briefly summarizing the subjects explored within them.

A Rationale for Studying Gender and Work In Sheffield's CIQ

Creative Industries in National Economic Policy

> Cultural and creative activity has existed since the earliest humans walked the earth. There has also been an economic value placed upon cultural production for at least hundreds of years (Watson 1993). UK cultural policy since the 1980s, and in particular that produced under the New Labour Government of 1997 onwards, has reiterated the importance of the role of cultural and creative endeavour, especially to the economy (McRobbie 2000). This has involved 'repackaging' terms such as 'creativity' and 'creative industries', and presenting them in particular ways.

In June 1997, the government established a Creative Industries Task Force to define the creative sector and to establish its strengths and needs. A mapping exercise was carried out which resulted in the publication of two editions of the *Creative Industries Mapping Document* (DCMS 1998, 2001). According to the 2001 Mapping Document, the creative industries produce a revenue of £112.5 billion, and employ £1.3 million people. Since 2001 a Ministerial Creative Industries Strategy Group has continued to monitor the output and activities of the creative industries sector (DCMS 2001). Thus one reason for conducting research into the creative industries is that they have become prominent within national government policy, and are now recognized as an important source of economic revenue and employment.

The government's definition of the 'creative industries' is as follows:

> Those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property (DCMS 1998: 3).

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[1] Similar developments in cultural policy have occurred in Western Europe, the USA, Australasia and Canada during the same period. I retain a focus on the UK in this thesis.

This definition includes the sectors of

> advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, television and radio (DCMS 2001:2).

It is this issue of defining the creative industries that leads to another reason for conducting research into the creative sector. The terms 'culture' and 'creativity' are interpreted in a number of different ways, and accorded a variety of meanings in the English language (Williams 1976, Tams 2002). It is significant that, in focusing on the economic importance of cultural or creative activities, the government has used the term creativity in a particular context, and refers to the 'creative industries', rather than using other possible terms such as 'the arts' or 'cultural industries'. In this thesis I explore how the prevalence of the terms 'creativity' and 'creative industries' both at a policy level and in the language used by creative industries workers, has political and ideological significance. In particular I examine how the use of these terms fits into discourses which impact upon working practices and gender inequalities in the creative industries[2].

The key discourse in which the creative industries are placed is that of the 'new economy'. The following extract from a national creative industries policy document, for example, presents the creative industries as pioneers of the 'new economy', as particularly suited to the new forms of production and work which have placed the 'old', traditional and declining industrial economy[3].

> The Creative industries are well placed to respond to the challenges of a modern knowledge driven economy...There is no point pretending we have any real future as an industrial nation by producing standard products and services using basic methods and technology. Others can do that just as well and more cheaply. Our future prosperity depends on our creativity, developing innovative goods and services that customers want, using

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[2] I explore these issues in chapters 5 and 6. Although I draw attention to the problem of definition and the use of terms such as 'creative' in those chapters, I refer to the 'creative industries' throughout the thesis for the sake of continuity.

[3] In chapter I examine the socio-economic change that is the context for the promotion of this 'new economy'.

world class production systems and the most sophisticated technology to keep us ahead of our rivals (Fleming 1999:11).

Thus research into the creative industries is relevant at this point in time because the creative industries, and those who work for them, are presented as possessing particular characteristics that make them suited to the new economy. Rather than accepting this idealized view of the creative industries, that presents them within a particular model of the economy, I critically examine the portrayal of the creative industries and creative industries workers, and the impact of this portrayal on gender inequalities in the sector. This is valuable because there is little writing which treats this subject in a critical manner, with the exceptions of the examples I discuss at the end of this chapter.

Gender and Work in the Creative Industries

Although there is a lack of critical consideration of the values and assumptions which underpin creative industries policy, there exists a considerable body of academic research and writing on the role of the creative industries in the economy. This has mainly been conducted since the early 1990s. Included in this body of research are studies on the role of cultural or creative industries in national, regional and urban economies (Louw 2001, Bianchini and Parkinson 1993[4], Wynne and O'Connor 1996, Wynne 1992, Hesmondhalgh 2002, Bone and Mitchell 2000, Selwood, 2000). There is also a considerable amount of writing on particular sectors within the creative industries such as film (DCMS 1998, Ballieu and Goodchild 2002), television (Abercrombie 1996, Castells 1996, Cunningham and Jacka 1998), radio (White 1983) and multimedia (Collins and Murroni 1996, Pavlik 1998). Yet amongst all this literature there has been remarkably little written on the subject of 'work' and 'workers' in the creative industries. Considering the variety of job roles that fall under the remit of the 'creative industries', such as film directors, TV producers, artists, actors, designers, technicians, dancers, front of house staff, stage managers, make-up

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[4] I consider Bianchini and Parkinson's work in chapter two, as critical writing on the creative industries, though they do advocate the importance of 'culture' in urban regeneration.

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artists, presenters, writers and set builders, it is perhaps surprising that very little policy-based or sociological research has been conducted to explore aspects of their working lives. For example, the government acknowledges that statistical information on employment in the creative industries is lacking, because the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes do not include creative industries categories (DCMS 1998, 2001, O'Connor 2000). Thus a strong reason for conducting research into work in the creative industries is to begin to redress the balance, and to produce enquiry into the work context, experiences and accounts of people who work in this field.

A review of the policy literature, and of commentaries on the economic role of the creative industries, reveals the absence of serious consideration of gender issues. As I argue in chapter five, creative industries policy produces a masculinized vision of the sector, and of the people who work within it. This masculine dominance is not addressed in the writing on the creative industries, except in a few cases which I discuss in chapter two. As there is little information, statistical or otherwise, about employment in the creative industries, the gender balance of workers is difficult to assess. But the very fact that there is such scant mention of gender in either the policy literature or what academic writing exists on the creative industries, means that research into gender in this context would be worthwhile. There is no circumstance in which this project could be justifiably met with the criticism that it has 'all been done before' (Bayton 1998:4).

Sheffield and the CIQ

I have so far presented a rationale for conducting a study of gender and work in the creative industries, which would also involve some examination of the creative industries' policy context. I now focus on the reasons why Sheffield's CIQ is an appropriate place in which to carry out this research. Firstly, as I discuss in chapter three, Sheffield has been a centre for the development and the promotion of the creative industries for a number of years. The reasons for this

are rooted in Sheffield and South Yorkshire's economic history. Economic decline and loss of employment in traditional industries, particularly in the 1970 and 1980s, hit Sheffield and its surrounding areas hard, due to the number of people in the locality who worked in the South Yorkshire coalfields and steel works. This economic change led to investment in alternative sectors such as the creative industries, so the CIQ fits into an important socio-economic history. Secondly, and linked to this first point, Sheffield was one of the first UK cities in which a designated 'quarter' was established for cultural or creative industries organizations (Sheffield City Council 2000). The CIQ has been a location for the development of cultural or creative industries policy and activity since the late 1970s. This means there are plenty of documents, organizations and people available to study and to involve in the research. The history of the CIQ has produced a number of different perspectives on the role of creative industries so it is an interesting and diverse context in which to place the research. A third reason for studying gender and work in the context of Sheffield's CIQ is that, in terms of gender, the area has been subject to gender-aware policies and programmes. For example, when the Workstation, a major centre for creative industries organizations in the CIQ was set up in 1994, it had a remit to cater for the needs of women workers, with a nursery written into the plans for the building (Sheffield City Council 2000). I discuss the importance for the research of the CIQ context further in chapter three. There are some other reasons why I chose to locate the research in the CIQ, which relate to the research methodology, and which I consider in chapter four.

From the Outset: Three Premises Underpinning the Research

At the beginning of this chapter I stated the three basic premises which underpin the research and which need to be identified, as they have informed the research from the outset, and they are vital to an understanding of the remainder of the thesis. The first premise is that gender inequality exists in creative industries work. In stating this premise, I provide evidence of that gender inequality.

Gender Inequality Exists in the Creative Industries

I stated above that there has not been extensive research into gender in creative industries work. However, in this project I have not been concerned to discover if gender inequality exists in this context but rather began with the premise that it does. Thus the focus of the research has been on the gendered processes, discourses and practices that contribute to gender inequalities in creative industries work. The premise that gender inequality exists in the creative industries relates to my feminist standpoint. This means that I am influenced by feminist theory, which has argued that historically women have been at a material disadvantage to men in the context of work and careers (Bradley 1989, Robinson and Richardson 1997). In terms of feminist writing on the subject of gender inequality in work, there is a wide range of academic literature that identifies gender inequality as continuing across a variety of sectors of employment. This body of literature presents gender inequality in work as pervasive, and as relating to other gender divisions such as the domestic division of labour, women's reproductive role and dominant models of masculinity and femininity. Bearing this in mind I take the stance that it would be unlikely to find an area of employment, particularly one as diverse as the creative industries that involves many activities and job roles, which escapes these gender divisions. Here I summarize the evidence of gender inequality in the work arena, with reference to examples from the limited literature on gender inequality in creative industries work.

Taking pay levels as an indicator of gender inequality, historical accounts of gender and employment have stated that on average, women have only earned two-thirds of the male wage for the last hundred years (Bradley 1989:11). More recent studies have shown that the gender pay gap is far from disappearing and women continue on average, to earn considerably less then men. The government's Women's Unit survey on life-long earnings, for example, has shown that women earn an average of £241,000 less than men over a working life, simply because they are women (Rake 2000). The latest government report on the subject of gender pay differentials (Dench et al 2002), distinguishes

between pay differences in different regions, amongst people of varying ages and between people of different ethnic origins. For example, it states that in the South East women's earnings in 2000 were 78.3% of men's but in the North East they were 84.9% of men's. And women in the 16-24 years age group were shown to earn 97.1% of their male counterparts' earnings, whereas women from 60 upwards were earning only 64.5% of what men of their age were earning (Dench et al 2002).   These variations can be explained in part by the fact that earnings in the North East are lower than those in the South East and by the fact that older women earn less than younger women on average, whereas older men do not earn significantly less than younger men. The acknowledgement by the government of the impact of factors such as age and region on gendered pay difference relates to my earlier discussion of gender being conceptualized here, not as simply the domination or privilege of all men in comparison to all women but as a complex set of practices and processes between and amongst men and women. Amongst the limited research that has been conducted on gender and work in the creative or cultural industries, there has been some evidence gathered of a gender pay gap in this context. As the researchers working on the European EricArts project found, in the UK,

> the average gross weekly wage of male employees in our definition of cultural industries was about 26% higher than that of women employees. The difference was less marked when cultural occupations were taken as the base, but men still earned on average 17% more per week (Cliche et al 2000:200).

Pay differences between men and women at work have also been linked in literature on gender and work, to the extent to which men and women are involved in full or part time employment (Witz 1997:244). Research shows that more women than men do part time work, and this contributes to their lower pay levels. Although there are increasing numbers of women working in the UK for example, the majority are going into part time work, and this has not helped their standing in terms of pay. It is not necessarily the part-time nature of the work itself which causes gender inequality, but the fact that in the UK for example, part time jobs are particularly badly paid and insecure, because

ghettoized and feminized part-time jobs, inferior in every way to full time jobs have been constructed in Britain to meet employers needs and are not driven by an explicit gender equality agenda as in Scandinavian countries (Witz 1997:245).

A survey, conducted by Bretton Hall at the university of Leeds in 2000, of creative or cultural industries activity in Sheffield in 2000, has shown that, reflecting the national picture, there are more men than women in fulltime work in the cultural industries (Bretton Hall 2000). The survey states that 67.9% of full time cultural industries jobs in the city were filled by men in 2000. Part time work in the sector, however, is shown to be more evenly distributed amongst men and women, with 57% of part time jobs in the sector in Sheffield being filled by men in 2000 (Bretton Hall 2000). Other research at a national level, has shown that it is not only part time work, but also the freelance status of many creative or cultural industry workers which contributes to gendered inequalities in this sector. In cultural industries such as television, more women than men work as freelances, and this involves 'conditions of work which replicate those of part time and casual workers, such as lack of pension entitlements, sick leave, health cover and personal insurance etc' (Cliche et al 2000:202).

Writers on the subject of gender and work refer to the phenomenon of sex segregation as a key factor in gender inequality. Horizontal sex segregation is conceptualized as the clustering of women in certain jobs and sectors of employment that are lower paid and have lesser status than jobs that contain mainly men (Hakim 1996). Examples of sectors demonstrating horizontal sex segregation include the judiciary and the stock market which are highly paid, high status career areas dominated by men (McDowell 1997), and nursing and childminding which are low paid, low status areas of work mainly done by women (Witz 1997). Vertical segregation is the situation where, in any particular sector of employment, men reach higher positions than women. This

is prevalent in sectors such as teaching and catering, which are dominated by women, but in which more men reach the top jobs of head teacher and chef (Hakim 1996). Due to the lack of research on gender and creative industries work that I referred to in chapter one, there is little documented evidence of these phenomena in the creative industries. But the popular media provides a clue to segregation being apparent in these sectors. Of the five directors nominated for Oscars in 2003 for example, none were women. In fact in the seventy five year history of the Oscars a woman has never won the Best Director award (www.oscar.com). This suggests either severe discrimination on the part of the Oscar judging panels or more likely a wider issue of a segregated industry which produces a lack of successful female film directors. Also the people I interviewed in Sheffield's CIQ referred to sex segregation on a number of occasions[5].

There has been more written on the subject of sex segregation in the cultural or creative industries than on most other issues. As the UK researchers in a European project on gender in the cultural industries have written,

> One important dimension of income differentials is the disparity in earnings between traditionally male and traditionally female occupational areas: in the media sector for example, it was found that the occupational areas with women as a majority of the workforce are the lowest paid, hence some investigation is needed into the relative levels of pay across occupational categories. (Cliche et al 2000:201)

The most segregated areas of cultural industries work as identified by the available research, are fashion design, in which 83% of the designers are women, music, in which only 26% of the musicians are women, and photography and video, in which only 15% of the photographers and equipment operators are women (Cliché et al 2000:195, O'Brien and Feist 1995). Also, women in cultural industries such as film and television, have been shown to be under represented in senior positions and on decision making bodies such as

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[5] In chapter seven I deal with this issue of male domination of certain areas of the creative industries and particular jobs within the sector in the context of how the interviewees discuss gender inequality.

management boards and steering committees (Woolf and Holly 1995, BFI 1999). In terms of research focusing on a particular aspect of cultural or creative industries work, Bayton's (1998) work on the music industry emphasizes the importance of sex segregation in contributing to gender inequality in the sector. As Bayton writes,

In terms of paid employment within the record industry, women disproportionately occupy positions of lower pay, status, and power, at the bottom of the hierarchy, doing unskilled and semi-skilled manual jobs, and routine office work. Many young women are attracted to the industry for its glamour, believing they will meet the stars. In reality the nearest they typically get to their idols is typing their names on envelopes (Bayton 1998:2).

Bayton produces a list of job roles typically carried out by men and those usually done by women. This illustrates the level of segregation in the pop music industry. For example, under lists of male jobs in record companies she cites company executive, A&R director, talent scout, sales executive. The jobs in record companies carried out by women include receptionist, secretary, PA, publicity officer, member of sales team, cook, cleaner and tea lady (Bayton 1998:26). It is clear from these lists that men occupy the high status jobs in the record companies and women do the more menial and public service jobs, which have low status and often are badly paid.

Thus I have shown that by taking a feminist standpoint, and referring to research-based evidence, it is possible to begin this project with the premise that gender inequality exists in creative industries work. In addition to the feminist standpoint of my research, and the evidence I have cited above, personal experience and anecdotal evidence has convinced me that gender inequality exists in the creative industries. Indeed this personal experience has informed my feminist perspective[6]. Before beginning my doctoral studies I worked in various creative industries environments, and I have many friends and

acquaintances who continue to do so. My own working experiences and reports from others have provided examples of gender divisions at work in various creative industries sectors and organizations. This experience and knowledge has convinced me that gender inequalities exist in the creative industries and has given me the motivation to find out more. In chapter two I explore further the influence of feminist theory on my research, and I discuss particular feminist theories of gender and work that have informed the study.

Epistemology Is Important

All research begins with certain assumptions being made. This acknowledgement of three premises underpinning the research is an attempt to expose and explain those assumptions. Perhaps the most influential assumption made by researchers which affects how the research is conducted, the questions it asks and the findings it produces, is about knowledge, and the kind of knowledge the researcher aims to produce (Crotty 1998). Despite its importance, this question of epistemology is one that is not always foregrounded in research practice. Many of the research projects commissioned by commercial companies, Government bodies and organizations such as charities do not state the epistemological basis of their studies. This means the research is presented as the natural, logical way of investigating social phenomena, and important assumptions the researchers make about knowledge and how it is produced are concealed. In this thesis I emphasize the importance of making epistemological decisions, and the ways in which these decisions underpin all the other aspects of the research, including theory, methodology and analytical approach. The epistemological basis of this project is social constructionism, and I discuss this and its impact on the research practice in depth in chapter two.

A Commitment to Reflexivity

The third premise on which I base this research, is that reflexivity can enhance research practice, and adds to the clarity and integrity of the project as it is

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[6] Feminist writers have written about the impact of personal experience on the development of a

presented in the thesis. Reflexivity has been defined as 'disciplined self-reflection' (Wilkinson 1987). For example, it is my commitment to reflexivity that has led me to state these three premises which underpin the research. By openly identifying the key assumptions which have informed the study, I have begun to present the research in a transparent manner, rather than concealing important beliefs and ideas that have been integral to the project. Reflexivity involves a number of different types of reflection (Wilkinson 1987), and I discuss these further in chapter four. I have integrated the reflexive practice into the thesis as a whole, in order to show openly how I have reflected upon, and made decisions regarding, all aspects of the research process. I return to the issue of 'reflexive writing' in chapter eight.

Outline of the thesis

This introduction is the first of eight chapters. I now outline the contents of the remaining seven chapters.

In chapter two, I explain the epistemological basis of the research. As I stated above, the research uses a social constructionist epistemology. In discussing the constructionist epistemology I introduce two key analytical concepts that I use in the thesis: discourse and identity. Using these two terms, I explain how, in this research, I have been concerned with the gendering of identities in discourse. Also in chapter two I explore the key theoretical influences on the research which I identify as being feminism and post-Marxism. In discussing feminism I outline key feminist theories of gender and work that are pertinent to this study. I then explain how my research is located within writing on gender and work , and critical writing on the creative industries. Finally in chapter two I state the initial research aims of the project.

Chapter three provides information on the context in which the research is located: Sheffield's CIQ. I place this discussion of the development of the CIQ

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feminist consciousness (Wilkinson 1987, Naples 1999, Robinson and Richardson 1997).

within a summary of the socio-economic history of Sheffield, particularly focusing on economic decline. In this chapter I present a certain amount of 'factual' information, but I do so cautiously, and in keeping with the social constructionist epistemology of the research, that acknowledges the influence of personal prejudice, and of political and theoretical perspectives on any presentation of a social situation and its history.

Chapter four provides a discussion of the research methodology. In this chapter I show how all the elements of the decision making processes in the research are linked, and I reaffirm the importance of reflexivity in this process. I also consider in chapter four issues involved in the research process such as access, confidentiality and anonymity, the researcher role and the credibility of the research. In addition to these discussions I explain how I developed research questions, selected, collected and analyzed the data. Finally I end this chapter with a statement of the detailed research questions which are posed by the research, and which are addressed in chapters five, six and seven. These three chapters contain a presentation of the key data analysis.

Chapter five is entitled 'Myths At Work: Gendered Constructions of the 'New Economy', Creativity and the Creative Entrepreneur'. In this chapter I consider the ways in which the creative industries have been portrayed and promoted within the policy arena, and I examine how they have been framed within discourses of the 'new economy', creativity and enterprise. I then go on to explore the construction of the ideal worker, and how, in the context of the creative industries, this ideal worker is presented as the creative entrepreneur. I discuss how, with reference to policy literature, observational settings and interview data, this construction mobilizes the concept of the entrepreneurial personality, a model of personhood that is imbued with characteristics associated with dominant masculinity. Thus I argue that this masculinized ideal of the creative industries worker, combined with gender divisions at work and in the domestic sphere, contributes to gendered inequalities in this sector of work.

In chapter six: 'Each Man For Himself: 'Autonomy' and Gender Inequalities in Creative Industries Work', I explore the concept of autonomy as a 'trait' of the entrepreneurial personality. Basing the analysis on interview data, I argue that the interviewees presented themselves as autonomous, and also as agentic, self-actualizing individuals. I also discuss how the concept of the 'creative' as a type of person which is put forward both in creative industries policy and by the interviewees themselves, contributes to this model of the agentic, self-actualizing individual. As an aspect of the entrepreneurial personality, promotion of this autonomous, agentic model of personhood can be seen to contribute to gender inequalities in the creative industries.

Whereas chapters five and six deal primarily with issues of identity, chapter seven : 'Fair Enough? Discussing Gender Divisions in Creative Industries Work', focuses more on interviewees' accounts, and in particular how the interviewees account for gender inequalities in creative industries work. In this chapter I argue that the way in which the interviewees discuss gender divisions at work relates to what I describe in chapter two as a 'post-feminist' context in which feminism has lost some popular credence since the second wave feminism of the 1970s. I show how, within this 'post-feminist' context, the conversational practices used by the interviewees constitute a complex combination of acknowledgement and denial of gender inequality, and resistance to and acceptance of that inequality (Dryden 1999).[7] In chapter eight, the final chapter of the thesis, I reflect upon the analysis I have conducted, discuss certain questions raised by the research and make suggestions for further research in this field.

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[7] The analysis in this chapter draws upon ideas and concepts introduced by Caroline Dryden in her book, *Being Married, Doing Gender* (1999). Dryden, rather than talking about 'work' outside the home, focuses on the division of labour, analyzing interviews with married couples. But the issues and discursive practices she identifies are relevant to any situation where gender in/equality is being discussed.

In outlining the contents of the thesis I have sketched out the focus of analysis of the research, and the major topic areas covered. But the subject of gender and work in Sheffield's Cultural Industries Quarter could have been approached and studied in a variety of different ways. In the following chapter, and later in chapter four, I discuss the epistemological, theoretical and methodological perspectives and decisions that led me to take the research in the direction I have stated above.

Chapter Two

Epistemological and Theoretical Foundations of the Research, and Literature Relating to the Research Topic

> What the 'commonsense' view commends to us is that the tree standing before us is a tree. It has all the meaning we ascribe to a tree. It would be a tree, with that same meaning, whether anyone knew of its existence or not. We need to remind ourselves that it is human beings who have construed it as a tree, given it a name, and attributed to it the associations we make with trees. ...those associations differ even within the same overall culture. 'Tree' is likely to bear quite different connotations in a logging town, an artists' settlement and a treeless slum (Crotty 1998:43).

In chapter one I introduced the broad topic area on which this thesis focuses: Gender and Work In Sheffield's' Cultural Industries Quarter (CIQ). I argued that it is the epistemological basis of the research which underpins the theoretical and analytical approaches used, and stated that in the case of this project, a social constructionist epistemology is adopted. In this chapter I examine the social constructionist epistemology in detail, and consider how I apply social constructionism to the topic under scrutiny. In particular I examine the implications of social constructionism for an understanding of gender. In doing so I pay particular to the concepts of discourse and personhood as they are of key relevance to the analysis presented in this thesis. I then discuss the theoretical approaches which have influenced the research, which are feminism and what could be termed the legacy of Marxism, or 'post-Marxism'. I also discuss the literature within these two areas of theory that is relevant to the research topic of gender and work in the creative industries. I then explain how this thesis is located within critical writing on the creative industries, and how I have developed research aims. I list the research aims at the end of this chapter.

A Social Constructionist Epistemology

The above quote from Crotty (1998) about how human beings are responsible for constructing what is meant by the word 'tree', serves as an illustration of the

social constructionist epistemology employed in this research. Epistemology, which I introduced in chapter one as the philosophical underpinning of research practice, refers to the process of 'knowing', the type of knowledge produced by research, and the issue of representations of 'reality'. Many researchers, particularly in the natural sciences and policy research do not state the epistemological underpinnings of their work. In these two areas, objectivism is the dominant epistemology, and it is generally assumed that 'scientific' research will always produce indisputable facts about 'things in the world' - objects subjects and causal relationships- based on empirical evidence. (Crotty 1998, Silverman 1997). Objectivist research is based on the assumption that meaning resides in objects, and is there to be discovered by scientists and researchers. In this thesis I reject objectivism as an epistemology, in particular because it tends to be presented as the 'natural' and 'only' way of producing knowledge. The very 'objectivity' claimed by objectivism, I argue, is compromised by the way it involves a concealment of both the philosophical approaches to knowledge and the theoretical influences on the research. My chosen epistemological stance, social constructionism, rejects the notion of objective reality, seeking instead to investigate how we construct our social reality through relationships and interactions with other people (Hammersley 1995, Antaki and Widdicombe 1998). Rather than using the 'revealing metaphor' of objectivism, social constructionism can be symbolized by the process of *building* meaning and knowledge.

Whilst employing a social constructionist epistemology can involve acknowledging the existence of some sort of material world, this 'worldstuff' (Humphrey 1993:17) does not have meaning until we actively make sense of it and interact with it. Thus in my research I am involved in sense-making practices, as a researcher, and I also take as my topic the sense-making practices of people working in the creative industries, particularly in Sheffield's Cultural Industries Quarter.

Three Debates Within Social Constructionism

Although there are some clear key principles of a social constructionist epistemology, such as those I have outlined above, it is not a fixed doctrine. Its early formations and development can be traced back to Marx and Engels (Fairclough 1997, Crotty 1998), and there were major pieces written specifically on the subject from the 1960s onwards (Berger and Luckmann 1967, Garfinkel 1967). Since the 1980s social constructionism has become a significant and highly debated subject within social science and cultural studies, and it has been interpreted and discussed in a variety of different ways, from a number of political perspectives (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, Hammersley 1995, Crotty 1998, Shotter 1993, Burr 1995). There are three key debates within social constructionist theory that are most relevant to my research. The first focuses on the question of how far a social constructionist epistemology is, or should be, relativist in its approach, the second relates to the tension between 'rhetoric' and 'reality', and the third is concerned with the construction of personhood and 'the self'. In referring to the latter two debates I introduce and explain two key concepts that I use in my research: discourse and identity.

The Relativist Dilemma

Employing a social constructionist epistemology means taking the stance that there is no absolute truth, waiting to be discovered. Instead, social constructionist research is based on the premise that knowledge is dependent on social, political and theoretical perspectives, and that there is never one true version of phenomena. As Crotty has written,

> What constructionism drives home unambiguously is that there is *no* true or valid interpretation. There are useful interpretations, to be sure, and these stand over against interpretations that appear to serve no useful purpose, there are liberating forms of interpretation too; they contrast sharply with interpretations that appear oppressive. .... 'Useful', 'liberating', 'fulfilling' 'rewarding' interpretations yes. 'True' or 'valid' interpretations no. (Crotty 1998: 48, original emphasis).

interpretations yes. 'True' or 'valid' interpretations no. (Crotty 1998: 48, original emphasis).

Social constructionism, in rejecting absolutist claims to knowledge, has been termed 'relativist'. Relativism means accepting that 'what is said to be 'the way things are' is really just 'the sense we make of them (Crotty 1998:64). Thus relativism involves taking into account the diversity of interpretations of social phenomena, interpretations which come from different historical, cultural and political perspectives. However, as some writers have argued, if social constructionism is relativist then how can it make any knowledge claims at all? (Hutcheon 1988, Silverman 2000). If my research is only one interpretation of gender and work in the creative industries from the perspective of one person, how can I claim it to be meaningful to anyone else, or to say anything about material effects or experience? Some would say that I can't, that relativism means that there is no meaning beyond the moment, the interaction or the text itself (Hutcheon 1988:223). Thus I could not say how an interview for example, relates to 'reality' beyond the interaction between myself and the interviewee. But I have taken the view advocated by a number of social constructionist theorists, that a social constructionist epistemology can embrace both relativism and realism (Crotty 1998). It can be the basis of research that takes into account the rejection of absolute truth and the diversity of perspectives and interpretations, but that also seeks to make sense of social phenomena in a meaningful way. As Hutcheon has written,

> We are not witnessing a degeneration into the hyperreal[8] without origin or reality but a questioning of what 'real' can mean and how we can *know* it' (Hutcheon 1988:223, original emphasis)

Thus I am arguing that in this research it is acceptable to take an epistemological stance that is relativist, but also realist. It is relativist in that I am not making claims to discover absolute truth, and I am stating that my research findings are

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[8] see Hutcheon (1988) for a discussion of Baudrillard's theory of the hyperreal

influenced by theoretical and political influences such as feminism and post-Marxism (which I discuss below). It is realist in that I began the research with the premise that gender inequalities exist at a material level in creative industries work, and I have attempted to explore the processes through which those inequalities are maintained and reproduced. In other words I am arguing that materiality and meaning ('things' and 'words' in Michele Barrett's (1992) phrase) are different but can hardly be separated. Approaches which seek to prioritize one to the exclusion of the other, be it Marxism on the one hand, or post-structuralism on the other, are distorting social reality. (Bradley 1996:10)

Thus, whilst I do not aim for my research to discover an absolute truth, I am not suggesting it is only one account of a phenomenon that is no more or less worthwhile than any other. Rather, using Crotty's (1998) terms, I argue here and in chapter four that the research is both 'useful' and 'liberating'. The concept of liberating research relates to the political standpoint of this research, which derives from the influence of feminism and post-Marxism that I discuss below.

Analysing Power: From Ideology to Discourse

Social constructionist theory, as I have stated, is concerned with the practices we use to make sense of the world and the way in which those sense-making practices contribute to producing and reproducing power relations, in this case, gender inequality in the creative industries. There are a number of ways of understanding how power functions in society. As I explain below, in addition to feminism, a key theoretical influence on this research is 'Post-Marxism', which broadly includes a variety of theories by writers who have used, developed, contested and moved on from Marxist thought. Thus the approach I use to understand how power functions in the creative industries arena is one which draws upon Marxist theory, but which takes into account criticisms of it, in particular from a social constructionist perspective. The concept of power relations I use involves the use of two key terms: *ideology* and *discourse*. Here I explain how the term ideology, which originates from Marxist thought, is a

useful one in understanding the production of power in the context of the creative industries. I then go on to discuss how, using a social constructionist approach, the concept of ideology can be criticised and contested, and how the notion of discourse can be more useful as a term for illuminating how gendered power functions in the creative industries.

Both discourse and ideology are complex terms. In the case of ideology, the word originates from Marxist theory, and from works by Marx such as Capital, (1970) and by Marx and Engels such as *The German Ideology (1970)*. Since these works there have been a number of diverse interpretations of the term and its uses, by many different writers. Most notably, the writers Althusser (1968), and Gramsci (1971) debated with and developed upon Marx and Engels' work on the subject. More recently the concept of ideology has been re-examined and in some cases contested, by writers such as Williams (1976), Larrain (1982), Mclellan (1986) Eagleton (1990), Hall (1995), Billig (1987) and Fairclough (1997). Despite their differences, there is consensus among these theorists that ideology is concerned with the way in which power and dominance are achieved in capitalism, in relation to representations of social reality and in relation to how people come to perceive their positions in society. As Hall has written,

> By ideology I mean the mental frameworks-the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation-which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works.

In Marxist theory, ideology enables the ruling class to dominate and exploit the workers at a material, through a domination of the mind, of consciousness. According to Marx and Engels in their work *The German Ideology,*

> The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those

who lack the means of mental production are subject to it (Marx and Engels 1970:40).

Ideology relates to the production of consciousness, and according to Marxist theory, in capitalist society the production of 'false consciouness'. False consciousness is where people are said to be under the illusion that their ideas, desires and needs are 'true' , that they are thinking and acting in their own interests, when in fact they are not. This apparent 'self-delusion' is part of the ideological process that enables them to continue to be exploited within capitalism.(Williams,1976,Eagleton1990:25,Larrain1982:34).

Marxists argue that people's false consciousness, and their misrepresentation of reality does not originate from their own misguided selves, but is in fact a direct result of economic means of production. For example, in relation to wages being paid for labour, this process is in reality unequal and exploitative, but it is prese nted as naturally fair and rational that certain amounts of money should be paid for particular jobs, so that the unequal distribution of wealth is concealed and people falsely believe it to be just (Larrain 1982:45). As Eagleton has argued,

> this is not in the first place a question of some misperceiving consciousness: it is rather that there is a kind of dissembling or duplicity built into the very economic structures of capitalism, such that it cannot help presenting itself to consciousness in ways askew to what it actually is.(Eagleton 1990:78)

Thus the traditional Marxist version of ideology is based on a concept of an objective reality, which includes the exploitation of the workers for profit, being distorted in such a way that people are unaware of their own exploitation. It also relies on a deterministic version of social life where all relations stem from and are caused by capitalist economics.

Since the work of Marx and Engels, other writers in a Marxist tradition have developed their ideas of ideology and attempted to make them more sophisticated, and less deterministic. Althusser for example, moved away to some extent form the concept of false consciousness and a distorting of reality, to a more active version of ideology. He introduced the concept of 'ideology as practice', which changed the emphasis of Marxist theory of ideology as something that happens to people, to one which acknowledges how people are actively involved in producing ideology. According to Althusser, ideology is practised through 'ideological state apparatuses (ISAs)', which he stated are not reducable to economic relations, but function at the level of arenas such as education, the family, politics, communications and culture (Althusser 1971:143). Althusser's work is also important because it introduces the idea of the subject, and the way in which ideology 'constitutes' individuals as subjects. The category of the subject is only constitutive of all ideology insofar as all ideology has the function (which defines it) of 'constituting' concrete individuals as subjects'. (Althusser 1971:160).

This relates to the way I explore how people in the creative industries present themselves and construct themselves as particular types of workers and individuals. Significantly, Althusser's work provides more potential than traditional Marxist theory for examining how ideology functions at a 'micro' level, through interactions between people.

The other key theorist that 'moved ideology on' from the traditional Marxist definition of it was Gramsci (1891-1937). Gramsci developed a more detailed concept of how the ruling class achieves domination in society. He used two terms which are useful to the aims of this thesis, which are 'hegemony' and 'common sense'. Hegemony refers to the way in which the bourgeois class is able to achieve and maintain its dominance through projecting its own way of seeing the world so that subordinated people perceive this view as 'common sense'. Gramsci's concept of 'common sense' suggests that the dominant

position is naturalised and made to seem neutral, self-evident, so that it is incredibly difficult to challenge and resist. I refer below to 'hegemonic masculinity' in relation to the construction of a masculinised ideal worker in the creative industries. Gramsci has argued that there is no room in this hegemonic process for alternative views because the dominant perspective is not presented as a position that can be opposed, but as the only way of looking at the world. As Eagleton has written,

'A ruling ideology does not so much combat alternative ideas as thrust them beyond the very bounds of the thinkable' (Eagleton 1990: 58).

Gramsci argues that, through practices such as common sense and naturalisation, hegemony involves dominance being achieved with consent from those who are subordinated. Rather than having a false consciousness imposed upon them, in Gramsci's view, people are active and willing in their collusion with the hegemonic order. However, Gramsci also introduces the idea of struggle to his concept of hegemony and common sense. 'Common sense is not something rigid and immobile ' he writes, 'but is continually transforming itself' (Gramsci in Hall 1982:73). Thus Gramsci presents the dominant class as having to continually reform and adapt the way it presents itself and its world-view, in order to maintain its position. As such he presents ideology as a 'site of struggle' that is constantly being contested. This concept breaks from the Marxist economic determinist position and as with Althusser's ideas, offers more potential for examining, as I do in this thesis, the processes and practices through which people negotiate their position in society.

The work of Althusser and Gramsci are important to the aims of this thesis because they suggest, to some extent, that ideology is linked to and bound-up in the way people make sense of the world. However, from a social constructionist perspective there remain important criticisms of their concepts of ideology, which retain some of the problems of the Marxist version. These criticisms have led social constructionist theorists to further contest the concept of ideology, and

to explore how ideological processes can be understood using the term 'discourse' (Billig 1987).

Social constructionist understandings of discourse stem from the work of Foucault (1972) and have been developed by a number of other writers (Fairclough 2001, Mills 1997, Shotter and Gergen 1990, Seidman 1996). Discourse is a complex term that can be used to describe a number of different processes in a variety of contexts (Mills 1997). Here I use the concept of discourse as introduced by Foucault, to mean a relationship between knowledge and power, with power being produced, maintained and resisted through systems of knowledge production, including language(Mills 1997, Fairclough 2001:1).

Here I discuss four criticisms of the Marxist theories of ideology from a social constructionist perspective, and I explain how, with reference to Foucault and other writers, it is possible to develop an understanding of how power functions 'ideologically' through discourse.

Social constructionism, as I explained above, is anti-objectivist, and social constructionist writers criticise the Marxist concept of ideology for implying that there is an objective reality that can be distorted and misrepresented. Whether they use the concept of false consciousness or common sense, Marxist theories of ideology involve the assumption that reality, and particularly the reality of the ruling class' exploitation of the workers, is an objective 'fact', and that this reality can be represented through language and culture. Although theories such as Gramsci's concept of hegemony and common sense go some way to producing a less objectivist version of ideology, they still rely on the assumption that there is a separation between reality and representations of it. Foucault rejects this distinction between reality and representation (Mills 1997:42), and has stated that discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination but is the thing for which and by which there is a struggle (Foucault 1981:52).

Thus whilst the Marxist concept of ideology relies upon the notion of an objective reality being distorted and falsely presented to consciousness, Foucault's concept of discourse as a complex pattern of power relations producing 'knowledge' and knowledge producing power relations. As Foucault has written:

> We should admit ...that power produces knowledge;.. . that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations (Foucault 1972: 27).

In using the term 'knowledge', Foucault focuses on how various forms of meaning (such as sexuality and criminology for example), although they can be presented in society as value –free, are in fact politically and strategically constituted within particular relations of power, and contribute to the reproduction of those power relations (McHoul and Grace 1993). In this research, I am influenced by Foucault's ideas in that am interested in the ways in which concepts such as 'the new economy' and 'entrepreneurship' are not independent of political institutions but are bound up in and contribute to the power relations of those institutions.

A second way in which Marxist theories of ideology can be criticised from a social constructionist perspective, relates to the way in which Marxist theory presents power in a monolithic way, as the ruling class exerting power over the workers in a systematic manner. The work of Althusser and Gramsci does challenge Marxist unified theories of power to some extent, but these writers maintain an attachment to the top-down approach to power relations, through the concepts of 'ideological state apparatuses' and 'hegemony'. Foucault's concept of power is one which presents it as occurring at a number of levels and through multiple processes. As he writes:

Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything but because it comes from everywhere. Power comes from below; that is there is no binary and all encompassing opposition between ruler and ruled at the root of power relations...no such duality extending from the top down... One must suppose rather that the manifold relations of force that take shape and come into play in the machinery of production, in families, limited groups and institutions, are the basis for wide-ranging effects of cleavage that run through the social body as a whole (Foucault 1981:93-4)

This concept of power being 'everywhere' emphasises the role of the individual in contributing to the production of power relations. Foucault has described power as 'a net -like organisation' and has stated that individuals 'are the vehicles of power not its points of application'. In terms of Foucauldian theory, language is important to the way people contribute to the production of power relations, but his work does not produce a 'theory of language' in the way structuralism does (McHoul and Grace 1993:20). The way I draw on Foucault's theories of discourse here is to examine how people produce, reproduce and resist gendered power relations in the creative industries at a localised level through the discursive practices they use in talk and writing.

A third criticism of Marxist theories of ideology from a social constructionist perspective is that they rely upon an essentialist understanding of ideology. In all the Marxist versions of ideology, the concept is treated as something that exists in the world that has certain characteristics. Gramsci's concept of ideology as a site of struggle attempts to move away from a fixed, objective view of ideology, and yet it still contains within it the notion that there is something called ideology that exists within the world. As Eagleton argues,

We have seen that the concept of ideology embraces, among other things, the notion of reification; but it can be argued that it is a reification all of itself. Nobody has ever clapped eyes on an ideological formation, any more than on the Freudian unconscious or a mode of production. The term ideology is just a convenient way of categorizing under a single heading a whole lot of things we do with signs' (Eagleton 1990:1930).

Again discourse is a more useful term than ideology for social constructionist theorists, because it does not draw upon essentialist views of people or things. Rather than 'categorizing under a single heading' people, power and social relationships, social constructionist research focuses on the 'things we do with signs' or language in order to position ourselves in certain ways. Discourse focuses on the active way in which we construct social reality and ourselves through interaction and the use of language. I return to this issue in the discussions of personhood and gender identities below.

A fourth and final criticism of the Marxist theory of ideology from a social constructionist perspective, relates to the Marxist idea that within capitalism, people somehow come to consent to their oppression through ideological processes. This can be seen to place a distinction between 'ordinary' or 'un-enlightened' people and Marxists who are aware of the processes that cause oppression and are able to challenge them. Social constructionist theory, using the concept of discourse, aims to place no such distinction between people but rather puts forward the view that we are all involved in sense-making practices that contribute to producing and resisting social inequality, and we as theorists and researchers are as much involved in reproducing and resisting that inequality as anyone else (Eagleton 1990)

Theories of discourse, although they challenge the Marxist concept of ideology, do not reject it altogether. Writers such as Fairclough (1997) for example, refer to the way in which types of discourse function 'ideologically' to reproduce dominant positions (Fairclough 1997:25). Billig (1987) refers to 'ideological dilemmas', whereby dominant 'common sense' positions are not simply prioritized in discourse, but they are characterised in everyday talk by 'dilemmas' between opposing themes. For example, in chapter five I discuss how the dominance of the 'new economy' as a neo-liberal discourse, is produced through dilemmas in talk between the merits of 'individualism' versus 'collectivity', and 'traditional', versus 'modern' forms of thinking. As Billig has

argued, and as I discuss in chapter seven for example, although the dominant position is produced and maintained through these dilemmas, opposing views and perspectives are also mobilised, and this offers some potential for resistance to the dominant perspective (Billig 1987). Thus the social-constructionist approach to ideology I use in this research is one which acknowledges the way that the production of power relations and the maintenance of dominant positions through discourse can be seen as an 'ideological' process, but I do not refer this process back to a systemised concept of 'ideology' which has certain characteristics and exists independently of discourse and discursive practices.

Using the concept of discourse I have shown how Marxist theories of ideology can be developed and contested to produce a discursive understanding of how power can be produced and resisted, in the context of the creative industries. The feminist influence on my understanding of this process means that I understand discursive practices to be gendered (Wodak 1997), and to contribute to the maintenance and production if gender inequalities in creative industries work. I discuss this in the discussion of 'gender identities in discourse' below.

The Construction of Personhood: Identities in Discourse
Social constructionism involves taking a stance about how knowledge is formed. It also involves challenging our assumptions about what it means to be a 'person' and these two are intrinsically linked. This is important in the context of a research project such as this one, because it is people's accounts and that form the data being examined, and it is the interaction between myself and other people that has produced that data. Within social constructionist theory there are debates about personhood, how it is constructed and how it relates to other concepts such as discourse and subjectivity. Here I explain the position I take within these debates and how I perceive identity as a useful concept for exploring the gendering of personhood within discourse.

Theories about personhood are not limited to academia. In 'everyday life' there are underlying assumptions about what it means to be a person and how people are defined and categorized. In contemporary western society, that has been termed 'liberal' or 'neo–liberal' (Rose 1998, Peters 2001, Hall and Du Gay 1996), the dominant model of the person is the unique, bounded individual (Shotter and Gergen 1993: 2). Writers have examined how this model of the individual forms part of the ideological apparatus of western capitalist society, and in particular how it contributes to the production of 'workers' (Peters 2001). Critiques of individualism are made from a Marxist or 'post-Marxist' perspective. I discuss the influence of post-Marxism on this research below.

Mainstream psychology promotes the theory of personality, a theory which is prevalent in 'everyday' understandings of what it is to be a person. Personality theory promotes the view that each individual has a unique personality, different and separate from others, that consists of a set of personality traits that are coherent and stable (Burr 1995). As Geertz puts it,

> 'a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic centre of awareness , emotion, judgment and action, organized into a distinctive whole and set contrastively against other such wholes and against a social and natural background' (Geertz, 1979:229).

Personality theory has implications for gender inequality because it presents individuals as possessing essential psychological traits that define them as 'men' or 'women'. These traits are invoked in such a way that they justify and perpetuate gender divisions in society (Gough and McFadden 2001). For example, women are presented as being 'naturally' caring due to their biological role of childbearing and motherhood. This essential feminine trait is cited in justifying the gendered division of labour in the home, and the predominance of women in low-paid 'caring' jobs such as nursery nurses, care assistants and childminders (Dryden 1999, Robinson and Richardson 1997). I explore the issue of gendered personality traits further in the discussion below of feminism, and

feminist literature on gender and work. In chapters five and six I focus on personality traits associated with dominant models of masculinity, and how these are promoted in the entrepreneurial personality, which contributes to gender inequalities in this context. In chapter seven I also refer to 'personality' when I discuss how biological arguments are used to justify gender inequalities in creative industries work.

Social Constructionist theorists have argued that essentialist theories of personality are flawed for a number of reasons. Firstly, there is no physical evidence of 'personality' in the brain, although it is presented as an innate essence of the individual. The theory of personality involves a process of 'circular thinking' where 'personality' is used to explain certain behaviours, but can only be inferred from those behaviours, rather than being used to predict them. For example,

> We call someone aggressive because of his or her behaviour and then say it was the aggressiveness that made her or him do it, but we have had no way of establishing the real existence of this aggressive personality outside of the personality-behaviour circle we have created (Burr 1995:21).

Secondly, in addition to the 'personality-behaviour circle', the essentialist concept of personality is undermined by its claim to establish the existence of a trans-cultural, trans-historical essence of the person. If personality is intrinsic to what it is to be a human being, then would not humans all over the world, throughout history, have perceived it in the same way? Some cultures do not account for their actions through the idea of personality, but rather they point to the influence of spirits in determining what they do and feel. And in certain cultures, the personality model which claims emotion to be private and specific to the individual, is not used at all, and emotions are explained as being bound up in the community and relationships to events and other people (Shotter and Gergen 1990, Burr 1995). Also, our understanding of emotion and personality has changed over time. For example, in contemporary society we are much more

concerned with individual psychology than people were in the past. Words such as 'to love' or 'to care for' were historically related to actions and behaviour and have since become used to express 'inner feelings' that may or may not correspond to behaviour. In fact this internalization of personality can be used to justify bad behaviour, for example using statements such as ' I hit her but she knows I love her really' (Burr 1995:24). In this same vein, if we look at our own everyday lives it is clear that we change our behaviour at different times and in different situations. We may act and feel differently at a party from how we would act and feel in a job interview for example. Thus if ideas of what personhood is vary over time and through the world, and we as people do not behave consistently throughout our lives, personality theory , which claims that personhood is immutable and transcendent is revealed to be untenable.[9]

To take a social constructionist approach to the understanding of personhood is to reject the essentialist model of 'personality' as outlined above. This anti-essentialist stance is an important aspect of social constructionist epistemology. In place of the concept of personality I use a term which has been employed by many social constructionist writers: identity[10]. Unlike personality, which can be conceived as existing within the individual, regardless of other people, identity is always socially situated, is always defined in terms of relations between people. As such it is a more useful term for the social constructionist analyst (Gough and McFadden 2001). Also, identity is always construed as relational, and people place themselves and others in certain identity positions in comparisons with other identity formations. Black/white, man/woman and gay/straight are examples of how identity is formed in relation to what is often an opposing identity position.

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[9] There could be the argument that western 'developed' cultures have access to the 'truth' about personality and their primitive cultures do not have the benefit of our knowledge (see Burr 1995:23). But unlike with other 'scientific' discoveries, as I said before there is no objective proof that personality exists so it is difficult to claim it as a 'fact'.
[10] For an overview of social constructionist approaches to conceptualizing identity see Burr 1995, Widdicombe 1998, Doherty 2000, Hall and Du Gay 1996, Shotter and Gergen 1990.

In this thesis I present identity as an accomplishment through discourse and discursive practices within social interaction. As Widdicombe has written,

> Identity is available for use: something that people do which is embedded in some other social activity, and not something that they 'are'' (Widdicombe 1998:191).

The approach to identity I take here is informed by an 'ethnomethodological spirit' (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998:1)[11]. Ethnomethodology, which was first developed by writers such as Garfinkel (1967), is concerned in broad terms with the notion that 'social life is a continuous display of people's local understandings of what is going on' (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998:1). These 'local understandings' are partly formed by drawing upon identity 'resources', or by referring to identity categories, in the context of particular social interactions. I discuss below how I have approached the study of gendered identities in the context of social interactions in the creative industries.

The Gendering of Identities in Discourse

The understanding of identity, not as an essential characteristic of the person, but as an accomplishment in social interaction, forms the basis of the way I present gender here. An essentialist view of gender suggests that it is rooted in biological sex difference, and that the categories of 'man' and 'woman' relate to the physical characteristics of men and women's bodies. Taking a social constructionist view of gender means that, as Acker (1992) has put it,

> Gender is not something that people are, in some inherent sense, although we may consciously think of ourselves in this way. Rather, for the individual and the collective, it is a daily accomplishment that occurs in the participation in work organizations, as well as in many other locations and relations (Acker 1992 :250).

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[11] I use this generalized phrase-'ethnomethodological spirit', as Antaki and Widdicombe (1998) have done, because there are a number of debates and viewpoints amongst ethnomethodologists, about what ethnomethodological theory and analysis entails.

It is important to acknowledge Acker's comment that with regards to gender identity 'we may consciously think of ourselves' in essentialist terms. Social constructionists criticize essentialist models of gender and other identities because they are pervasive in our society, treated as 'common sense', and contribute to maintaining and reproducing gender inequality. In particular, the presentation of masculinity and femininity as oppositional identities contributes to gender inequality in our society. This is because identity is always produced within power relations. And in the case of gender, masculinity is dominant, is given more credence in our culture than femininity. According to Acker,

gender as patterned differences, usually involves the subordination of women , either concretely or symbolically, and ... gender is a pervasive symbol of power" (Acker 1992:251)

The concept of the accomplishment of gender in social interaction has led some theorists to use the phrase 'doing gender' (Butler 1990, Bordo 1993). In order to explain how I have explored the idea of doing gender in the context of the creative industries, it is necessary to return to the concept of discourse. Influenced by Foucault, Butler (1990) has argued that gender identities, although they are commonly understood as the internal essence of the person, are actively performed in discourse.

> Such acts, gestures, enactments, generally construed, are *performative* in
> the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express
> are *fabrications* manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and
> other discursive means (Butler 1990:173, original emphasis).

According to Butler, the performance of gender identity is not fixed but changes depending on the social and discursive context. The idea of doing gender has been developed by other writers and interpreted as akin to 'doing work' (Witz 1997:252). This concept has been applied to studies of gender in work settings, which have focused on issues such as how people perform jobs in certain ways,

and how 'these jobs are structured to demand gender displays' (Witz 1997:252). The writing on doing gender at work has influenced my approach in this research, and in particular my decision to focus on the 'gendering' of work (Witz 1997:253). I explore the gendering of work, in the discussion below of feminism and feminist theories of gender and work.

There are debates about what is meant by 'doing gender' in work and other social situations, and also about how to research and analyze it (Butler 1990, Robinson and Richardson 1997, Widdicombe 1998). Here I summarize how I have approached the issue of doing gender identity in the context of creative industries work. As I stated above, the majority of the analysis presented in this thesis focuses on the interview data. Thus in explaining how I approach the construction of gender identities here, I refer mainly to the talk in the context of the interviews. In analyzing this data I have identified two aspects of gender identity at work. The first is concerned with how versions of gendered identities are produced in the context of social activity. The participants (in conjunction with me, the researcher) categorize themselves and others in particular identity positions, such as 'man', 'woman', 'artist' 'entrepreneur'. In doing so they draw upon discourses beyond the interview context which are embedded in (gendered) power relations. But this categorization process also serves a particular function within the immediate context of the interview. The second aspect of identity that I examine is the way in which identity relates to subjectivity. People are not just 'empty vessels' that only represent identity positions within discourse (Hall 1996). In terms of the interviews for example I consider the way that the participants are speaking subjects who are producing accounts which are affected by, and relate to, their sense of 'self' and their life experiences in the workplace and beyond. In acknowledging the issue of subjectivity I am acknowledging that identity is a resource that is available to the participants as well as the analyst (Widdicombe 1998). Thus in conducting this research I have not attempted to discover the 'true' subjective experience or perspective of the participants, but I have presented the participants as 'social

subjects' (Hall 1996) who, in using identity in discourse, say something about their (transient) sense of self.

Theoretical Influences

In chapter one I asserted that all researchers begin, not with a theoretical 'clean slate', but with assumptions and perspectives that influence the research process and outcomes. I asserted that it is my aim to openly state these assumptions from the outset, so that the analysis presented is as transparent as possible, and does not conceal underlying beliefs or bias. I have identified two specific areas of theory which have had a strong bearing on the way this project has been conducted, and on the kinds of issues I have emphasized in the presentation of the analysis. These are feminism and post-Marxism. It is impossible to give a comprehensive account of the extent to which these two areas of theory have influenced my thinking, or to document fully the diversity of writers and theoretical developments within the two fields. The principal aim in introducing 'feminism' and 'post-Marxism' here, is to acknowledge how theory from the two 'traditions' has informed the research, and to identify the key aspects of these two areas of study which are most relevant to the issues dealt with in this thesis. Epistemology and theory are intrinsically linked, and so the summaries I provide of the impact of feminism and Post-marxism on my research refer to social constructionism. The above discussion of 'the gendering of identities in discourse', for example, is a presentation of a social constructionist approach to gender, and draws upon feminist theory and research that takes a social constructionist stance. Integrated into the discussions of the two theoretical areas is a consideration of the research literature within feminism and post-Marxism that is relevant to the topic of gender and work in the creative industries.

Feminism

In this research I have taken a feminist standpoint. As I explained in chapter one, a crucial implication of this standpoint for the study of gender and work in the creative industries is that I begin with the premise that gender inequality exists

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in this context. In chapter one I stated that there is an extensive feminist literature on gender and work, that refers to gender inequality as being pervasive in a wide range of sectors and jobs (Witz 1997, Bradley 1989, Cockburn 1991). I argued that this literature can also be applied to gender and work in the creative industries, particularly because there are many jobs within the creative industries that overlap with other sectors, such as jobs involving administration, customer service, marketing and PR. I also provided evidence of gender inequality from the small amount of literature that exists on gender in creative industries work.

As I stated in chapter one, starting from the premise that gender inequality exists in the creative industries, the aim of the research is to explore the processes through which gender inequality is produced, reproduced or resisted. In order to do this I draw upon feminist theory. 'Feminism' is not a single political philosophy, though, and in forty years of feminist activism and theory, there have been many different types of feminist thinking, writing and other activities (Robinson and Richardson 1997, Bradley 1996). This means that now many theorists write of *feminisms* in the plural (Crotty 1998, Butler 1990). My use of a social constructionist epistemology, and my focus on the importance of discourse in this research, has meant that I have been influenced by particular aspects of feminist theory. The feminist writing that has most influenced my research is that which draws upon, but which is also critical of, what has been termed 'classic' feminism, that was most prominent in the 1970s and early 1980s (Bradley 1996, Robinson and Richardson 1997). Here I explore the social constructionist critique of classic feminism and how it has influenced my research. I then discuss the concept of masculinity and explain why theories of masculinity are important to this project, particularly to the analysis presented in chapters five and six. Finally I summarise the theories of gender and work that I draw upon in this thesis, particularly in the analysis in chapters five, six and seven.

Social Constructionism and Critiques of Classic Feminism

Three areas of classic feminism have been identified: liberal, Marxist and radical feminism. Liberal feminism is based on enlightenment ideals, developed in the 18th and 19th centuries, of equality of opportunity and individual rights. It implies that women are unequal to men due to historical barriers to their progress such as legal institutions and prejudices that had been established in previous eras. Liberal feminists assert that progress could be achieved through education and legal reform, and historically has focused on issues such as votes for women and equal opportunities at work (Bradley 1996:86). Liberal feminism emphasizes reform of society, rather than more radical overhauls of it as advocated by Marxist and radical feminists. Marxist feminism locates the struggle for gender equality alongside the class struggle, and has applied methods for critiquing capitalism to a critique of patriarchy. Historically it has put forward the belief that socialism will bring equality for everyone (Robinson and Richardson 1997). Radical feminism on the other hand, has been the most strident in identifying patriarchy as an overarching form of power, from which social inequality originates. Radical feminists emphasize the importance of personal relationships and issues such as sexuality and reproduction and the family in forming gender divisions in society (Mcintosh and Barrett 1982, Robinson and Richardson 1997), as their slogan, 'the personal is political' suggests (Bradley 1996:89).

Classic feminist positions have been criticized from a range of theoretical and political perspectives[12]. Here I focus on a social constructionist perspective. As I stated above, social constructionism is anti-essentialist. All three forms of classic feminism can be criticized from a social constructionist perspective because they offer essentialist definitions of gender, in that they imply "that all women (or all men) are united by common characteristics, experiences or interests" (Bradley 1996:91). For example, radical feminism ,

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[12] For discussions of criticisms of classic feminist positions see Robinson and Richardson 1997. Bradley 1996, Walby 1990, hooks 1990, Butler 1990, Bordo 1993.

in highlighting reproductive and sexual differences and citing them for the basis of women's oppression...veered towards replicating the conservative view that biology was destiny (Bradley 1996:89).

Marxist feminism presents a different form of essentialism to radical feminism in that it suggests that women are a homogenous group that could be defined as a 'class' with shared interests that separate them from men[13]. This does not account for the diversity of women, their social and cultural backgrounds and their different experiences (hooks 1990, Bordo 1993). Liberal feminism is also essentialist, partly because it, too, involves presenting women as a group with shared interests and goals, but also because it is based on the idea of the 'liberal individual' that I discussed above in that liberal feminist values are concerned with individual 'rights' (Hall and Du Gay 1996). In chapters five and six I explore how this model of the unique, autonomous individual contributes to the reproduction of gender inequality.

Thus my research is influenced by feminist theory, and in particular that which is influenced by social constructionism. The term 'gender' itself can be seen to represent part of the constructionist agenda, because it is a word which does not relate to any physical thing in the world, and was developed by feminist theorists to move debates away from biological difference between men and women and to focus on the social construction of gender relations and identities (Ferree et al 1999:4). As I explained above, gender as understood from a social constructionist perspective is an accomplishment within social interaction rather than an essential quality of the person (Acker 1992, Widdicombe 1998). In terms of this research I focus on gender as it is accomplished through discourse and discursive practices, in the context of interviews, conferences and meetings and creative industries policy documents. I present gender as being produced through the promotion of a binary difference between 'masculine' and

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[13] There have been debates amongst Marxist feminists about the extent to which this is the case (Harding 1987).

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'feminine' identity positions, where the masculine is favoured in an unequal relation of power (Acker 1992, Walby 1990).

Although gender is the key focus of my research, I acknowledge that gender is fragmented and gender identities are produced by drawing upon a variety of other identity resources within power relations such as ethnicity, class, sexuality and age (Ferree et al 1999, Robinson and Richardson 1997). In this thesis I allude to issues of race and class difference occasionally but they are not central to the thesis. This is not to marginalize the importance of race and class and their impact on gender relations . However in the context of the creative industries, as I stated in chapter one and as I argue below, I believe gender to be a significant enough site of inequality in itself to warrant close analysis. This is particularly important in a field in which gender has been neglected by both policy makers and academics as I wrote in chapter one. Thus I take the view espoused by some feminist writers that it is worthwhile to study relations of class race and gender in conjunction with each other but also separately, because,

> though these dimensions cannot be separated in their effects within concrete social relationships, it is possible to separate them analytically. Indeed this is a necessary strategy if we are to develop a coherent sociological account of stratification and inequality (Bradley 1996:19).

I have discussed here how gender identities are fragmented and dispersed. This understanding of gender as dispersed has led some writers to identify themselves not as feminists but as post-feminists. 'Post feminists' in this sense acknowledge the influence of postmodernist and post- structuralist theory on their work (Bordo 1993, Day 2002). I share the concerns of these writers, in particular the skepticism about objective knowledge and 'truth', and the interest in formations of power through discourse (Hutcheon 1988, Gill 1993). However I do not identify myself or the analysis in this thesis as 'post-feminist'. This is mainly because there is another understanding of the term 'post-feminism' with which I would not want to be associated. That is, 'post feminism' in this second sense

can be seen to represent the view that there is no longer any need to talk about or campaign against gender inequalities. This is because either, as some would have it, women have achieved equality with men and are even overtaking them in many aspects of life, or, they should accept the fact that they were never meant to be equal to men in the first place (Cockburn 1991:1). But feminist writers argue that it is often men who take a 'post –feminist' stance based on the two attitudes I have just mentioned, and that they do so as a form of 'backlash' against women, and the gains they have achieved in recent years (Faludi 1991, Cockburn 1991). This backlash has manifested itself in forms such as men's calls for 'father's rights'[14], anti-abortion campaigns, and the reification of the nuclear family (Bradley 1996:81). Thus I distance myself and my work from 'post-feminism' because as I demonstrate in this thesis there is still gender inequality in our society and a need for feminist challenges to that inequality[15]. Also I avoid labeling myself as post-feminist because I can see how a link could be made between post-feminism in the intellectual post-modernist understanding and the more anti-feminist stance. For example relativist arguments that gender is not a central structured form of inequality but only one formation among many multiple relations of difference could be used to undermine its importance. Thus, although I draw upon postmodern and poststructural theories of gender, I do not fully embrace the postmodern celebration of relationships and identities in flux. As Bordo has written,

> most of our institutions have barely begun to absorb the message of modernist social criticism; surely it is too soon to let them off the hook via postmodernism and heterogeneity and instability. This is not to say that the struggle for institutional transformation will be served by univocal, fixed conceptions of social identity and location. Rather we need to reserve practical spaces both for generalist critique ... and for attention to complexity and nuance. We need to be pragmatic, not theoretically pure, if we are to struggle effectively against the inclination of institutions to

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[14] I am not opposed to increased participation of men in childcare or measures such as legislation to increase paternity leave, but the 'father's right' campaigns have been quite hostile to women and feminist goals

[15] In chapter seven I discuss how post-feminism in this latter form can be seen to be drawn upon by the interviewees in their talk of gender divisions at work.

preserve and defend themselves against deep change." (Bordo 1993:242-3).

I return to discuss how far this thesis corresponds to or resists postmodern and poststructural theory in chapter eight, particularly in relation to the liberational aims of the research that I stated above, and that I reiterate in chapter four.

Feminist theories of gender and work

There is an extensive literature of feminist theory on gender and work and indeed the theorizing of gender has been developed in part through research and writing on the subject of gender inequalities at work (Bradley 1989, Robinson and Richardson 1997). I consider here some key areas of theory and research that are relevant to this project. In particular I focus on writing that highlights the social construction of gender in a working environment. The areas I cover are the gendering of job roles, the ideal worker:gender neutrality and masculinity, gendered divisions in the domestic sphere, sexuality and justifying gender inequality.

The Gendering of Job Roles

Feminist writers on gender and work have argued that the attributing of gendered attributes to particular jobs and tasks has contributed to sex segregation, which, as I explained in chapter one, is a major aspect of gender inequality in the world of work (Adkins 1995, Robinson and Richardson 1997)[16]. This is important in terms of my concerns within this thesis because I am focusing on the *gendering* of work in the creative industries. Thus I examine particular processes and practices which lead to certain roles being associated with men or women. Writers on the gendering of job roles have argued that jobs can be associated with biological aspects of sex difference. For example, the justification for the number of women in low-paid caring jobs is that women are 'naturally' caring due to their reproductive capacity (Barrett and Mcintosh 1982,

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[16] Other important work on this subject of gendered job roles has been done by Pollert 1981, Game and Pringle 1987, Pringle 1989 and Crompton 1997.

Robinson and Richardson 1997). Pringle has written about how the job of secretary is expected to embody the 'natural' feminine characteristics of showing deference and being ladylike, and that secretaries are stereotyped as 'office wives', which emphasises not their work, but their 'natural ' role as women who serve the needs of men (Pringle 1989:6). This relates to the theory of the 'essential' personality that I criticized above. The link between construction of gendered essential personality traits and low paid work is that the fact that the skills necessary for 'women's' jobs are supposed to come 'naturally' to women. This justifies the low pay, because jobs requiring natural attributes are presented as 'easier' than jobs (dominated by men) that require 'learned' skills such as doctor or lawyer (Adkins 1995). In the context of the creative industries, jobs which have been identified as being mainly done by women such as personal assistant, receptionist and 'tea lady' (Bayton 1998) are labeled as 'feminine' through their association with 'natural' feminine attributes such as serving, talking to people and being 'nice' (Adkins 1995). In chapter six I refer again to this literature of the gendering of job roles, and I explain why although it is relevant to the aims of this thesis, I have not emphasised it in the analysis presented in chapters five, six and seven.

Masculinity and the Ideal Worker

The above discussion of the gendeirng of job roles focuses particualrly on the way in which jobs are associated with femininity and are constructed as 'women's work'. In this thesis I examine how work in the creative industries is masculinised so that men are perceived as more 'ideal' creative workers than women. In exploring the concept of the ideal worker I refer to theories of masculinity.

Classic feminist theory has focused on women and the way women are treated and the representation of 'femininity' (Robinson and Richardson 1997). In the 1980s and 1990s much more emphasis began to be placed on men and masculinity, since, as writers such as Connell (1990) and Collinson and

Hearn(1994) have argued, it is men that are dominant in our society and gender inequality cannot be understood without more scrutiny of men and how they are represented and constructed. Connell(1990), an important theorist of masculinity developed the concept of 'hegemonic masculinty'. Hegemonic masculinity is a term which has been introduced to explain how certain versions of masculine 'traits', behaviours and characteristics are given precedence over others with the result that gender inequality is achieved through a perpetration of these dominant characteristics. The concept of hegemonic masculinity derives from Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony that I discussed above (Connell 1990:77) According to Connell,

'Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.' (Connell 1990:56).

Connell's model of hegemonic masculinity refers to the way in which a particular type of masculinity is promoted in certain contexts, so that women are unable to conform to that model and so are submerged and subordinated in that context. In the discussion of hegemony above I stated that hegemony involves a naturalisation of the dominant position or group, so that it appears as the 'norm' Writers such as Acker (1990) have argued that gender inequalities are produced and maintained through the construction of an 'ideal worker'. This ideal worker is presented with the attributes of a hegemonic masculinity, which means it appears normal for workers in a certain context to be male. For example, in the work of McDowell (1997) the ideal City broker is shown to be presented as ambitious, virile and aggressive. These 'qualities' are not necessarily more likely to be possessed by a man than by a woman but they are 'masculinized' in our culture so that we come to associate attributes such as virility and aggression with men. The fact that the ideal worker is presented in a gender-neutral way makes it difficult to challenge and to expose as sexist.

In terms of the analysis presented in this thesis, I have explored how the ideal worker presented in the creative industries, is the creative entrepreneur. In chapters five and six I discuss how 'attributes' associated with entrepreneurship such as determination and risk-taking are presented as qualities of the ideal creative industries worker. I argue that although the entrepreneur is portrayed as 'gender neutral' it is masculinized through promoting qualities and traits that are associated in our culture with a hegemonic form of masculinity. This makes it difficult for women to achieve success in the creative industries and to challenge the inequality they experience.

Writers on particular sectors in the creative industries also deal with the concept of the masculinised ideal worker, although in doing so, they do not refer to entrepreneurship. For example Bayton (1998) talks about the 'masculinity of rock' and refers to a number of ways in which the playing of rock music has become associated with men. These include the symbolic male power associated with playing rock instruments, the training of boys and girls since childhood that there are particular very different ways in which males and females should behave, and the technical aspect of rock music that boys are encouraged to pursue but girls are not, all of which result in a masculinized image of the ideal rock musician (Bayton 1998). Like Bayton, the researchers at Manchester's Institute for Popular Culture (MIPC), in their research into women involved in pop music and multimedia industries in Manchester, identify a masculinized ideal worker. They argue that boys' and men's involvement in music, as consumers and producers, is taken more seriously than women's. The image they use is the 'trainspotter, the obsessive collector, the Nick Hornby character in High Fidelity' (Milestone and Richards 2000:17). So boys who have hobbies such as computer games and playing music are able to turn them into careers as men in a way that women are less able to do. Women's leisure activities are denigrated to some extent. In pop music, for example, women tend to be labeled as 'fans' and 'groupies' rather than being taken seriously as musicians (Bayton 1998 Robson 2000).

Other writers have examined how the construction of an ideal worker in terms of a hegemonic masculine model contributes to gender inequalities in a number of work contexts[17]. These include Kanter (1993) who looks at the domination of men in business corporations, and argues that the management role is masculinised in part, through the emphasis on the rationality and problem-solving abilities of the manager, qualities associated with dominant models of masculinity in society (Kanter 1993:24). Mulholland (in Hearn and Collinson 1994:149) explores male entrepreneurs through narratives of their life stories, and the way they present themselves as 'workaholic' or 'family man'. Cockburn (1985) examines how men's dominance in engineering is achieved through the association of physical and technical work with a hegemonic form of masculinity, so that the relationship between 'man and machine' is naturalised (Cockburn 1985:25).

As I stated in the discussion of feminism above, gender is not simply the unequal relationship between men and women but it also involves the mobilisation of relations of class, age and ethnicity for example. As Connell has written, 'with growing recognition of the interplay between gender race and class, it has become common to recognise multiple masculinities: black as well as white, working-class as well as middle class' (Connell 1990:76). Thus although as I explain later in the thesis, I have focused mainly in this research on how the model of the ideal creative entrepreneur contributes to gender inequalties in creative industries work, I acknowledge that it also maintains the dominance of white middle- class men in the creative industries.

All the literature I have referred to here has contributed to my understanding of how constructions of masculinity contribute to the gendering of work in the creative industries. However in chapters 5, 6 and 7 I do not refer to this literature directly in relation to the analysis of the interview data. I explain the reasons for this decision in chapter 6

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[17] See also Wajcman 1998, Cockburn 1991, Hearn 1998, Savage and Witz 1992.

Domestic Division of labour

In addition to the gendering of job roles and the masculinised construction of the ideal worker, feminist writers have considered how the domestic division of labour contributes to gender inequalities in the workplace (Barrett and McIntosh 1982, Bradley 1989, Robinson and Richardson 1997). These theorists have argued that despite some changes in perceptions, women are still expected to do the majority of domestic and childcare work and that this has major implications for gender inequalities, as many employers and colleagues do not take these responsibilities into account when organizing timetables, holidays, 'sick leave' or after hours networking and meetings. There has also been research which has shown women to be discriminated against at work simply because they are women, and could one day reproduce, with the idea being that this may somehow impact on their ability to be a good worker (Pierce 2002). Feminist writing on issues of the domestic roles of women in relation to work has changed, and since the 1990's new terms have been introduced in relation to employment policy such as 'family friendly' and 'work- life balance'.

In this thesis I do not focus on domestic labour or childcare as a major area of analysis, and I place more emphasis on discourses and discursive practice than on the material division of labour. However throughout he thesis I acknowledge where relevant how discourses such as that of the ideal creative entrepreneur interact with issues such as expectations of women's childcare responsibilities, to reproduce gender inequality in the creative industries. For example, in chapter five, when discussing how creative entrepreneurs are constructed as 'committed' to their work, I argue that this commitment has gender implications because a woman with a young child may not be able to fit in with the long hours culture associated with the creative entrepreneur, and so could be labeled as 'uncommitted' and therefore not an ideal worker (Pierce 2002). The research on gender and the cultural industries includes some limited comment on how women's domestic commitments can contribute to gender inequality. In her work on the music industry, for example, Bayton mentions how women are

constrained by their commitments to family and partners, and how domestic responsibilities impact on work in the music industry in particular because it has such a long hours culture, which is not conducive to splitting time between work and home responsibilities (Bayton 1998:33). The freelance status of many women in the media also makes it difficult for them to combine work and family life effectively, as this type of work does not allow for statutory rights such as maternity leave or sick pay (Willis and Dex 1999).

Sexuality

Literature on gender and work, notably since the late 1980s, has come to consider how processes such as sexuality contribute to gendered job roles and to the production of gendered identities at work (Adkins 1995, Hearn and Parkin 1987). For example, in a recent study on the airline industry, researchers found that women telephone sales assistants were expected to accept sexual comments from male clients so that they did not lose business, whereas male staff were not (Taylor and Tyler 2000). This link between sexuality and economics has been developed by theorists, who have described how women in certain jobs, particularly in the service industry, are paid on condition that they appear and act in a way that is sexually attractive to men (Adkins 1995). During the presentation of empirical analysis in chapters five to seven, I refer at points to the subject of sexuality. This can be seen to be particularly pertinent in the creative industries, because there are similarities between the service industry and the creative industries, in terms of the types of jobs done, for example in work involving 'serving' the public such as cinema exhibition, event management, and PR. Also some creative industries work, such as pop music and advertising, relies on sexual imagery in its promotion (Milestone and Richards 2000). In the context of the creative industries, Bayton has examined how women musicians are presented as sexual objects by record companies and the media. She also discusses issues such as lesbianism, sexual violence and using sexuality on stage (Bayton 1998). Milestone and Richards consider in their research how some women were inhibited about networking in the evenings at

clubs an gigs, due to a fear of appearing 'sexually available' (Milestone and Richards 2000:20). This shows how sexuality can impact upon activities at work and the way women are sexualized in our culture can result in women being at a disadvantage to men.

Discursive theory:Justifying Gender Divisions at Work

Another area of feminist theory relating to the themes of my research, is the writing that explores how women and men justify gender divisions and gender inequalities at work and in other aspects of life. This subject draws upon theories of discourse and has been covered by a few feminist writers within different disciplines (Gill 1993, Dryden 1999, Griffin 1985 Wetherell, M, Stiven, H and Potter, J). The two pieces that relate most closely to my work are Gill's study of male radio DJ's justifications for the lack of female DJs (Gill 1993) and Dryden's exploration of justifications by married couples for the unequal divisions of labour in their marriages (Dryden 1999). These two writers have argued from a discourse-analytic perspective, that justifying gender inequality in a conversational context contributes to the reinforcement of that inequality. In Gill's study, based on one popular radio station, she identifies the types of accounts that the male DJs used to justify the lack of women DJs in their company. These are based around the following assertions: that women don't apply for jobs, that audiences object to a woman DJ, that women do not have the required skills to do the job, and that women's voices 'sound wrong' on radio (Gill 1993:76-89). Gill pointed out that the DJs did not demonstrate an individual, coherent 'attitude' or perspective on the issue of women DJs but rather they all used a range of ways of accounting for the lack of women in their profession. In chapter seven I explore how creative industries workers account for and justify gender inequalities in their work. In doing so, I take a similar approach to that of Gill, in that I do not seek to discover the attitudes of the individual participants, but rather I examine the kind of accounting techniques they use within the context of an interview, techniques that draw upon gendered discourses and power relations in work and in the wider society. In doing so I

draw upon the work of Dryden whose research into gender divisions in marriage also focuses on accounts of and justifications for gender inequality (Dryden 1999). Although her work is on marriage I found that the 'conversational techniques' she identifies are also used by the participants in my research, in relation to gender divisions in creative industries. I explain fully Dryden's terms as I use them in my analysis in chapter seven.

Post-Marxism

The second area of theory that underpins the research draws upon ideas which I identify as originating from a Marxist tradition. I refer here to 'post-Marxism', because although some of the basic assumptions with which I began the research can be traced back to Marxist ideas (Eagleton 1996), I acknowledge the great changes which have occurred in our economy and society in the last one hundred and fifty years, changes which mean contemporary analysts must rethink the meaning of terms such as work, class and power (Sayer and Walker 1994). In referring to 'post-Marxism' I am not attempting to label a group of diverse writers and theorists as the same, but rather highlighting how I have been influenced by theory which uses Marxist principles but which develops them and departs from them as well. These include the critical theorists such as Adorno and Horkheimer (1973), Foucault (1972), cultural studies writers such as Hall (1996), Jacques (1990) and Seidman (1996) and writers on psychology within capitalism such as Rose (1998) and Peters (2001).

As I shall explore in chapter five, much has been made in recent years of the way the economy has been transformed beyond recognition, so that we have moved from an 'industrial' to a 'post –industrial' era (Landry 1999, Leadbeater 1999). Proponents of the new, post-industrial economy argue that traditional concepts of 'capitalism' and 'work' have become obsolete and we need to theorize the activities concerned with production and consumption in new ways. Politically the post-industrial world is characterized by the belief that we now live in a classless society, a meritocracy where knowledge is a greater resource

than family background or inherited wealth. (Leadbeater 1999). For some, this world has seen 'the end of history' , which means we have reached the final point in humanity's development and political struggle or movements for social change are irrelevant in a global, technological capitalism (Fukuyama 1992). These ideas should be addressed in this thesis, because according to the dominant views within cultural industries policy, the cultural or creative industries are a vanguard for this new, post-industrial economy:

> Whilst most industries are going through the painful process of abandoning the mass production line, the creative industries have always been based on flexible work patterns, specialized batch production and niche marketing....in this context, they are the first post-industrial industry
>   (Fleming 1999:8)

But in this thesis I challenge this model of the new, improved economy and of the creative industries as the archetypal model for that economy. Along with other writers who criticize the new economy myth[18], I acknowledge here that great technological, economic and social change has occurred in the last century, change which has impacted upon the nature of work, production and power relations in our society. However, this change does not constitute the 'end of history', or the end of capitalism, but is rather a contemporary permutation of capitalist society. As Sayer and Walker have stated:

> these developments, while important and disorienting, do not signal radical departures from the known workings of industrial capitalism. Rather, they pivot on the shifting division of labour and new methods of industrial organization –in short new forms of social economy thrown up by economic development (Sayer and Walker 1994:7-8).

These 'new methods of industrial organization' involve specific forms of political and cultural ideology, which writers have identified as 'enterprise culture' (Doherty 2000 Peters 2001 Rose 1998). The term enterprise culture is used to describe the economic and political values which were championed by the Thatcher generation of Conservative politicians and advisors, and which

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[18] See chapter 5

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have been embraced by the New Labour administration and its supporters (Hutton 1997, Doherty 2000). Enterprise culture can be summed up as the justification for and rationale behind economic conditions which are geared towards the rolling back of the state and its welfare systems, the growth of entrepreneurship and small businesses and the celebration of the free market. It is also characterized by moral and political values which reify the nuclear family, and denigrate groups such as single mothers and 'benefit cheats'. In an enterprise culture we are told to 'get on our bikes' and find work, and not to expect 'nannying' from the state (Doherty 2000). Enterprise culture can be identified as an important aspect of neo-liberal political philosophy.

The above discussion about personality and social constructionism is important here because the unique, essentialist individual promoted in traditional psychological theory forms the basis of neo-liberal individualism. The form of capitalist society that we live in today is one in which the individual is presented as being in charge of its own destiny, and responsible for its own well-being. It is this formation of the individual which has been used to justify the dismantling of the welfare state, for example, because in an individualist culture people are supposed to be self-reliant and not to depend on institutions for hand-outs and support (Doherty 2000). This is not explained in merely economic terms, because in a neo-liberal society we are expected to rely on ourselves for emotional well-being in addition to economic stability. Thus institutions such as churches and working people's social clubs play less of a role in the community and people may go to therapy for emotional support, or read –self help books on how to improve self-esteem(Rose 1998). Within a culture that puts such emphasis on the power and responsibility of the individual it is difficult to campaign on issues of social inequality because these demand an understanding of the social and the collective(Hall and Jacques 1990).

In terms of the analysis presented in this thesis, post-Marxist theory underpins my interpretation of the new economy and the entrepreneurial personality in

chapter five, and my discussion of the 'autonomous', 'agentic' aspects of the entrepreneurial individual in chapter six. In particular the emphasis I place on how models of entrepreneurship, creativity and agency and self-actualization relate to the economic demands of contemporary capitalism is informed by a perspective that stems from Marxist critiques of capitalism. In particular, I criticize how the focus in creative industries policy on the economic value of creative industries, on the entrepreneur as the archetypal worker, and on the potential and development of the individual, privileges the idea of profit-making in this context and marginalizes those who campaign on a social equity basis. I demonstrate that the dominant form of discursive practice used in this context differs from the social democratic narrative: it does not adopt the language of equality of opportunity and it does not attempt to redress power imbalances or socio-economic inequalities (Peters 2001:62).

In the discussion of feminism above I state how, though I acknowledge how feminist thinking has 'moved on' from classic feminist positions, I reject the term post-feminism. This is because it has been used to counter feminist calls for gender equality, and to denigrate feminist ideas. I use post-Marxism here with some caution, as the term also has the potential to suggest we no longer need to criticize capitalism and argue for 'equality' in economic terms. But the phrase post-Marxism has not been coined by the media or politicians as post-feminism has, in a derogatory sense, so it is still available for use as a 'positive' term. Also, as this thesis is not concerned with macro-economics, I use 'post-Marxism' to show how I have gone beyond classic Marxist analysis of the economy to examine some of the cultural and discursive factors involved producing social inequality. This is relates to the discussion of ideology and discourse above, and the influence of writers who contest the Marxist concept of ideology on my choice to emphasise the concept of discourse in this research rather than ideology. Although I acknowledge the tradition in Marxist thought of considering the importance of culture and language, that goes back to writers from the Frankfurt School (Adorno and Horkehiemer 1973), and has been

developed by theorists that are influenced by Marxism but who criticize key elements of it, such as Foucault (1972), Williams (1976) and Barthes (1977), I am not attempting to label these writers as directly associated with Marxism. Foucault for example was very clear that through his work he was contesting and challenging Marxist ideas (Foucault 1972). But I maintain the term Post-Marxism to demonstrate the influence on my research of writers and theorists that are committed to exploring the workings of power and domination and to exploring strategies for achieving social change.

Locating my research: gendered discourses of work and critical writing on the creative industries

The purpose of this chapter has been to show clearly where my research is located, in terms of epistemological and theoretical perspectives. I have established that I have taken a social constructionist stance in studying gender and work in the creative industries. This has led me to reject essentialist, objectivist claims to knowledge. Instead I have aimed for the research to produce knowledge that is politically and theoretically situated, contestable and contextualized in a particular social context. In this research I present gender as an accomplishment within discourse and to focus on how people 'do gender' by drawing upon identity resources in the context of interviews and texts. My research has thus been most influenced by feminist theories of gender and work that acknowledge the importance of language in producing gender power relations at work. What I have termed Post-Marxist writing relates to my understanding of the function of discourse and ideology in the context of the creative industries. It has also been a resource for my consideration in this thesis of the promotion within creative industries' discourse of the entrepreneur and the individualist values of enterprise culture.

In terms of literature focusing specifically on the creative industries, I associate my work with what I term 'critical writing' on the creative industries. This is a

small body of work that critically examines the creative industries in a socio-economic context. Critical writing on the creative industries includes pieces which question the political basis of cultural policy (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993, McRobbie 2000, Jones 2001). I discuss these in relation to the definition of the creative industries and the meaning of 'creativity' in chapter five. Of this critical literature there is a small amount that focuses on gender in the creative industries. In this chapter I have discussed the work of Bayton (1998) and Milestone and Richards (2000), and I have referred to the statistical overview of gender in the creative industries in the UK (Cliché et al 1999). Bayton and Milestone and Richards, as I have stated, acknowledge the role of language and gendered discourses in impacting upon gender inequalities in the creative industries. But their work has not used detailed discourse analysis to study gendered discourse and discursive practices within talk and texts. The only piece of research I have found that does do that has been Gill's (1993) study of radio DJs talk and the justifications of gender inequality in the radio business that I reviewed above. Thus my research has been conducted with the aim of adding some empirical analysis to the limited work that exists in this area, and to highlight how discourse analysis of texts and talk can be useful for enhancing our understanding of doing gender in the context of creative industries work.

Developing Research Aims

In explaining the epistemological and theoretical foundations of the research I have uncovered the key research aims of this research, and have suggested the kinds of questions I have asked of the data. In chapter four I outline the precise research questions that I explore in the empirical analysis in chapters five, six and seven. The underlying research aims can be summarized as follows:

- To take a social constructionist approach to the study of gender and work in Sheffield's CIQ.
- To examine how gender is accomplished in discourse, through discursive practices, in a particular social context.

- To explore gender relations as patterns of difference between masculinity and femininity which involve complex interactions of power
- To critically examine the economic context of this research, and its ideological apparatus, which can be identified as 'enterprise culture'

By writing a chapter focusing on the epistemological and theoretical foundations of the research, which concludes with a list of research aims for the project, I could be presenting 'theory' as being established before the research process begins. As I have explained in this chapter, I did begin the research with prior theoretical assumptions, which I have explicitly stated here. But in terms of developing the theoretical basis of the research, and applying theories of gender and work for example to the analysis of the data, this process continued throughout the project. That is I have taken an inductive and reflexive approach to theory-building, which is based in part on the principles of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967, Maykut and Morehouse 1994) . In practice, this means that I have continued to read theoretical texts in preparation for the research, during the fieldwork and analysis and also during the writing of the thesis, so that there has not been a point at which the 'theory' of the research was finally and conclusively determined[19]. Theory has informed my analysis of the data, and has also emerged from the data. The data has inspired me to consider and reconsider existing theories, which have influenced my analysis of the data. Thus theory-building has not been a linear progression and the research aims have not been fixed in the early stages of the research but have rather developed throughout the research process. In the final research aim above I mention the economic context of the research. In order to understand this it is necessary to discuss it in relation to the *physical* context of the research. That is, to explore the historical, economic and political aspects of the location in which the research has been conducted: Sheffield's CIQ. Thus in the following chapter

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[19] In chapter four I explain how grounded theory has informed my analysis of the data. In chapter eight I discuss further how the writing of the thesis has involved reflexive practice.

I examine the development of Sheffield's CIQ within a specific socio-economic context.

Chapter Three

Context of Research: Sheffield's Cultural Industries Quarter (CIQ)

Sheffield is at a crossroads. It stands on the threshold of change. The City faces an immense challenge, but also an immense opportunity, to redefine its future and to create a new vision and image for itself. It is an exciting time for the city (Sheffield City Council 2001:2).

In chapter one, I introduced the topic of this research: gendered work in Sheffield's Cultural Industries Quarter(CIQ). In doing so I provided a brief rationale for studying gendered work in the cultural industries sector in general and in Sheffield in particular. In this chapter I explore in more depth the socio-economic, geographical and political situation of the CIQ, and I summarize some of the debates that surround the creative industries in Sheffield and more broadly within the UK[20]. It is important that the research is presented as being located in a particular time and place, because the research process and findings are embedded in a specific economic, political and social context and cannot be separated from that context. This thesis presents a discursive analysis[21]. Thus the economic and social context in which the research was conducted is crucial to enhancing understanding of the discourses and the discursive practices that I examine, and that the policy makers and interviewees draw upon in their accounts of working in the creative industries sector.

In this chapter I examine the economic history of the UK and Sheffield, that has been crucial in producing a situation whereby the creative industries have become prominent in national and local economic policy. In keeping with the social constructionist basis of this research, I present history here, not as the

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[20] Some of these debates could be seen to involve international perspectives: conferences in the sector have been attended by international delegates, and there are cultural/creative industries policies in countries all over the world. But this thesis remains focused on Sheffield, in a UK context.

[21] The discourse-analytic approach used in this research is discussed fully in chapter four.

objective recording of factual information about the past, but rather as a number of different perspectives on how the present relates to, and is rooted in, past events. As this research is influenced by feminist and Marxist, or 'post-Marxist' perspectives, the following discussion of recent economic history relies on the premise that in this context, as in many other accounts of 'history', a dominant version of events has come to be taken as the 'true story', and that this version can marginalize the experiences and perspectives of certain groups of people (Bird1986:35). I will look more closely at the role of dominant discourses in relation to cultural industries' policy in chapter five. The 'story' I tell in this chapter, of the development of the CIQ, can be seen as one which challenges the 'official' version of events, as presented in local and national urban and creative industries policy, and in doing so, highlights some of the social inequalities, including gendered inequalities, which have been covered up and thus maintained and reproduced, by the official history of this particular subject.

The chapter begins with an account of Sheffield's recent history, a history which has largely been one of economic decline. It goes on to look at urban regeneration, and how the creative industries have been conceptualized in urban policy as part of the 'new economy' which has the potential to bring economic regeneration to Britain's cities. The next section examines the specific history and context of Sheffield's CIQ, and the final part of the chapter considers the symbolic role and value of the CIQ. All these issues will be placed within the concerns of this thesis, that is, gendered discourses of work in the creative industries.

Sheffield is Over? A History of Economic and Social Decline

Sheffield is the fourth largest city in Britain with a population in excess of 500,000[22]. The city has been a major steel producing centre since the days of the industrial revolution. It is centrally located 160 miles north of London, with

good transport links to other major cities in the UK. There are two large universities in Sheffield, with approximately 47,000 students living in the city at any one time. The city is well endowed with theatres, bars, restaurants, nightclubs, galleries and cinemas that visitors would expect to find in any major UK urban centre. Despite this, in 1999 South Yorkshire, the sub-region in which Sheffield is situated, was designated an EU Objective One Area. This meant that from 2000, over a period of six years, the region would be eligible for support from European Structural Funds, which are targeted at some of the poorest regions in Europe, including Cornwall, Sicily and parts of East Germany[23]. Thus the question 'what went wrong?' in Sheffield and its surrounding area has been asked, and answered, many times.

The main reason given for Sheffield's economic problems has been the collapse of traditional industries in Britain. Since the 1960s, employment in 'heavy' industries such as coal mining, shipbuilding and steel production has been in decline in the UK. Coupled with the shrinking of manufacturing in the country, this has led to severe economic problems in Britain from the 1970s onwards (Massey 1998:54). Coal production, for example, declined severely during this period. In 1983, 90 million tonnes of coal were produced in the UK; in 2002 this figure was down to 19 million tonnes. And in 1983 there were 170 coal mines in the UK which employed 181,400 miners. In 2002 there were only 17 pits which employed 8,286 miners. The steel industry did not fall into decline as dramatically as the coal industry. In 1983: 15.7 million tonnes of steel were produced in the UK, and this dropped only 11.2 million tonnes in 2002. However, due to technological changes in methods of production, the steel-making process became much more efficient. In 1978 137 tonnes of steel were produced per worker, which increased to 600 tonnes per worker in 2002. This

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[22] According to the 2001 Census, the population of Sheffield in 2001 was 513,234. Source: national statistics website: www.statistics.gov.uk. Crown copyright material is reproduced with the permission of the controller of HMSO.
[23] Objective One funding was allocated to sub-regions which, at the time of the assessment in 1999, were achieving less than 75% of the European average per capita Gross Domestic Product

meant the industry needed less people to produce the same amount of steel and so jobs were cut.

Since workforce bases and industrial activity tend to be concentrated in urban areas, it has been Britain's cities that have been hardest hit by this industrial decline. Sheffield, which in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was a thriving northern industrial city, was particularly damaged by the crisis, relying as heavily as it did on the steel industry and the coal mines in surrounding districts for employment and wealth production (Sheffield Council 2000, Crocker 1999). In the 1980s and 1990s, whilst cities such as Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds recovered to a large extent from industrial decline, Sheffield failed to do so. In 2001 unemployment rates in the city as a whole were 2% higher than the national average, with some wards showing rates of up to 14% higher than the national average (ONS 2001).

The primary reason for the serious nature of Sheffield's economic decline was the level of its dependency on the coal and steel industries, and the related manufacturing of metal such as in the cutlery works. In Sheffield there were 90,000 people employed in the steel industry in 1970 and this dropped by 90% during the 1980s (Lawless 1990). Further job cuts have occurred in the 1990s so now there are only (figure working in steel jobs in Sheffield).Taylor, Evans and Fraser (1996) have written of the significance of the job losses in the steel industry in particular for the Sheffield economy.

> The economic problems confronting Sheffield take the same general form (the collapse of the major manufacturing industry that has sustained the local labour market), but the challenge looks more intractable –in no small measure because of the absence of any real alternatives to the long-standing 'dual–economy' of cutlery and steel (Taylor, Evans and Fraser 1996:63).

Cities such as Leeds, Manchester and Birmingham had alternatives to manufacturing industry, such as legal, financial and business services, retail and

tourism. But their economic recoveries also resulted from other factors. The strong transport system in Manchester, for example, which includes its four mainline stations, has enabled the city to remain a major interchange between North and South (Taylor, Evans and Fraser 1996). The Manchester Ship Canal has less of a role to play in industry now but remains an important feature of the city, with areas such as Canal Street and Castlefields using the canal as a focal point for bars, restaurants and nightlife. Birmingham's canal has also become a place of leisure, with restaurants, bars and canal boat cruises and parties. Sheffield has not retained such a useful legacy from its industrial past as other cities, due to the nature of the industries that once dominated the city. Disused steelworks are not as aesthetically pleasing or as physically able to be converted for other uses as factories, cotton mills or warehouses. Some of Manchester's exclusive loft apartments were previously cotton mills and Birmingham's media workspace centre, the Custard Factory, was once just that. The exception to this in South Yorkshire is perhaps the Magna centre, which was once a steelworks in Rotherham (just outside Sheffield), and is now a science museum and visitor attraction. In December 2002 Magna hosted a pop and multimedia festival, Auto, attended by approximately 3,000 people. But its position at the margins of the city, and the vast, cavernous structure of the building still makes it difficult to be used effectively for new and lucrative functions.

Sheffield's economy and infrastructure has been further affected by changes to the city centre. Probably the most dramatic development was the opening in 1991 of Meadowhall, a huge out-of-town shopping centre to the north east of the city (Taylor, Evans and Fraser 1996). Meadowhall's domination of Sheffield's retail market has meant that the city centre holds comparatively few major brand name stores, so shoppers do not spend their money in town as much as they do in Meadowhall, which also has restaurants, bars and a nightclub. In addition, and also in the vicinity of Meadowhall, the Don Valley leisure complex to the north of Sheffield also contains entertainment and catering venues such as cinemas, bowling alleys and restaurants, that take people out of

town in the evenings and at weekends. These two developments provide jobs and facilities for local people who live in Sheffield and its surrounding areas, but they have had a detrimental effect on the city centre. Other, larger and more affluent cities such as Birmingham and Manchester[24] have been able to support out-of -town retail and leisure centres in addition to thriving city centres. Recent investment means Sheffield city centre is now changing, and plans are underway to improve its retail and nightlife facilities, which I describe below.

The specificity of Sheffield and South Yorkshire's economic change is very interesting from the perspective of gender and work. Jobs in the mining and steel industries were overwhelmingly dominated by men, and perceived as 'male'. Thus the demise of these industries has caused a decline in the employment rates of men in the region. In contrast, employment for women in the area has increased, in the form of service work and new jobs in places such as call centres and IT companies (Sheffield First 2002). In 2001, claimant unemployment amongst women in Sheffield was only 2.2 % on average, as opposed to 6.8% on average amongst men in the city (ONS 2001). And in one ward men's claimant unemployment was as high as 12.9% (Hansard 2001). However, many of the jobs that women now do in Sheffield are low-paid and part-time. This reflects a national situation. In 2002 for example, a record 12.9 million women were in employment. But of these, 5.17 million were in part-time work. This compared to only 1.27 million men working part-time.

This crisis in traditionally male work has had serious implications for gendered identities. The huge job losses in Sheffield and other areas threatened the male role as breadwinner, and put a strain on the female control of the domestic sphere (Massey 1998:189, Bradley et al 2001). Research has shown, though, that rather than bringing fluidity and equality to households, families hit by male

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[24] Official statistics place Sheffield as a larger city than Manchester, with a population of over 500,000 compared to Manchester's 250,000+ but this does not take into account Greater Manchester (including Salford, Stockport and Wilmslow) which is bigger and more populated than Sheffield.

unemployment have often clung to traditional gender roles with the result that the unemployed men are quite inactive whilst women work hard both outside the home, and inside doing domestic duties and childcare (Massey 1998:190, Critcher et al 2001). Wives of miners left unemployed by the pit closures in South Yorkshire have reported that rather than assist with domestic chores, their husbands attempted to 'supervise' their wives' domestic work, and that this was a source of conflict (Critcher et al 2001:61-3).

> The tension over domestic labour indicates the crisis in gender roles produced by male unemployment. No longer able to fulfill their traditional role as main wage-earner, men tried to reassert control in other ways. When this extended to housework, which women traditionally controlled, conflict was inevitable (Critcher et al 2001:63).

Another source of tension between men and women faced by economic change in Sheffield and South Yorkshire was the depression and anxiety caused by the job losses in the pits and the steel works. Women in particular spoke of dealing with their partners' mood swings and emotional problems which stemmed from losing their jobs. Some attributed marriage breakdowns directly to the emotional stress on couples caused by the pit closures. This picture is not a simple one though, because some couples reported improvement in emotional well-being when ex-miners found jobs in other sectors. Even though they tended to move from working in the mines to low-paid, unskilled labouring and manual jobs, the conditions at work were perceived as better than those in the mines (Critcher et al 2001: 58-63).

Gender relations in Sheffield and South Yorkshire were also affected by specific events. One of the most significant was the miners' strike of 1983-1984. During the time, many women whose husbands worked in the coalfields became politicized through their involvement in supporting the strike, a process which led some of the women to challenge the gender roles they had adopted up to that point. Some women identified their growing awareness of gender issues brought about by their political activity as a catalyst for the breakdown of their marriages

(Campbell and Cootes 1987). But as with the issue of pit closures and emotional stress on families, this politicization of women was not universal or straightforward. Interviews with miners' wives a year after the strike showed a complex set of changes that women went through, that cannot be easily categorized (Bhaba 1994:18-28).

The economic changes in Sheffield, South Yorkshire and beyond have resulted in changing divisions not only along gender lines, but also in terms of ethnicity, age and class. The decline of jobs in the steel and coal industries in the South Yorkshire region resulted in low employment rates amongst a particular generation of men. These men were trained in specific skills for specific jobs, and, with few educational qualifications or transferable skills they have found it difficult to get other work. Thus, a high proportion of the economically inactive in Sheffield and South Yorkshire are older working-class men (Beatty and Fothergill1999). There is also a high proportion of people from ethnic minorities who are out of work in Sheffield. In 1998, shortly before my research commenced, claimant unemployment rates amongst the Black and ethnic minority population were almost four times those of the white population (Sheffield TEC 1998). Although discrimination in education and training has been documented as a factor in high unemployment amongst certain ethnic groups (Gillborn and Mirza 2000), there is evidence that people from different ethnic minority groups also face discrimination in the labour market (Monaghan 2000). The high levels of unemployment amongst certain ethnic minority groups may be due to a number of factors such as discriminatory practices by employers, participation in the 'informal economy' and cultural issues such as differences in attitudes towards the role of women.

The Creative Industries and Urban Regeneration

Policy makers, at the level of Europe, the UK and locally, have recognized the seriousness of the implications of industrial decline in the Sheffield and South Yorkshire region. Since the early 1980s there have been programmes aimed at

the regeneration of the city's economy (Crocker 1999:5). A key regeneration programme, as I stated above, is the Objective One European funding initiative. Partnership organizations have been established in order to advise on the allocation of Objective One money. The key partnership organizations located in Sheffield are Sheffield One, which focuses on developing the city centre (Sheffield one 2000), and Sheffield First for Investment, which aims to bring business investment into the area (Sheffield First 2002). These organizations work closely with the Government Office for Yorkshire and Humberside, and the four local authorities in South Yorkshire. 'Match funding'[25] arrangements have been agreed to support the programme, for example with the Learning and Skills Council and Job Centre Plus. Alongside the Objective One programme, funding for regeneration projects has been allocated to struggling areas of Sheffield and South Yorkshire by UK initiatives such as the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) and the Neighbourhood Renewal Scheme, which includes the New Deal for Communities (NDC) schemes, one of which is based in Sheffield[26].

The local authority and its regeneration partners have chosen to focus on aspects of the 'new' economy. I introduced the concept of the new economy in chapters one and two, and in chapter five I explore in more detail the way the new economy functions as 'myth', and the way in which the creative industries fit into that myth (Bradley et al 200). On a basic level, the importance accorded to the new economy in national and international government economic policy has meant that the Sheffield regeneration partners have based their plans for a rejuvenation of the local economy on a new economic model. This has resulted in financial support and investment being offered for the development of high growth sectors such as the computer industries, internet and multimedia technology, the creative industries, retail and tourism. Meadowhall and the Don

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[25] The Objective One website states that of a £1.8 billion funding programme for South Yorkshire. £700 million will be European money, which should be match –funded by private enterprise, and by national and local government.

improve the infrastructure and the environment of the city. This includes building projects such as the Millennium Galleries and Winter Gardens, improving pedestrian access to the Moor shopping street, and changing the road layout around the bus and train stations (Sheffield One 2000).

It is in this context of urban regeneration that the creative industries and the CIQ have been developed and promoted in Sheffield (Sheffield Council 2000:5, Sheffield One 2001). Creative industries are thought to have the potential to stimulate economic regeneration in a city such as Sheffield because they provide jobs in growing sectors of the economy such as film, television, digital arts and graphic design. But the economic value of the creative sector is perceived as going beyond direct wealth generation and job creation. That is, it also provides cities and regions with symbolic identities and vision, through projects such as innovative architecture, public art and marketing. In doing so, it is argued that the creative industries increase the wealth of cities in particular by encouraging tourism, business and residents through the attractiveness and 'selling points' of the city (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993:2). Examples of this phenomenon often cited include Bilbao's regeneration bids using the Guggenheim museum as its cultural flagship, Glasgow's 'Miles Better' campaign, and Birmingham's city centre development including the International Convention Centre (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993). 'Cultural industries quarters'[28] are said to be crucial to this process of regeneration because they involve 'clustering of creative and cultural organizations and businesses in close proximity' (Fleming 1999:14). This is said to 'facilitate networking and complementarity as a way of establishing a self-generating and sustainable local creative industries employment market' (Fleming 1999:15). There are now many 'cultural industries quarters' of one type or another, in cities across the UK, many of which are situated in ex-industrial districts where factories and warehouses were standing empty, and have been taken over by small firms such as graphic design companies,

Valley leisure complex have become major employers in the area, providing jobs in retail, service and entertainment sectors. Other settings for employment include call centres for companies such as BT and Norwich Union. More recently British Aerospace have proposed to open a research centre near Sheffield, in conjunction with Sheffield University, and an American computer retailer plans to base the European wing of their company in Sheffield, providing 1,700 jobs (Sheffield First 2002). At the same time, Sheffield One's city centre *Masterplan* (Sheffield One 2000) has laid out plans to regenerate the retail centre of Sheffield, creating more jobs in shops and restaurants. The council presents its 'vision' for the new economy as follows:

The vision for Sheffield City Centre is to create a strong and sustainable economy which acts as a motor for growth at the heart of a prosperous sub-region which is rebuilding itself around a new and dynamic modern economy, one that embraces both the knowledge economy and advanced manufacturing, building on its traditional strengths: skills and innovation (Sheffield City Council 2001).

But critics of the 'new' economy have been sceptical about firms arriving in a city or a region, exploiting the environment and workforce and then moving on to somewhere where they can pursue more profitable activities.

We are racing down the dangerous road of globalization by encouraging footloose companies to Sheffield. We have the example of Grimsby (March 27th 2001, Guardian) in our region where they have created the most profitable site for business but it has resulted in low wages and poor job prospects for local people -unaccountable multinational businesses are not good news for Sheffield. (Argonet 2001)[27]

In addition to business development and job creation, the partnerships have set out to improve public spaces, transport and buildings in Sheffield in order to

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[26] See the Neighbourhood Renewal 'National Strategy Action Plan' (Social Exclusion Unit 2001).
[27] I shall make my own critique of the globalize new economy in chapter 5

architects or digital music producers. Nottingham's Lace market, Manchester's Northern Quarter, Birmingham's Custard Factory, Dublin's Temple Bar, are all examples of this phenomenon (Landry 2000, Sheffield Council 2000, Fleming 1999). However, all these places are characterized by different types of activity, and fit into their respective urban contexts in different ways. This means they all involve different approaches towards what is understood by the term 'creative industries' itself. For example, Nottingham's Lacemarket has retained more of its historical roots as a textile producing area, and now consists of small fashion design companies and retail outlets (Crewe 1996), whereas Birmingham's Custard Factory houses many software and media companies (Fleming 1999). Both areas are considered to be 'cultural industries quarters', but they demonstrate very different types of work, and embody different versions of the creative industries (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993:3).

This problem of the meaning of the term 'creative' or 'cultural' industries permeates much of the policy literature, and reading it reveals that there have been many debates in recent years about the definition of the creative industries, and whether or not there is such as thing as the creative industries sector. In chapter two I explained the social-constructionist epistemology of this research, and in chapter four I discuss the discourse analytic approach I have used. In the light of the social constructionist, discursive aspect of the research, I treat the question of definitions of the creative industries as one which is framed within wider discourses of the new economy, creativity and entrepreneurship. These discourses impact upon gender and other divisions in cultural industries work. I explore these issues in detail in chapter five. As I treat definitions of the creative industries as problematic, I do not place the research within a specific definition of the sector. Thus, rather than attempt to frame the research within a particular concept of what the creative industries *are*, I have used the spatial and policy-based boundary of the CIQ as a way of delineating the research field, and as an

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[28] Here the term 'cultural industries' is used instead of 'creative industries'. I discuss the significance of the struggle over terminology and meaning in the creative industries in chapter

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area within which to select research participants. I will discuss the CIQ from a methodological point of view further in chapter four.

On a local and regional level, there have been efforts to both define and measure the progress of creative industry activity. Work that stands out in this area is that which has been conducted by Manchester Metropolitan University's Institute for Popular Culture (MIPC) on the northwest region, and by the University of Leeds' Bretton Hall College on Yorkshire and Humberside (Bretton Hall 1998, 2000). The research from MIPC most relevant to this project is the work on gender and the music and multimedia industries in Manchester, conducted by Milestone, Richards and colleagues (2000). Other research from MIPC focuses predominantly on the economic value of the cultural industries to local economies. This includes Banks' research into 'Cultural Industries and the City' (Banks 2000) and O'Connor's work on the cultural industries and cultural policy, which underpinned a cultural Strategy for Manchester in May 2002 (O'Connor 2002). Most of the research from MIPC conforms to the new economic model of the cultural industries that I critique in chapter five, which promotes the importance of entrepreneurship, flexibility, organizational change, risk and trust in cultural industries work (Banks, Brown, O'Connor 2001). In terms of the South Yorkshire region, existing research into the cultural industries focuses on the role they have to play in the new knowledge based economy. The research that has emerged from Bretton Hall at Leeds University also presents the cultural industries as a growth sector, crucial to the regeneration of Sheffield and the Yorkshire region.

This report has been produced for a practical purpose. The cultural industries are now recognized at all levels as a dynamic and developing industrial sector. Sheffield is an acknowledged centre for their development both regionally and nationally. That future development will depend upon creating the right conditions for the sector. The data contained in this report will strengthen and

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five.

inform the plans and initiatives currently being developed within the city that will contribute to creating those conditions (Bretton Hall 2000).

The Bretton Hall research, which consisted of two surveys, one examining creative industries organizations in Yorkshire and Humberside (1998), another recording creative industries activity in Sheffield (2000), is framed very much within the established urban regeneration agenda. This is indicative of a situation whereby policy research is often commissioned by and carried out in the interests of powerful political groups such as local councils, national government and regeneration partnerships. This makes it difficult for critical voices to be heard. In the arena of the creative industries this thesis is an attempt to critically evaluate some of the assumptions made about their role in our economy and our society.

The definition of creative industries offered by the Bretton Hall research is wider than the DCMS definition outlined in chapter one. It adds publishing and multimedia, printing, marketing and promotion, exhibition and conference organization, training and education, writing, museums and libraries provision to the Government's list of cultural or creative industries activities. According to the latest report by Bretton Hall, there were approximately 5,800 creative industries organizations in Sheffield in 2000, and 14, 526 workers[29] in the sector (Bretton Hall 2001), which is 5% of the total workforce of the city. Of these workers, 69.1% were full time, and 30.9% part time. In terms of gender, though, as I wrote in chapter two, only 32.1% of the full time workforce were women, and 43% of the part time workforce were women. Unfortunately, neither Bretton Hall report breaks the data down into the CIQ district itself; it only uses postcode addresses, and 'Sheffield 1' is not limited to the CIQ but incorporates the whole of central Sheffield. To address this issue, the CIQ agency is beginning to compile some statistics on cultural industries activity in the CIQ area, but these are not yet available at the time of writing.

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[29] including both employees and self-employed

From comparison of results from the Bretton Hall projects of 1998 and 2000, it is clear that creative industries activity has grown in Sheffield in this period. For example, there were 2,289 creative enterprises in the city in 1998, and 2,327 in 2000. The percentage of employed and self-employed people in Sheffield working in the sector also grew, from 7.1% in 1998 to 7.2% in 2000 (Bretton Hall 2000). However, surveys have not been conducted in 2001 or 2002, so it is not possible to assess whether or not this trend is continuing. Also, there are questions about what sections of the population are benefiting from the growth of the creative industries in Sheffield. At a national level, research shows that jobs in the sector are mainly occupied by educated, middle class people (O'Connor 1999). Anecdotal evidence has shown this to be the case in Sheffield as well. Of the twenty two people I interviewed in the CIQ, at least seventeen had degrees[30].

As I explained earlier, in parts of Sheffield, unemployment is very high among older working class men and people from black and ethnic minorities. These groups are not gaining employment in organizations such as multimedia, film production or theatre companies. This means that the urban regeneration policies focusing on the development of high-tech and cultural or creative industries are not aimed at providing jobs for Sheffield's existing long-term unemployed population (Critcher, Dicks and Waddington 1993). By focusing on people who work in Sheffield's CIQ it could be argued that I too am neglecting the wider economic and social issues in Sheffield in favour of analyzing an area of work that employs largely white middle class people. But the intention here is to unearth some of the discursive processes through which the interests of some sections of society are met, whilst others are forgotten. To do this it is necessary to evaluate in a critical manner those areas that are dominated by privileged groups.

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[30] I did not ask people specifically about education but 17 volunteered that they had a university degree

Sheffield's CIQ in space and time

Sheffield's urban regeneration policies promote the importance of cultural and creative activities for the economic recovery of the city. These activities are presented in the policy documents as ranging from theatres such as the Crucible and Lyceum, to bars and restaurants, to pop concerts, internet technology and small creative and cultural businesses. Bearing in mind the diversity of cultural and creative organizations in Sheffield, and in order to contain my research within some kind of framework I chose to focus on the Cultural Industries Quarter (CIQ). This decision also made sense because the quarter has a documented history, as a location for traditional and later for creative industries. Other research has focused on 'cultural quarters' such as Manchester's Northern Quarter (Blanchard 1999), Dublin's Temple Bar (Quinn 1996) and Birmingham's Jewellery Quarter (Cattell and Hawkins 2000). Thus in the policy material and in the interviews there is a concept of the CIQ as important in the development of the creative industries in Sheffield. But as I stated in chapter two, this thesis takes a discourse-analytic approach to the study of gender and work in the CIQ, it traces discourses, concepts and practices that go beyond the boundaries of the CIQ itself. I explore the discourse-analytic approach in detail in chapter four. In the remainder of this chapter, I examine how the CIQ has been developed as an area for creative industries activity, how it relates to local and national cultural policy, and how it could also be seen to have a symbolic role to play in people's psyches.

The geographical location of Sheffield's 'Cultural Industries Quarter' (CIQ) was first named as such in 1988. This happened as a result of ten years of development by the city council of key cultural projects in the area such as the Leadmill arts centre (1978) Yorkshire Artspace studios (1980) and Red Tape Recording studios (1986) (Sheffield City Council 2000:14). The area has also been historically important in Sheffield's industrial heritage. Situated near the main train station, just down the hill from the civic centre of the city, the quarter

square mile district reached its 'heyday' in the late 19th, early twentieth century, when it was 'home to a tightly packed network of skilled metalworkers who competed and traded with each other' (Sheffield City Council 2000:11). However, from the Second World War onwards the area was in steep decline. Reasons for this included the restructuring of the steel industry, the lack of demand for handmade cutlery, the main product to come out of the district, and the area's position on the edge of the city, which led to businesses moving into town. There were many buildings left empty and derelict as a result of this decline. The quarter remained under-used and deteriorating, because there was a lack of any alternatives to the old industries in the area, and there was an absence of living spaces or retail developments. Thus Sheffield City Council's decision to explore the possibility of regenerating the area and developing it into a centre for creative industries in the late 1970s was a response to the fact that the area had become neglected and lacking in economic and social activity.

The plans for the CIQ, as documented in the policy literature, have changed during the regeneration period from 1980 to the present, as have the bodies and organizations responsible for the regeneration programme in the area (Sheffield City Council 2000). These differences reflect a changing political climate in Sheffield and the UK over this period. For example, in the 1980s, Sheffield City Council was run by a left-wing Labour party, and was labelled 'the Socialist Republic of South Yorkshire' (Crocker 1999). The aims of this local authority included an opposition to the Conservative government's pit closure programme, and a commitment to providing employment, transport and services for the people of Sheffield. However, with the failure of the miners' strike in 1984, the dismantling of left wing metropolitan councils by the Conservative Government, and the Conservatives' emphasis on low taxes, individual responsibility and 'no such thing as society' ideologies, socialist influenced authorities such as Sheffield were no longer so well received (Bianchini 1993, Tiratsoo 1998). In 1999 the Liberal Democrats gained control of the city, and a more business-orientated policy agenda was introduced, in line with the national

climate of the privatization of public services, partnerships between business and public services, and a commitment to keeping down public spending (Bianchini 1993:4, Tiratsoo 1998). Examples of the partnership approach to social policy include the New Labour initiatives I mentioned above, such as the Single Regeneration Budget, and the Neighbourhood Renewal programme, both of which began in 1998. This shift to public-private partnerships is reflected in creative industries policy literature and administrative organizations in Sheffield, the UK and across Europe.

Thus Sheffield's CIQ policies of the late 1990s to the present reflect this emphasis on enterprise, partnership and political neutrality. I shall discuss this further in chapter five. Significantly, in the 1990s the 'cultural industries department' of the city council was disbanded, and an independent agency was finally approved in 1999. This CIQ Agency[31] was set up as a not for profit organization, to work with the public and private sector, through regeneration partnerships such as Sheffield One and Sheffield First For Investment, to

> maximize the impact of the CIQ and the creative industries in the city and the region. Its key remit is to create conditions for growth by supporting and developing the area and its organizations, leading networking and profile raising activity and harnessing the potential of the sector to promote Sheffield as a major creative city. (CIQA 2000).

The six areas of focus originally set out for the CIQA were the promotion of competitive business, appropriate workspace, visitor experience, community of learning, traffic and transport and urban strategies (Fleming 1999). In chapter five I explore how these aims and objectives of the CIQA are compatible with the values of enterprise culture, and I argue that enterprise –led policies in the creative industries contribute to the maintenance and reproduction of social inequalities. But first, I briefly consider if the enterprise vision for the CIQ

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[31] The CIQ Agency is funded by a number of organizatons and sources including the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) and Sheffield City Council.

shows signs of being a success in terms of the goals of the CIQ Agency and other local policy bodies.

In 2001, as the CIQA prospectus states, the plan was that over the next ten years the CIQ would

> become a thriving cultural, creative and knowledge development zone, with an emphasis on production, several thousand new jobs and learning opportunities for local people. It will be widely recognized as a centre of urban regeneration excellence, offer a rich exciting mix of creative and speciality retail businesses and be home to a cross section of people attracted by its opportunities, location and environment. Overall, the cultural industries Quarter will make an invaluable contribution to the renaissance of Sheffield as a lively competitive city(CIQA 2001: 4).

In terms of the CIQ as a place, it is clear from observation and reading of relevant policy documents themselves that the area is not developing in the manner in which the regeneration agencies hoped it would. The most glaring symbol of the potential 'failure' of the CIQ is the National Centre for Popular Music (NCPM). Opened in 1999, the arresting shiny metal building, in the shape of four kettle drums, was supposed to become a 'major visitor attraction' bringing thousands of tourists into the area from Sheffield and beyond, who would then use the growing number of shops, bars and restaurants in the CIQ (Sheffield City Council 2000:25). Unfortunately this did not happen, and the NCPM was closed in 2001 after only two years (Sheffield Telegraph June 15th 2001). The building was bought in February 2003 by Sheffield Hallam University, to house its student union facilities, despite campaigns and objections from people working in and around the CIQ who wanted to retain a public cultural use for the building. The failure of the project has led to scepticism amongst the public and workers in the CIQ about the extent to which successful cultural regeneration can be achieved in the area. Other entertainment venues are struggling too, with the Showroom bar and cinema failing to make a profit, to the extent that it received money for lottery-funded organizations in

crisis in 2001[32].   In December 2002, next door to the NCPM building, a Spearmint Rhino Gentleman's Club was opened, in a building that used to be the venue for a nightclub. The arrival of this lap-dancing establishment in the CIQ has engendered lively debates and there is currently a campaign, led by feminist organizations and women's groups, for it to be closed down[33]. This development is interesting in terms of the focus of my research, because it could be seen to be an example of what happens to social equity issues such as gender equality when 'enterprise' is encouraged to flourish. The CIQ Agency opposed the club's application for a drinks and entertainment licence but their objections were not sustained. It could be argued that the CIQ Agency and other policy makers and intermediaries in the area should not be surprised by the opening of an internationally branded 'gentleman's club' in the CIQ, when they have not regulated the uses of buildings in the quarter[34], but have allowed the 'market' free reign. The lack of control over key CIQ buildings such as the NCPM and the Spearmint Rhino club by 'cultural industries' organizations has led some commentators to declare the 'end of the CIQ' as a cultural quarter as it was originally envisaged (Blanchard, personal correspondance).

There are some CIQ success stories, though. These include the Workstation, which is full of small creative industries organizations, and is celebrating its 10th birthday in July 2003. There is also BBC Radio Sheffield's occupation of a new building in the CIQ, and the move of Yorkshire Artspace studios to the new Persistence Works in the heart of the Quarter. In May 2003 the CIQA produced a CD-ROM focusing on the development of the quarter since the 17th century, which featured some of the successful people and organizations to emerge from the area, as well as highlighting problems and debates about its past, present and future (CIQA 2002). Residential spaces have also been redeveloped from old buildings such as new student accommodation in the Truro Works (Sheffield

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[32] interviewees working in the showroom gave me this information
[33] These campaigns have involved complex debates about the gender issues involved in the sex industry, with some women supporting women's rights to work as dancers in lap-dancing clubs.
[34] With the exception of the Workstation and Showroom complex

City Council 2000:63). This is potentially a good sign for the quarter, as many thriving cultural quarters around the world include a mixture of work, living and entertainment spaces (Landry 2000).

However, the quarter is not yet as busy as the policy makers hoped it would be by this stage. At night it is very quiet and there are still empty buildings and spaces around the streets. According to some of the people I interviewed, many people in Sheffield still do not know what or where the CIQ is, and it is still separated from, rather than integrated into, the city centre. Back in 1998, rather than being 'a context for a balanced portfolio of production and consumption concentrated in a vibrant and attractive urban space' the policy makers said that the CIQ 'feels like a place that is waiting to happen' (Sheffield Council 1998:1). It could be argued that five years later, in 2003, the area has not achieved the vibrancy and popularity that was expected of it, and that the 'real' cultural quarter of Sheffield is the Devonshire Quarter which includes bars, restaurants, shops and accommodation, and is packed with young people most evenings.

The Symbolic CIQ

The CIQ was designated as a place on the map in 1988 (Sheffield City Council 2000). However, the area is not exclusively devoted to the creative industries. It still houses remaining companies from traditional industries such as cutlers, hollowware and tool manufacturers (Sheffield City Council 2000: 14). The Science Park at one end of the quarter contains departments of Sheffield Hallam University (including the research centre where my PhD studies have been based), and, apart from Spearmint Rhino and the proposed Students' Union I mentioned above, there are other companies in the area not related to the creative industries, such as a kitchen warehouse, an office retail outlet and a wine merchants. Thus to some extent the CIQ is as much a symbolic place as it is a real one. I have already said that for methodological reasons, I use the geographical boundaries of the CIQ as laid out in the policy documents (Sheffield City Council 2000:12). Although I treat the concepts and values used

by policy makers critically, I still use them, as well as accounts from cultural industries workers as key points of reference in this thesis. That is, the research deals predominantly with 'insiders' views of the CIQ. There are no interviews with members of Sheffield communities that have little or nothing to do with the area, for example, and within the locality there are no interviews with people working in the CIQ who do not consider themselves to be doing creative industries work. Therefore, it could be argued that this project perpetuates the 'symbolic CIQ' as promoted by the policy discourse and advocates of 'cultural industries quarters', as 'the model for sustainable economic regeneration, which [will] transform the life of the city, [creating] new opportunities for thousands of citizens' (Sheffield City Council 2000:27). This is not the intention. Rather, I argue that in Sheffield the creative industries need to be understood as a complex web of mythologies, ideological constructions and real experiences, which impact upon the economic and social realities of life in the city (Bradley et al 2000). The aim of the thesis is to untangle some of the threads of this web, and in doing so, to shed some light on gendered and other inequalities involved in creative industries work, and in the role of cultural the sector in an urban regeneration context. This consideration of social reality in the context of ideological positions and discourses is part of the theoretical approach as described in chapters two and four, whereby 'materiality and meaning' are seen to be 'different but can hardly be separated' (Bradley 2000:10). Thus while for most people in Sheffield, the CIQ and creative industries may not seem very real, even in their symbolic forms, in the prominent place they hold in the urban regeneration agenda, and in the way they are involved in constructing notions of entrepreneurship, innovation, class, and gender, they are certainly impacting upon people's lives.

The above discussion of the physical location of the CIQ, and its socio-economic background, has described a context in which the research was conducted. There are a number of other ways in which I could have framed the same research, in terms of contextual information. For example, I might have

concentrated on creative industries work in the light of the development and promotion of small businesses in the city and the UK, or I could have placed more emphasis on the regional cultural strategies of Yorkshire, or the role of creative industries in technological change. In terms of the analysis I present in chapters five, six and seven, discussions of the CIQ itself have not been particularly prominent. But as I have indicated in the discussion of the 'symbolic CIQ', the CIQ as a concept, and as a link to values, terms and ideas associated with the creative industries, has been crucial to this research, and to the way I have examined the documentary, observational and interview data that I consider in the remainder of this thesis. Also, the CIQ has been key to the methodological decisions I have made. I address this issue of methodology in the following chapter.

Chapter Four

Methodology

> Epistemological issues certainly have crucial implications for how general theoretical structures can and should be applied in particular disciplines and for the choice of methods of research. But I think that it is misleading and confusing to refer to these, too, as issues about method (Harding 1987:3).

In chapter two I considered the epistemological and theoretical foundations of the research. As the above quote from Harding states, the epistemological basis of research has a crucial impact upon theory and methodology. But as Harding suggests, although epistemology, theory and methodology are intrinsically linked, they should not be mistaken for or confused with one another. In this project I have treated epistemology and theory as the philosophical underpinnings of the research and the basis of the research questions; I use methodology to provide a rationale (consistent with those philosophical underpinnings) for the methods used, criteria for the selection of participants, and an account of the ethical and practical decisions relating to the research process (Crotty 1998). Thus in this thesis I have separated the discussion of epistemology and theory (chapter two) from that of methodology (this chapter), although I acknowledge and emphasize the links between them.

I begin this chapter with a discussion of the concept of reflexivity, which I indicated in chapter one was important to the project. Reflexivity is particularly relevant to a discussion of methodology, because, as I explain below, reflexive research foregrounds the decisions and perspectives behind the choice and use of method. I go on to summarise the 'research journey', to explain briefly how I came to use a social constructionist epistemology which led to my focus on talk and language, rather than on structural factors of gender inequality. This is important because it informs many of the methodological decisions I discuss later in the chapter. I then explore the qualitative methodology used in the research. This includes a rationale for using a qualitative methodology, and of

the particular methods used in the research, which are participant observation, interviews and documentary analysis. The discussion also includes a description of how I selected participants and data for the research, how I gained access to interviewees, events and documents, and how I conducted the research. I go on to explain the analytical techniques used, which are based on a combination of the principles of discourse analysis and grounded theory. I then consider some issues relating to the research process. These are the credibility of the research, confidentiality and anonymity, and the researcher role. Finally I summarize how I developed the research questions, which are listed at the end of the chapter.

Reflexivity

In chapter one I stated my commitment to reflexivity in the conduct and presentation of this research. I defined reflexivity in its most basic form as 'disciplined self-reflection' (Wilkinson 1987). I have aimed, in conducting the research and writing the thesis, to incorporate this reflexivity. Reflexivity is a complex term which has been interpreted by researchers and writers in different ways. Here I use Wilkinson's treatment of the term to identify three ways in which I have used a reflexive approach in this research. According to Wilkinson, three key forms of reflexivity are personal, functional and disciplinary (Wilkinson 1987: 494).

Personal reflexivity involves acknowledging the identity and background of the researcher, and the impact of this on the research aims and processes. For example, my identity as a woman could have affected the kind of rapport I developed with the male and female participants of the research. I employ this aspect of personal reflexivity in the section below, where I discuss the 'researcher role'. Also, my standpoint as a feminist has affected the research aims and outcomes. Thus the discussion in chapter two of the feminist perspective of the research contributes to this aspect of personal reflexivity. Whilst objectivist research would present this reference to personal background and political position as an indication of 'bias' that interferes with the 'facts' to

be discovered by the research, research conducted within a social constructionist epistemology values the acknowledgement of personal and political perspectives, and treats them 'as both central to and as a resource which informs one's research' (Wilkinson 1987:494). In this thesis, whilst I have foregrounded the importance of the researcher in impacting on the research, I have not taken this personal reflexivity as far as I might have done. For example, I have not discussed, as some researchers advocate, the impact of the research on me and on my personal circumstances or life-choices (Stanley and Wise 1982)[35]. Whilst I can see the value of this type of reflexive practice, I have chosen not to use it here, though I would consider writing in another context about the impact this research process has had upon me.

The second type of reflexivity that Wilkinson identifies is 'functional reflexivity' (Wilkinson 1987:494). This is closely related to personal reflexivity but focuses more on the research itself than on the researcher. This research demonstrates functional reflexivity in that it involves a discussion of the relationship between the philosophical, theoretical and political values adopted and the aims and outcomes of the research. It also involves a consideration of the practice of research, and of the research process, which involves making decisions and choices based on assumptions, values and biases. Functional reflexivity can highlight how knowledge is produced, not by an objective researcher but as a collaboration between researcher and researched in a social context. I consider some of the issues involved in this relationship below, in the discussion of the researcher role. By foregrounding the research process as a particular set of decisions and activities in a particular social context, I present the research in a transparent manner (Henwood and Pidgeon 1992). I consider, as part of the discussion below of issues relating to the research process, how this transparency of the research process enhances the credibility of the research.

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[35] This type of reflexivity has been presented as particularly important to feminist research because it shows how research can impact upon women's lives and consciousness.

The third type of reflexivity that Wilkinson refers to is 'disciplinary reflexivity' (Wilkinson 1987:495). This means that the academic tradition in which the research is conducted is considered and questioned. This research is interdisciplinary in that it draws upon the writing and practices from a number of academic disciplines, including sociology, psychology and cultural studies. The interdisciplinary nature of this research contributes to this type of reflexivity because it means I do not adhere to the practices and traditions of one particular academic discipline but rather demonstrate the value of using a number of different perspectives and research practices. I also criticize some key assumptions made by particular disciplines such as mainstream psychology, which promotes the concept of personality, that I discussed in chapter two. Finally this study demonstrates disciplinary reflexivity in its critical treatment of classic feminist positions, as shown in chapter two.

In order to emphasize the importance of a reflexive practice to all aspects of the research process, I have included reflections on my theoretical perspectives, methodological choices and interactions with the participants throughout the thesis. This has been to show that reflexivity is an integral part of, and not a distraction from the 'real business' of doing research and producing knowledge.

The Research Journey

In chapter one I explained the rationale for studying gender and work in Sheffield's CIQ. Having decided upon a research topic there were still many more decisions to be made about the type of research I would conduct and what kind of knowledge it would produce. In chapter two I state that I have used a social constructionist epistemology in this research, and that this has meant I have focused on sense-making practices in creative industries work and how they contribute to the production of gender inequalities. Here I explain briefly how this came about.

When I first began my research into gender and the creative industries, I planned to conduct a survey of gender and work in Sheffield's creative industries, which would be complemented by case studies on three creative industries companies. At this point in time I was influenced by classic feminist theory and expected to focus on structured inequality in creative industries work. There were two key factors that affected my decision to 'turn to language' and discourse from a social constructionist perspective (Mills 1997).The first was the fact that somebody else was already conducting a survey on the creative industries in Sheffield. This was the group of academics at Bretton Hall, Univeristy of Leeds. From conversations with them, I learned that they planned to include gender analysis in their research, and so I decided it would not be necessary to conduct one of my own[36]. I have included the findings from their survey in chapter three. Having decided not to conduct survey research there was much more scope for me to develop an in-depth qualitative research design, and thus I spent longer than I would have otherwise, thinking about the kinds of qualitative research I could conduct and the philosophical basis for it. This involved a widening my reading on feminist theories of work and I came across works by writers such as Pringle (1989) Adkins (1995), McDowell (1997). These three writers all focus, not on structures of gender inequality that affect women from 'on high', but on how women and men are actively involved in producing gender identities and roles. For example, McDowell has written,

> Merchant banking too is associated with a set of heavily masculinised and classed images which have an important effect on the ways in which work is presented, given meaning and organised on a daily basis. These meanings themselves therefore influence the way in which workers 'do gender' in the workplace.

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[36] The resulting analysis produced by Bretton Hall actually actually included very little on gender, beyond numbers of women and men working full and part time in the sector. But I had been told it would be much more extensive so I did not do my own survey.

It was in part work by writers such as this that led me to turn from structural theories of gender to explore the idea of 'gendering', the social construction of gender on which I have based my research.

The second factor in my turn to social constructionism and discourse was going to conferences and meetings about the creative industries during the early stages of my research. Initially these events were meant to be starting points for my studies, places to make contacts and to get a feel for the field of investigation. However once I attended these conferences I came to notice how they seemed to be dominated by certain ideas and concepts, such as 'the new economy', 'creativity' and 'enterprise'. I was aware that these concepts were being presented by the speakers at the conferences in an idealised manner, and the creative industries were being portrayed as pioneers of the new, post-industrial economy. I also noticed that there was a small amount of hostility to these kind of representations, from people 'on the floor' who did not accept the version of the creative industries being presented, and its implications for their sector of work. I left these conferences and meetings with an interest in language and how particular words and expressions become dominant in the context of the creative industries, and how they seem to be presented as the 'right' way of perceiving a situation, leaving little room for opposing views to be heard.

Thus the combination of my decision not to conduct a survey, the way that led to wider reading and thinking about analysing gender using qualitative methods, and my experiences at creative industries conferences resulted in the constructionist epistemology I have outlined in chapter two, and my decision to focus my analysis of gender in the creative industries on language, and the sense-making practices people use in constructing versions of themselves and their work in the creative industries. I discuss the particular methodological and analytical choices relating to this decision below.

A Qualitative methodology

According to Harding, some writers on research methods are 'misleading and confusing' in their use of the term 'methodology' to cover all epistemological, theoretical, analytical and methodological issues in research practice (Harding 1987: 3). As I stated above, although I acknowledge the links between these decisions and processes in research, I distinguish between epistemological, theoretical and methodological questions. Thus in this discussion of the qualitative methodology I have employed, I refer to epistemology and theory but the focus is on the reasons for using qualitative research methods during the research project, the particular types of methods used, the access issues involved in conducting the research, and how I selected, collected and analyzed the data.

A Rationale For Doing Qualitative Research

A social constructionist epistemology does not automatically lead to qualitative research. There have been social constructionist projects which have used quantitative methods such as experiments and surveys (Crotty 1998). However, my decision to use qualitative methodology is related to certain aspects of social constructionism. As I stated in chapter two, social constructionist research aims to make sense of social phenomena and to explore how people use sense-making practices, rather than aiming to discover an objective truth. In this project I have taken the view that this sense-making process is accomplished primarily through discourse and through discursive practices, and so I have chosen a methodology that enables me to emphasize language in a social context.

In the discussion of reflexivity above I stated that reflexive research involves a collaboration between the researcher and the participants in the production of knowledge. I have used qualitative methods in order to achieve this collaboration, because these methods, such as interviews, involve an interaction between the interviewer and the participant, and a chance for the participant to give an in depth account of the issues in question. This demonstrates how qualitative methods can be part of an approach which des not 'regard theorizing

as restricted to social scientists' (Silverman 1993:28), but rather accepts that 'our everyday lives are fundamentally interwoven with theory' (Gill and Johnson 1993:23)[37].

Another rationale for using qualitative methods is that they involve studying the subjects of the research in a 'natural' setting rather than in a laboratory environment (Yin 1989) . This setting is often on their own 'territory', such as their workplace or social environment. During the course of my research I interviewed people in their offices, coffee bars and homes, and I observed a number of events in the CIQ. The research centre where I work is also in the Cultural Industries Quarter so I felt very much that I was immersed 'in the field'. This proximity with the participants' environments helped me to gain insights into some of the issues involved in the project through informal contacts and observation, to keep in touch with participants, and to gain access to events and documents that I may not have come across had I worked further afield.

Using a qualitative methodology does not preclude making reference to 'numbers'. In chapter one for example, I use the measurement of wages as an indicator of gender inequality in work, and at points in the thesis I refer to a 'gender imbalance' in the creative industries, represented by the larger numbers of men than women in high status jobs in the sector. Thus in providing a rationale for doing qualitative research I am not dismissing quantitative methods. In chapter eight I consider the need for more quantitative and qualitative research on the subject of gender and work in the creative industries.

A Mixed Method Approach

The 'mixed method' approach I have adopted has included semi-structured interviews, participant observation and documentary analysis. Using a range of methods has been important because it has enabled me to explore discourses and

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[37] But I acknowledge that the researcher dominates this process and produces the analysis. I return to this relationship between researcher and researched in the discussion below on the

discursive practices in a number of contexts. These have ranged from the policy arena, including policy documents, events at which I conducted observation, to interactions between myself and individual workers in the CIQ, represented by the interview data. The interviews generated most of the analysis presented, especially in chapters six and seven. But all the methods used have been important in the production of knowledge in this project. Below I give a brief summary of the rationale for using each of the chosen methods, a discussion of the access issues involved in the project, and a description of how I conducted and analyzed the research.

Interviews

Qualitative researchers promote interviews as a useful method in social research because they provide detailed, 'rich' data (Reinharz 1992). In this project the extensive accounts and interactions produced by the interviews have been an invaluable source of data on which I have been able to conduct detailed discursive analysis. Although some researchers do not consider interviews to be 'natural' situations, others have pointed out that interviews are becoming increasingly natural situations, as they are so common in daily life. For example, most people are involved in 'interviews' with doctors, employers and prospective employers, banks, solicitors and even therapists (Silverman 2000). Talk contained within the interview involves the use of conversational practices and identity resources by the interviewer and the interviewee. As such, an interview can be an example of how people present themselves and account for certain phenomena within social interaction. Some feminist researchers value interviewing as a method, because

> Interviewing offers researchers access to people's ideas, thoughts, and memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researcher. This asset is particularly important for the study of women because in this way learning from women is an antidote to centuries of ignoring women's ideas altogether and having men speak for women. (Reinharz 1992: 19).

'researcher role'.

I value the inclusion of women's voices in this research and have deliberately included more women in the sample than men (see discussion of research process below). However, I did not use the interviews primarily to gain access to women's 'ideas, thoughts and memories' in the way that Reinharz describes. Basing the analysis of the interview data on a social constructionist epistemology, as I have done, has meant that rather than trying to find out what women (and men) really think about gender and work, I have been more interested in exploring the sense-making practices used by the interviewees in their accounts, and how they have drawn upon wider gendered discourses in their talk (see discussion of analysis below). In the presentation of analysis in chapters five, six and seven, I draw attention to the part I play as interviewer in the production of discourse. This interaction also gave me the opportunity to examine non-verbal behaviour such as body language and laughter. I have indicated in the presentation of analysis some examples where the meaning of the interviewees accounts has gone 'beyond words'.

Participant Observation

Writers on ethnographic methods such as participant observation have stressed the value of observing a social phenomenon in a 'natural' setting, which is not artificially produced by the researcher (Silverman 2000, Reinharz 1992). I have used participant observation to view the research context 'as it is'. However, I treat with caution the idea of the 'natural' setting. I take the view that my intervention into the research setting changes that social context. This is not perceived as a problem; rather I have observed at creative industries conferences and meetings with a view to gaining an insight into the discursive context in which the research is set, taking into account my involvement in that context. For example, in chapter seven I refer to a comment I made in a conference setting, about the lack of women represented at the conference and I discuss the response of the male speaker. Writers on participant observation have described the different types of observer, from 'complete observer' to 'complete participant' (Punch 1998). I participated in the events I was

observing, but would define myself as mainly an observer in these contexts, as I did not engage fully in the events, and retained a distance from the proceedings as much as possible. I aimed to maintain the status of 'stranger' in my observational research, to keep an emotional distance from the topic of study, in order to retain a critical analytic approach to the subject (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995).

Analysis of the observational data is interwoven into the analysis of documents and interviews. The observational analysis is not the main focus of the study but rather supports and adds 'texture' to the main analysis of documents (chapter five) and interviews (chapter six and seven). This does not mean that the observational data was treated as less important than the other data. Observation at conferences and meetings was crucial in sparking my interest in gendered discourses and in influencing my decision to use a discourse analytic approach. It was also at these events that I was able to collect documents and make contacts for the research. My immersion in the field of the creative industries also gave insights which informed the writing of the contextual chapter in this thesis (chapter three). Thus whilst I have not presented this research as primarily ethnographic, I have drawn upon ethnographic methods which have influenced the research at a theoretical level.

Documents

Documents are a useful source of data in this project for a number of reasons. The creative industries is an area in which 'policy' figures highly, at national and local government level and in terms of urban regeneration and creative industries intermediary organizations. By studying policy documents I have been able to explore creative industries discourse at a 'macro' level. Also, although policy documents are written with a particular audience in mind, the documents are the one area of data I have studied that has not been produced in conjunction with, or with participation from, me the researcher. This means, for example, that the production of the documents has not been influenced by my

feminist perspective. Thus I have been able to explore how far the chosen documents present a 'gender-neutral' view of the creative industries (see chapter five). The issue of gender-neutrality was more difficult to examine in the interview data because I imposed the issue of gender onto the interviews from the outset by stating my research interest. During this project I have limited the documentary research to documents in the public domain. But I am also aware of the potential for studying other types of documents such as emails, organizational memos, minutes of meetings and letters. It was not straightforward to obtain some of this type of data, so my decision to concentrate on public policy documents was based both on access issues (see below) and to offer a contrast with the more 'personal' communication of the interviews.

The Research Process

In this section I begin with a discussion of how I gained research access in order to carry out the study. I explain how I selected the participants, the observational settings and the documents I reviewed, and how I conducted the research. To do this I discuss the interviews, observation and documents separately.

Access

The issue of access is important in any research project as it involves the processes through which the research is able to acquire the data in the first place. Access is easier or more difficult depending on the type of organization or group being studied, and the type of research being carried out (Silverman 2000: 57, Punch 1987). As an area in which policy is being developed, creative industries workers are aware of and open to the role of research in their field. Thus I was able to be 'up front' from the outset about my intention to conduct research in this context, and, in the case of the participant observation, I was granted access with few problems[38]. At some of the conferences where I conducted participant

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[38] Researchers in more sensitive or 'closed' environments such as the police (Punch 1998) have argued a case for conducting covert research.

observation I negotiated free entrance to the event for myself, in return for providing some volunteer work as I explain below. I was also granted access to the policy documents in that they were all in the public domain as I stated above. Access was more difficult for the interviews. It took me six months to gain full access to conduct all the interviews. My initial plan was to conduct case study research. But organizations were either reluctant, or unable for practical reasons, to offer me the extensive access that a case study would require. So I switched to individual interviews and was finally able to secure access for interviews with 22 people. deciding not to pursue a case study design also impacted on the types of documents I chose to study. Without full access to organizations to do case study research I decided it was inappropriate to ask to see documents such as emails and company memos, because these involved communication between a number of workers and I was only talking to individuals.

Although I was open about my role as a researcher there was some deception involved in my research practice (Punch 1987). At conferences, for example, I was treated as an academic who had an interest in the creative industries; I did not tell my fellow delegates that I was observing them and writing notes on the things they did and said at the conferences. At two conferences I volunteered to help run the events. The delegates there did not know I was also conducting observational research. During the interviews, although I had gained informed consent to conduct them, I did not offer a great deal of detail about the kind of issues I was interested in, or discuss with the interviewees how I would analyze their talk, beyond a general statement about gender and work. If anyone asked me a direct question about my research I did my best to answer it honestly, and to honour the goodwill of those who spoke to me, I have done my best to protect their anonymity, as I discuss below. I told the interviewees, and some other contacts in the CIQ that I would give them feedback on the outcomes of my research (Maykut and Morehouse 1994). I intend to write a report on my research findings, which I will present to them either individually or during a talk about my project.

Selecting Participants and Conducting Research

<u>Interviews</u>

I have discussed access issues above and shown that problems of access can affect the selection of participants in research. As I stated above, I had to abandon the case study design I had originally planned and instead conducted individual interviews. I was necessarily limited to interviewing those who would agree to talk to me. My criteria for selecting potential participants were as follows. Originally I intended to interview more women than men, on the grounds that this is a feminist project concerned with issues of contemporary gender inequality. I chose a sample that included people in a variety of jobs, from a variety of organizations, both businesses and non-profit making ones. I also wanted to interview enough people to produce adequate data on which to conduct detailed discourse analysis. Although there are no set rules on this issue, for the type of analysis I was using, I decided that 20-25 interviews of approximately 45 minutes would be sufficient. I interviewed 22 people, 15 of whom were women. Of these interviewees, 17 worked for non-profit making organizations and 5 for businesses. This arose partly because people working for businesses seemed less able to give up their time for no financial reward[39]. As one person who declined to be interviewed put it: 'time is money'. Nine of the interviewees had clerical or administrative jobs, 5 were in management roles, 5 had artistic roles, 3 had a technical job and 2 did project work with clients. Their roles were often varied however, and some of the people I spoke to did more than one job, either in or outside the creative industries. I have not been any more specific about the interviewees' roles or the organizations they work for to protect individuals' confidentiality and to preserve anonymity, as discussed below.

I conducted the interviews between December 2001 and May 2002, with the majority of the interviews being conducted in May 2002. I gave the interviewees

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[39] Particularly because most businesses in the CIQ are either small or sole traders and so if one person gives up time for an interview there may not be anyone else in the organization available to do necessary jobs.

the choice of where to hold the interviews and most people opted to talk to me in or around their places of work. Of these workplace interviews, all but two were held in private; two were held in an open plan office in which others were present. I thought the interviewees might not have felt able to talk freely in this situation. These two interviewees may have been inhibited in different ways, as one was interviewed in front of her manager and the other spoke to me in the presence of colleagues that she managed. Other venues used included my place of work, the interviewees' homes, and in one case my home.

To prepare for the interviews I wrote an aide-memoire or interview guide. This was a list of topic areas to cover during the course of each interview. In the early interviews I kept close to the guide, but as I gained in confidence and the interviews began to 'flow' I was more flexible. This meant I was able to allow the interviewees to talk more freely when they seemed to want to carry on discussing a particular subject. It also meant I felt able to ask questions not mentioned in the guide if I thought they were relevant. Another change during the course of the interview stage was that in the early interviews I used postcards with statements on as a research aide, in order to prompt the interviewees to talk about certain topics. As I became more comfortable with the interview process, I preferred to allow the talk to develop without the use of such instruments. During the interviews I deliberately kept my contributions to a minimum, to encourage detailed accounts from the interviewees. Gaining detailed accounts was important in this study because, the type of discourse analysis I used to analyze the interview data involved examining the participants' comments with a view to highlighting discourses and discursive practices that could be varied and contradictory, and that developed over quite extensive periods of talk (see discussion of analysis below).

Participant Observation

For my participant observation, I selected events and meetings which I thought had some significance to local or national creative industries policy or activity. I

chose to attend public events that were organized around the issues of the creative industries as these would be relatively easy to gain access to, could be a source of documents or contacts, and would forefront the creative industries as a theme. I was particularly interested in conferences as these tended to involve quite in depth discussion of the creative industries, from a number of perspectives. As with interviews, though, there was an element of opportunism and practical considerations in my selection. Thus I attended events that I heard about, that I was invited to, and that were cheap or even free to attend. On a national level, I attended four creative industries conferences, two of which were held at universities, one of which was held at a theatre, and one at an arts centre. All of these events attracted delegates from the UK and abroad. Locally, I attended some meetings in Sheffield on the subject of urban regeneration and the creative industries. I also regularly attended the CIQ Agency monthly networking event, 'First Thursday'. I made a number of contacts at this event, including one who became an interview participant. As with the interviewees, apart from First Thursday, I have not listed the precise titles or locations of conferences, to protect the anonymity of the participants.

At two of the conferences I worked as a volunteer, helping to run the conferences, which involved tasks such as handing out delegates' passes, directing people to workshops, holding microphones for delegates to speak in plenary sessions and serving food. I took notes at all of the events I attended, either during the event itself or afterwards. At conferences and meetings I recorded how many men and women spoke, and how many women and men attended the events. As with the interview technique, my observation and note-taking skills evolved over the period of the research, so I could not produce an exact template of how I conducted this aspect of the research. This relates to the grounded aspect of this project, which means I have allowed the theory and methodology to evolve gradually rather than working from a 'blueprint' at the beginning of the research and adhering strictly to that (Morehouse and Maykut 1994).

In some contexts it was easier to observe and take notes than in others. For example, when I attended a conference or meeting as a delegate or audience member I was able to sit and take notes unobtrusively. Indeed, other people would do the same and so I 'blended in' to the environment in which I was observing. At other events, for example when I was working as a volunteer at a conference, there was less opportunity to take notes, and so I had to rely on memory when I got a free moment to write up my observations.

Documents

The selection of documents was made using the criteria described below, but, as with the interviews and observation, also depended upon access to, and availability of, material. I chose documents which could either be described as 'policy' documents, or which impacted upon creative industries policy to some degree. For example, Sheffield City Council's *CIQ Area Action Plan* (2000) lays out policy for investment and action in the CIQ. Fleming's *The Role of the Creative Industries in Local and Regional Development* (1999)is not a direct statement of policy, but involves summaries of speeches by key policy makers and academics involved in producing creative industries policy, and impacts upon that policy. I have chosen a selection of national and local documents to explore whether or not dominant discourses at a national level are also prevalent in local policy. I also included two books (Landry 2000, Leadbeater 1999). This is because I see these books as relating directly to policy issues in the creative industries. Indeed, Landry's *The Creative City* (2000) is subtitled 'A Toolkit for Urban Innovators', and is marketed to policy makers[40]. All the documents were published between 1998 and 2001. This enabled me to examine a set of discourses produced within a particular context and period. As I stated above, some of the policy documents (such as Fleming (1999)) I acquired at conferences or meetings; others were given to me by contacts in the creative

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[40] At one conference. dominated by people who influence creative industries policy, a copy of Landry's book was given free to each delegate.

industries, and some I found on the internet (DCMS 1998, 2001). All the policy documents I have analyzed are referenced fully in the bibliography; the list includes:

Blair (2001) 'Introduction': *Culture and Creativity The Next Ten Years*

DCMS (1998, 2001) *Creative Industries Mapping Document*

Fleming. T (1999) *The Role of the Creative Industries in Urban and Regional Development*

Landry (2000) *The Creative City*

Leadbeater (1999) *Living on Thin Air*

Sheffield City Council (1998) *Sheffield Cultural Industries Quarter: Strategic visiona nd Development Study*

Sheffield City Council (2000) *Sheffield CIQ Area Action Plan*

Sheffield One (2000) *Masterplan Report*

Sheffield One (2001) *Sheffield City Centre Integrated Development Plan*

Once I had selected and collected documents, the research process relating to the documents involved less practical considerations and less preparation than that relating to the interviews and participant observation. This is because the data was 'already there'; I did not have to produce it in collaboration with the research participants. But the process of analysis warrants some attention and I discuss this below.

Analysis

In chapter two I explained why I used a discourse-analytic approach, with particular reference to the epistemological and theoretical foundations of the research. I summarized the broad type of discourse analysis employed, which is influenced to some degree by the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). I also stated in chapter two that I have developed research questions and conducted analysis in keeping with the principles of grounded theory as it was introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and has been developed by other

writers since (Maykut and Morehouse 1994, Henwood and Pidgeon 1994). Here I examine how, in analyzing the data, I have combined discourse analysis with grounded theory to produce a grounded, discursive form of analysis (Henwood and Pidgeon 1994). In the discussion below of the analytic techniques I used I focus on the interview analysis, as this has formed the major part of the empirical analysis presented in this thesis. I refer to the analysis of the documents and observation notes at the end of the discussion of the interview analysis.

A Grounded Discourse Analysis

A grounded form of discourse analysis combines the stronger elements of both discourse analysis and grounded theory. On the one hand, grounded theory has been criticized, particularly from a constructionist perspective, because it relies on an assumption that theory emerges purely from data and does not take into account the theoretical, political and personal influences that inform research practice and theory building (Henwood and Pidgeon 1994:235). Discourse analysis, on the other hand, has been criticized for imposing discourse theory on to data, and for 'glossing over' issues and themes that do not fit into the theoretical perspective of the researcher (Gill 1993) . This grounded discourse analysis incorporates both the grounded technique which 'discovers' theory as it emerges from the data, and the discourse technique which acknowledges and develops prior 'theory' and perspectives as the analysis is conducted. Thus by combining both techniques a robust form of analysis is produced.

The analysis process can be traced back to the beginning of the research when I began thinking about the research topic, aims and focus (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 205). Here I begin describing how I conducted the analysis, with a summary of the transcribing of the taped interviews as this relates closely to the analytic approach taken. As I stated in chapter two, I have not used what can be termed 'technical linguistic' analysis and so I did not follow all the conventions of transcribing used by conversation and other linguistic analysts.

But I did include in the transcripts some key indications that this was a representation of a piece of talk rather than a purely written text. For example I indicated pauses of over two seconds (...), and wrote in any hesitation ('er', 'erm' etc). I also commented on utterances such as laughter ('laughs') or when someone used a voice different from their regular one ('funny voice'). I have included an excerpt from an interview transcript in the appendix, as well as a list of the transcribing conventions that I follow. Thus I have shown in the transcripts that the interview was an interaction between two people, but the generally long length of sections of talk from the interviewees illustrates that my key focus is on the interviewee's accounts, their use of discursive practices, and how they mobilize identity resources.

Once I had transcribed all the interviews I read through a selection of the transcripts to begin to look for recurring themes and concepts. I took note of all the terms and themes that appeared and wrote these down on a 'discovery sheet' (Maykut and Morehouse 1994). This process formed part of the grounded theory technique. I continued the grounded analysis by going through the transcripts and splitting them up into small sections of talk, that fitted in to the themes and concepts I had listed. I did this with all the transcripts, adding 'categories' of themes or concepts to the discovery sheet as I found new ones. I then cut up all the transcripts and placed each section of talk on an index card, labeled with the relevant theme or concept. I put all the cards into groups that represented each category. This method is called the constant comparative method (Maykut and Morehouse 1994, Henwood and Pidgeon 1994). Advocates of this method of analysis have suggested that this process leads to theory-building when the researcher makes statements which represent each category, and checks that each card in the category corresponds with the statement, building new categories where necessary, until saturation is reached. This happens when all the sections of talk on the cards have been fitted to a category. (Maykut and Morehouse 1994). I did not go as far as making statements for each category or aiming for saturation of the data. Instead, I studied each group of cards and

reorganized them into areas of discourse, or discursive practice. I found there were three main areas that the data corresponded to. These were discourses of the new economy, discourses of entrepreneurship and the entrepreneurial self, and accounts of gender (in)equality. These three areas became the broad chapter headings for the analysis presented in chapters five, six and seven.

I then took individual index cards with sections of talk on, and went back to the transcript from which they originated, to examine the larger section of talk in which these excerpts were situated. I did this because a discourse or a discursive technique often occurs during the course of quite an extensive amount of talk, and can involve qualifying a point, retracting it or making contradictions. Also criticism that has been made of some discourse analysis is that analysts can use brief quotes to illustrate their own points, rather than placing them in the context of a longer section of talk that puts their interpretation of it into question. By showing my analysis of longer pieces of talk, I demonstrate how I came to certain conclusions from close analysis of the data. I started examining and writing down what I thought was being accomplished in these longer sections, in relation to the discursive categories I had placed them under. For the writing of each chapter I selected examples of analysis of these longer excerpts of talk. I did not make these selections in a systematic way according to how often discourses or discursive practices occurred in the data. But I did attempt to represent the dominant, recurring themes and practices as I found them in the data.

The analytic technique I have used can thus be described as a grounded discourse analysis, as it draws upon techniques from both grounded theory and discourse analysis. This can be illustrated by my approach to existing theory during the analysis stage. 'Pure' grounded theory would involve only referring to the data to produce an emergent theory. But I referred to other people's writing throughout the analysis, often being prompted to do so by the concepts and discourses emerging from the data. For example, when I began to realize

that the interviewees tended to justify or deny gender inequalities at work, I referred to Dryden's (1999) research on married couples and their discussions of gender inequality in the domestic division of labour. I found that the discursive techniques used in the two contexts were very similar and proceeded to use Dryden's concepts as a guide for my own development of theory. This shows that a grounded discourse analysis does not impose prior theory on to data but builds theory with reference both to the data and to existing theory and research.

The analysis of the documents and observational notes also conformed to this method of grounded discourse analysis, but there were some differences from the interview analysis due to the different types of data used. In terms of preparation, for example, I did not have to 'transcribe' documents as they already existed as texts. The observational notes were written in the research setting, but I typed them up after each event, producing aa accurate as possible a representation of my original notes. Compared to the documentary and interview data, the observational notes did not include long sections of text, but rather were quite brief comments and summaries of my observations and talk, including speeches, overheard conversations between people and conversations between myself and others (see appendix). This meant that I did not conduct detailed discourse analysis on them, but rather used them to pull out examples of discursive contexts and some discursive practices that related to the more detailed documentary and interview analysis. In analyzing the interviews I transcribed and categorized all the data, but the analysis of the documents involved selecting relevant data and rejecting 'irrelevant' data at an early stage. This was because some of the policy documents contained major sections that did not relate to the focus of study, such as transport systems (Sheffield City Council 2000), European funding (Fleming 1999) or the import/export revenue of a particular sector such as fashion or advertising (DCMS 2001). The analysis of the documents involved identifying major discursive categories such as 'the new economy' 'creativity' and 'entrepreneurship' and closely analyzing sections of text, to explore how these terms and discourses were employed.

Issues Relating to the Research Process

There are a number of issues that relate to the research process that I have briefly referred to in this chapter, but which should be discussed in more detail. Here I consider questions relating to the credibility of the research, confidentiality and anonymity of participants, and the researcher role.

Credibility of the Research

Objectivist, positivist social science emphasizes the importance of validity, reliability and generalizability when evaluating research (Silverman 2000). Validity has been defined as 'the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers' (Hammersley 1990: 57). Reliability has been defined as 'the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions' (Hammersley 1992:67). Generalizability is concerned with the extent to which research findings can be applied to a wider social context beyond the parameters of the research. In quantitative research this relates to sampling a section of a population to produce findings which relate to the population as a whole (Silverman 2000:245). These terms - validity, generalizability and reliability - are used most in quantitative research. But writers on qualitative research argue that qualitative research should still be 'credible', and have adapted the terms validity, generalizability and reliability to make them appropriate to qualitative studies. Hakim has written that

> the great strength of qualitative research is the validity of the data obtained: individuals are interviewed in sufficient detail for the results to be taken as true, correct, complete and believable reports of their views and experiences' (Hakim 1987: 270.)

This quote from Hakim serves to illustrate why I do *not* use terms such as validity in this project. Hakim defines interviews as 'valid' because they provide 'true, correct, complete and believable reports' of people's views and experiences. Using a social constructionist epistemology, however, means that I reject the concept that any research can be considered a 'true' or 'correct'

representation of 'reality' or of someone's 'experience'. To reiterate a point I made in chapter two, by referring to Crotty,

> What constructionism drives home unambiguously is that there is *no* true or valid interpretation ... 'Useful', 'liberating', 'fulfilling' 'rewarding' interpretations yes. 'True' or 'valid' interpretations no. (Crotty 1998: 48).

If I am not going to use the concepts of validity, generalizability and reliability, I need some other basis on which to judge the credibility of the research. Thus I use the concepts of 'trustworthiness' (Moorhouse and Maykut), and 'relevance'. In doing so I also refer to Crotty's idea of 'useful' research. I then consider Crotty's concept of 'liberating' research as an alternative example of credible research.

Trustworthiness

The term 'trustworthiness' as a measure of credibility in research is taken from the work of Guba and Lincoln (in Denzin and Lincoln 1994). It has been adopted by other writers working in qualitative research. Maykut and Morehouse for example, ask,

> To what extent can we place confidence in the outcomes of the study? Do we believe what the researcher has reported? (Maykut and Morehouse 1994:145)

Maykut and Morehouse have suggested a number of ways in which research can be shown to be trustworthy. For example, they advocate making the research process 'transparent' by making materials available such as transcripts, tapes of interviews, documentary evidence, and by providing examples of working and analysis in progress. They also suggest the aims and purpose of the research should be made clear so that readers can decide if they think these have been followed and achieved (Maykut and Morehouse 1994). This example of 'trustworthy' transparent research relates to my discussion of reflexivity at the beginning of this chapter. I have employed a reflexive approach during this

research, which not only foregrounds the research process and the research aims, but, as I explained above, also highlights the personal, theoretical and political influences on me as a researcher which have affected the research outcomes. Advocates of reflexivity have argued that reflexive research based on a constructionist epistemology can be more credible than 'traditional' objectivist research, that tends to 'obscure the personal and social commitment that research inevitably involves' (Henwood and Pidgeon 1994:236). This means that reflexive constructionist research could be said to be more 'strongly objective' than some deliberately objectivist research, because it does not conceal the 'bias' of personal or theoretical perspectives (Henwood and Pidgeon 1994:236). I have not used the term objectivity in relation to this research, but I would argue that the reflexive practice I have used adds to the 'trustworthiness' of my work.

I would add to existing discussions of trustworthiness in research, that clear and detailed referencing is important in credible research because it shows acknowledgement of theory and previous research that has influenced the project and does not make claims of originality that are unfounded. A further way of encouraging researchers to write trustworthy accounts is by putting work out into the public domain for scrutiny from colleagues and peers. I have found presenting papers at conferences (Tams 2000, 2001) and publishing articles in Journals (Tams 2002) a good way of 'testing' my research practice, and making sure it is defensible. Trustworthiness relates to Crotty's concept of 'useful' research, because if the research can be trusted it can be used by others to develop ideas and practices.

Relevance

The second term I use to 'measure' credibility of my research is 'relevance'. By relevance I mean the extent to which the research can be shown to relate to and be rooted within both a given social and theoretical context, and to add something new to that context. As with trustworthiness, relevance here relates to

Crotty's concept of 'useful' research. If the research can be shown to build upon existing knowledge it can be deemed useful. An example of how I have attempted to enhance the relevance of this research is the contextual information I provided in chapter three, about Sheffield's CIQ. This demonstrates that my analysis can be contextualized within a social situation rather than being presented as abstract. In theoretical terms, I have also located the research within a theoretical context, in that I have explained how it has been influenced by feminism and post-Marxism. This gives the research 'relevance' because the research is presented as stemming from, relating to and debating with existing theoretical writing and thought. In terms of epistemological and analytical questions, I have placed the research within social constructionism, and I have related the analytical approach to other writers and researchers who use discourse analysis. In particular, in chapter seven I use analytic terms and methods introduced by another writer (Dryden 1999). This means I am contributing to existing research practice, developing existing analytic techniques, and also, by adopting someone else's ideas, advocating the 'credibility' of another writer's work.

'Liberating' Research

I have so far shown how I have made efforts to ensure that this research is trustworthy and relevant, and therefore useful to others. But I also aim for my work to be liberating. This aim is linked to my feminist standpoint and the influence of post-Marxism on the research. By liberating I mean that I have attempted to further the cause of those combatting gender and other social inequalities in society. By stating the theoretical and political positions I have taken and referring the presentation of analysis to those positions, I have been clear in showing the political goals of the research. Some writers have argued that research has more chance of being liberating if it directly involves the groups it aims to empower (Naples 1999). 'Action research' is championed by some because it goes into communities and organizations to solve an immediate problem (Benmayor 1991). I would argue that a number of different types of

research practice have the potential to be liberating. As I stated above, I do intend to take my work back to the people I interviewed, with a view to sharing some of the insights I have gained and maybe even developing some kind of political discussion about my analysis based on their accounts. Also some of the female interview participants told me they found it interesting and helpful discussing gender issues with me. I cannot claim that our conversation was 'liberating' in itself, but our dialogue could have contributed to those women's ideas and consciousness about gender and work (Reinharz 1992).

Confidentiality and Anonymity

As I mentioned above, I do not see the creative industries as a particularly 'sensitive' area of study. However there are still some important ethical issues about maintaining people's confidentiality and anonymity in this context. In terms of my analysis of documents, I do not see anonymity as an issue, as all the documents I used were available in the public domain. The participant observation was conducted at 'public' events such as conferences, and I have not named any speakers or delegates at these events so anonymity was not a serious problem there either. The issue was most pertinent in the case of the 22 interviews I carried out in Sheffield's CIQ.

My initial intention, as I stated above, was to conduct case study research, using interview, documentary and observational data from two or three organizations. But I did not secure access to do this. One of the reasons could have been that organizations were reluctant to divulge too much information about their activities and policies. Sheffield's CIQ is a relatively small place, and organizations would have been easily identifiable by a description of what they do. There is only one cinema in the area, for example, only two theatre companies, and only one art gallery. I found it much easier to gain access to interview individuals. These people agreed to be interviewed subject to the condition that they would not be identified in the thesis, that the information they gave me would be 'confidential' and that they would not be identified in

my thesis. In order to protect the anonymity of the participants I have changed their names, and described them when I refer to extracts of their talk in very general terms, only referring to their job roles such as administrator, chief exec, or performer. As some organizations are unique, it may even so be possible to identify some individuals from the content of their talk. I felt that to ensure anonymity by disguising the context of Sheffield would have compromised the aims of the research too much, because as I explained in the previous chapter, I focus on the significance of Sheffield as a centre for creative industries activity and as a context for policy in this field. I informed the participants that the study would identify Sheffield as the focus of research. Also, as my key interest is in discourse, the way the analysis is presented to highlight discourse and discursive practices means that individuals and their organizations are not foregrounded, helping to protect the anonymity of the participants.

The Researcher Role

Reflexive accounts of social research have emphasized the importance of the researcher role in its impact upon the way the research is conducted analyzed and presented (Reinharz 1992). Here I discuss the researcher role in three contexts: the identity of the researcher, the politics of urban regeneration, and taking action.

The Researcher Role and The Identity of the Researcher

Writers on research methods, particularly feminists, have discussed the impact the identity of the researcher can have on the research process (Reinharz 1992). In the context of interviews, for example, the issue of power has been raised, with the researcher tending to be located in a more 'powerful' position than the researched. My identity as a 'white middle class woman working in academia' has had some bearing on the process and the outcomes of this research. For example, it affected my choice of research topic, as my interest in the creative industries has stemmed in part from my involvement in a middle class social

group of family, friends and contacts which includes actors, artists, writers, film-makers and DJs. My identity as a white woman probably affected who I interviewed in the CIQ. Although I contacted a variety of people, men and women, from various backgrounds, of the twenty two I finally interviewed, fifteen were women and fourteen of those were white women. Writers on methodology have discussed how perspectives such as feminism have affected research (Wilkinson 1988), and I have covered this issue both in chapter two and in this chapter. I would add that in terms of doing the research, my feminist perspective meant that I had a good rapport with some of the women interviewees who also identified themselves with feminism. However, I would not say that these interviews produced stronger data than those with people whose perspectives I did not share. I problematize the concept of identity in this thesis, and (in chapters two and five) I argue against the concept of a fixed stable identity. Thus the way I presented myself, and the identity positions with which I aligned myself, changed during the research process. Some writers have argued that researchers can adapt in interview situations for example so that they 'identify with' each interviewee in order to gain the rapport necessary to conduct a successful interview. I think I did this at times during the interviews. On the question of power and the researcher role, on the whole I do not think I was in a situation where I had more power than the interviewees. Most were 'middle class professionals' talking about their work in a setting they were comfortable in. However there was one interview I conducted with a young unemployed black man who was volunteering in a media company. I found that interview very hard to do and he was extremely reticent during it. Though I did not consciously exert any 'power' over him, I was aware that we had very different social backgrounds. I will return to this experience in chapter eight.

The Researcher Role and the Politics of Urban Regeneration

I have stated above that the creative industries is not a 'sensitive' topic area in the way that a topic involving powerful people, such as central government practice may be, or research involving vulnerable groups such as drug users,

children or homeless people is. Sheffield nevertheless has its own political environment that must be taken into account when doing research here. In particular, the issue of 'urban regeneration' is an emotive one in the city and in the sub-region of South Yorkshire, which has been designated for European Objective One funding. As I explained in chapter three, there is a large amount of money involved, and there are a number of different interest groups represented amongst those responsible for allocating funds and those who are making claims to receive funds. I refer to this issue briefly in chapter five.

From the early stages of the research I decided not to focus on the political aspects of urban regeneration, beyond dealing with some of the policy discourses in this context. During informal conversations with a number of people, and from attending meetings on the subject, I realized that there was what I can only describe as an undercurrent of tension, hostility and conflict. I knew that if I pushed people to talk about the subjects causing such a 'bad feeling' I could lose the access I had gained to individuals and organizations, and my research would be under threat. And with regard to anonymity I did not want to implicate people who could be identified as making controversial points in this environment. Thus something has been 'lost' from the research as it is presented here. In particular, there were some meetings I attended on the subject of regeneration, Sheffield and the creative industries that involved some interesting discursive practices and conflicts. I have not dealt with them in the thesis for the reasons listed above. There is a potential for writing up some of these findings or conducting more research on the issue of the politics of regeneration in the context of Sheffield, and I will return to this in chapter eight.

The Researcher Role and Taking Action

Another issue relating to the role of the researcher that is linked to the above discussion about the politics of urban regeneration, is the question of 'taking action'. By this I mean both political action and more basic practical action in the research field. Writers on social research have discussed how researchers

can be placed in a difficult position , because in the course of their research they can come across individuals and groups who are in need of assistance, be it financial, emotional or practical. The relationship between the researcher and the researched can become one-sided so that the researcher 'takes' from the participants but does not give anything back. In this situation researchers can feel helpless and guilty. This is particularly relevant to research that involves the study of vulnerable people, and there are debates within social science, for example about how far researchers should intervene in the participants' lives if they are asked for help. As I have stated earlier, the creative industries is not the most 'sensitive' of areas and the majority of people I interviewed were not vulnerable and did not suffer great social problems. However, there were issues raised during my research which made me feel I should take some sort of 'action', either on a personal or a more political level. During the interviewing, many of the participants working in the subsidized arts sector mentioned lack of money as a problem in their work. I began to feel I should contribute in some way after benefiting from the research process in a way that they did not. In the end I donated £100 to one of the organizations, as a result of a direct plea to their 'friends and sponsors' for funds for them to go to the Edinburgh festival. This seemed unfair, as I did not donate to other organizations, but I thought giving a reasonable amount to one company would make more of an impact than giving very small amounts to a few. On a wider political level, as I mentioned above, I did not want to get involved, as this would compromise my researcher role and could close doors on me during the fieldwork. This situation was not satisfying to me, however, and there were some issues on which I may have taken action had I not been conducting research in the CIQ, such as the consultations over the future of the NCPM and the opening of the Spearmint Rhino Gentleman's Club. Some writers on research practice argue that the research is a political act in itself. I felt that I was helping to raise consciousness to some extent about gender issues amongst the people I interviewed.

Developing Research Questions

The final research questions emerged through the processes I have described above, from choosing an epistemological basis for the research, through to acknowledging and exploring the theoretical influences on the research, to choosing and designing a methodology, planning, conducting and 'writing up' the research. Thus in this development of the research questions, as well as in aspects of the analysis I discussed above, the research could be described as 'grounded' (Morehouse and Maykut 1994). The final research questions, which are directly addressed in the following chapters, are as follows:

1) How are the creative industries presented within policy discourses and interviewee accounts? (Chapter five)

2) How does this presentation of the creative industries fit into discourses of the new economy and enterprise culture? (Chapter five)

3) How does the promotion of the creative entrepreneur as the ideal worker in this context contribute to gender inequalities in creative industries work? (Chapter five and six)

5) Do the interviewees attempt to justify these gender inequalities? (chapter seven)

6) Are there examples of the interviewees resisting and challenging gender inequalities in their talk? (chapter seven)

As I have shown above, the key research questions are addressed in chapters five, six and seven. In chapters five and six I focus on issues of constructing a dominant view of the creative industries, and of relating this to certain identity positions. In chapter seven, I concentrate more on the process of accounting for gender inequality. But in exploring this issue I demonstrate at particular points how the interviewees draw upon particular constructions of the creative industries and certain identity positions as part of the accounting process. In the following chapter I open the discussion of the data analysis with a consideration

of how the creative industries are constructed within discourses of the new economy and enterprise culture.

Chapter Five

Myths At Work[41]: Gendered Constructions of the 'New Economy', Creativity and the Creative Entrepreneur

> The generation, application and exploitation of knowledge is driving modern economic growth. Most of us make our money from thin air: we produce nothing that can be weighed, touched or easily measured. Our output is not stockpiled at harbours, stored in warehouses or shipped in railway cars. Most of us earn our livings providing service, judgement, information and analysis, whether in a telephone call centre, a lawyer's office a government department or a scientific laboratory. We are all in the thin air business.
>
> Charles Leadbeater (1999:ix) *Living on Thin Air*

This statement by Charles Leadbeater reflects the views of many other writers and policy-makers, who repeatedly stress how dramatically our economy has been transformed. According to these promoters of 'the new economy', we have moved from the age of state capitalism, which was reliant on heavy industry and manufacturing, to a global economy fuelled by technological advance, knowledge creation and financial speculation (Leadbeater 1999, Landry 1999). And the creative industries[42] lead the way as a model of 'post-industrial industry' in this vision of the new economy. (Fleming 1999:8). In chapter three, I summarized how the creative industries have been promoted in policy documents as a growth sector within the new economy. Here, I examine how the new economy can be seen to function as 'myth'. I explain how the new economy myth is evoked in discussions of the creative industries, which results in the prioritizing of particular characteristics and qualities of creative industries work, and the neglect or subordination of others. In particular, I consider how, although the policy documentation presents the creative industries as 'gender-

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[41] *Myths at Work* is the title of a book by Harriet Bradley, Mark Erickson, Carol Stephenson and Steve Williams (Cambridge, Polity 2000). This chapter draws upon its key concept of 'myth' in the context of the sociology of work.

[42] See the discussion of the use of the term 'creative industries' later in this chapter.

neutral', it actually involves constructions of the creative industries, and those who work within them, which are highly gendered. These gendered discussions of creative industries work, I argue, form part of a set of processes which contribute to conditions whereby men have the potential to gain advantages over women in creative industries work.

I begin this chapter by explaining what is meant here by the concept of 'myth'. Using documentary data from creative industries policy, as well as observational and interview data, I then go on to critically examine the myth of the new economy and how the creative industries are placed within it. Next I explore the way the term 'creativity' is used in the data, as well as in wider political and social discourse, and I argue that its meaning has become associated with the values of enterprise culture in recent years. After summarizing the significance of 'gender neutrality' in this context, I finish by considering the way in which the 'ideal worker' in the creative industries is presented as the gender-neutral creative entrepreneur. I argue that in fact the creative entrepreneur is a gendered construct that contributes to the maintenance and reproduction of gender inequality in creative industries work.

Defining the Concept of Myth

Before I begin to discuss the empirical data, it is necessary to explain what I mean by the term 'myth'. Here I draw upon the theories of Bradley, Erickson, Stephenson and Williams as developed in their book, *Myths at Work* (Bradley et al 2000). They conceptualize myth in the context of the study of work, as

widely believed bodies of ideas about the way work is changing. These ideas are held by entrepreneurs, managers, politicians and policy-makers; they have been explored and developed by many academics, especially in management and business studies and in economics. They are spread and popularized by the mass media, and are taken up by members of the public (Bradley et al 2000:1-2).

In terms of the creative industries, then, the myth of the creative industries and creative industries' workers as pioneers of the new economy, is introduced and built up in government documents such as the DCMS's *Mapping Document of the Creative Industries* (1998), in statements and policies developed by organizations such as DEMOS[43], in local and regional policy groups such as the Forum on the Creative Industries (FOCI), in academic conferences and publications, and in the publicity material produced by creative industry intermediaries such as the CIQ Agency. The ideas promoted and developed in these arenas can be understood as forming 'myths', because they not only describe certain phenomena and actions, but they also seek to explain and justify them (Bradley et al 2000:2). For example, in chapter three, I discussed how the creative industries have been promoted as having the potential to help Sheffield to recover from the economic decline it has suffered since the collapse of traditional industry from the 1960s onwards. This idea is not an undisputable fact, but rather a point of view, which needs to gain a degree of acceptance from politicians, business people and local communities in Sheffield in order for it to be carried out as a set of practical measures. The idea has become 'myth' in that it has been used as part of a political process involving persuasion, value-judgements and assumptions. But the concept of myth in this definition is not the same as "the commonly used distinction between 'rhetoric' and 'reality'(Bradley et al 2000:2). That is, in discussing the myth of the role of the creative industries in the new economy, I am not trying to distinguish between the 'lies' of the politicians on this subject and the 'truth' of my own findings and opinions. Rather, I attempt to critically examine the way in which the policy documents and discussions have produced a particular version of the creative industries, which relies upon certain ideological assumptions. I do not try and prove this version as 'false', but rather I argue that it has become the dominant one at policy level.

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[43] Charles Leadbeater, author of *Living on Thin Air* (1999) who I quoted at he beginning of this chapter, is a leading member of DEMOS, a 'Think Tank' which advises the Blair government

Myth then, I link here to the concept of 'dominant ideology'. Dominant ideologies, as I explained in chapter two, are formed when a powerful group in society are able to justify and reproduce their power and status through representing it as 'normal' and 'natural'.

Implicit in the concepts of myth and dominant ideology is the existence of power relations. This is important to understand in the context of this thesis, which is concerned with gendered power. As I discussed in chapter two, feminists have identified how male power is maintained and reproduced through the 'naturalization' of the male perspective, with the female rendered as 'other'; subordinate and strange. In terms of the myth of the creative industries in the new economy, I have found that this myth is dependent upon the naturalization of a set of situations and perspectives which favour men over women workers. For example, the myth of the 'creative entrepreneur' is one which attributes qualities and practices which in today's society tend to be easier for men to fulfill. However, although this chapter focuses primarily on gender, and how the myth of the new economy is male dominated, I acknowledge that there are others issue at work. As I explained in chapter two, the thesis is based on a premise that gender relations are not simply about the subordination of women to men, but rather they involve complex interactions between relations of gender, class and ethnicity (Feree 1999:5). Thus it could be argued that the myth of the new economy is not only male, it is also white, western and middle class in its perspectives.

In explaining what is meant by the new economy, and in exploring the promotion of discourses of creativity in the context of the creative industries, I use extracts from the interviews as well as policy literature. This data shows that the people I interviewed in the CIQ 'buy in' to the myth of the new economy. But I do not claim that they do so wholeheartedly and in later parts of this chapter as well as in the following two chapters, I demonstrate that there is some

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on a number of economic and cultural issues.

ambivalence amongst the interviewees about the overarching benefits of the new economy, in relation to their working lives and to gender issues. This is important because, as the writers of Myths at Work have said, 'working people have their own agendas and often construct selves in ways quite different from the intentions of their superordinates' (Bradley et al 2000:3).

The issue of power and myth, then, is important to this thesis because I argue that there are material inequalities which are produced and reproduced in part as a result of the myth making process. For example, the myth of the new economy has been used in policy documents to justify and explain the way in which Sheffield's urban regeneration partnerships have planned to spend £35 million on changes within the city centre, including on the development of the CIQ, the construction of the Winter Gardens, and the building of a new retail centre near the city hall (Sheffield City Council 2000). I am not suggesting that the decisions to spend the money in this way were necessarily 'wrong' but rather I use the concept of myth to highlight the fact that it was not *inevitable*: political and economic choices are made by a small number of people, for example in the arena of Sheffield's urban regeneration plans, which affect the lives of a large number of people. And it is to myths that the decision makers turn in order to present their decisions as natural, common sense positions that will benefit the wider community.

The Myth of the New Economy

It is now a commonly held view that, at the beginning of the 21st century, we are in the midst of a new economic age. Terms such as 'globalization' and 'communications revolution' are used to describe some of the changing economic conditions in which we live.

Globalization is taken to point to the rise of a global market place-the weakening or dissolution of distinct national markets regulated by the nation state; the unprecedented penetration of previously self-contained economies (whether 'third world' or ex-communist) by global companies;

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and as precondition and consequence, the integration of these far flung markets into a world financial and regulatory system. That is a global market....Both global production and global markets rely on (though by no means exclusively) new information and communication technologies (ICT) which allow the complex management and regulation of these global systems. (Brown, O'Connor, Cohen 2000).

'Globalization is good' writes Charles Leadbeater, because

through global trade in products and services people learn and exchange the ideas that in turn drive economic growth. If we turn our backs on the global economy, we turn our backs on the most vital force in modern societies: the accelerating spread of knowledge and ideas (Leadbeater 1999: xi).

The implication of this argument is that anyone who rejects the idea that 'globalization is good' is backward looking and wants to stifle 'the spread of knowledge and ideas'. This position draws upon 'common sense', because it would seem irrational and foolish not to want to encourage the spread of knowledge throughout the world.

Policy documents relating to the creative industries are very much imbued with the language and values of this new economy discourse.

Earlier regional strategies have drawn upon a very limited portfolio of measures designed to regulate the economy as if it were a machine, but we are now entering the era of the knowledge economy-or better still the symbolic economy-and much subtler processes are at work. (FOCI1999:8)

Under the old paradigm, it was clear how you forced development-bang in a new road and some services and things start to happen. But under the rules of the new economy the infrastructure is secondary-it's almost out of date as soon as you've bought it. It's intellectual property which counts now and in order to ensure a free flow of the stuff in your region you must have a basis of trust (FOCI1999:7).

Creative Industry policy contributes to the new economy myth by presenting a dichotomy between the 'old' economy and economic policy, and the 'new'. In the above quote, the old economy is characterized as a 'machine' which

suggests a heavy, cumbersome object which cannot keep up with changing demands made upon it. The new economy is presented as 'symbolic', as dealing with less tangible commodities such as 'knowledge' in a 'subtle' way. As I explained in the discussion on social constructionism in chapter two, dichotomies such as this form part of the process whereby a dominant idea, perspective or value system is naturalized and favoured. The dichotomy between 'new' and 'old' then, is one where the new economy, and the new policies which accompany it, are naturalized and presented as positive, whereas the old economy, and old political ideas are characterized as backward and negative.

Creative industries policy links the creative sector to the new economy through promoting how well the creative industries fit into a new economic model. This means that politicians and business people who are already convinced by the arguments surrounding the new economy can be persuaded that the creative industries are a vital and potentially profitable part of that economy.

> Unlike many other industry sectors, the creative industries continue to benefit from high growth and expanding global markets. The communications revolution, increasing bandwidth and the advent of digital networks are creating new global markets, multiplying outlets and increasing consumer demand.   (DCMS1998:9)

Creative industries already generate revenues approaching £60bn per annum, They contribute over 4% to the domestic economy and employ around one and a half million people. These industries are growing at more than twice the rate of the economy as a whole.

The policy documents identify characteristics of creative businesses which render them particularly suited to the demands of the new economy:

> Whilst most industries are going through the painful process of abandoning the mass production line, the creative industries have always

been based on flexible work patterns, specialized batch production and niche marketing…in this context they are *the first post-industrial industry*. (FOCI 1999:8 my emphasis)

Thus it could be argued that investment in the creative industries is presented as desirable, because the creative industries already have the characteristics which enable them to adapt to the demands of the new economy. This suggests that investors would not have to spend much money encouraging the creative sector to adjust to changing conditions, because 'the creative industries have already made the adjustment'(DCMS1998:8). It is apparent, then, from examining how the myth of the new economy is mobilized in creative industries' policy literature, that it is employed to support the 'business case' for developing the creative industries. That is, the policy documents argue that the creative sector should be developed because it is profitable, and growing the revenue it produces all the time. Again, this is presented as a 'common sense' view, as there is no debate within the literature about whether or not creative endeavours should be profitable or not, or the extent to which creative industries really do strengthen the economy as a whole.

The model of work that is presented in policy documents as espoused by the creative industries is a de-standardized one. The emphasis on de-standardization is an important aspect of the new economy myth (Bradley et al 2000). In the quote from the Forum on the Creative industries above, the creative industries are said to involve 'flexible work patterns'. Linked to this idea of flexibility is the notion that work and life become intertwined in the new economy, there is not a clear distinction between the two. As well as in the policy documents this blurring between work and leisure is a characteristic of the creative industries presented by the interviewees from the CIQ.

Zoë: the <u>social life and the work life is intermingled</u> and like have a coffee down the road we are able to talk about work, but we also talk about who's going off with who! Know what I mean. Erm, so it is very er, <u>it is very intertwined and stuff like that really so social life it's not separate</u>

Pat: You know, it never, it never felt like work, work is just an extension of your life, it's not necessarily a place to go from nine to five and close the door.

In the above extracts Zoë, a filmmaker and Pat, a chief exec of a small company both state that their work is 'intermingled' with their lives. The interviewees tended to present this flexibility and intertwining as a positive thing ('it never felt like work'), an issue I shall return to in the next chapter.

As well as stating how work and life blurs in the creative industries the interviewees reinforced the idea of the flexibility of their jobs by saying they did not have to keep to a strict routine at work. In the extract below for example, Max, a photographer states that he does not have fixed routine.

You never know what's, what's going to happen from day to day sometimes form hour to hour it can change because someone might turn up and say can you do something now, I've just had a phone call this morning flrom Miranda Smart at the magistrate magazine who wants pictures of youths looking threatening, and it's to illustrate an article ...so you know, in a minute I'll be doing that, so, I never, you know I've started doing this I've got jobs going in the background and then other things come in that usually need immediate attention although someone might ask if I'm free to do a job straight away, so you never know quite what you are going to do, so it is very hard to plan and to set up a routine .

The interviewees tended to present the lack of routine in their work as a positive thing, making comments about how they enjoyed the 'variety' of their work, and how they would not like to work in a 'nine to five' reutilized job. For example, Emily, an administrator, says she likes working in this flexible, varied way.

ET: Do you have a set routine do you think?

Emily: Erm, I think not actually, and I quite like that because from day to day my role within the office can change, erm, I might come in with the intention of doing job one, and end up doing several other jobs which I quite like.

I critically examine this promotion of the non-standard, flexible working life in the creative industries below, in relation to the model of the entrepreneurial personality, and in the next chapter with reference to the autonomous, agentic 'attributes' of the entrepreneurial personality. Here I am first establishing that the creative industries are presented both in policy literature and through the accounts of individual workers in the CIQ, as embodying the characteristics of new economic forms of production and work, and that this is portrayed as positive. It is this idealization of a set of working practices and environments that contributes to the mythic value attributed to the new economy.

'Creativity' versus 'culture': the rise and rise of enterprise

The myth of the new economy as it is presented in creative industries policy literature is quite powerful, and draws upon an apparently simplistic dichotomy between the benefits of the new technological and creative industries over the old, traditional mechanical ones. However, it is more complex than it appears at first, and this complexity becomes apparent when we look more closely at how the creative industries are defined in the policy literature. As I mentioned in chapter three, a tension has developed in creative industries policy in recent years between the use of the terms 'cultural' and 'creative' in defining the sector in question. I argue here that the rise to prominence of discourses of *creativity* and the subordination of the values associated with *culture* are part of a corporatization of cultural activity, a process which does not enhance the prospects of struggles for gender and other forms of social equality in creative industries work.

As I stated in chapter on, according to the 1998 DCMS *Mapping Document*, the creative industries are:

Those activities which have their origin in *individual creativity, skill and talent* and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property. These have been taken to include the following key sectors: advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and television and radio (DCMS 1998:3, my emphasis).

The government's emphasis on the importance of 'individual creativity' goes beyond its policies on the creative industries and the discourse of creativity can be found in other areas of government policy such as education and business. The 2001 government Green Paper entitled 'Culture and Creativity: the next Ten Years' states that

> <u>Successful societies in the 21st century will be those that nurture a spirit of creativity</u> and foster the cultural activity which goes hand in hand with it. Governments cannot enforce creativity, but we can recognize that creativity will be central to the country's future and put in place the framework of funding and support to ensure that everyone has the opportunity and freedom to develop their creative talents (Blair, T 2001:5)

Throughout our society, creativity is presented as a positive attribute, of the individual, of the organization, of the city. For example, self-help books and websites tell us how to 'draw from [our] inner talents and creativity to develop the courage and self-belief to live life to the full' (Rose 1998:79). And urban policy makers promote creativity as 'an attribute that needs to be embedded in every process or project, not merely in the new and obviously creative media industries' (Landry 1999: 82). As the *newness* of the new economy is presented as always a Good Thing within enterprise culture, so is creativity portrayed as obviously and irrefutably positive. And, in addition to being portrayed as already having adapted to the needs of the new economy, the creative industries

are presented in policy documents as a pioneering sector because they are already naturally creative.

It is not only in government and urban policy that creativity is presented as important. The people I interviewed in Sheffield's CIQ also spoke of creativity as something positive that they valued.

> Mandy: <u>One thing that was missing from what I did at the women's refuge was, the element of creativity.</u> Erm, you know I did a fairly creative degree so you know, I wanted to incorporate that in some sense but I actually didn't know that a job like this existed so it wouldn't have been in my grand plan. Erm, but yeah I think, working in a job that's creative, which would probably go hand in hand with it being in the arts is important to me, yeah.

> Zoë: And because the cultural industries is a quarter, I think, <u>I think it's fabulous, because it does, I think creativity promotes creativity and encourages creativity and out of that you get a lot of, happy accidents.</u>

> Roy: Yeah, I'd say essentially I'm a non-profit person, if I've got to put myself somewhere, I'm not principally and highly, motivated by getting money for what I do, <u>I'm much more interested in erm, it being interesting and fun, good for the world, and so on, creative, those sort of things.</u>

In the above extracts, Mandy an education officer, Zoë a filmmaker and Roy a consultant all present their work as involving creativity in some way. They talk about creativity in different contexts and I will discuss some of the different ways that the term creativity can be interpreted below. What I am using these quotes for here is to show that creativity is presented as a positive characteristic of work and of human experience, in the interview data as well as in creative industries policy and our wider culture.

In the dictionary, the word 'creativity' is shown to have its origin in the verb 'to create'. This is given a number of meanings including: 'to bring into being or

form out of nothing, to bring into being by force of imagination' (Chambers 1992). Although creativity is also used in relation to artistic activity and sensibility, it is this notion of 'creation' that creative industries policy has latched onto most. Going back to the DCMS definition of the creative industries, they are defined as those 'which have a potential for *wealth and job creation* through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property' (DCMS 1998:3). More recently, the Government 2001 paper, Culture *and Creativity: the next ten years* has stated that

> Creative thought lies at the heart of almost all cultural activity; it helps put together those moments of uplift or of enjoyment that mean most to people; and it lies increasingly at the centre of successful economic life in an advanced knowledge-based economy (Blair, T 2001:5)

As Ken Jones has suggested,

> the spirit, cultural inclusion, the economy: culture and creativity serve all three masters. But the greatest, one feels, is the economy. Certainly, it is under the banner of economic necessity that 'creativity' has made its re-emergence in the field of policy (Jones 2001:9).

Jones' work focuses on the realm of education policy, but his comments are also pertinent when looking at creative industries policy. As the DCMS 1998 and 2001 mapping documents show, it is the economic value of creativity in which they are most interested:

> We have long seen the value which creative people bring to our lives, through the employment of their skill and exercise of their imagination. Their activities enrich us all, bringing us pleasure and broadening our horizons. But there *is* another justification for creativity and a reason for cherishing it: the whole creative sector is a growing part of the economy (DCMS 1998:2)

Creativity is identified in the policy literature, not just as having economic potential in terms of specific creative industries, but also as being a useful

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resource in all forms of business and work. This idea is linked to the changes brought about by the new economy.

> The global economy means that new technologies emerge constantly and new markets open up. There are new competitors but also new opportunities. Product life cycles in the millennium will be measured in months, not years. Creativity, enterprise and flexibility are vital for success (FOCI 1999:2)

Bearing in mind the definition of creativity as coming form creation, the 'bringing into being out of nothing', using 'imagination', we can begin to understand why, in creative industries policy literature, the term is used in conjunction with others such as 'innovation', 'knowledge' and, as in the above quote, 'enterprise'. This association is part of the process by which the meaning of creativity becomes embedded in enterprise culture. For example, in the plans of Sheffield's urban regeneration partnerships, we are told that Sheffield needs to build a more positive image as a dynamic city of skills, creativity, enterprise and culture (Sheffield One 2001); the FOCI document on the creative industries and regional development states that 'the creative sector is reliant on the inventiveness, energy and creativity of its inhabitants...the creative industries are also founded upon the principal that innovation is key-they are a classic learning industry' (FOCI1999:8); and the DCMS want to promote 'an image of Britain as the creative, innovative hub of the world' (DCMS 1998:10). Although the term 'creativity' can be used in a number of contexts, from fine art, to education, to business, the term 'innovation' is much more firmly fixed in economic and technological discourse. 'Innovation' makes us think of scientists, engineers and computer whiz –kids. Used alongside the word creativity, then, 'innovation' helps to anchor the idea of creativity to enterprise values, and to the myth of the new economy. This is illustrated by the work of the Japanese Nomura Institute, which is cited in one of the creative industries policy documents. According to the Nomura Institute we are no longer in an industrial age, but we have entered the 'Age of Creativity'. This is because:

In an era which prizes knowledge, creativity adds value to knowledge and makes it progressively more useful, companies are obliged to reinvent themselves to achieve growth, workers feel entitled to creative jobs...the customer is boss and has only one question: what are you going to do for me tomorrow? only creativity has the answer, [and because] the subtext of globalization is about a place's ability to mobilize ideas, talents and creative organizations (FOCI 1999:8)

I concur with certain commentators that this increasing focus on creativity as a tool for achieving success in economic terms represents an increasingly enterprise led cultural policy. This can be understood in the context of right wing politics across western societies since the 1980s. As Bianchini and Parkinson have written,

During the last decade [1980s], a shift to the right in the political climate...helped downgrade the earlier emphasis on the important of access to culture, especially for disadvantaged groups. It also undermined the view of culture as a contested political issue and of cultural policy as an alternative to traditional strategies for political communication and mobilization. The strategies of the 1980s emphasized political consensus, the importance of partnerships between business and public sector agencies, the value of flagship cultural projects in promoting a city's image, and the contribution of culture to economic development (Bianchini and Parkinson1993:2).

These comments are instructive here because they do not include the term creativity at all. Instead, the writer refers to 'culture' and 'cultural policy'. I would argue that the replacement of the concept of culture with the discourses of creativity that have occurred in policy arenas in recent years, is one important aspect of the very 'shift to the right' that Bianchini and Parkinson identify. From reading creative industries policy that spans the last fifteen to twenty years, it is clear that the terms 'culture', 'cultural policy' and 'cultural industries' have been gradually replaced in a great deal of cases, with the term 'creativity' and 'creative industries'. As well as the government, other national and regional organizations have adopted the term 'creative industries' rather than the 'cultural industries', and emphasize the importance of 'creativity' over 'culture'. These include the Forum on the Creative Industries (FOCI), Huddersfield's Creative

Town Initiative, and Tower Hamlets' Creative Industries Development Agency. Policy conferences also tend to focus on the 'creative' rather than the 'cultural'. In the course of my research I attended conferences such as The Creative City Conference in Huddersfield (2000), Sheffield Hallam University's Chancellor's Conference on the Creative Industries (2000) and the International Conference on Convergence, Creative industries and Civil Society in Nottingham (2001). In Sheffield, there are also obvious moves away from the cultural label to a more 'creative' vision. For example, the cultural industries quarter agency in the city increasingly uses the term CIQ rather than cultural industries quarter, and in its documents and publicity material it talks increasingly about the creative industries rather than the cultural ones:

> The broadening of *cultural into creative industries* and involvement in the digitally driven revolution in lifestyles, including immediate potential in games and related strengths in electronic design and engineering (Sheffield City Council 2000:26).

The above statement is interesting because it frames the move from using the term 'cultural industries' to the term 'creative industries' in terms of a 'broadening' of meaning. In contrast to this view I interpret the change from the concept of culture to that of creativity as a *narrowing* of a discursive framework from one which incorporates the concept of a wide variety of artistic, community, leisure, political and economic activities to one which focuses on only the economic potential of creativity.

By distancing themselves from the term 'culture' and investing instead in 'creativity', the policy makers have, as Bianchini and Parkinson have suggested, undermined the efforts of people and organizations that use cultural forms as a way of identifying themselves as different from the dominant mainstream, as a way of improving their individual or communal life, or as a political resource in campaigns and protests (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993). This rejection of the communitarian, political vision of culture and its value to arguments for social

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equity has been symbolized by events such as the dismantling of London's GLC in 1986[44], which meant the abandoning of its radical cultural policies, and laws such as the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act of 1994, which restricts the rights of people to congregate in groups in public places, which in effect criminalizes people involved in cultural activities such as outdoor raves and political demonstrations. This has culminated in the tough government and police reactions to anti-capitalist, environmental and many other demonstrators in cities throughout the UK[45].

In Sheffield, the carving up of the Objective One money further highlights how 'culture' in its wider, communitarian sense has been neglected for the sake of business and a very narrow view of 'creativity'. £50 million of Objective One and the earlier UK Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) funds have been allocated to spend on city centre projects. Of this money, over £32 million has been set aside for building a 'strong economy', particularly through the creative industries and information technology, whereas only £4.5 million has been reserved for 'sharing opportunity and prosperity' and 'addressing the needs of vulnerable individuals'. The current situation in the city is one in which community groups are scrabbling around and fighting each other for a very small amount of money, compared to what has been made available for business development. Many established community projects are under threat of collapsing, and there is little opportunity for new cultural ideas to be turned into reality[46].

According to the 'new economists' there is no room for these social, 'communitarian' values in their vision of the new, 'creative' economy. As Leadbeater has argued,

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[44] see McGuigan,1996

[45] demonstrators have been treated with similar hostility around the world (see Klein 2001)
[46] There are many examples of dissatisfaction among community groups in the city with the way the European money is being allocated, but I have been asked not to quote my sources due to the

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The communitarian critique of market capitalism is appealing but eventually disappointing. Strong communities can be pockets of intolerance and prejudice. Settled, stable communities are the enemies of innovation, talent, creativity, diversity and experimentation. They are often hostile to outsiders, dissenters, young upstarts and immigrants. Community can too quickly become a rallying cry for nostalgia; that kind of community is the enemy of knowledge creation, which is the well-spring of economic growth" (Leadbeater 1999:15)

This argument is sophisticated, because it subtly undermines any potential criticism of the new economy that may come from a social equity perspective. It does so by saying that those who argue for communitarian values are nostalgic, stuck in the past, and 'the enemies of innovation, talent, creativity.....and knowledge creation'. This relies again on a common sense ideology, because its assumption is that of course all these characteristics are positive, and anyone who does not agree is being irrational. As Paul Chatterton has written, the new 'creative' economy myth is difficult to challenge, because 'who wouldn't want to be creative?' (Chatterton 2000:392). The power of this myth lies to a large extent in its ability to absorb and incorporate potentially oppositional views of creativity and culture. Norman Fairclough has argued that a 'dominated discourse type may be in opposition to a dominant one' (Fairclough 1997:56). In this situation, as is apparent in the above statement, the dominant discourse (the new economy) undermines and discredits the minority one (community). This oppositional process also occurred at creative industry conferences. Although many of conferences I attended did involve participation of people from left wing and community groups, who do not share the corporate view of creativity, the opinions and contributions of these people tended to be marginalized and even silenced by the dominant discourse. At one particular conference, someone raised a question about the potential creativity of actions such as 'reclaim the streets' and anti-capitalism demonstrations. The panelists dismissed these as

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sensitive politics involved. It has been argued that decisions for money allocations are made at a European, not a local level. The debate goes on.

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'uncreative' and 'destructive' and pointed out the criminal minority which took part in them (Chatterton 2000:396).

As well as oppositional discourses such as these, Fairclough has identified discourses which are 'contained' by the dominant one. That is, although different from the core values of the dominant idea, they can be manipulated to serve that idea if presented in a certain way (Fairclough 1997:57). In terms of the new economy myth, this process of containment can be seen to occur in relation to ideas of social inclusion, and the role of culture and creativity in enhancing people's lives. For example, in a document by Yorkshire Arts about creativity projects in urban regeneration, the writers state that

> Creativity can drive transformation by encouraging learning, developing
> confidence and enabling resources and talents which individuals can use
> as a pathway out of poverty and exclusion (Yorkshire Arts 2002:2).

At first, this statement may seem very incongruous with the new economy myth, because it does not mention the economic role of creativity but instead focuses on its community and social values. However, the economic discourse does figure elsewhere in the document. But also this version of the social value of creativity can be seen as contained within the wider discourse of creativity and the new economy. For example, the writers make it clear that they have rejected the term 'the arts' and have gone for 'creativity' instead, because their definition includes 'broadcast and media arts and creative consultation and evaluation' and puts 'creativity at the heart of regeneration' (Yorkshire Arts 2002:4). This is more in keeping with the new economic discourse because it refers to economic, technological forms of creative output such as the media, and values the role of creativity in 'consultation and evaluation', an idea which is encouraged by economists and businesses within enterprise culture. Also the use of the terms 'exclusion' and 'inclusion' are interesting. That is, the idea that everyone can assimilate into society is pervasive in the myth of the new economy, and covers over issues such as poverty, the growing gap between rich and poor, and

problems such as high unemployment and extreme social deprivation[47]. It also ignores the issue of 'difference' in that we live in a society where people have different cultural, political and social identities and they may not want to be 'included' in the dominant society (Bhaba, 1994, Hall and DuGay 1996).

As Ken Jones argues, this assimilation of dissenting views and different cultural identities by the creative enterprise myth is a matter of concern:

> In this process of interference, the target discourse has once again been overwhelmed by the source. The pandemic of creativity has reached the point where to speak in traditional-and until the 1970's-secure terms of an opposition between the creative process and the dominant social order is now very difficult if not impossible (Jones 2001:9).

The Problem of 'Gender-Neutrality'

In terms of examining gender and work in the creative industries, it is also 'difficult, if not impossible' to identify how the myth of the new, creative economy embodies gendered values which contribute to the disadvantage of women in creative industries work. This is in part due to the way it disarms critics by pre-empting them and labelling them in negative terms as I have just explained. It also is a result of the way, in policy documents and in people's talk, the creative industries are presented in 'gender-neutral terms'. A 'gender-neutral' stance as was outlined in chapter two, is an important factor in producing and reproducing gendered inequality, because on closer inspection it can be shown to cover over a highly gendered version of the creative industries which favours masculinized models of workers. Using the concept of 'dominant ideology' I introduced in chapter two, the dominant ideology of the new, creative economy naturalizes the dominant position of men in this context. This naturalization of the 'maleness' of the new economy myth is illustrated by the index of *Living on Thin Air*. Here, although there is no mention of gender, the

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[47] this extract mentions poverty but there are few references to poverty in the literature, and the issue tends to be incorporated into debates of social inclusion, rather than critiques of capitalism.

male dominance of the book is revealed. There are over a hundred references to men: writers (e.g. Eric Hobsbawm and Francis Fukuyama), entrepreneurs (e.g. Bill Gates and Rupert Murdoch), and politicians (e.g. Bill Clinton and Tony Blair), but only six women are mentioned altogether (Leadbeater 1999:257-264). A similar situation occurred at the creative industries conferences that I attended. At all the conferences, the majority of the talk was in the form of speeches by invited speakers. When I examined these, I found that the ratio of men to women speakers ranged from 21 men and 6 women to 13 men and 7 women. The gender gap is further emphasized by looking at each individual panel. For example, at the music conference, three of the panels were entirely male, and one of these consisted of the steering committee of the organization. In this case, the male domination of a panel of speakers reflected a gendered hierarchy in the management of the organization as a whole. This suggests that the gender balance of speakers at conferences could have wider implications for the gender relations in cultural industry organizations and companies.

Although gender was not presented as a major issue in the cultural industries at any of these conferences, and, like the policy documents, they relied on a 'gender-neutral' stance, the lack of participation by women, both at the conferences, and in employment in the cultural industries was noted by individual (female) delegates when they had the chance. Responses from men on this subject which I observed during conference sessions, were varied, but they all contribute to discourses justifying the gendered inequalities in the cultural sector. These discourses are significant because they can be seen to perpetuate the inequalities they discuss (Gill 1993:75). This process of justification for gender inequalities is further explored in chapter seven with reference to the interview data.

The concept of gender neutrality is particularly helpful in enhancing an understanding of the significance of concept of the creative entrepreneur (a role

which combines he concepts of 'creativity' and 'enterprise') in contributing to gender inequalities in creative industries work.

The Creative Entrepreneur: A Masculinized Construct

Feminist sociologists, as I stated in chapter two, have argued that one way in which gendered employment relations discriminate against women is through the construction of the 'ideal worker'. Although this ideal is presented as gender-neutral, in job descriptions, training courses, careers information and other arenas, the qualities and attributes associated with it are more likely to be gained by men (Acker 1992). One way in which apparently gender-neutral creative industries policy can be exposed as perpetuating gendered inequalities, is through the promotion of the entrepreneur as the ideal creative industries worker.

Creative industries policy emphasizes the importance of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial values to the success of the new, creative economy. This is illustrated in Sheffield's CIQ action plan:

> Organizations both public and private that are forward looking and entrepreneurial both in purpose and in practice. (CIQ2000:23)

As with the way the policy literature claims that the creative industries have already adjusted to the needs of the new economy, it also suggests that creative industries organizations and workers have always been entrepreneurial:

> Creative producers have hybrid skills; they are structure gazers, they don't have fixed careers but build on reflexive portfolios. Most significantly creative businesses have a complex mix of cognitive and symbolic skills (business and creativity) FOCI1999:9

The kind of worker that is presented as 'ideal ' in creative industries policy, then, is the entrepreneur, the 'creative producer' with 'hybrid skills' and a reflexive portfolio'. Entrepreneurship is shown to be prioritized by the New

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Labour Government whose 1998 Employment Guidelines highlighted 'Employment, Enterprise, Education and Equal Opportunities' (Fleming 1999:9). Indeed Tony Blair endorsed Leadbeater's book, *Living on Thin Air* (1999) which reifies the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship, and the Prime Minister takes advice from Leadbeater and his colleagues at DEMOS (McRobbie 2000).

In terms of the creative industries, I am interested in how the version of the ideal worker as entrepreneur is presented in a masculinized way. Traditional psychology and business literature is relevant here, because it presents a view of the entrepreneur that suggests entrepreneurs possess certain personality traits which means that particular individuals are 'naturally' suited to careers involving running their own businesses. According to business analyst Chris Dyson there are nine traits of the entrepreneurial personality: integrity, initiative, commitment, drive and determination, directiveness, confidence, self-direction, selling and leadership (Dyson 2001:12). Looking closer at this 'entrepreneurial personality', it becomes apparent that the qualities attributed to it could be associated with people in many walks of life, as they are very generalized. Wouldn't most people want to be considered to possess qualities such as integrity, determination and commitment? Also, psychologists do not agree on which exact traits characterize the entrepreneurial personality. This undermines their claims at scientific objectivity. Further, as with any psychological 'tests' on adults, it is impossible for the psychologists to prove that the characteristics they identify, if they exist, were there from birth, and not learned, in particular social contexts. Writers on entrepreneurship and business psychology have acknowledged this. For example, Deakins has argued,

> concern with the entrepreneurial personality has diverted attention away from ... the recognition that the individual entrepreneur acquires skills and abilities which are learned from the very process of entrepreneurship....[it] is effectively a cul de sac (Deakins 1996).

The 'cul-de-sac' Deakins refers to relates back to the 'circular thinking' I discussed in chapter two that produces the concept of personality as innate and fixed (Burr 1995). In chapter two I referred to this circular thinking in relation to aggressive personalities. It applies to the entrepreneurial personality in that 'personality traits' (e.g. committed, passionate) are identified as belonging to someone based on the activity they do (entrepreneurship) and then are used to explain why the person is engaged in that activity. Although there is some debate about whether or not the entrepreneurial personality is innate or not, the business literature remains focused on the 'entrepreneur' as a category of person, and on 'entrepreneurship' as a distinct type of work activity. This contributes to the discourse of the entrepreneurial personality.

If the idea of an entrepreneurial personality is one which can be shown to be flawed, why should I take it seriously in relation to gender inequality in the creative industries? My argument is that the promotion of the idea of an entrepreneurial personality, and the idea that entrepreneurs possess innate qualities, contributes to and reinforces gendered inequalities in work, in this case in the creative industries. For example, research has shown that in the UK only 7% of women workers are self employed, compared to 17% of men (Labour Market Trends 1998). Supporters of the concept of the entrepreneurial personality would logically conclude that this was because men are naturally more equipped than women to run their own business. This begins to suggest how the entrepreneurial personality idea can be used to justify gendered inequality at work.

Although the entrepreneurial personality is presented as natural, on closer inspection it can be seen in fact to rely on gendered social constructs, which produce a masculinized version of the entrepreneur. For example, in discussing the quality 'commitment', Dyson points out that out of the entrepreneurs he interviewed, working 16-18 hours a day was not unusual, and a third habitually

work weekends. People I interviewed in Sheffield's CIQ also spoke of working long hours. In the extracts below, Mandy talks about the long hours she works.

> Mandy: erm, last year when I did Showcomotion, I actually directed the festival, I was here twelve hours a day, seven days a week, it completely took over my life for a period of two months, three months...

> ...because we've seen this place struggle, we want to see it through, we want to kind of turn the corner

Here Mandy places the long hours she works in the context of her commitment to her organization, by saying that she has seen the organization 'struggle' and she is committed 'to see it through' so that the organization can 'turn the corner'. In terms of gender, Mandy's statement of her commitment to her organization is important because this association of the quality of 'commitment' with the long hours work culture, contributes to processes whereby people with families and domestic commitments can be discriminated against in the workplace.

> I certainly find it a real strain to manage my work and my home life, because, although my children are older I've still got all of the concerns of running a house and dealing with them and issues there, which my husband doesn't have (laughs)   (Pauline, self employed partner in PR firm)

As this female PR partner alludes to, it is still women who are responsible for the majority of childcare and domestic work, (Robinson and Richardson 1997) so it is often women with families who are unable to fit in with the long hours culture, and who can therefore be labelled as 'uncommitted' to their careers, which makes them seem less than ideal 'workers' (Pierce 2002: 21). This shows how the construction of the ideal creative industries worker as 'committed'

combines with gendered power relations in the domestic sphere to perpetuate gendered inequality in the workplace.

Underlying many of these entrepreneurial qualities is the assumption that the work of an entrepreneur is a 'labour of love'. According to Dyson, the confidence demonstrated by entrepreneurs is linked to their 'passion'; they work hard for 'fulfillment and motivation' rather than financial gain. The creative industry policy literature also draws attention to the passion of the creative entrepreneur, as this quote from FOCI demonstrates. 'they are concerned to make money but have a heavy emotional investment in their work'. The interview data also reflects the importance placed on passion in this type of work. In the extract below for example, Sally, an administrator at a cinema, suggests that her and her colleagues passion for their work explain why they are prepared to work long hours for low wages.

people tend to work very long hours here, and obviously with little financial reward, little in the way of, I suppose the incentives are that most people here have a big love of the cinema and their motivation is they are working for an organization they really believe in, they get to see the films they get to take part in film festivals that perhaps they wouldn't normally have the opportunity to do so, which is half the reason I like to work here is just because it gives me the opportunity to work on and be part of something that normally you wouldn't get the chance

The model of the 'passionate' creative entrepreneur has in part been masculinized by media representations of men running creative businesses linked to their hobbies or obsessions (Milestone and Richardson 2000:15). The film and book *High Fidelity* for example, shows a man obsessed with music running his own record shop. And the recent film *24-hour Party People* focuses on the life and career of Tony Wilson who set up factory records in Manchester. Both examples marginalize women who only appear in the stories as romantic

interest. The 'passion' ascribed to the entrepreneurial personality and linked to the ideal creative entrepreneur, then, fits in with the images, pervasive in our culture of men as having the monopoly on passion when it comes to interests outside the domestic/romantic sphere: trainspotters, football fans, music fanatics and film buffs are all identified collectively as male in our culture.

> When we had a music festival for example, it was a boy's thing. The boys got together they talked about their obscure bands...any input that the girls had, it wasn't rejected out of hand, but it might, well it wasn't directly but it obviously had been, they weren't really interested because they didn't think that we were interested (Sally, administrator)

As Sally pointed out, women in creative industries work can be overlooked because it is assumed they are not interested to the same extent as men, in music in this case. The use of the terms 'boys' and 'girls' further accentuates the gendered divide in the workplace, and conjures up an image of 'boys and their toys'. This points to a gendered link between consumption, i.e. leisure, and production, i.e. work, in the creative industries (Milestone and Richards 2000).

Another aspect of the entrepreneurial personality as presented in business psychology theory is the innate propensity to take risks (Jennings, Cox and Cooper 1994). Creative industries policy also promotes the importance of the trait of risk-taking in the successful creative entrepreneur.

> The key to success will be the entrepreneurial spirit, imagination and risk-taking of practitioners, investors and residents (Sheffield City Council 2000:5).

Taking risks is a characteristic associated with masculinity in our culture. In film and television drama it is generally the male 'hero' who risks life and limb to save the world or to get the girl whereas women are presented as more passive victims of circumstance. Characters such as James Bond, Luke Skywalker and Truman Burbank all take risks to achieve their goals. Games and pastimes involving risk are male-dominated in our society, such as gambling on the

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horses, and going to casinos. And sports, which are often physically risky, through practiced by both men and women, are presented in our culture as more associated with masculinity and men than with women. Men's football dominates TV sports schedules for example, and there is a powerful lobby against women becoming boxers, due to the physical risks involved.

The promotion of the risk-taking aspect of the entrepreneurial personality could be seen to reinforce the myth of the new economy. In the new economy, work is presented as de-standardized, flexible and subject to change. In other words, it is based on a system of temporary and insecure jobs. Leadbeater links the need to be a risk-taker to success in this destandardized job market, with particular reference to the cultural industries.

> The new economy is not for the risk-averse. Organizations only become fluid if people can easily leave behind old routines and colleagues. Imagine working in the film business, moving from film to film, crew to crew, set to set, a success one month and a flop the next ...Work may be like that for many more of us in the next decade: at times fun and rewarding, but itinerant and punctuated by bouts of insecurity (Leadbeatter 1999:64).

Thus an aspect of the new economy is associated with a masculinized personality trait with the result that those who do not find it easy to cope in a de-standardized, flexible situation can be blamed as individuals for not being risk-takers. This link with risk-taking and de-standardized work is further gendered by gender relations beyond the workplace. A woman with a family to care for, no matter how much she was open to taking risks, may not be able to move 'from film to film' due to the needs of her children to attend nursery or school, or for her elderly relative to go to a day centre for example.

In the extract below, Mandy an education officer, expresses her worries about the lack of stability in her job.

Mandy: So, the problem I have mainly with the job is that it's temporary contracts all the time. Since I've been here I've been front of house, I've been outreach, I've been education projects, I've been education coordinator, erm, and permanently my job relies upon getting external funding for its continuation. Erm, as education coordinator my latest contract will finish on the first week of August, erm, so it's still at this stage unclear about whether there is funding to continue it,

After reading Leadbeatter's comments and considering that risk-taking has been masculinized, Mandy's concern about surviving in an uncertain environment could potentially be labelled by her superiors or her colleagues as representing her inability as a woman to cope with risk. As with the concept of commitment, risk is an example of the construct of the entrepreneurial personality being used as part of a justification for particular working conditions in the creative industries. And, since risk has been masculinized in our culture, the dominant image of the risk-taking entrepreneur is male.

The entrepreneurial personality does not function in a vacuum; its construction is effective in contributing to gender inequality at work because it operates within gendered power relations. As I explained above, the masculinized entrepreneurial personality combined with gender divisions in the domestic sphere for example, serves to maintain and reproduce gender inequalities in creative industries work by producing a situation whereby women can be labeled as lacking in entrepreneurial qualities and so less suitable as creative industries workers than men. In terms of the workplace itself, feminist writers have described the gendered environment in which constructions such as the entrepreneurial personality function as 'gender cultures' (Maddock 1998). As I stated in chapter two, gender cultures can involve the alienation of women through the use of sexist humour and even sexual harassment, male bonding exercises using activities such as drinking or sport, and the reiteration of a certain form of heterosexual masculinity through talk and behaviour that emphasizes qualities such as aggression or competition (Crompton 1997).

In the context of the creative industries, gender cultures are reinforced through the promotion of practices such as informal 'networking'. Creative industries policy presents networking as a characteristic of the creative sector.

> If the bank will not lend you the money to prototype your design or make your film, you barter services with friends and colleagues and whilst no money or contract may change hands, the job gets done, The ability of the creative industries to do this is through an instinctive understanding of the value of networking (FOCI 1999: 8)

This statement is interesting because it uses the word 'instinctive' to suggest that the creative industries and the people who work in them are naturally attuned to the attitudes and skills needed for networking. This relates to the gendering of jobs and workers that I discuss in the next chapter, which can involve the associating of certain skills used at work with 'natural' attributes of men or women. Here, whilst 'networking' is not identified as an exclusively male trait, men could be more likely to network successfully in the creative industries, because the practice often involves after hours drinking and socializing, which again precludes people (mainly women) with young families from joining in. The First Thursday networking forum run by the CIQ agency, for example, is normally held between 6pm and 9pm, just when children are having their tea and going to bed. As this administrator, Zara says, having a young child is not conducive to after hours networking.

> because of particularly of having my son, what's changed for me is exactly that, I don't socialize with my colleagues, so what I don't do is that chit chat and kind of talking about, oh, you know, have you heard about that project, and you know do you know who's involved in that, because the working days don't leave the time for that, so the after work socializing leaves the time for the gossip if you want, because it is very important to be up to date, if you want

This lack of sensitivity to childcare issues by networking events organizers can be seen to contribute to the male culture of networking because it alienated

women with children. Indeed the First Thursday networking events organized by the CIQ Agency had many more men than women attending as participants.

As well as through the conditions of networking events and conferences (some held over three days without a crèche), gender cultures in the creative industries contribute to the masculinization of the creative industries worker through the use of language at these events. For example, I attended a conference which focused on pop video. In terms of language, the image of the pop video worker was constructed as male, by using sexual terms and innuendos, which assumed that those who were, or wanted to make pop videos were heterosexual men. For example, one speaker said how it always helped to have some beautiful women on the set, to 'keep the band happy'. This allusion to the role of women as servicing men's sexual needs in a working environment other than prostitution is quite blatant, but, as I discussed in chapter two, women are more subtly ascribed sexual roles and associated with sexual service in many jobs, including in their work as waitresses, models and air-hostesses (Adkins 1995, Taylor and Tyler 2000). 'Sex work' in organizations and its relationship to gender divisions has been explored by sociologists , who have argued that heterosexuality is maintained and promoted in many workplaces as the dominant norm in such a way that women can be sexualized as workers and as individuals and thus undermined and marginalized(Hearn and Parkin 1987, McDowell 1997).

Another way in which gender cultures contribute to the situation whereby the ideal creative industries worker is constructed as male is through the profile given to particular entrepreneurs. Creative industry policy and conferences invariably presented men as the archetypal examples, strengthening the masculine model of the creative entrepreneur. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the names of male entrepreneurs are scattered through books such as Leadbeater's *Living on thin Air*. These include Richard Branson, Bill Gates, Lewis Platt (Of Hewlett Packard), Harold Gennen (ITT) and Larry Ellison (Oracle computers) (Leadbeater 1999:257-263). And at the conferences I

attended, it was invariably men that were invited to speak of their successes and struggles as entrepreneurs. These included Tony Wilson (Factory Records) , Charles Leadbeater himself, ('I am one of Charles Handy's portfolio workers, armed with a laptop, a modem and some contacts' - Leadbeater 1999:1), and Tom Bloxham of Urban Splash property development in Manchester. At the first Thursday events in Sheffield, the vast majority of the entrepreneurs who gave speeches were also men, and particularly working in fields associated with the new economy such as multimedia, telecommunications and digital film and photography. As feminist writers have argued, it is difficult for women to enter and succeed in male-dominated professions and activities when they have no female role models to aspire to or learn from (Robinson and Richardson 1997, Crompton 1997).

In this chapter I have discussed how the creative industries are placed within enterprise culture and discourses of the 'new economy'. This involves a narrow definition of creativity referring to its economic role within society, which marginalizes communitarian and political cultural forms. The economic model of creativity contributes to a culture in which political opposition and arguments for social equity are subsumed by the dominant discourse of enterprise. I have also examined the way in which creative industries work is masculinized through the promotion of an ideal worker: the creative entrepreneur. This model of an ideal creative industries worker draws upon the concept of the entrepreneurial personality. That is, the creative industries are presented in policy literature and in the interview data as demanding particular qualities and skills that are innate in certain individuals. But these 'qualities' involve gendered assumptions and are associated in our culture with men. As Joan Acker has said,

> The closest the disembodied worker doing an abstract job comes to a real worker is the male worker whose life centers on his full-time, life-long job, whilst his wife or another woman takes care of his personal needs and his children(Acker 1992:49).

Acker's statement was made in the early 1990s and not in relation to the creative industries. I would modify her statement a little in this context to fit in with the model of the ideal male creative entrepreneur, working long hours running a small business, with either few family commitments or, as Acker says, a woman to take care of those domestic responsibilities. This masculine entrepreneurial vision of creative industries workers, combined with gender cultures in the workplace and gender relations in the domestic sphere and the wider society, contributes to maintaining and reinforcing gender inequalities in creative industries work. The entrepreneurial personality can be seen to relate, not only to an idealized, masculinized view of the worker, but also to a version of what it is to be a human being in enterprise culture (Rose 1998).

In the next chapter I focus on one aspect of the entrepreneurial personality that has particularly featured in the interview talk: autonomy. Autonomy is a crucial aspect of the entrepreneurial personality because people who run their own businesses often have to make decisions and work alone. It also is important in the more general climate of enterprise culture where we are all supposed to be self-reliant and not lean on the state or other institutions for support (Doherty 2000). The trait of 'autonomy' has been described by business psychologists in a number of ways. Dyson writes of 'self –direction' (Dyson 2001:11) whereas Deakin refers to entrepreneurs' 'strong desire to be independent' (Deakins 2000:43). In chapter six I explain how the interviewees relate autonomy to the characteristics of agency and self-actualization, and I argue that this promotion of the entrepreneurial self as autonomous, agentic and self-actualizing contributes to gender inequalities in the creative industries in a number of ways.

Chapter Six

Each Man for Himself: 'Autonomy' and Gender Inequalities in Creative Industries Work

> The forms of political reason that, at the end of the 1980s aspired to create an enterprise culture, accorded a vital political value to a certain image of the human being. (Rose 1998:150)

In chapter five I discussed the way in which the concept of the 'entrepreneurial personality' has contributed to gender inequality in the creative industries, through constructing the creative entrepreneur as a masculinized 'ideal worker', with particular personality traits that are associated with dominant masculinity and entrepreneurship. In this chapter I focus on a key attribute of the entrepreneurial individual, as presented in policy discourse and interviewees' talk: autonomy. I argue, drawing primarily upon interview data, that the interviewees present themselves as autonomous in work as well as in other aspects of their lives, and in doing so they also emphasize the value of being agentic and self-actualizing. I demonstrate that the promotion of the qualities of autonomy, agency and self-actualization contribute to the maintenance and reproduction of gender inequalities in creative industries work.

I begin the chapter by reiterating how this thesis is concerned with the 'gendering' of work in the creative industries. I explain why, although the analysis that follows in this chapter and the next is influenced by theories of the gendering of work, and in particular the masculinisation of work, my focus on discursive practices means that I do not often refer to those theories explicitly when discussing the data. I then go on to explore how, in the interview data, interviewees' accounts present themselves and their identities as bound up in, and expressed through, work. I argue that this presentation of work as increasingly important in defining 'who we are' is a characteristic of enterprise culture, and I show how it contributes to gender and other social inequalities in work and careers. I then explore how autonomy and agency are presented by the

interviewees as aspects of their 'personality' that mean they are suited to certain working conditions in the creative industries. I relate these 'personality traits' to the model of the entrepreneurial personality that I introduced in the previous chapter. In addition to, and linked to autonomy and agency I explore the way in which the interviewees' accounts involve a presentation of the individual as 'self-actualizing'. Thus I demonstrate how, in presenting themselves as autonomous, agentic and self-actualizing, the interviewees emphasize the importance of aspects of the entrepreneurial self, and in doing so contribute to the maintenance and reproduction of gender inequalities in creative industries work. Finally I examine the presentation within the interview accounts of the 'creative' as a particular type of worker, and type of person. I argue that the 'creatives' are presented as autonomous, agentic and self-actualizing individuals, and as such they fit into the model of the ideal worker in the creative industries, the creative entrepreneur, which as I explained in chapter five, is a masculinized model. In exploring the autonomous, agentic and self-actualizing aspects of the entrepreneurial personality, I show that these 'traits' overlap and intertwine with each other. Indeed the version of identity I draw upon in this study, as I explained in chapter two, is one of fragmentation and flux. Thus I would not expect to be able to identify evidence of distinct characteristics of a person such as 'autonomy'. I use these terms and deal with them separately to a degree, in order to show how a unitary model of personhood is drawn upon by the interviewees and that this presentation of a unitary self in talk, contributes to the production and reproduction of gender inequalities.

The Gendering of Creative Industries Work: taking a Discursive Approach

The analysis presented in this chapter draws upon the concept I introduced in chapter two, of the way in which gender is not something we inherently are, but rather something we accomplish through our interactions with other people (Widdicombe 1998, Acker 1990). Thus the term 'gendering' relates to the way

in which people actively construct their work as gendered through the ways in which they interact, write and speak, at work, when referring to work, and also in other daily interactions not obviously connected to work.

There is a wide literature which acknowledges the 'gendering ' of work, and I summarised some of it in chapter two (e.g. Pringle 1989, Cockburn 1991, Adkins 1995,) As I explained in chapter two, the literature on the 'masculinisation' of work is particularly relevant to the aims of this thesis (Acker 1990, Cockburn 1985, McDowell 1997, Bayton 1998, Wajcman 1998, Hearn and Collinson 1994, Hearn 1998, Kanter 1991 Crompton 1997). Here I explain why, although I have been influenced by this literature, and it is relevant to some of the issues I raise in the thesis, I do not emphasise its importance in the discussions of the data analysis that follow.

There are two key reasons why I choose not to focus on the feminist literature of gendering work in the analysis of the data. The first reason relates to the social constructionist epistemology of this research, and in particular to my focus on discourse and the production of gender inequality in the creative industries through discursive practices. The social-constructionist position that gender is something that is accomplished through interactions such as talk relates to the concept of 'doing gender' (Butler 1990). Some of the writers on the gendering of work do embrace the idea of doing gender. For example McDowell (1997) examined how male dominance is achieved in the context of the City's corporate finance work, through a series of 'performances' that draw on dominant models of masculinity. She wrote that 'the bodily imagery that is commonplace in the everyday language and social practices of the trading and dealing rooms relies on a particularly exaggerated version of masculinity and masculine performance' (McDowell 1997: 179). This performance can be seen to contribute to the hegemonic masculinity I referred to in chapter two, which enables men to achieve dominance and power at work.

Writers on the gendering of work acknowledge how doing gender involves the gendering of language. Cockburn (1991) for example has explored how work is gendered, and masculinised, through men's use of sexual humour and language, which 'put women in their place' and discredit them as serious workers (Cockburn 1991:76). Ramsay and Parker (in Savage and Witz 1992) have also looked at how language contributes to the gendering, and in particular the masculinization of work. They describe how language used in business involves the use of metaphors and terms that are associated with a dominant form of (heterosexual) masculinity and so they contribute to reaffirming male power in the workplace:

'apart from the obvious *man*ager *master*copy, crafts*man* and so on the analogies of combat and sexual domination often articulate in the malestream. Opponents are 'screwed' or 'fucked', mountains are climbed and battles are won' (Savage and Witz 1992: 267).

However in terms of the social constructionist epistemology of my research, these writers do not embrace the approach I take to the way in which gender inequalities are produced and resisted through discursive practice. In discussing the importance of language, a writer may refer to how certain words and phrases contribute to the masculinistaion of work, but they do so by relying on an objectivist approach to analysing data, where they treat the talk as a true representation of social reality. Pringle, for example, in her book *Secretaries Talk: Sexuality, Power and Work* refers to Foucault, and locates her discussions of the gendering of the secretarial role within an understanding of discourses of power (Pringle 1989:4).However when she analyses the talk of the secretaries she treats it as a representation of their true experience of gendered processes at work, rather than examining the talk in terms of gendered discursive practices which contribute to producing and maintaining gendered power relations at work. McDowell also tends to take what interviewees say at 'face value', and treats them either as accurate representations of reality and of the interviewees'

beliefs, or as what she calls 'fictions'. As McDowell writes: 'these recorded views are themselves partially fictional. They are based on prejudice, on media representations and perhaps on envy from men who work in less 'exciting' areas of investment banking...' (McDowell 1997:171). In my research, using a social constructionist epistemology, I do not draw upon the concept of truth of someone's experience or account, and I do not contrast this with 'false' or fictional representations of reality. Rather I am concerned with understanding how gender inequalities in creative industries work are produced and resisted through the use of discursive practices in the context of social interactions such as interviews. My understanding of 'gendering work' is one which shows how people 'do gender' whilst they 'do conversation' (Widdicombe 1998) I have stressed the difference between the approach I take to studying the gendering of work in the creative industries and that of other writers on the subject of gender and work, not to discredit those writers but to explain why I do not refer explicitly in the analysis to how the 'subject-matter' of the data I analyse relates to the literature on gender and work. For the way people talk *is* the subject matter of this research. So in chapter seven for example I refer to the work of Dryden (1999) and Gill (1993) who have produced theories of how conversational practices contribute to the maintenance and reproduction of gender inequality.

The second reason why I do not focus on the literature on the gendering of work in the analysis is that, as I explained in the last chapter, I have found that in the creative industries, work is masculinised through constructions of the ideal creative worker as an 'entrepreneur'. Thus in this chapter for example, I continue to examine how, in talking about their work, people in the creative industries draw on and mobilise the discourse of the entrepreneurial individual as autonomous and agentic, a discourse which is masculinised and so contributes to the production of gender inequalities in creative industries work. In exploring the gendering of the autonomous, agentic individual I build on the ideas and

analysis introduced in chapter five, and in particular the concept of the creative industries being constructed as fulfilling the demands of 'enterprise culture'

Thus in relation to the analysis in this chapter I refer to literature that explores the values of enterprise culture and the way people are presented as entrepreneurial, from a critical perspective This includes work of writers such as Rose (1998), Doherty (2000) Peters(2001), Klein (2001) and Hall and DuGay (1996). In exploring the way in which the entrepreneurial model of the individual is constructed through talk and writing in the context of the creative industries, I draw on this literature of entrepreneurialism, but I do so using gender analysis. The gendering of entrepreneurship through discursive practice is a subject which is not covered by a wide literature, and so through exploring this I aim to produce knowledge that can add both to the existing literatures on gender and work and on the discourses of enterprise and entrepreneurialism.

I work therefore I am: 'The Self' and 'Work' in Enterprise Culture

New Labour's Third Way in an effort to hold on to the so-called radical centre *places a great deal of emphasis on the economy and work as fundamental to citizenship.* Indeed, the concept of the knowledge economy which served as the pivot for the Competitiveness Report , New Labour legitimizes the concepts of lifelong learning and entrepreneurship aimed at the production of flexible workers and the combined notions of 'education for work' and 'enterprise education'. (Peters 2001:62 my emphasis)

In chapter five I explained how creative industries policy has emphasized the economic and entrepreneurial role of the creative industries, and has thus placed them firmly within the values of enterprise culture. I argued that this focus on economy and enterprise has diminished possibilities for those people within 'creative' sectors who strive for equality and social equity, in gender and other areas, to further their goals. In the interviewees' accounts, the values of enterprise culture are also embraced. Here I discuss how the participants define themselves as people largely in relation to their work. They present their work as

important, not only in economic terms, as a, means of earning money to live, but also in terms of personal fulfillment and development. I argue that this construction of identity as bound up in work and economic activity contributes to the entrepreneurial discourse within creative industries, which impacts upon gender and other social inequalities.

Many of the interviewees presented the idea that work dominated their life. In reply to my question , 'how does your work fit into your life?' the following responses were quite typical of all the interviews:

> Mandy: Mmm, How does my life fit in with my job actually! (laughs) Erm, it, on occasion it has completely taken over my life to be honest.

> Alex: Erm, it used to be my life! It's more the other way round to be honest.

> Bernice: My domestic life fits around the job, and it has done for a number of years.

By emphasizing the primacy of work in their lives, the interviewees draw upon the discourse of 'commitment' that I identified in the previous chapter as a supposed characteristic of the 'entrepreneurial personality'. In a culture where people are working long hours[48] and are expected to fit their lives around the demands of work, it is interesting that, as I show below, the interviewees relate this to the kinds of people they are, rather than presenting the long hours culture as a socio-economic issue.

In the following extract Zara, an administrator, talks about how work contributes to her sense of self.

> For me, it's got, it's got many different connotations for me, work, it's, you know, it's going away from home, not being all the time home, getting a sense that I am achieving something you know it's part of my

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[48] The average working week in the Uk is 43.6 hours, over three hours longer than the EU average (TUC website May 2003).

identity, going to work, you know that I know that I can do this type of work it's very important for my own, confidence, my own self esteem. Er, learning, meeting new people, and kind of, and riding a certain level of energy as well, is very important in life. Going out and being responsible for what I'm doing, you know, means I have to kick into a certain presence, yeah, I can't just kind of slump and dream or sleep the whole day, yeah, I have to kick start, I have to be awake and I really like that feeling of being awake and dealing with life around me.

Zara's comments are interesting because she explicitly states that work forms 'part of [her] identity'. She was the most overt of the interviewees in expressing this sentiment, but in talking to other participants I also got the impression that they were conscious of work being important in defining who they were. This is significant because it shows that identity is not only an analysts' but also a participants' resource. (Widdicombe 1998, Hall and DuGay 1996). In this sense then, Zara's comment involves mobilizing a version of identity, not as fixed and innate to the individual, but as conceptualized and expressed within activities such as working. Different versions of personhood can be found in one account such as Zara's, as the talk refers to different activities and roles[49]. But having said this, whilst I would argue that there is evidence in the interview data of a degree of consciousness of how identity can be bound up indifferent activities and situations, the participants did not necessarily have a clear concept of this. Rather I am unearthing evidence of this formation of the self in my analysis of the interview data.

Zara presents her work as completely integral to her life and her identity by likening work to being 'awake'. It may not be that she spends every waking hour at work, but she suggests that it is at work that she is most awake, alert and alive. In doing so she clearly associates her sense of self with work. These comments could also be interpreted as Zara suggesting that to not work, to 'slump', is to 'dream all day', to be lazy. Thus Zara is linking something she

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[49] At the tie of writing, Zara has given up her job and is now a full-time Mum. Now her 'identity' cannot be linked to work outside the home in the same way as she described in the interview.

wants to put across about herself (not lazy) with going to work, rather than suggesting that she goes to work because she needs the money to live. This is interesting from a gender point of view because Zara is also a mother of a young child, but she does not talk about motherhood in the same terms as her work. This relates to the concept of work being associated with work outside the home, and to the importance of work outside the home as a context in which the self is formed and understood. This is presented differently in our culture from motherhood and the domestic sphere, which is still dominated by women, and is given less importance as a realm for achievement and self-expression[50]. Zara, if asked more about her role as a mother, would probably not denigrate it, but the pervasive nature of the discourse of the importance of work within enterprise culture means that she still talks about her work in terms of it having more significance to her sense of self than her role as a parent. I could be contributing to the potency of this discourse by focusing a whole Ph.D. thesis on 'work' in the context of the creative industries, and by encouraging the interviewees to think of themselves primarily in the context of their work. But the aim here is to be critical of the enterprise culture which places so much emphasis on economic rather than other forms of social activity, particularly those which are mainly done by women such as childcare, and which are so important in terms of sustaining life.

The importance of work is also emphasized in the interviews in that there are examples of the interviewees identifying themselves as being able to express and demonstrate entrepreneurial traits such as 'agency' and 'expertise' at work. In the extract below, for example, Pauline associates these aspects of herself with her particular work organization.

> Pauline: I think I've probably got a reputation (laughs) for being quite tough to deal with, but I am never rude, I wouldn't think. I think I have got to the stage now where I've got the confidence in what we do and what we accomplish as an organization, to expect people to deal with us in a respectful way, er, and I'm quite prepared to stand our corner now, and also one of my lines is that they are hiring us as experts in our field they

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[50] It can also relate to the lack of value given to domestic work which is mainly done by women.

are not hiring us as yes people, so if they want an opinion on how
something ought to be done, within the media then don't expect me to just
say yes that is a really great idea if I think it's dreadful because it's not
going to accomplish anything for them

In this extract Pauline moves between the 'I' of herself and the 'we' of her
organization. She says '*I* have got the confidence in what *we* do and what we
accomplish as an organization.' This suggests that her confidence has grown
alongside the development of the organization. So Pauline presents her
development as a person not only as linked to the organization's development
but as beneficial to the organization, as serving the enterprise. Now she is more
confident, she can 'stand our corner' and represent the company more
effectively. The kind of attributes Pauline expresses as linked to her work, such
as confidence and being 'tough to deal with' are those which are associated with
professionalism. Within enterprise culture, being professional is presented as an
element of the healthy, positive individual (Rose 1998). An aspect of the
'professional' individual that has been identified and examined by critics of
enterprise culture, is 'expertise'. In the above extract Pauline refers to herself
and her colleagues as 'experts' in their field, which she suggests should bring
them 'respect' from others.

The idea of expertise fits into the concept of the entrepreneurial self within
enterprise culture in a number of ways (Rose 1998:98-100). One that is relevant
to Pauline's comments, and to the idea of identity being bound up in work, is the
way in which expertise is presented as rational and marketable. The expertise
that Pauline refers to relates to objective knowledge in a work environment 'they
are hiring us as experts in our field not as yes people'. Pauline thus links
expertise to independence of mind, to autonomy, and suggests this is what she
and her colleagues are paid for. This is interesting if we bear in mind that
Pauline works in public relations, a sector not known for 'objectivity', but more
associated with promoting individuals and organizations as they want to appear
in public.

Pauline is a partner in a small company and as such she could well find her job a very rewarding part of her life. The problem with the investment of the self in work, that is prevalent in enterprise culture, and is demonstrated by Pauline and Zara, is that it is used to justify the long hours and poor wages of many other workers who can neither enjoy work nor have enough time for leisure outside work (Klein 2001). I discuss this issue further below in relation to interviewees' presentations of the blurring of work and life.

In their talk linking the self and work, the feelings and versions of personhood that Zara and Pauline allude to, relate to the 'entrepreneurial traits' of autonomy, agency and self-actualization. I now consider how the interviewees mobilize discourses of the autonomous, agentic individual in their accounts, and how their promotion of attributes such as autonomy, freedom and choice contribute to the model of the entrepreneurial personality, which impacts upon gender inequalities in creative industries work.and I then examine the concept of self-actualization in the context of the interviewees' talk.

Free Agent Nation: The Autonomous, Agentic Individual and Gender inequalities

> The modern liberal self is 'obliged to be free', to construe all aspects of its life as the outcome of choices made among a number of options. Each attribute of the person is to be realized through decisions, and justified in terms of motives, needs, and aspirations of the self (Rose 1998:100)

In chapter five, I cited 'autonomy', or 'self-direction', as one of the traits put forward by business psychologists as an element of the entrepreneurial personality. Here I show how the interviewees presented themselves as autonomous and also agentic individuals, with the two 'qualities' being linked in their accounts. In doing so I explore the consequences of the interviewees'

mobilization of discourses of autonomy and agency, with regards to gender inequality in the creative industries.

The people I interviewed in Sheffield's CIQ presented autonomy as a very important and highly valued aspect of their work. In the extracts below, Andrew, Lee and Roy evaluate autonomy in a positive manner.

> Andrew: I think the best thing I like about it is the autonomy. I'm very much left to do what I've got to do. I tend to work better with sort of arm's length management,
>
> Elly: And what do you think is the best thing about the organization?
> Lee: Er, the people are friendly and they listen to you if you have a problem, and   they leave you alone to do your own thing

> Elly: what would you say was the best aspect of your work?
> Roy: Erm... er, <u>variety, control. Er, I choose what I do mostly, almost entirely</u> erm and I mean , I mean that at different levels too. On a kind of day to day, moment to moment basis there is very rarely a situation where somebody's pressuring me to do something, because I set all those deadlines and then in a longer term thing, I don't, it really is up to me what direction I take my work in, and those sorts of things, <u>there's no one else, no organization to consider, to take into account, so that gives me great independence, which I value very highly, and freedom.</u> Erm, those things have a downside of course, which is that I have to be very self contained, there's no support, it can be lonely, and so on. But for me it's a good trade off.

Here, I focus on the comments of Roy, a self-employed consultant. In this extract Roy relates the autonomy that he values to being self-employed. In Roy's talk he overtly links autonomy directly to working for himself, saying he enjoys having the 'independence' and 'freedom' of having 'no organization to consider'. But the majority of the interviewees were not self-employed when I interviewed them, and they also said they valued the fact that they were able to be autonomous in their jobs. Thus the valuing of 'entrepreneurial' traits such as

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autonomy is not limited to people working for themselves but is apparent in the talk of people in a variety of working positions in the creative industries.

Thus in this example, as I found in other interviewees' accounts, the presentation of autonomy as preferable to interdependence at work contributes to the model of the entrepreneurial self. But Roy discusses this autonomy in terms of a 'trade-off', and says that the price he pays for it is being 'lonely' and lacking in 'support'. He reconciles the sacrifices he makes as being worth it, a 'good trade off', because he values his independence so 'very highly'. Thus Roy contributes to the concept of autonomy as an important aspect of the archetypal healthy individual in society, by placing a higher value on the freedom and autonomy of the individual than on more communitarian values of social contact and support from other people. Although Roy does not actively resist the entrepreneurial model of the individual- rather he promotes it- there is evidence within his talk of an opposing discourse to that of individualism. For example, by alluding to the 'trade-off' involved in enjoying autonomy at work, Roy suggests a negative aspect, a 'downside' to being entrepreneurial. Although he reconciles the problems and finally claims it is a 'good trade off', Roy has given exposure to a more critical discourse that resists individualistic models of the self and the worker.

The autonomous nature of the 'entrepreneurial self' means taking control of one's own destiny, and not being a 'victim' of overarching social structures. This version of self-hood relies upon essentialist notions of identity, and the unitary individual. Indeed it could be argued that the promotion of the autonomous self reifies the concept of the unitary self because it involves such an emphasis on the 'individual' as unique and able to forge its own destiny unfettered by other people, by 'society'. Again this relates to the ideological underpinnings of enterprise culture in which people are encouraged to be self-reliant and not to rely on state 'hand outs' and institutional support.

The autonomous individual is constructed within liberalism as agentic. This means that the individual is presented as being able to make choices and take responsibility for those choices. In the extracts below, Sharon and Kevin present the ability to make choices as a positive aspect of their work.

> Sharon: the best thing about my work? I think <u>the best thing about what I do, is, that I pretty much live the life that I want to.</u>

> Elly: What would you say was the most positive aspect of it?
> Kevin: Erm, <u>that I or we think we'd like to do that and then we go and do it, erm, we decide what we want to do and then find a way of doing it,</u> and seventy per cent of the time we are able to do that you know, the things we have decided we want to do we raise the money to do.

Sharon says that she likes her work because it means that she can 'live the life' that she wants to. That is, she has the freedom to make her own choices, to choose her destiny. Kevin also refers to choice, but primarily in relation to work rather than lifestyle, when he says 'we think we'd like to do that and then we go and do it'. It is interesting that in saying this Kevin begins by saying 'I...' but corrects himself to incorporate his co-director by saying 'we....'. This suggests that he may have thought at this point in terms of himself as an autonomous, agentic individual (I...), making his own choices, but he had to think a little to realize that he actually works in a team and decided to speak in the plural instead of the singular. In the earlier extract I used from Zara, to show how she invested her 'self' in her work, there is also evidence of the agentic individual being presented. Zara said she liked working because it meant 'Going out and being responsible for what I'm doing, you know'. This is an example of the agentic self being presented as free to make choices and also taking responsibility for her actions. 'Responsibility' is a key aspect of the agentic self within enterprise culture, because with the emphasis on the individual rather than the state or the community, individuals are encouraged to take responsibility for themselves rather than relying on state or institutional assistance. This view, as writers such as Rose (1998) and Peters (2001) have

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pointed out is not restricted to Thatcherism or Tory politics. For example, in a collection of essays by writers for Marxism Today, Charles Leadbeater wrote

> If socialism is to be renewed in the next decade it must adopt an entirely different index of progress: the progressive expansion of the sphere of individual rights and responsibilities.(Leadbeater 1989:137).

Also, New Labour embraced liberal individualism when they came to power in 1997. Hutton wrote of Tony Blair that 'he has redefined the objectives of the left –while simultaneously talking the Thatcherite language of individualism' (Hutton 1999:259, see also Doherty 2000).

The idea of the agentic, choosing self is prevalent not only in discourses of work, but also in other arenas such as consumer culture, as companies raise the act of choosing a product to an act of self-expression, freedom and action. This is summed up by *Nike's* long-standing slogan 'Just Do It' (Klein 2001). In popular culture, too, the agentic self is presented as the ideal. It is also linked to 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell 1995), as the Hollywood film heroes such as those I mentioned in chapter five, who 'make things happen', are nearly always men. As Rose puts it, the archetypal healthy individual

> is to become as it were, an entrepreneur of itself, seeking to maximize its own powers, its own happiness, its own quality of life, through enhancing its autonomy and instrumentating its autonomous choices in the service of its lifestyle (Rose 1998:157).

In order to explain more fully how the promotion in the interviews of agency and choice, aspects of the entrepreneurial personality, contribute to gender inequalities, I focus here on the 'blurring' of work and life. Many of the interviewees talked about how work and life are blurred, a characteristic of work I have shown in chapter five to be particularly attributed in policy documents, to the creative industries. Here, Fred talks about how his life and work overlap with each other.

Fred: I was not used to it at all, and <u>the idea of compart,</u> <u>compartmentalizing my life into kind of work and leisure time, in a way</u> <u>I'd spent er, four years, three or four years resisting that,</u> through working, basically working on projects, and making very little money, but <u>working</u> <u>on projects that I could just do in my own time, whenever I wanted to,</u> and inevitably there were intense periods of work during that time, but er, <u>I had a compete freedom about how I ran my own time, so the idea of</u> <u>having a kind of an end point to work, and a beginning to leisure time, I</u> <u>find personally very stultifying, it's a legacy of centuries of servitude</u> really, well not centuries, but, I guess office life is a twentieth century phenomenon, <u>but it has conditioned into us to think about leisure and work</u> <u>time as separate things, I'd rather not.</u>

In the above extract Fred contrasts his present job which mainly involves working in an office in the daytimes, with previous work which was more flexible. He states that he preferred his previous work routine because it meant he was able to avoid 'compartmentalizing' his life into the separate areas of 'work and leisure time'. In making this assertion he presents himself as an agentic individual because he says that in a more flexible situation he could work on projects that he could do 'in my own time, whenever I wanted to'. That is he was able to choose what he did on a day to day basis, he had autonomy, and 'complete freedom' about how he organized his time. Fred also portrays himself as agentic in that he suggests that in previous work he chose not to separate work from life, that he actively 'resisted' the separate compartments, and that even now in a more regular work environment he would 'rather not' 'think about leisure and work time as separate things', implying he chooses not to, whatever his work routine may be.

Fred contrasts the freedom he enjoyed working for himself on projects, with the 'centuries of servitude' that have characterized the separation between work and life. This point is interesting because it echoes some Marxist theory of work which has presented it as alienating and dehumanizing in the way it is separated from life and leisure. Also, it is argued in Marxist theory, 'leisure' is constructed as different from and a break from work in such a way that workers are persuaded to work in order to earn their leisure time (Clarke and Critcher 1987).

But writers on contemporary capitalism have argued that despite changes in work routines, and the destandardization of work, exploitation of workers for the sake of profit remains (Bradley et al 2000, Ritzer 1996). It could be argued that, within enterprise culture, it is concepts such as the agentic self which serve to justify that continued exploitation. The model of work Fred describes of making no distinction between work and life often is used to describe areas of work, such as certain jobs in the creative industries which demand log hours. The idea that people 'choose' this as a lifestyle is one way in which the long hours culture is maintained. Also it is worth noting that the previous work Fred refers to, where he worked on projects in his own time, involved, in his words, 'making very little money'. At another point in the interview he talks about working as a volunteer. Thus he presents himself as having chosen to do work that gave him autonomy and freedom. But this choice may not have been available to someone with small children, for example, who needed a certain wage to support a family[51]. This suggests gendered and other social limits on the agency and autonomy promoted in this extract, which I will discuss below.

Fred's comments on the relationship between work and life are pertinent to the themes of this thesis because they draw upon the concept of the entrepreneurial self as demonstrating autonomy and agency. Fred associates the freedom and autonomy that he presents as going hand in hand with a flexible working routine, with working outside an organization, in his words 'on projects that I could just do in my own time'. But as with Roy's comments earlier, the image Fred constructs of an entrepreneurial self has wider connotations that go beyond describing the benefits of being self-employed, to encapsulate what it is to be a worker and a person in contemporary society. Indeed Fred suggests that he sees himself as carrying his entrepreneurial spirit into his current job, partly through his refusal to make a distinction between work and life.

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[51] Also in the creative industries there are examples of jobs such as assistant curators, marketing officers and personal assistants that have very low wages, which anecdotal evidence has suggested are done by people with private incomes and family support. The 'choice' to do these jobs would not be open to those without extra resources.

Fred's use of the discourse of work and life being blurred involves gendered constructions of the self, because, as I discussed in chapter five, the ideal worker in the creative industries, who can combine work and life into a kind of fluidity of being, is a masculinized model. This becomes apparent when looking at the interviews with women, especially those that talked about having children, such as Sharon and Pat below.

Sharon:erm, because, my partner was saying well you can still do all those things and I was saying no I can't, you know for that first year I cannot tour with a really small baby, it's just not going to happen. To some extent, I don't, you know, and then everyone was saying, oh we know you Sharon, you'll make a work about pregnancy and get on stage. I don't want to make a work about pregnancy, and neither do I want to appear on stage heavily pregnant, and so it's like, well, when, and I can't, we as a company can't afford, for me to take maternity leave and so, financially it's a burden on me and my partner, whether we'd be able to afford to do it.

Pat: (laughs) I can't've got it all wrong. so although yes there's a price to pay because everybody's only got so much energy and you'd be lying to yourself if there wasn't a trade off but at least the trade off isn't guilt-ridden single mum who's you know, because it's , you end up so stressed that you're no good to work or home , it's just that this is the way it is, I'm choosing to work. I love it. Because I love it I'm better when I'm not there because I'm full of energy. I(don't go home knackered and exhausted because I've had a horrible day I go home saying "Let's go to the park" (funny voice), you know, I do, I love the work.

In these extracts Sharon imagines how having a child could affect her work and Pat talks about having a young child and working. Sharon makes it clear that she thinks she could not blur work and life in this situation because she does not want to tour with a young baby, or to 'appear on stage heavily pregnant'. Her comment about pregnancy is interesting because it relates to her identity as a woman. In other parts of the interview Sharon talked about using her personal experience to make pieces of theatre but when it comes to being pregnant she

resists turning this aspect of her life into 'work'[52]. Her comment could be interpreted as her wanting to maintain an identity as a mother that would be separate from her paid work, or it could suggest some embarrassment or anxiety about how she would appear physically being pregnant. This is interesting in the context of performance art in which Sharon works. In another part of the interview Sharon talked about how there are a high proportion of women involved in making performance art compared to 'traditional theatre'. She also mentioned that quite a lot of their work is autobiographical, and about being a woman. Thus she could be resisting this trend amongst women performance artists to attach their work so strongly to being a 'woman', rather than to making theatre about life and humanity in general, as male performers are able to do. Apart from her identity as a woman performer, Sharon's conclusion is that she could not afford to take time off to have a baby, and that it could be very difficult to combine her particular kind of work with having a child. Thus the image of life and work melting perfectly together is not supportable when issues such as having babies are brought into the picture, issues which impact more upon women in our society than on men.

Throughout her interview Pat talks more positively about combining having children with working, and doing so in a fluid manner. In this extract she does so whilst drawing upon discourses of the agentic self, saying that she 'chooses' to work and that she has made the right choice because she is a good mum and a good worker. But she also says there is a 'trade-off' which alludes to her losing something in order to achieve success in her dual roles. She does not specify what it is she trades in but she does say that she is not a 'guilt-ridden single mum'. But by comparing herself favourably to the image of a 'guilt-ridden single mum' she draws upon this negative discourse of working single mothers as abandoning their children (Burns 2001). In drawing upon the discourse of guilty single mothers Pat could be attempting to assuage her own guilt at going

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[52] In the context of theatre Sharon refers to work both as what she does for a living and as the performance piece, the creative piece of 'work'.

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out to work rather than caring for her children. This guilt that is associated much more with women with children who work, than with working fathers in our culture, whether or not they are single parents.

Thus the discourse of work and life being blurred in the creative industries is a gendered one. There are economic issues here, as I alluded to in relation to Fred's 'choice' to do low paid work which gave him freedom and autonomy. That is that although Pat says she 'chooses to work', because she 'love(s)' it, the majority of people work because they need the money and cannot make such free, autonomous choices as the ones presented in the accounts from Pat and Fred. Pat's comment about loving work can also be interpreted in the context of her justifying going to work rather than staying at home to look after her children. Thus she draws upon an entrepreneurial model of the self, as someone who chooses to work and who loves working, in justifying leaving her children at home, rather than simply saying she has to work because she needs the money. As with Roy does, Pat uses the phrase 'trade-off' to suggest a negative side to her decision to work and her ability to juggle work and life. This phrase indicates an oppositional discourse that is resistant to the entrepreneurial model of the self and the worker that Pat promotes in her talk.

The promotion of the self as agentic and autonomous has implications for the kind of society that is being presented as the context for that self. In neoliberalism, the onus on the ability for people to make autonomous choices and to take responsibility for those choices, suggests a society that is 'free' and without constraint. Also the neoliberal ideal for society is one of democracy and equality, but an equality that ignores rather than removes divisions such as class, race and gender (Rose 1998). In terms of the creative industries then, this notion of autonomous individual within a liberal democratic society that covers up social barriers to success, suggests that anyone could strive and develop to be the type of person who could succeed in the creative industries. The two extracts

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I critically examine this promotion of the non-standard, flexible working life in the creative industries below, in relation to the model of the entrepreneurial personality, and in the next chapter with reference to the autonomous, agentic 'attributes' of the entrepreneurial personality. Here I am first establishing that the creative industries are presented both in policy literature and through the accounts of individual workers in the CIQ, as embodying the characteristics of new economic forms of production and work, and that this is portrayed as positive. It is this idealization of a set of working practices and environments that contributes to the mythic value attributed to the new economy.

'Creativity' versus 'culture': the rise and rise of enterprise

The myth of the new economy as it is presented in creative industries policy literature is quite powerful, and draws upon an apparently simplistic dichotomy between the benefits of the new technological and creative industries over the old, traditional mechanical ones. However, it is more complex than it appears at first, and this complexity becomes apparent when we look more closely at how the creative industries are defined in the policy literature. As I mentioned in chapter three, a tension has developed in creative industries policy in recent years between the use of the terms 'cultural' and 'creative' in defining the sector in question. I argue here that the rise to prominence of discourses of *creativity* and the subordination of the values associated with *culture* are part of a corporatization of cultural activity, a process which does not enhance the prospects of struggles for gender and other forms of social equality in creative industries work.

As I stated in chapter on, according to the 1998 DCMS *Mapping Document*, the creative industries are:

below draw upon this idea of the agentic individual being free to do anything it wants.

> Zoë: I think my mother was also incredibly strong in instilling in me and also in Rachel er, that the equality factor and that you can. And I think it wasn't the case that you can do that because you are a woman, you can do anything because you are a woman, I think it was the case that she saw us as her children, and you can be or do anything erm, and also being taught to think yeah, I can do that I can do anything that there isn't any boundary my mother has never gone no you can't do that

> Pat: the main figure in my life as a small child, of power, was, was my grandmother, who had a rod of iron and had twelve children and they all worked in the factory and there were [?] grandchildren and we all worked in the factory during our school holidays and things so actually my role model was a woman, and a very powerful, very powerful, pretty horrible woman I thought! (we laugh). do you know what I mean? I think that's fairly unusual even you know, in the culture I was brought up in that was very unusual. ... And I wanted to be like her.

Zoë and Pat here talk about how they have been taught that they can, in Zoë's words, 'Do anything' or in Pat's terms, wield some sort of 'power'. Their comments describe a sense of empowerment and freedom (Zoe: 'there isn't any boundary') to make choices and decisions. These comments fit into the discourse of the 'American Dream' which has become the neoliberal western capitalist dream, that you can be successful, do whatever you want and be whoever you want, no matter what your background is. Interestingly both women use the example of a female family member as instilling a confidence and autonomy in them. And here lies the contradiction: on one hand they are saying that they are able to be independent confident, choosing selves (there is more evidence of this in other parts of Pat's interview) but on the other hand they say that they owe this ability to family background and the influence of a particular family member. By saying this the two women are undermining to some extent the dream of being free to do anything regardless of family background. Also the way that they cite a female family member as influencing

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them positively could be related to their awareness that I was interested in discussing gender issues in the interviews. But Zoë in particular retains a commitment to 'gender neutrality' by stressing that for her mother, 'it wasn't the case that you could do that because you are a woman…it was the case that she saw us as her children and you can be or do anything'.

This presentation of contradictions in interviewees' talk over the presentation of the agentic self-actualizing individual relates to issues of gender and other social (in)equality within the creative industries. That is, on one hand, the creative individual is presented as a particular personality type, different from other types of people who are suited to other sectors of work. On the other hand, the creative industries are presented as liberal and equal which means they should be open to all types of people from different backgrounds. I explore fully the implications of discussing fairness and equality in the interviews in chapter seven.

Working Hard at Being You: The Cult of Self-Actualization
Another element of the autonomous, agentic aspects of the entrepreneurial self, is the attribute of 'self-actualization'. Writers have argued that within enterprise culture, the self, though it is presented as having an 'essence', is expected to be able to improve itself in order be able to learn and grow, to fulfill its 'true' potential, to the extent that self-actualization becomes presented as an attribute or a 'personality trait' of the person (Rose 1998, Peters 2001). The idea of the self-actualizing individual is important in the ideological apparatus of enterprise culture it functions in deflecting emotional and humanistic responsibility for people away from the state and onto the individual. Thus rather than relying on institutions such as organized religion, the government and the 'community' for our well being, we are encouraged to rely on ourselves, to find our inner resources as individuals in order to give us fulfillment and enlightenment. This self-actualizing model of the individual has been developed within psychology and therapy culture (Rose 1998), and is promoted in the

context of personal counselling, talk shows such as Tricia and Oprah, 'self-help' books like *You Can Heal Your Life*, and women's magazines. The term 'self-help', with its emphasis on the individual being responsible for helping itself to recover from problems, overcome weaknesses and find happiness, encapsulates the entrepreneurial spirit of self-actualization. As Rose has written, the values implicit in the contemporary therapy are embedded in enterprise culture:

> Self-help, today, entails an alliance between professionals claiming to provide an objective, rational answer to the question of how one should conduct a life to ensure normality, contentment, and success, and individuals seeking to shape a 'life-style', not in order to conform to social conventions but in the hope of personal happiness and an improved quality of life. And the mechanism of this alliance is the market, the 'free' exchange between those with a service to sell and those who have been brought to want to buy (Rose 1998:157).

The link between the therapeutic language of self –actualization and the entrepreneurial self with which it is associated, is confirmed by the adoption of therapeutic practices within the business world. 'Motivational lectures' by business gurus focus on the well-being and potential of individual workers, people in London offices have been said to be offered 'duvet days' where they are allowed to take a day off to nurse a hangover or generally pamper themselves, and training for workers often involves psychological assessment and 'personality tests'. This model has also been explored and satirized in popular culture. For example, Ricky Gervais' character David Brent in the British sitcom 'The Office' (BBC 2002) tries but fails to manage his staff using 'therapeutic' techniques based on the values of self-actualization, such as group 'sharing' sessions, individual assessments and lecturing on personal improvement.

> In the context of the creative industries and the people I interviewed in Sheffield's CIQ, self-actualizing element of the entrepreneurial self is mobilized extensively by the interviewees. This can be seen in the following extract from Zoë, a filmmaker.

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Erm, it's one of those things that is step by step but at least I am achieving a little bit more. I am learning something every single day, and the way that I judge my own happiness is pretty much whether or not I am learning.. If I am not learning I end up getting stuck in a rut, I end up getting quite down. I felt like that for a good year or so, erm, before moving to Sheffield and obviously going part time and having more time on what I'm doing, and involved in something worthwhile and also feeling that I'm achieving slowly, my own personal goals and my own little film, then it's a very happy time, for me personally, I'm very settled and very happy, probably the most happy I've been within a place.

In this extract, Zoë's talk is part of are response to my question: 'How do you feel about your work in general?' She portrays her work as enjoyable, and herself as feeling good about what she does. In doing so she portrays herself as an agentic self-actualizing individual. She does this by linking her personal 'happiness' to 'learning'. Zoë makes a direct comparison between feeling 'happy' when she is 'achieving' and 'learning' and feeling 'down' when she is 'stuck in a rut' and 'not learning'. The personal development Zoë describes is presented in a linear way, as progress, in that she says that 'step by step' she is 'achieving a little bit more' and nearing her 'own personal goals'. This fits in with the positivist view of progress and development as always moving forward and of gaining knowledge in a linear trajectory. Within this framework the individual is presented as aiming for targets and goals and always moving towards them. This target setting for individual progress is promoted not only in work situations but also in other activities such as exercise, dieting, giving up drink and drugs, and achieving personal happiness. This self-actualizing model of personhood is essentialist in form; the view of progress presented here is not conducive to a concept of the individual as fragmented and in flux. Zoë's construction of herself as self-actualizing in this talk is highlighted by her reference to making her 'own little film' as one of the 'personal goals' in her development process. This phrase highlights the individualism implicit in her talk because she takes ownership of the project as hers, and presents it as something personal to her, and herself as the 'author' of the film. This contrasts with other things she says in relation to the film which suggest it is a

collaborative project in many ways, with people involved helping her on the design, ideas, filming and lighting of the film. I am not trying to undermine Zoë's input into the film, but I want to point out how she presents it as a personal individual project. This relates to the film industry in general in which authorship is individualized, and where directors often get credit for the authorship of films which are the product of many people's work. This is a gender issue as the majority of film directors are men.

Zoë also presents herself as agentic and responsible for her own happiness in that she made the move to Sheffield and went part-time in her job (as a careers advisor) in order to have more time to pursue her interest in film. She presents being agentic and autonomous as positive. Earlier in this piece of talk she frames this moves in terms of gaining 'autonomy'. She justifies working part time in terms of her need to be 'involved in something worthwhile'. In creative industries work, particular emphasis is placed on how fulfilling and rewarding the work is. In the last chapter I suggested that this discourse of interesting work which people feel passionate about, can be used to justify long hours and poor pay. I would argue that Zoë's comments contribute to distinctions made by people in the creative industries between the creative industries and other types of work, that suggest creative industries work is, more worthwhile and fulfilling than other types of work. This fits in with the discussion in the last chapter of how creative industries work is presented as different, not like run of the mill nine to five jobs. But if other people seem happy working in 'ordinary' jobs what does that say about them? A presentation such as Zoë's of work as 'worthwhile' and as an avenue for personal development could be interpreted as suggesting a less worthwhile 'other', in terms of types of jobs and the individuals that do them. I will continue to explore this issue in the section below on the 'creative'.

You Don't Have to Be Mad to Work Here...The 'Creative' as Personality Type

I have argued then, that the agentic self needs to be understood within the context of enterprise culture, and that it does not only involve gendered assumptions but also functions in relation to other differences and power relations. Here I will focus on the promotion within creative industries discourse of the 'creative' as a distinct type of person. I will argue that the 'creative' relates to the agentic self and its construction in this context contributes to the production and reproduction of social and economic inequalities in the creative sector. The idea of the 'creative' was presented in the interviews as well as in creative industries policy documents and correspondence. For example I received an email from a creative industries 'intermediary' that mentioned the efforts of his organization to acknowledge and challenge the 'barriers to women creatives'. And in the 1999 FOCI report on creative industries and the regions, 'creatives' were characterized as certain types of workers and individuals (Fleming 1999). The 'creative' as a personality type relates to the model of the entrepreneurial self in that 'creativity' is presented in business psychology literature as a component or trait of the entrepreneurial personality. Jennings (1994) defines creativity as ' a business activity which consists of some creation, resource allocation, innovation, risk-bearance and an intention to realize high levels of growth and profit' (Jennings 1994:58). This places creativity firmly in an economic context, linking it to other 'entrepreneurial traits' such as innovation and risk. The interviewees also present creativity as an entrepreneurial characteristic in the wider cultural sense that I have described in this thesis.

In the following extract Zoë, a filmmaker and production assistant talks about the interaction between 'creative' people at work .

> ...if you are a creative person, then a lot of the dialogue that you have and you talk about, then it is either going to be based around certain ideas as well as sort of general chit chat you're going to talk about the work that you are doing, and you're obviously going to talk to someone who has some idea of what you are doing and what you are trying to achieve so erm, than there's that dialogue which sort of occurs so if you are talking

about film, talking about installation or visual work or anything that you class as within the arts, then you open up some sort of dialogue, erm, and I think that's where friendships are formed, by talking about the processes and what you are actually trying to achieve.

ET: Do you see that as a positive?

Zoë: Oh yeah! Definitely, because it A ends up, means that you end up talking to a lot of different people and end up having a very large social network of friends, it's great that you can end up having a discussion or a conversation about what someone's doing and end up talking about what project and what work they are doing, and it's exciting, it's good to hear, it's not like a what's happening on Eastenders sort of conversation, (laughs), it's a lot more sort of engaging

In this extract Zoë states explicitly that she sees the creative as a particular type of person, and by talking about how she meets other creative people in a social network she suggests that creatives exist in a specific social context, in her case in the world of art and film-making. She presents a situation whereby the people in this art and film world are linked by their interests and areas of expertise, so you can 'talk to someone who has some idea of what you are doing and what you are trying to achieve'. This is interesting because it relates to my earlier point about how, within the enterprise culture of contemporary society 'expertise' has become an important commodity, and a way of distinguishing groups and individuals form each other (Rose 1998). So Zoë defines creatives as having strengths in particular areas of knowledge. But there is a suggestion in her talk that she places more value on some types of knowledge than others. She says that with creatives you don't end up 'talking about what's happening in *Eastenders*' but you are able to have 'engaging' conversations with them. Her Zoë makes a distinction between talking about and being interested in popular cultural forms such as soap opera, and the more highbrow 'arts' such as fine art and film. I would not say that Zoë was attempting to denigrate soap opera here, or the people who watch them. Indeed she may watch *Eastenders* herself. But I would suggest that she could be using the idea of talking about the programme as a sign of being trivial, boring or shallow, in contrast to the 'engaging' conversations she says she and other creatives have with each other about their

art and film projects. When identity resources are drawn upon in this way, to delineate between 'us' and 'them', relations of difference such as class can come into play. Zoë does not make any comment about the social class of 'creatives' but there is a wider discourse in our culture which distinguishes between high art (middle class) and popular culture (working class). So comments about the kind of art forms 'creatives' are involved in can be interpreted as being made in the context of these class discourses. Another meaning of the reference to *Eastenders* could be that Zoe relates discussing Soap Operas to the activity of gossiping. This has gendered implications because gossiping in our culture is associated with women and, in the context of work, can be used as a way of labelling women as not serious about their jobs (Milestone and Richards 2000). Thus there is evidence in Zoe's talk that she uses the example of *Eastenders* as a way of distinguishing between 'creatives' and other types of people and workers, a distinction that could be used to maintain and justify exclusionary practices in creative industries work.

Zoë's comments are also interesting because in this extract of talk, Zoë links the 'creative' to the idea of 'work'. She says creatives talk about 'the sort of work you are doing', 'what project and what work you are doing'. This relates to my arguments in this and the previous chapter about how in enterprise culture, creativity is firmly linked to economic activity and work. Zoë's' comments fit in with this economic model of creativity and distinguish creatives, i.e. people who work in the creative sector, from people who may choose to do creative things as a hobby, leisure activity or indeed as part of political action. The context of this distinction is one whereby 'community arts' and the social value of art is being neglected for the encouragement of creative activities which are potentially profitable (Tams 2002). As I argued in chapter five, this economic model of creativity has negative implications for campaigns for social equity, which rely upon more communitarian definitions of culture and creativity.

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There is another way in which 'creativity' can be seen to be linked, not only to economic activity but also to the model of entrepreneurial individual. This relates to the definition of creativity I described in chapter five as dominant in creative industry discourse: that of bringing into being, creating something out of nothing. In policy documents, as I argued in chapter five this definition of creativity places it within an economic model of production. But in the interview data 'creativity' being presented as involving producing something, making things happen, can be interpreted as contributing to the concept of the agentic individual. In the interview data there are examples of the interviewees emphasizing the agentic, productive side of their jobs. In the extract below, Lisa, who defines the creative industries as 'groups of people that make something creative', places her work within this definition. She tells me why she enjoys her work.

Lisa: Er, I really enjoy it, I think it's really interesting. Erm, it's got lots of things I like about it. I like, you know in my work, it has, I like the production process, I like building up to a climax of presenting something, I don't like doing the same thing every week or day or month, you know, I like the kind of mad, (laughs) excitement of it all, you know, the pressure. I like the pressure, I like the adrenalin, you know, so I like that. I like doing things for an audience, erm, for delegates or conference people [?].

Here Lisa states that she enjoys work which involves 'the production process', because it means a 'building up to a climax of presenting something'. Lisa uses the word 'mad' to describe the atmosphere of her work. As I discuss further below, creative industries work is often described in this way. Lisa says she enjoys the 'pressure', 'excitement' and 'adrenalin' of her work. In doing so she invokes an image of herself being a certain way, excited, and animated. These are feelings which could be seen to fit into an image of the active, agentic individual. The focus here on production, then, on 'presenting something' contributes both to an economic production model of the creative industries and to the model of the agentic self. In contrast to this view of the self at work,

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Andrew, an administrator, talks about the lack of creativity in his job. This is his response to my question about the negative aspects of his work.

> Andrew: I think it is probably the routine nature of it , erm , it doesn't call for a great deal of creativity and it is also very reactive as well, it would be nice to be able to initiate more things.

Here Andrew links the lack of creativity in his job to the way he has to be 'reactive' to issues, tasks and people rather than being able to 'initiate more things'. In talking about his work in this way Andrew presents being agentic, being able to initiate things in a positive light, and the lack of opportunity to do this in a job as frustrating. Again this links in creativity with the economic production model, where things are made, and to the agentic self who can make things happen. It is interesting to note here that this view of creativity as being an aspect of the agentic individual is also promoted in policy documents. For example in his introduction to the (2001) Government green paper- 'Culture and Creativity, The next Ten Years', Tony Blair writes:

> A future in which individual creative talent is given the support it needs from childhood onwards to flourish; in which our individual artists and top cultural institutions are freed from bureaucratic controls; and in which the freedom to explore and enjoy creativity and culture is available to every individual (Blair, T 2001:1).

The idea that creative work involves certain ways of being a human being contributes to the image of the 'creative' as a particular type of person. In the extract below, Janine, an administrator characterizes graphic designers as creative types in the following way.

> Janine: The graphic designer is usually young, fashionable, a bit   crazy, well very. Er, more erm, a lot of them are like artists, in their attitude and erm, you know yeah, that's it.

Here Janine says that graphic designers are 'young, fashionable, a bit crazy' , This characterizes graphic designers in a certain way, as distinctive and as

possessing personality traits such as being 'a bit crazy'. This contributes to an essentialist version of the self, and of the creative as a particular type of person. Throughout the interviews I found words such as 'mad', 'whacky' and 'exciting' used to describe work or people in the creative industries. This contributes to the notion of the sector and the people in it as being different, distinct from other , less interesting and fun types of work. Also Janine says graphic designers are similar to artists in their 'attitudes'. As Zoë did above, Janine presents artists as a distinct social group with shared interests and views. This contributes to the idea of a 'creative' as being a particular kind of individual that fits into a particular social category, and I would argue, places certain social boundaries around the creative industries and those who working them. What if you were middle-aged, unfashionable and not a bit crazy? Could you work in the creative industries successfully? I would suggest that there must be people working in the creative industries who do not fit the stereotyped image of the whacky, trendy artist, but the formation of a stereotype such as this serves to rationalize and justify exclusionary practices in this sector, by a reinforcing the idea that there is a special type of person who can work in this sector, and the concept that if people are not successful in the creative industries, it is not because they are discriminated against along the lines of class, race or gender, but because they do not possess the required personal qualities to do the work.

Janine's comments also refer to personal style as distinguishing creative types from others. When I asked one male worker in the CIQ how he thought people were expected to dress in this environment he replied 'you must wear a black polo neck jumper!' and others mentioned the propensity for wearing black amongst people working in the CIQ. This mode of dress, the black smart/casual outfit has been particularly associated with the male 'creative'. The comment about the black poloneck jumper was made in the context of the music industry, which at the level of successful DJs, bands, producers and record company execs, is overwhelmingly dominated by men (Bayton1998). In the music media in particular there have been a number of 'men in black

polonecks', such as Simon Cowell, Pete Waterman, Pete Tong and Jools Holland. Indeed when I assisted at a music conference in Sheffield I commented in my notes that there were 'lots of men in black!' and the director if the conference was dressed in 'black trousers and a black t-shirt'. At another creative industries conference I mentioned in a workshop dominated by men, my interest in discovering why there were so many 'men in black' in this sector. Here it could be surmised that although the 'man in the black poloneck' is quite an accurate description of some creative industries workers, this image is used to generalize about *all* creative industries workers and to associate them with a particular masculine style and role.

The personification of clothes to identify the creative as a particular type of person, is also used conversely to describe the kind of people they are *not*. In the following extracts, Lisa, a chief exec, distinguishes herself and other creative types from 'straight world'.

> Lisa: <u>She's quite sort of straight isn't she? I mean she's kind of like old style straight person isn't she?</u> And then there's the guy who, I think the showroom got in to help on the finances for a few months, and <u>he's a kind of mister suit guy.</u> There was a man that used to do finances for the national centre, he was mister suit man as well, but they are really few and far between, very rarely come across them I have to say. [?] (laughs) I think they are just kind of baffled when they do come across you, <u>they can't quite fit you into their model (laughs).</u>

> <u>I don't really mix in straight world all that much.</u> Erm, you know, the people that I negotiate people tend to be either in the TV industry, which tends to be quite casual in its attitude, you know, maybe more liberal than some of the other industries, and in the cultural quarter again, a lot of people, like liberal men, or lots of women working anyway er you know the meeting I'll have this afternoon will be all women.

These extracts from Lisa can be viewed as examples of 'boundary work' (Widdicombe 1998:198). This is a term used to describe how people construct themselves as part of a group or a community with things in common, and at the same time produce an 'us' and 'them' image whereby other people are

constructed as outside the group. In both extracts Lisa distinguishes between creatives and 'straight' people who do not fit into the definition of a creative. In the first extract Lisa identifies what it is to be 'straight' in relation to dress, as my question that led to this talk was about how she and others dress at work. Lisa associates being straight with certain kinds of clothes such as the 'suit'. Other interviewees talk about 'men in suits' and 'the suits' to identify types of people that are different from or similar to themselves. Here, Lisa's phrase 'mister suit man' is used describe the kind of people who work in more traditional business jobs. Her term 'straight world' clearly sets up a boundary between herself and others who are creatives, and those who are not, who she presents as inhabiting a whole other 'world'. As with Zoe's comments on Eastenders, this boundary work could also be interpreted as mobilizing class discourses. I discuss Lisa's extract in relation to class in chapter eigt. It is interesting to note that here, Lisa implies that 'straight' people are not very open-minded because, when faced with someone who does not look and act like them, 'they can't quite fit you into their model'. Although Lisa is making a comment about how she perceives someone else's rigid mindset, it is actually she who is labelling people as 'straight' or not and contributing to the construction of a fixed model of personhood, the 'creative'.

In the next extract Lisa differentiates the creative industries from other types of work in relation to gender relations. She says that where she works, in the arena of film, television and the cultural industries, people are 'liberal' about gender issues and she suggests there is gender equality, by referring to how 'the meeting I'll have this afternoon will be all women'. She contrasts this directly with 'straight world' which she implies is different, less liberal and equal than the creative industries in which she works. Lisa also uses the word 'casual' in this context to describe the attitudes of people in the TV industry, a term she used to describe the dress styles of creative types. Although she evaluates the term casual in a positive way here, the term has a more negative meaning in sectors such as television and film which often employ 'casual' working

practices such as the use of freelancers, a lack of statutory rights for workers and recruitment by word of mouth. These casual practices, it has been argued have gendered implications, so that women tend to suffer more from them than men (Blair, H 2001, Cliché et al 1999).

In using particular terms to characterize the types of people working in the creative industries, and how they dress which contrast with non-creatives, Lisa implies that the creative type as 'good' in that it is liberal, modern, open-minded and relaxed as opposed to being formal, conservative and old-fashioned. Thus she is drawing on the concept of the 'healthy individual', and characterizing the creative as such a type of person. Lisa's reference to 'liberal' attitudes is pertinent to the construction of the agentic individual because in talking about equality issues she suggests that social equality in an organization depends upon individual people being 'liberal' in their attitude, rather than the existence of structured policies and procedures[53]. Indeed, liberalism itself is concerned with the freedom and responsibility of the individual to act in particular ways to maintain social equality, rather than imposing it from above. But this 'freedom' is produced within a wider social and political context. As Rose has written,

Governing in a liberal-democratic way means governing through the freedom and aspirations of subjects rather than in spite of them. The possibility of imposing 'liberal' limits on the extent and scope of 'political' rule has thus been provided by a proliferation of discourses, practices and techniques through which self-governing capabilities can be installed in free individuals in order to bring their own ways of conducting and evaluating themselves into alignment with political objectives. (Rose 1998:155).

In this chapter I have explored how the interview participants have drawn on the concept of the agentic self in talking about their work in the creative industries. This autonomous, agentic aspect of the entrepreneurial personality, contributes

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[53] I will discuss the issue of individual responsibility for equality in chapter seven.

to the formation of the model of the archetypal healthy individual within neoliberalism. The presentation of the creative industries worker as an autonomous and agentic, can be seen to contribute in a number of ways to gender and other social inequalities in the creative industries. It is mobilized in the interviews within the context of enterprise culture to promote the idea that work and life are intertwined and this is a positive thing. There is evidence within the interview data of the autonomous, agentic self being mobilized in discourses of 'work' as part of an identity and a lifestyle choice. But this is a gendered construct, and when women interviewees began to talk about the realities of combining work with responsibilities such as childcare, the model of the autonomous, agentic self was problematized. The interviewees referred to the personal development aspect of the entreoreneurial self in talking about their work. This served to reinforce enterprise culture's emphasis on the responsibility of the individual to develop and adapt to fit in with the economy and the labour market. This has a bearing on gender and other inequalities because with the onus on the individual to make him or herself suitable for work, there is less responsibility placed on the state and other institutions to ensure equal opportunities or to assist people who are not succeeding to gain jobs or promotions. Finally I demonstrated how the creative industries present their own version of the entrepreneurial self, the 'creative' and that this construct, of the creative as a particular type of individual within a specific social group, contributes to the maintenance of gendered and other social inequalities within the creative industries. In summary, then I have stated that the entrepreneurial, self is the dominant version of personhood in our culture and this is reflected in the interviewees' accounts. Its continued dominance is antithetical to calls for equality because the discourse of the entrepreneurial self within enterprise culture

> differs from the social democratic narrative: it does not adopt the language of equality of opportunity and it does not attempt to redress power imbalances or socio-economic inequalities (Peters 2001:62).

In the next chapter I move from a discussion of personhood in the context of gender and work in the creative industries, to consider how the interviewees account for gender divisions and inequalities in this context. As well as differing from chapters five and six in that this chapter does not focus primarily on identity and how the individual is constructed through discourse, the analysis presented in chapter seven contrasts with that in the previous chapters, because it involves a direct discussion about gender issues in the interviews, rather than the researcher imposing a gendered analysis on data that was originally presented as 'gender neutral'. Thus there is an opportunity in the following chapter to consider feminism and how feminist values are treated by the interviewees. In relation to this issue, the chapter begins with a discussion of how the interviewees' accounts can be seen to be placed within the 'post-feminist' context I identified in chapter two.

Chapter Seven

Fair Enough? Discussing Gender Divisions in Creative Industries Work

> We have moved into an age where relationships [between men and women] are supposed to be enshrined in values of democracy and equality. In such circumstances, awareness that personal reality does not seem to match societal ideals could become a kind of guilty secret...Post-feminism is likely to compound a 'guilty secret' where personal experiences do not match up to public expectations... we certainly cannot afford to become post-feminist yet (Dryden 1999:151).

In the last two chapters, I introduced the idea that the creative industries have been constructed in a particular way, both in policy documents and through the accounts of people who work in Sheffield's CIQ. I looked at how the creative industries have been associated with the 'myth of the new economy'. Work in the creative sector has been presented in a positive, sometimes idealized manner, with particular reference to aspects of this 'new economy' such as flexible working hours, the blurring between work and leisure, opportunities for creativity, and informal management structures (Bradley et al 2000). Both in the policy literature and in the interview data, then, I found that creative industries work was being portrayed as *de-standardized* and *entrepreneurial*, and that these two qualities were presented as 'Good Things'. I also examined the concept of the entrepreneurial self, and how people working in the creative industries can present themselves as entrepreneurial individual human beings. In doing so I discussed how the model of the entrepreneurial self is itself gendered, and can function as a means of concealing or justifying gendered and other inequalities in creative industries work.

In this chapter I continue to uncover the 'cracks in the paintwork' of this destandardized, entrepreneurial model of creative industries work, and creative industries workers. I shall focus here primarily on gender relations, using as my main source for analysis the interview data from the twenty two interviews I

conducted with people working in Sheffield's CIQ. I consider how the people I spoke to, in constructing their working conditions as generally 'good', tended to include the idea that their work involved, on the whole, equal gender relations. However, these claims to equality, on closer inspection, are not straightforward, and in this chapter I examine carefully how the conversational practices used by the workers I interviewed actually constitute a complex combination of acknowledgement and denial of gender inequality, and resistance to and acceptance of that inequality (Dryden 1999).[54] The reason why I choose 'conversational practices' as the focus of analysis is that the social constructionist, discursive basis of the thesis, as described in chapters two and four, means that it is my intention to show how it is through the employment of language in particular social contexts that social reality is produced and contested (Wodak 1997, Mills 1997, Hammersley and Atkinson 1983).

A 'Post-Feminist' Context?

In order to understand more about how 'claims of equality' are made or debated in relation to cultural industries work, it is useful to examine the wider context of gender relations in society. I stated in chapter two, that according to many commentators, particularly in the media, but also in certain areas of academia, we are living in a 'post-feminist' age (Cockburn 1991, Faludi 1991). That is, there is no longer any need to talk about or campaign against gender inequalities. This is because either, as some would have it, women have achieved equality with men and are even overtaking them in many aspects of life, or, they should accept the fact that they were never meant to be equal to men in the first place (Cockburn 1991:1). But feminist writers argue that it is often men who take a 'post –feminist' stance based on the two attitudes I have just mentioned, and that they do so as a form of 'backlash' against women, and

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[54] The analysis contained within this chapter draws extensively upon ideas and concepts introduced by Caroline Dryden in her book, *Being Married, Doing Gender* (1999). Dryden, rather than talking about 'work' outside the home, takes the division of labour within marriage as her focus of research, analyzing interviews with married couples. But the issues and discursive practices she identifies are relevant to any situation where gender in/equality is being discussed.

the gains they have achieved in recent years (Faludi 1992, Cockburn 1991). The 'gender-neutrality' I discussed in chapters two and five can be seen to be one aspect of post-feminism, in that some realms of the dominant culture have moved on from using blatant forms of sexism, so that now gendered ideologies are increasingly couched in neutral language, and so are more difficult to expose and challenge. In chapter two I argued that there is overwhelming evidence that, although the position of women in working and other environments has improved in the last thirty years, the gender gap remains in all walks of life. Thus the current 'post-feminist' situation in the UK and in many other parts of the world[55] is one in which gender inequalities continue to be perpetuated and yet feminist ideas and campaigns have lost momentum and credibility, with the 'prevailing wisdom' being that gender is no longer an important issue for debate or political action.

Creative Industries Policy: Selling Equality

But what about the creative or cultural industries? Do they reflect the wider post-feminist context, whereby gender inequalities are in existence but are underplayed, denied or justified? In this chapter I aim to show how that is indeed the case. As I explained in chapter one, there is a distinct lack of research on gender and work in creative areas of work such as film, photography, theatre and music. However, as I wrote in chapters one and two, amongst what limited research that exists, there is both quantitative and qualitative evidence of serious gender inequalities in these types of employment and work (Swanson and Wise 1997, Milestone and Richards 2000). It is not always necessary to consult academic or 'official' documents to discover these inequalities. By looking in the top ten lists of films, TV programmes and pop music releases it becomes apparent that the directors, writers and producers of these 'creative products' are predominantly male. For example in the November 2002 edition of Empire [1] As I have stated earlier in the thesis, my research focuses specifically on Sheffield in a UK context. The literature I have used is from the UK, North America and

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feminism' do not refer to other socio-economic contexts.

Europe. Thus these comments about 'post magazine, out of thirty-one new films reviewed, only two were directed by women (Empire November 2002: 46-60). And in the Sheffield Star in Autumn 2002, only two out of eighteen articles on local rock and pop bands mentioned women musicians at all (Marshall and Tams 2003). But the creative industry policy literature 'sells' the creative industries as demonstrating *more* equalities of opportunity than other sectors of work. According to Phil Wood, director of Huddersfield's Creative Towns Initiative, and a leading member of the Forum of Creative Industries (FOCI),

> The creative industries are also remarkable for their permeability and ability to straddle the apparent divide between the economic and the social. They have proved to be an effective route way for many of those excluded from the mainstream economy. *Entry to them relies less upon qualification or position and more on drive and creativity* (Fleming 1999:8 my emphasis)

Here, Wood suggests that people who do not have educational qualifications could enter the creative sector, if they possessed 'drive and creativity'. This statement is interesting for its contradictions, because on one hand it makes a claim to equality of opportunity in the creative sector but on the other hand suggests that the personal qualities of 'drive and creativity' are more important than education for individuals attempting to enter the sector, which gives the impression that certain individuals with particular innate character traits are more likely to succeed in the creative industries than those who do not demonstrate particular qualities and attributes. This relates back to the promotion of the entrepreneurial personality I discussed in chapter five, a concept which, as I explained, has many implications for gendered inequality in creative industries work, because qualities such as drive and creativity have gendered assumptions attached to them. Wood's claim of the lack of importance of educational qualifications in the creative sector is not backed up by what research exists on this subject: it has been found that the majority of people working in the creative industries are highly educated, with one research project

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claiming70% of workers in the sector have degrees (O'Connor 2000)[56]. Out of the twenty-two people I interviewed at least sixteen of them (72%) had university degrees.

In a similar vein to Phil Wood's comments, Josephine Burns, the director of the Burns Jones Partnership, states that,

> Creative businesses are emerging as activities of real potential for success among ethnic minorities and the young unemployed, particularly in urban areas. There is increasing evidence of the effectiveness of the arts/creativity in addressing social exclusion problems. For example the power to motivate and involve can lead to education, training, employment and empowerment. (Fleming 1999:13-14).

Burns mentions specific groups-'ethnic minorities and the young unemployed' who could gain access to the creative industries. Again, as with Wood's statement, there is no proof that this is actually the case (Bretton Hall 2000). Whilst there are occasional 'rags to riches' stories in the creative industries as in other areas of employment these can serve to emphasize rather than combat the inequalities that exist. As with the 'American Dream', examples of disadvantaged individuals making it in film, art or television can be used, not to 'address social exclusion problems', but rather to cover up the elitist, middle/upper class nature of these areas of work. Neither of these two examples from creative industries policy documents mention gender, or women. As I discussed earlier in the thesis this is indicative of the 'gender neutral' stance of the policy literature in this arena, which involves hiding and denying gender issues, whilst promoting a 'masculinized' ideal of workers and conditions in the creative sector.

Interviews: Talking about Gender Divisions at Work

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[56] This figure is variable depending on how the creative industries sector is measured , as there are no precise SIC codes for the creative industries (Bretton Hall 1998)

I now turn to the interview data, to address the question of whether or not the people working in Sheffield's CIQ that I spoke to make claims to equality in the creative industries as the policy makers do, or if they identify and speak out against inequalities. Although the policy literature tended to be 'gender-neutral', in the interviews I openly raised the issue of gender and the potential for gender inequalities in creative industries work. Therefore I am interested here to look at how far the interviewees accepted my gender-aware approach, or whether, even in response to direct questions on the subject, they attempted to make, or succeeded in maintaining positions which denied or underplayed gender divisions at work. As I have said at the beginning of this chapter, I am concerned with the conversational techniques used in the interviews, because in this thesis I argue that it is through talk that a social situation such as gender inequality can be upheld or challenged (Wodak 1997, Gill 1993). The presentation of analysis that follows examines specific conversational techniques which the people I talked to used in their discussions of gender issues at work.

'Balancing the Books'

The first conversational technique I shall consider has been identified by Dryden as 'balancing the books' (Dryden 1999:39). In the context of this research, 'balancing the books' involves an interviewee responding to a suggestion of gender inequality (either from the interviewee or from me, the researcher) in such a way that she is able to deny the existence of inequality and restore the claim that her work situation is 'fair' in gender terms. According to Dryden 'balancing the books' can be achieved by drawing upon the following practices: making a traditional claim to fairness, stretching a traditional claim to fairness, making positive comparisons and taking the blame. I refer to these practices in discussing how the interviewees balance the books, but at times I do so in a different way from Dryden. I shall indicate when I move away from her original definitions of the techniques that contribute to book balancing in discussions of gender divisions. Using Dryden's work as a guide, I discuss how at times the

interviewees acknowledge gender inequalities but justify them by 'bringing in biology', by drawing upon essentialist biological understandings of gender difference. I explore how this technique incorporates bio-psychological approaches to gender difference and so involves making reference to the difference between men and women's personalities as well as their bodies. I continue this discussion of how gender divisions are treated in talk, with an exploration of men's justifications for gender inequalities in the creative industries. In doing so I draw upon observational data as well as the interview material. Finally I consider if there are any examples of open challenges being made to the gender status quo, and if so whether or not these are sustained by the interviewees.

Making Traditional Claims to Fairness

ET: I know there's not many of you so it's hard to define but do you have any comments about gender divisions at all in terms of what you do most of?

Kevin: Erm, it's tricky. <u>Unfortunately from the outside we sort of appear to fall into this stereotype that I am the director and Sharon is the actor,</u> an I think people often make assumptions about the company practice because of that, erm whereas <u>I look after the finances because I am more interested in it and I'm better at maths, not because I'm a man</u> and she's a woman.

In the above passage, Kevin, the co-artistic director of a performance company, talks about the roles within his organization, which includes himself, his co-artistic director Sharon, an administrator Viv, a technician Peter, and sometimes other collaborative artists. When I ask him about gender divisions in the company he makes it clear that he is aware that there is a divide between him and Sharon in that on the surface it looks as though he is 'the director and Sharon is the actor'. But Kevin is quick to assure me that any perceived gender divisions are not real, but based on other people's 'assumptions', and that although in this situation he and his colleague appear to display traditional

gender roles, this is 'fair' and not due to gender inequality. Rather, he goes on to explain, the fact that he takes a leading role in running the finances of the company is because he is 'more interested in it', and 'better at maths' than Sharon, not because he is 'a man'. That is he relies on the idea that his *personal* interests and qualities render him suitable to take a particular, more prominent role in the organization in the company than his female colleague. This is significant in terms of a gender analysis of his statements, because feminist writers have argued that so called 'personal' attributes are ascribed with gendered meaning to justify the division of labour (Adkins 1995). For example, women are supposed to be naturally good at childcare, whereas men are thought to have innate skill in the field of mechanics. So Kevin here is speaking in an apparently 'gender-neutral' manner to justify gender inequalities, by mobilizing a discourse of personal attributes, a discourse which is in fact highly gendered. In a separate interview, Kevin's colleague Sharon also mentions that Kevin does the finances, and that this could look as though there were gender divisions in their company:

> Erm, and I suppose you could see that as a kind of male authority figure, but, erm, Kevin, there is an understanding almost between Kevin and I. I hate administration, I loathe it, and whilst you look at financial experience I'd actually be (laughs) a far better choice of person to take on those finances, I really have no interest on those finances at all and so haven't pursued that.

Like Kevin, Sharon uses the argument that the reason she does not do the finances is due to lack of interest on her part. Sharon, though, does not suggest that Kevin is more skilled in this area, pointing out that she is the one with 'financial experience' (she used to work in a bank as a mortgage underwriter). Sharon was one of the few interviewees who openly associated herself with 'feminism' and so she could have been more concerned about the idea that men are presented in society as naturally better at some things than women and vice versa, and yet she still defended the gendered roles in her organization, by relying upon the notion of personal interests. As well as looking at the gendering

of personal attributes, feminist writers have examined how interests and hobbies are inscribed with gendered meanings (Milestone and Richards 2000). So whilst Sharon claims her lack of interest in finance to be personal she does so in a context in which women are generally said to be less interested in things like numbers and accounts than men.

Thus Kevin and Sharon cautiously acknowledge gender divisions at work but have been quick to play down these divisions and to justify them using arguments based on a traditional claim to fairness, whereby traditional gender roles are adopted due to practical reasons, and as a result of personal interests or attributes. This process is repeated throughout the interviews I have analyzed. As I discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the people I interviewed in the CIQ were working in a social context which I have identified as being under the influence of 'post-feminism', in which acknowledgement of, and challenges to gender inequality are suppressed. Within this wider social environment they are also working in an arena, the 'creative industries', that is promoted as being *particularly* progressive and lacking in social inequalities. It is understandable, then, that these people work hard in their conversations with me to present their working relationships as fair and equal. But the point I am making by looking so closely at what they say, is that Kevin, Sharon and the other interviewees, whilst they are probably heavily involved by post-feminist culture, they are also actively (though maybe not consciously) contributing to and reinforcing that culture through the things they say (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998).

Stretching Traditional claims to Fairness

Another aspect of this balancing the books process which I found took place during the course of the interviews, and which follows on from the first one, has been identified by Dryden as 'stretching traditional claims to fairness' (Dryden 1999: 41). Sharon uses this technique when she talks about the gender divisions in the technical side of performance work.

There's a couple where women have helped out but certainly aren't erm, yeah but <u>certainly aren't women technicians. Which used to be a little bit tricky,</u> erm, when we were going to venues, when it was me and Kevin, doing the venue, <u>now we've got Peter who's our technical manager so he kind of deals with it</u> er, but we have had situations where literally teckies haven't spoken to me all day, and they field it through Kevin and Kevin will ask me then they still field it through Kevin, you know, wait for him to come back into the room or whatever, erm, which is ridiculous.

Here, Sharon says that when it was her and her male colleague Kevin, 'doing the venue' things 'were a little bit tricky' in gender terms, because the male technicians did not treat Sharon with respect. But now they have got a technical manager, Peter, to go in to venues and set up the performance space, 'he kind of deals with it'. Peter deals with it in that he communicates with the technical staff in venues, and does the physical work, but he also 'deals with it' in that his presence means that Sharon does not have to face up to the sexism of male technicians, and the issue of her not getting respect from them. This can be seen as stretching a traditional claim to fairness because Sharon is only able to present a traditional allocation of gender roles as fair by bringing in another individual apart from her and her co-director. The claim to fairness is flimsy because it relies on the other person, Peter the technician, being a man. If Sharon and Kevin had employed a female technical manager, they would probably have remained in the same situation that Sharon found herself in, whereby a woman in a technical role was not taken seriously by the male technicians. Dryden's research into marriage found that couples also used this technique of bringing in an outsider to stretch a traditional claim to fairness. In the example she gives, a couple talk about hiring a (female) nanny, which averts the problem of the husband feeling awkward about being a man taking their child to nursery, and enables the couple to remain in traditional gender roles whilst still claiming this situation to be fair (Dryden 1999:42).

In her research into marriage, Dryden also mentioned instances where the claim to fairness was stretched not by bringing in another individual but by referring to another situation, either hypothetical or real, that could threaten the couples'

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claims of fairness in the context of gender roles. In the extract below, Lisa talks about when her child is ill. This situation threatens her earlier claim that she and her partner share childcare responsibilities equally

> Lisa: He did go through a run of sickness and it was incredibly stressful.
> ET: What did you find your solutions were?
> Lisa: We did shifts, yeah, but I think I did take the brunt of the shifts. I'd like to say because (laughs) Ian works, his work routine is, the newspaper goes to print every Thursday lunchtime, so basically Wednesday and Thursday are impossible days to take off, because that's when you get the newspaper together. So sometimes what we do is, I'll say ok, I'll change my meetings to Tuesday, Now I can do that because I'm the director.
>
> ET: So you have a bit more flexibility?
> Lisa: I have more flexibility. So while I have more responsibility and maybe more of a workload, but I also have flexibility. This is true. It's very stressful the sick thing, and when the chicken pox was doing the rounds I was absolutely mortified.

Here Lisa could be seen to be acknowledging that her child's illness stretches her claim to fairness in her relationship, because she laughs, before justifying the fact that she takes 'the brunt' of the childcare when her child is ill by saying that her husband has fixed deadlines at work and cannot get away. She emphasizes this work by saying it is 'impossible' for her husband to take certain days off. This is interesting in terms of the themes of this thesis because in explaining why she looks after the child she draws upon entrepreneurial aspects of her work such as the idea of flexibility in creative industries work, and the fact that she is the director of the company. But in this instance her references to being the director and being flexible serve to emphasize and justify gender divisions in that they could be seen to enable a woman to fulfill the traditional role of mother[57]. In this extract Lisa refers to how 'stressful' it is combining work and childcare when her child is ill. In her research into marriage Dryden gave an

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[57] Lisa told me a few months after the interview in an email that she had given up her job for a less prestigious and less time-consuming post within the CIQ, to spend more time with her child. So the flexibility and autonomy she claimed to have seemed not solve her childcare problems.

example of a woman talking about the 'pressure' she would be under if she worked full time. Dryden suggested that some of that pressure could potentially come from being forced into challenging her husband over the division of labour in the home. Here too it is possible to interpret Lisa's reference to 'stress' as going beyond the difficulties of working and caring for a child to the potential stress of negotiating gender roles in this context with her partner. Also, it would be interesting to interview male directors of creative industries companies to see if they use their authority and flexibility to take responsibility for childcare emergencies as Lisa describes herself doing. In fact, as this extract below from Max, a freelance photographer demonstrates, men are able to use discourses of de-standardized work patterns and entrepreneurship to explain why they may *not* be able to do so much childcare.

ET: How does your job fit in with the rest of your life?

Max: With some difficulty (laughs) having a partner and two children, because most of the time, <u>I don't know what I'm doing from day to day</u> so trying to sort of then, when the kids have got to be picked up from school or from the child minder, or planning things can be quite hectic because, you know I can never, I can never anticipate what I'm going to do so sometimes it does mean that I a job comes in, <u>unfortunately you know, with the business side of things if you turn down too many jobs too often people will stop coming to you, stop using you, so I've got to be aware of that, not that I'd say you should necessarily put the job first,</u> but it is very difficult sometimes to, to weigh up, what we should prioritize.

In the above section of talk Max refers to the lack of routine in his job (I don't know what I'm doing from day to day) and his need to be ready to take work up on the spot as potentially resulting in him being unable to commit to childcare duties, because 'if you turn down too many jobs too often people will stop coming to you'. Although he says 'not that I'd say that you should necessarily put the job first' his talk serves as a justification for situations where he might do just that. Max implies that at times, when 'weighing up' what 'we should prioritize' he and his partner agree he should be working rather than looking after the children. The contradictory ways in which Lisa and Max talk about

flexible working shows that in itself it does not alleviate gender inequality, and that actually discourses of flexibility, as with discourses of rigid work routines, can be drawn upon in order to justify traditional gender roles in the context of domestic responsibilities.

Making Positive Comparisons

Another way in which I found the interviewees balanced the books and diffused any potential suggestion of inequality in their work, was by comparing their current jobs favourably with previous work they had done, in terms of gender relations. In the extracts below, Pauline, a partner in a PR firm and Fred, an events organizer in a cinema both state that the organizations they now work for are more equal in gender terms than places they have worked before.

> Pauline: One of the things actually is to do with my sex. In my previous job it was a very male dominated macho world, newspapers are, very, I was actually the first female news editor they had ever had at Sheffield newspapers, erm, if I was in an editorial management meeting I was with 16 men and me being the only female, and there was an awful lot of that macho aggressive kind of talking, or you know sort of belching and farting variety of talk, and I'd say that here it's not, whether you are male or female is not an issue at all, because Martin and I are equal partners, the office is entirely split down the middle male and female, we all do the same tasks, apart from Helen who is the office manager, but you know it is an egalitarian set up and certainly whether you are female or male doesn't dictate whether you do one client or another.

> Fred: Erm, I think it is quite balanced actually, er, especially in contrast to where I used to work, which was basically hugely dominated by, by males,

Both Pauline and Fred compare their current organizations with previous workplaces in terms of the gender balance of staff, commenting that where they are now has better representation of women. They also both go into some detail about how their previous work was 'worse' in gender terms than their current place of work. I discuss Fred's description of where he used to work in the section below on 'men making excuses' for gender inequality. In the case of

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Pauline's comments, she presents the press as being 'macho' and 'aggressive', with men indulging in 'belching and farting type of talk'. These observations are pertinent to this thesis because they describe a situation where language can be gendered and the use of particular types of language and conversation can contribute to gender cultures which exclude women. Pauline's comments also demonstrate that it is not just analysts but also research participants who notice the importance of language in affecting gender relations. In terms of balancing the books, this comparison between past and present workplaces strengthens Pauline's claims of equality in her current work ('Martin and I are equal partners'). Dryden has argued that this comparative device involves a process of distancing (Dryden 1999: 44). Pauline's comments for example involve a deflection away from any problems that may occur in her work to focus on a scenario that took place somewhere else, in the past. This distancing technique was practiced in a number of the interviews; in talking about other jobs the participants became much more specific and detailed in their discussion of gender divisions and inequalities than when they were talking about their own current jobs. It could be argued that this is just a 'normal' aspect of conversation and recollection in that it is often easier to see issues and problems clearly when you have some distance from them, or after time has passed. But the interviewees tended to resort to recalling past experiences when gender divisions came up as an issue rather than in the context of any other topic. Thus the interpretation of this comparative device as being a way of playing down gender divisions at work, of ' balancing the books', can be shown to be valid.

Taking the Blame

In addition to making and stretching traditional claims of fairness, or making positive comparisons with other jobs, the people I interviewed in Sheffield's CIQ found another way to claim gender fairness in their work situations. This was to blame somebody for allowing a situation to become unbalanced, or divided along gender lines. Sometimes this would involve the interviewees blaming *themselves* as is the case in the extract below. Here, Sonia, a marketing

assistant in a cinema, responds to my question about possible gender differences in how the staff in her organization get on with and communicate with each other:

Sonia: Erm, I was quite upset about my manager's relationship with Fred at one point, because as opposed to me writing the reviews and stuff and the copy when he was busy, he started giving it all to Fred, and I just got pissed off and angry about it and didn't say anything (laughs), so erm, I've got over it now so I'm just sort of looking out for myself now and what I'm going to do next.

ET: Erm, so do you feel that that situation wasn't really resolved?

Sonia: Yeah, but that's my fault because I didn't bring it up so if he doesn't know that I've got a problem then he's not going to say anything about it is he?

ET: No, no

In this piece of talk, Sonia clearly blames herself for failing to confront her manager about the way he favoured a male colleague over her when distributing what she saw as the interesting work in her department. When I asked her to elaborate on this issue, she reiterated the fact that it was her 'fault' because she did not talk to her manager and give him a chance to change things. Another possible analysis of this situation could be that the male manager was using male networks to provide 'jobs for the boys'. But Sonia chooses to blame herself for the manager's decision not to give her certain tasks to do, implying that if she had have approached him about the issue he would have responded to her in a positive manner. This process of self-blame is used in a number of occasions in the interviews, with the result that gender inequality or even open discrimination is rejected as a viable phenomenon in the organizations in which these people work; if someone blames herself for an apparent gender division, she can maintain a position that states 'my work place is good because it is equal'.

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In another example of a woman blaming herself for gender divisions at work, Sharon, the performer and artistic director, blames herself for maintaining a gender division in her work by failing to take the lead in facing the public in her job.

> But I also suffer from the fact because I perform, you know, so I was getting really uptight about that, saying, <u>I'm a woman and you should take notice</u> and da de da de da, erm, and I want to be equally seen as the face as well (funny voice). <u>But also I'm playing a double-sided game really</u> because, because I'm performing a lot of people assume that I haven't directed the piece, or that I have no part in authorship, and I'm just the performing side, rather than the creative, you know, side, and <u>it is a very equal if not, er, more often than not weighted towards me on decision making</u>, and so that becomes frustrating. Erm, but also <u>if I am performing, the last thing I want to do usually is go out and you know, face people suddenly as a face, because as an actual individual after performing I'm quite shy and I don't really know how to take people, so, I can't complain!</u> (Laughs)

In this extract, Sharon tells me that she is unhappy about the fact that people do not take her seriously as a director of her performance company, because unlike her colleague Kevin, she is the one up on stage performing, and actors are rarely thought to be in charge of the creative decisions in theatre. Initially she says this situation is unfair, because in fact 'it is a very equal, if not, er, more often than not, weighted towards me on decision making'. But in the end Sharon takes the blame for this state of affairs, by saying that 'as an actual individual after performing I'm quite shy and I don't really know how to take people so I can't complain.' Thus she claims that due to a personality trait (shyness) she is responsible for any divisions in her company, and for not being respected as an equal partner with her male colleague. This relates to my discussion below of essentialist psychological models of personality being used to justify gender divisions in creative industries work. Sharon even presents herself as somehow sly, in that she tells me she is 'playing a double-sided game' in her desire to be respected weighed up against her social shyness. As I mentioned earlier, Sharon was one of the few people I interviewed who identified herself with feminism,

so her admission that she is 'guilty' of contributing to gender divisions at work could make her feel uncomfortable. This could explain her laughter and the use of a 'funny voice' in this extract.

Dryden wrote about this issue in the context of a culture of 'woman blame' (Billinghurst 1996). 'Woman blame has now been extensively documented by feminist writers across the social sciences' (Dryden 1999:43). In the current, 'post-feminist' climate in which we live, women still get blamed for all sorts of things: for being bad mothers (Bordo 1993), for being single mothers (Burns 2001), for being sexually promiscuous, for drinking too much (Day 2002), and so on. It is no surprise then that this culture of woman blame permeates the interviews. In making this point, I should add here that I was involved in the practice of woman blame to some degree myself. In this extract from an interview with Sally, a cinema administrator, I say that women are responsible for gender inequalities as well as men:

Sally: [...] they don't it's not, well it is a kind of sexism, but it's not, I don't think it's intentional. It is,

ET: And women go along with that.

Sally: Yeah, absolutely

As I know my own thinking behind this comment, I can justify it by stating that I do indeed believe that gender inequalities are produced and maintained by men and women alike, partly through the reiteration of gendered discourse such as the ones I have identified here. However the result of my comments at this point in the interview was to contribute to the process of balancing the books by drawing upon a woman blame discourse, and to reduce the strength of potential challenges to gender inequalities made during the conversation between Sally and me.

Justifying inequality

<u>'Don't Blame Us...' : Men making Excuses?</u>

Whilst the women blame themselves for gender divisions at work, the men seem to blame anyone *but* themselves for the gender divide at work. Thus rather than balancing the books, there are examples in the interviews of men acknowledging gender divisions and inequalities in creative industries work, but then going on to justify these divisions. In the following piece of interview data, Fred, a special events programmer at a cinema, discusses the gender balance in his organization, and compares it favourably to another cinema he used to work in, 'The Cellar'. I ask him if he knew why that place was male-dominated.

ET: Did you come to any conclusions at The Cellar about why it was mainly men?

Fred: Er, yeah, (laughs) but they were <u>personal conclusions about a couple of members of staff,</u> yeah. There was a guy there who was basically the operations manager who was quite a charismatic guy, but he was, he had problems the way he dealt with women, an he was their first point of contact when they came in. And what would happen is they would like him to begin with, and agree to some kind of light work i.e. bar or something like that, but because of the way that that he treated them, i.e. flirting with them endlessly, they never felt they could commit further than that, so we ended up opening ourselves up for massive criticism because we would have all the guys in charge, and a whole set, a lot of females, but doing, tearing tickets and working behind the bar. So it was kind of, <u>even though we were meant to be this radical organization, we had this very conservative kind of hierarchy that was completely organic, so it was completely our fault, but it has changed actually, but I think that was to do with things evolving at the time. And interestingly enough, Mark, whose name you obviously won't mention anywhere, has left now, and in a way, when he left I think females did find it easier to come in and work there</u>

In my earlier treatment of positive comparisons being used to balance the books in discussions of gender divisions at work, I referred to Fred's comparison of his current work situation with a previous job which he presented as much less equal in gender terms than his present workplace. In the above extract, although he is open about gender divisions in his previous job, he still uses conversational

techniques which can be interpreted as producing 'excuses' for gender divisions. Within the example Fred gives of his previous workplace, he is not entirely straightforward about the causes of gender inequality. At first, he says that it is 'a couple of members of staff' who were responsible for the treatment of women in their organization. Then he goes on to specifically name an individual, Mark, who actively alienated women who came to work at t he cinema, by ' flirting with them endlessly'. This resulted, Fred stated, in the women feeling they could not 'commit further' to the organization, and so they ended up with 'all the guys in charge' and the women 'tearing tickets and working behind the bar'. This analysis of the situation fits in with the conclusions of feminist writers on how women's work in the service industries is often sexualized and demeaned as a result of that equalization (Adkins 1995). Fred even tells me that this situation was 'all our fault', suggesting he shouldered some of the responsibility for it. But he quickly 'back-pedals' on this statement, by reasserting the belief that it was Mark who was the main culprit, because when he left, 'females did find it easier to come in and work there'.

As well as blaming specific individuals (other than themselves) for gender inequalities at work, the men I spoke to used the argument that society is just like that, suggesting it is beyond their control to do anything about these issues. When I asked Kevin, Max and Fred, who did acknowledge some gender inequalities in their lines of work, for explanations of that inequality, this is how they replied:

> Kevin: Erm, sort of spuriously off the top of my head I suppose it could be that erm, there is more of a need for women to make their individual voices felt perhaps, <u>because over all women's voices aren't listened to as much by society,</u>

> Fred: <u>Well it is obviously historical</u>, erm, and it does emerge out of all that favouritism and networks, erm, and that is the simple answer. Erm, yeah, <u>the media is very much controlled by men</u>, and that does basically affect a lot of things that happen, all the way down the line.

> Max: and it's I don't know why <u>it's always been a sort of bloke thing,</u> I suppose, it's a lot of who you know,

These responses constitute a very generalized explanation of gender inequality. It is not surprising that the men or women I interviewed could not come up with immediate, in-depth analyses of gender inequality in the course of a forty five minute conversation about work; in the course of a three-year Ph.D. programme I am struggling to come up with answers myself. The point I am making here is that whereas, in talking about gender divisions at work, the women often blamed themselves for gender inequalities, the men turned to general concepts such as the wider 'society', 'the industry' or 'history' to explain gender inequalities. This resulted in the men being able to distance themselves from the problem, and from responsibility for it, whilst still demonstrating some kind of awareness of social divisions. In her research into gender and radio DJ work, Ros Gill found a similar pattern whereby male DJs deflected responsibility away from themselves for gender inequalities in their profession (Gill 1993). In my participant observation at creative industries conferences I also found men doing the same thing.

One justification made at the conferences for the lack of women at decision-making and managerial levels in the creative industries focused on women themselves simply not applying to take up positions of power. At the music conference, when the all-male steering committee of the organization which ran the conference were criticized for not having any women members, they said that no women had asked to join. This kind of response takes responsibility away from organizations, and puts an emphasis on individual women to take the initiative to apply for positions. However, another discourse involved conflicting reasons for the lack of women participating. During a workshop at one conference, the male chair of the all-male panel responded to a query from me about this situation, by saying – 'don't blame us, blame the conference organizers'. This comment takes away responsibility from *individuals* by suggesting that discrimination against women is caused by the 'powers that be'.

Questions raised about the lack of participation from women were not limited to the conferences themselves, but dealt with other activities within the creative industries. At the music conference, for example, a woman said that the expansion of music distribution over the Internet favoured men because more men than women use the Internet. A male panelist responded in a hostile manner, saying, 'We could be sexist and say we thought you liked shopping'! From a gendered discourse point of view, the question and its response are interesting. The woman's statement of gender inequality was turned around by the speaker and interpreted as a generalization about men's use of the Internet. His response was to make another generalization about how women 'like shopping'. Regardless of the 'truth' or 'sincerity' of either statement, the speaker's comments drew upon a gendered discourse that denigrates activities such as shopping and cleaning as domestic, feminine activities, which are seen as less interesting and valuable than 'men's' activities such as using technology. And in the context of this conference, the result of this comment was that it prevented a serious debate about gender and the production and consumption of multimedia music from occurring.

These examples from creative industries conferences reveal a similar phenomenon to that which I found in the interviews; men are shown to be more likely to blame others for gender divisions in creative industries work whereas women often blame themselves. But this analysis belies the complexity of people's talk, and the meanings they convey through it. I do not think from meeting, listening to, and reading the words of twenty two people in working in Sheffield's CIQ, that the men were actively, consciously *trying* to blame others for gender inequalities, or that women, if asked directly, would say it was 'all their fault'. Rather, my argument here is that, in their feelings of 'obligation' to construct their working lives as equal in gender terms, the interviewees subconsciously drew upon the practice of blame to cover over or negate suggestions that equality was not achieved at work. The issue of significance

from a gender point of view, though, is that it seems that women find it easier to draw upon discourse of 'self-blame' and men find it easier to draw upon discourse of blaming others (Dryden 1999:44).

Bringing in Biology

In this chapter I have presented 'balancing the books' as being practiced by the interviewees to detract from claims of gender inequality in their workplaces and to restore their assertion that gender relations are fair and equal. I have also discussed how there are instances where men acknowledge gender inequalities but justify the situation by blaming others for causing gender divisions at work, or for failing to address or challenge them. There is another way in which both men and women justify gender inequalities in their work and this involves evoking biological discourses of gender difference.

Max, the self-employed photographer I mentioned above, had this to say about possible reasons for gender divisions in his area of work.

> I don't know why it's always been a sort of bloke thing, I suppose, it's a lot of who you know, so I get jobs because of who I know and not necessarily because of my quality or anything like that, and I suppose this could be construed as sexist, but it is, hard physically I've got, you know a bag that I carry around with me all day and it is quite heavy if you have got a lot of equipment to carry and step ladders and tripods, you know, I'm quit fit and I get very tired so I try to sort of think of ways round it , I'm sure there are trolleys and things you can use but yes it is physically demanding,

Zoë, a filmmaker also spoke of physical differences between men and women in the context of gender divisions I her area of work.

> Zoë: I don't think I've personally ever come across any incidences where there has been any form of discrimination the only thing I have come across within film, is the very simple fact of you are not as strong as men .

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ET: _Physically?_

Zoë: _Physically_. So there is certain equipment that you can't carry because you know you'll end up putting your back out, and apart from that, the physical side of things that's the only sort of difference that I've come across really and I think these days I think it's, _with our generation, erm, that it's it isn't, with the sort of modern man (laughs) sort of thing, and with men and women those roles are so intertwining and intermixed._

At the beginning of his extract of talk, Max suggests that there are unfair practices whereby it is 'not what you know but who you know' and that as a man he benefits from this system of 'boys' networks. But he is very quick to qualify this statement with a claim that photography work is 'hard physically'. Max uses the old adage that men are stronger than women, to explain why photography work is dominated by men, because he says that physical strength is vital in his line of work, due to all the equipment that needs to be carried. But the way he does this is quite complex. First, he says 'this could be construed as sexist' before making his statement about men's physical strength, I think to present himself as _non-sexist_ and to give his claims more credibility. If he shows that he is aware of sexism, and that sexism can be located in the perceptions of others rather than in his own words and deeds, then he is presenting his ideas as based, not on sexist prejudices, but on the objective fact that men are stronger than women. He also suggests he is not just ignorant but has thought of ways to overcome the innate physical difference between men and women, such as the use of 'trolleys and things' to help carry equipment, but he finishes by saying it is 'very demanding' work, implying that women would not be physically up to the job. Also Max refers to the fact that he is 'quite fit' and he still gets 'very tired'. In this context of a discussion of physical differences between men and women this statement implies that a woman photographer would not be as fit as he is, and so the quality of 'fitness' as well as 'strength' becomes gendered.

In her extract, Zoë states that she has not experienced any discrimination as a woman in her job. However she goes on to say, as Max did, that there is a

physical difference between the work that men and women are able to do, because women are less strong than men, so they cannot carry heavy equipment. She even suggests it would be dangerous for a woman to do so because 'you might put your back out'. I would argue that this contributes to the gendering of the quality of 'risk' that I mentioned in chapter five in relation to the construction of the entrepreneurial personality. Surely men could potentially hurt their backs lifting heavy equipment as well; the implication here is that women should not take that risk. At the end of the extract she reasserts her belief that there is gender equality in her work , with the comment that 'with men and women those roles are so intertwining and intermixed'. This comment draws upon discourses of post--feminism, by suggesting that equality has been reached because men and women are kind of interchangeable at work these days, a comment that directly contradicts her previous statement of why women cannot do certain jobs.

In the sections of talk I have taken from Zoë and Max, both interviewees, in talking about physical differences between men and women, go beyond the realms of the gendered body to imply there are also psychological differences between men and women which may impact upon gender divisions in their working environments. As I pointed out above, Zoë starts to refer to the psychological concept of risk-taking in relation to her comments on physical strength. As Dryden does in her research into gender divisions in marriage, I take the stance here that biologically driven arguments of gender difference can be applied to psychological as well as physical traits, to justify gender divisions and inequalities. Feminist writers in the spheres of sociology and social psychology have argued that essentialist constructions of sex difference do involve making assumptions about innate biological differences between men and women's *personalities* as well as their bodies. For example, the argument for women to remain in the domestic sphere as mothers and carers has been underpinned by the assumption that women are naturally nurturing in their characters, and in arenas such as politics and law, the lack of representation by

women has historically been attributed to their irrationality and unpredictability, characteristics which have been linked explicitly or implicitly to the biological phenomenon of menstruation.

Max gives a strong example of this 'bio-psychological' logic of gender difference as he continues directly from what he said about physical strength and fitness to state:

> and then you've got to come up with the pressure of getting the so called picture as and when , you know, on Monday I drove I did about two hundred miles driving and then you get out and you have got to get the picture straight away, you don't sort of sit and go and have a cup of coffee you know it can be quite stressful, not that I'm saying that women can't obviously deal with that I'm just saying how feel the job is.
> ET: yeah, yes that's interesting[58].

Max extends his reasoning beyond the innate strength of men to incorporate an implied attitude that women do not work as hard as men do. Towards the end of this extract he talks about how much 'pressure' is involved in the job, and how 'stressful' it is. The examples of this he gives include how he drove two hundred miles and then went on to take pictures without a break. When Max stresses the fact that 'you don't sort of sit and go and have a cup of coffee' whilst on a job, I think he is implying that this is what a woman would want to do, because she could not cope with the 'pressure' of working right through. Although Max finishes this passage by assuring me that he is not suggesting 'that women can't obviously deal with that', everything he has said previously suggests he is saying just that. Also, by mentioning aspects of his work such as 'stress' and 'pressure', and by implying that to do his job he needs drive and commitment to 'get the picture', Max invokes the qualities associated with the entrepreneurial personality, which, as I discussed in chapter five, are masculinized.

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[58] I have noticed in going through the transcripts that I often say a person's comments are 'interesting' when they seem to relate quite pertinently to the focus of my research, in that they

Another bio-psychological argument used to justify gender inequalities in creative industries work involves referring to the ability of men to deal with conflict. In the extract below, Roy, a freelance consultant, talks about this perceived male trait.

> Roy: and the final comment I would make is that, you mentioned conflict, again, this is an observation about other areas of work as well, that <u>in jobs that require conflict to, require the person to engage in conflict, or to risk conflict as part of their job, those jobs are very unattractive to women. There are erm almost all women would regard that, would regard conflict as something to avoid,</u> whereas there are quite a lot of jobs that involve conflict resolution, going in, not conflict resolution actually, engaging in conflict as part of it at some level [...] and in particular, what I'm trying to get to here is saying that <u>an entrepreneurial role has inevitably brings with it conflict.</u> When you set up a business, when you run a business then you are going to get engaged in conflict of one kind or another, erm because you might be competing with other people for business, you might have to be fairly aggressive in terms of getting good deal from your suppliers and so on. There are likely to be disciplinary matters and issues with staff and so on, and particularly in the early days of a business there's going to be a, there's not going to be much structure around an entrepreneur to assist in those things, it's going to be very much about an individual sorting that kind of stuff out, and <u>men are more willing to go into positions where, and indeed many men relish and enjoy those sort of problems, in a way that my observation is that women don't.</u>

Roy is openly saying here that men and women are different because men like and can even 'relish' conflict at work whereas women do not, and 'almost all women' would 'regard conflict as something to avoid'. He says that in business you often need to be 'aggressive' implying that women are not as aggressive as men. This innate difference between men and women is presented by Roy in the context of the interview as a possible reason why men are more likely to be successful as creative entrepreneurs. That is Roy links the quality of being able to handle conflict as vital to the 'entrepreneurial role'. This relates to the masculinized entrepreneurial personality, because Roy associates attributes which are associated with men in our society such as aggression and an

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involve an example of somebody 'doing gender' in a pronounced manner in their talk (Butler 1990, Dryden 1999).

enjoyment of conflict, with the ability to become and entrepreneur. Roy speaks authoritatively in this section of talk, and portrays his version of this essential difference between men and women as unquestionable. He does so by using words such as 'inevitable' ('the entrepreneurial role inevitably brings with it conflict'), generalizations such as 'almost all women' and he makes his account sound objective and rational by saying 'my observation' rather than a more subjective phrase such as 'I believe' or 'my opinion is'. This is interesting because it could be seen to reflect the way bio-psychology tends to be framed within a positivist, 'scientific' language of objective truth being discovered through scientific observation, and as such, claims to represent 'factual' knowledge. Roy's comments are also pertinent to the themes of this thesis because they can be interpreted as contributing to the construction of the trait of autonomy as part of the entrepreneurial self, which I explored in chapter six. Here Roy presents the entrepreneur as a lone figure, not supported by 'structure', 'an individual sorting that stuff out'. This emphasizes the individuality and autonomy of the entrepreneur, qualities associated more generally in our culture with the entrepreneurial self. And he implies that without the support of colleagues or superiors, women as individuals would not be able to deal with conflict situations as well as men do, they would not have the self-reliance to do so. That is, he presents women as less entrepreneurial as people, than men, and uses this perceived personality difference to justify the lack of successful women entrepreneurs in his field of work.

Another psychological reason which is given in the interviews for women's lack of representation in positions of power in the creative industries, is that women are not as confident or ambitious as men. Pat, a chief exec in a business support company, talked about how women managers often saw faults in themselves whereas men always thought the problems in their organizations lay elsewhere. She went on to discuss this difference between men and women in her field of work.

Pat: But what's interesting for me in particular as someone who supports the growth of businesses and this implies to , to eth, ethnic issues as well as gender issues, is that people themselves are not being ambitious for themselves. It's not that something outside of them is making it difficult, it's that it's almost inconceivable for them to think of themselves as, you know, in m, my experience of working with both men and women is that men are always trying to change the world in a way. You know, if you look at most of the men who run huge corporations that've had major impacts on people's lives like Bill Gates and Microsoft, or er, you know, the pharmaceutical companies with new drugs or you know, erm, you can, you can see, you can read the books they read, you can listen to the, to the interviews . They're, they're passionate about the fact that they think that they can change whole world. Women don't seem to come across as thinking they can change the whole world, they just think they can take something that's already happening and maybe do it a bit better. But that's actually not enough (laughs).

In this extract, Pat suggests that inequality is not the result of unfair social structures; she places responsibility at the feet of women who are not 'being ambitious for themselves'. She explains this by claiming that men and women are inherently different because men 'are always trying to change the world' whereas women 'just think they can take something that's already happening and maybe do it a bit better'. She uses examples of successful male entrepreneurs such as Bill Gates. Here Pat contributes to the masculinization of the entrepreneurial personality because she explicitly ascribes entrepreneurial traits such as passion and ambition to men rather than women. There are some questions which can be raised from examining Pat's comments, questions that could undermine her claims to these innate personality differences between men and women. Firstly, at the beginning of the piece of talk she says her views apply to 'ethnic issues as well as gender issues'. When bio-psychological arguments are applied to racial difference as well as sex difference they can be put into serious doubt. This is because, whilst there is evidence of genetic differences between men and women (though the scope of these is debated) , distinct genetic racial types are not shown to exist, and there is no one who is purely one race or another anyway (Hall 1996) Also, if ethnic minorities demonstrate a lack of ambition that women have, what about men from ethnic

minorities? Would they not show an ambition similar to that of their white male counterparts? I pick on these anomalies in Pat's talk, not to dismiss her as an individual, but to highlight how bio-psychology can make contradictory and confused claims about the nature of 'personality', 'gender' and 'race', and how its logic can result in a justification of *social*, not biological divisions and inequalities. Another question which can be asked of Pat's statements is , if it is men who want to change the world and not women, then why is it mainly women who have been involved in struggles for gender equality, whilst powerful men have actually actively maintained the social status quo? I would argue here that Pat's comments draw upon discourses of progress and 'change' which are themselves not only gendered, but also routed in enterprise culture and capitalist values. Her example of Bill Gates and heads of pharmaceutical companies underlines this point, as they are incredibly rich proponents of market capitalism who may have instigated scientific and technological change, but in doing so have reaped huge profits rather than encouraged any significant change in society or in fighting against social inequalities around the world.

Open Challenges

Up until this point in the chapter, I have presented the people I interviewed in the CIQ as being reluctant to acknowledge the existence of, or to challenge, gender inequalities in their working lives. I have discussed how, when the issue did come up, the interviewees worked hard to 'balance the books', in order to minimize the impact of any potential challenge to the status quo, and to maintain the notion that their organizations were 'good' and 'fair' places to work. Or if they did acknowledge gender division and inequality they could be seen to justify that situation in a number of ways, such as blaming others or using biological arguments of gender difference. But this does not portray fully the attitudes to gender as expressed to me in the interviews. Some of the accounts I have analyzed do contain more open and explicit discussions of gender inequality, which can be perceived as a form of resistance to that inequality.

The following analysis looks at extracts from interviews which do include open challenges to a situation of gender inequality.

> Pat: And, what's interesting is that almost without exception , and I'm sure there are some exceptions but I personally have no experience of them, almost without exception, particularly in the north of England, the women who are in positions of power are almost always married to rich men.
>
> ET: Really? God.
>
> Pat: Who are also in positions of power ...erm, or, from a , a sort of a, erm, Oxbridge, erm , almost landed gentry isn't the right word but, there's a very particular type of person , that's not said critically or positively it just is. It's just an observation. Erm, so that's one thing so I think it would be very easy to exclude yourself , from, if erm, if the role models at a high er level are either men, or a particular type of , of woman that the majority of us don't feel like we are , then it feels like that's not for us.

In the above exchange, Pat makes the claim that women 'in the north of England' in positions of power are 'almost always married to rich men'. This invokes a very archaic situation in gender terms whereby women get where they are by marrying rich, powerful men. My shocked reaction ('Really? God') to this comment, I would argue, suggests that I perceive it to be a dramatic statement of gender inequality. Pat goes on to explain how, in the face of such a rich elite, ordinary people would not feel able to succeed in work and life. But, despite the strength of her declaration of inequality, Pat still uses balancing techniques which have the effect of reducing the impact of her comments, and which, to some extent, reinstate a claim of fairness. Firstly, she neutralizes her statement by saying 'that's not said critically or positively, it's just an observation'. This reduces the impact of her challenge against inequality. Secondly, she uses a blaming technique by suggesting that people *exclude themselves* from positions of power, rather than being excluded from them. The result of these techniques is that her initial statement is balanced out so that her overall message is one which does not challenge gender inequalities in a coherent manner. This analysis is borne out by the fact that immediately after the above exchange, Pat goes into a long discussion of psychological differences

between men and women, to explain gender divisions at work, producing an essentialist, individualist argument about gender, rather than a political and social one. Thus her challenge against gender inequality is not sustained in this instance.

In looking at examples of open challenges and showing whether they are maintained or rejected in passages of talk, I hope to demonstrate that a person can make direct challenges against gender inequality, an also go to great lengths to avoid doing so , within the same interview, and even within the space of a few minutes' conversation (Dryden 1999:46). By showing how Pat 'goes back on' her original strong statement of inequality above, I am not trying to undermine or discredit her, or to suggest that she does not mean what she says. Like Sharon, Pat was one of the few women I interviewed who identified herself to some degree with feminism (few people mentioned the word at all), and who seemed to engage with gender issues on a political level. Rather, the point I am making here is that talking about gender invariably involves contradiction and ambiguity, as it is a complex and confusing subject for us as gendered individuals to think about; indeed gender by definition involves the implementation of contradictions into our consciousness (Hearn 1998, Bordo 1993).

In the extract below, Mandy, an education officer in a cinema, responds to my question about people in her office with children.

ET: How do you feel the management dealt with that?

Mandy: Incredibly badly, so badly it was just embarrassingly awful. Erm, it was you know, work kept being piled up, meetings that were just, difficult for Becky to do, because of family commitments, you know, all those sorts of things were just going on, and, and it wasn't even like she kept it to herself, you know it was time and time again, "I can't do this, because of those commitments", and it wasn't really taken on board until she took drastic measures, and kind of, left [?].

ET: Right, erm,

Mandy: <u>That was a pretty damning indictment actually! (laughs)</u>

ET: Well it's just interesting to hear like a few real life examples rather than the theory of the place, you know, erm, I won't identify anyone

Mandy: (laughs) Erm, yeah, so that's a bit of a division I think.

Here Mandy tells me how the management dealt with her female colleague's situation so badly that the woman ended up leaving her job. Although she does show some concern that she has 'gone too far' by portraying the management so negatively, and making a 'damning indictment' of them, she does not retract her statements or balance the books when talking on this issue. Again, Mandy was one of the women who spoke openly about gender being an important issue for her at work. She also talked a little about how she actively reacts against sexist behaviour at work.

The men banter an awful lot more than the women do, erm, <u>one of them in particular has made some seriously inappropriate comments about female members of staff</u> and things like that, so that sort of banter is going around the office, and <u>I think I more than other members, female members of the team enter into that banter,</u> I'm quite rude to them, "oh just shut up!" There's too much male posturing going on, but sometimes it can get a bit much [...] having worked both in a women's refuge and as a women's officer, those are the kind of things I'm particularly, tuned into, so erm, I mean <u>I have been accused in the past of being a bit, reactionary and maybe that's true, but I think with good reason sometimes.</u>

Later in the interview Mandy refers to a male staff member categorizing women colleagues on 'the size of their 'assets''. In the above extract she comments on how she confronts them about this and tells them to 'shut up'. She indicates that she is able to do this because she 'enters into the male banter'. This suggests that Mandy has to somehow join in with their jokey, sexualized way of communicating in order to challenge it. Other women I spoke to who work in the same organization as Mandy also commented on this male talk, which seems

to separate them from the women in the office. And, beyond the scrutiny of my tape recorder, one of Mandy's female colleagues said she thought Mandy 'flirted' with the men at work. This suggests that when it comes to male networks being supported by sexualized humour which targets women, the women who bear the brunt of this humour can be in a 'no-win' situation (Cockburn 1991). That is, if they ignore it they are excluded from the male groups, if they challenge it they are labelled as 'rude' or 'reactionary'(sic), or if they join in they are called 'flirts'. It is interesting that here, in describing male reactions to her challenges, Mandy uses a self-blame device I identified earlier. She says that the reason she reacts against sexism at work is because of her history as a women's refuge worker and as a women's officer at university. Thus she presents herself as 'over sensitive' to men's comments, although she finishes by saying she has good reason to react sometimes.

I found the interview with Mandy particularly interesting and in some ways complex, because I knew from talking to her that she was very aware of gender issues, and she seemed genuinely hurt by some of the behaviours of her male colleagues and managers towards herself and other women, and yet, as with the other women I interviewed, she still engaged in conversational techniques which served to balance the books and reinstate a position that presented her work as 'fair' or 'equal' from a gender point of view The difficulty with which people such as Mandy have in making sustained challenges of gender inequality indicates to me that gendered discourses are so pervasive in our culture that it is difficult for people to challenge them without in some way harming their self-image or identity (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998). As I discussed in chapter six, within enterprise culture the self is supposed to be agentic and self-actualizing, which means it is autonomous, choosing and in control of its own destiny (Hall and DuGay 2000). So to acknowledge problems including gender divisions, at work is to imply a weakness and a lack of control that is not conducive to the promotion of the entrepreneurial self.

In the last three chapters I have presented an analysis of the data, which has involved reaching some conclusions about 'the gendering of work and organization in Sheffield's CIQ'. In particular I have made assertions about the way in which the creative industries are constructed within discourses of the new economy and enterprise culture, the use of the entrepreneurial personality to promote an ideal worker- the creative entrepreneur, that is also presented as the healthy individual in our society. I have argued that these constructions contribute to gender inequality in creative industries work. In this chapter I have addressed that issue of gender inequality directly, and considered how the people I interviewed in the CIQ account for gender divisions and inequalities in their working lives. In doing so I have at points shown how these accounts involve drawing upon the constructions of self I identified in chapters five and six. In the next chapter I will reflect upon the conclusions I have reached, and discuss some questions that have been raised by the research.

Chapter Eight

Reflections and Questions

> Poststructuralism suggests two important things to qualitative writers:
> First, it directs us to understand ourselves reflexively as persons writing
> from particular positions at specific times; and second, it frees us from
> trying to write a single text in which everything is said to everyone.
> Nurturing our own voices releases the censorious hold of 'science writing'
> on our consciousness, as well as the arrogance it fosters in our psyche.
> Writing is validated as a method of knowing (Richardson 1998:349).

This chapter is entitled 'reflections and questions' rather than 'conclusion' because I want to emphasize that the research I have conducted has not involved setting a problem and solving that problem, testing a hypothesis or reaching final conclusions about the topic of inquiry. The research and analysis I have presented here has been an exploration into a particular research topic- the gendering of work in Sheffield's Cultural Industries Quarter (CIQ). In reflecting on that analysis I have come up with more questions than answers. Richardson, quoted above, stresses the importance of writing as an important aspect of analysis, as 'a method of knowing'. In this chapter, as well as reflecting upon the outcomes of my research, I consider the role of the writing process in producing the knowledge presented here. In particular I focus on what it has meant to write 'reflexively' as I have aimed to do.

I begin the chapter with a discussion of the ideas and questions that have emerged from the empirical analysis as presented in chapters five, six and seven. I organize this discussion into four areas: the individualist ideology that underpins my focus of research, the entrepreneurial self, the concept of creativity, and resistance to gender inequality in the creative industries. After discussing the role of writing with particular reference to reflexivity, I suggest ideas for future research that could follow on from and build upon this study.

Reflections on analysis

I have chosen to focus here on four key areas covered by the analysis that I presented in chapters five, six and seven. These are placed under the headings of individualism, the entrepreneurial self, creativity and resisting gender inequality. I reflect upon the conclusions I reached regarding these topics, and discuss some of the questions that have emerged from the analysis.

The first area of analysis that I consider and reflect upon is the ideological context of gendered discourse in the creative industries. In chapter five I explained that the discourses and discursive practices I identified, in the policy literature, observational settings and interview data, are rooted in the ideology of neo-liberal individualism. This ideology of individualism forms the basis of the concept of the entrepreneurial self that has been a key theme in my research. I have argued that neo-liberal individualism is an ideology that impacts upon not only gender, but on all forms of social inequality, because it is antithetical to the aims and values of those who argue for social equity (Peters 2001). The promotion of the individual and the individual's role within capitalism, means that the needs of the collective are implicitly undermined. Citing individualism as an important factor in gender inequality in the creative industries, however, is not straightforward, particularly with regard to the feminist and 'liberational' aims of my research. I identify here two ways in which a critique of discourses rooted in individualism can be problematic. The first relates to the prevalence of individualist ideology, not only in the creative industries, but also in left wing politics and our wider culture. The second is linked to the epistemological issue of essentialism and the difficulty involved in basing liberational campaigns and dialogues on an anti-essentialist stance.

I have stated that Tony Blair and New Labour have espoused individualist philosophies. Indeed it has been argued that one of the reasons New Labour

have gained and kept power in the UK since 1997, is that they have somehow managed to marry the individualist philosophies associated with Conservative politics, and the language of the egalitarian values on which socialism is based (Hutton 1999). From a discourse perspective, this is an example of how an ideologically dominant discourse, in this case individualism, can incorporate an oppositional discourse (socialism/collectivism), and thus undermine it and reduce its power to oppose the dominant discourse (Fairclough 2001, Jones 2001). The values of individualism are so well-established and prevalent in our society that it is difficult to challenge them successfully. An example of this prevalence is the work of a writer I have cited in this thesis, Charles Leadbeater. Leadbeater's writing on individualism began in the 1980s when he used to write for *Marxism Today*, a magazine run by the Communist Party of Great Britain. In *New Times* (Hall and Jacques 1990), a collection of essays from *Marxism Today* writers, Leadbeater argued for an individualist philosophy which recognizes the rights and responsibilities of both the individual and the state, and which could be used to pursue the goals of socialism. By 1999 Leadbeater was an advisor to Tony Blair, and writing in a celebratory tone about the virtues of the enterprise driven 'knowledge economy', that runs not on heavy machinery or fossil fuels, but on the creativity[59] and innovation of individuals (Leadbeater 1999, Bradley et al 2000). This development of Leadbeater's ideas can be interpreted as an indication of the 'shift to the right' in UK politics in the 1980s and 1990s that I discussed in chapter five (Bianchini and Parkinson1993). But rather than being a major change of ideology, his writing has remained constant in that it has always been rooted in individualist philosophy, a philosophy that he and others present as 'common sense' (Faircough 2001), and so make it difficult to challenge.

Another reason why individualism is difficult to oppose effectively, is that it is also embraced by campaigns which take the part of oppressed groups, such as Amnesty International, Women's Aid and the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. These organizations, which focus on issues

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[59] I discuss the concept of creativity further below.

such as torture, domestic violence and child abuse, have argued for the establishment and protection of the basic 'human rights' of the individual. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is an international statement of the rights people should enjoy all over the world, to which many campaigns such as the ones I have listed refer. It espouses an individualist philosophy. Article one of the declaration, for example, states that

> All human beings are born free and equal in diginity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in the spirit of brotherhood (Amnesty website May 2003).

The image presented here of the human as 'free' and 'equal' with 'reason' and 'conscience', fits in with the individualist model of the self that I have criticized in this thesis: unique, bounded, rational and autonomous. Thus if I completely denounce individualism as a reactionary and oppressive philosophy, am I also denying the work and achievements of human rights campaigners which include campaigners for 'women's rights'? This is a difficult question, that goes beyond the scope of this thesis. But I raise it to show that individualist philosophy is complex and is not limited to the 'right' in politics. I also do so to emphasize that, although I have only focused here on one particular aspect of individualism - the promotion of the entrepreneur as archetypal individual in the creative industries – I am critical of its repercussions throughout our society, including in political campaigns whose aims I support. As I explained in chapter two, the politics of individualism are linked to the epistemology of essentialism, and I now consider some problems involved with conducting 'feminist' 'anti-essentialist' research such as this.

The model of the individual that I have identified as being promoted within creative industries discourse is the entrepreneurial individual. This model draws upon an essentialist view of personality. Thus in chapters five and six I explained how the 'entrepreneurial personality' is promoted as a set of traits that are ideal for workers in the creative industries to possess. 'Entrepreneurial' traits

include commitment to work, drive and determination and agency and autonomy. These characteristics are associated in our culture with dominant forms of masculinity, and so in the context of the creative industries, men are more likely to be identified as possessing them as women. I have argued that the combination of this masculinized entrepreneurial personality and gender relations within and beyond the workplace, such as the domestic division of labour and the sexualizing of women workers, contribute to gender inequalities in creative industries work. In analyzing the way the entrepreneurial personality is mobilized in creative industries policy documents and in the interview accounts of creative industries workers in Sheffield, I have critiqued the essentialist model of the self that contributes to the production of gendered identities and gender inequalities in creative industries work. As with my treatment of individualism, this critique is not straightforward and it poses some questions for me as a feminist researcher and for academics and campaigners arguing for equality from an anti-essentialist perspective.

In rejecting essentialism, I have not only criticized essentialist models of the self such as the entrepreneurial personality; I have also criticized feminist theory that has relied upon essentialist notions of sex and gender. Implicit in a critique of the unitary individual is the belief that a more realistic and potentially liberating perception of selfhood is one which sees it as fragmented, fluid and dispersed. In the context of this research, I reject the notion of the unitary, entrepreneurial individual, and the idea of its fixed characteristics such as commitment, autonomy, and self-actualization.

> Disrupting those categories, refusing rather than embracing [the notion of the unitary individual], is the key to liberation. In this deconstructionist politic, clear collective categories are an obstacle to resistance and change (Seidman 1996:396).

My critique of 'liberal humanism', which promotes the essential model of the individual, is influenced by post-structuralist theory. However, to reject the

unitary individual, to take post-structural social constructionism to its logical conclusion, is to reject 'essentialist' categories such as 'man' and 'woman'. In terms of the feminist goals of this research, this means undermining the basis of 'taking the part' of women over any other category of person. If the 'collective identity' of women is denied then it is not possible to effectively campaign on their behalf (Seidman 1996:398). Some writers have argued that the adoption of a post-structuralist, fragmented approach to issues such as gender and sexuality has contributed to the breakdown of campaigns for women's or gay liberation, for example. This has led Seidman to ask, 'must identity movements self-destruct?' (Seidman 1996:395)?

In addition to the problems it poses for 'identity campaigns', post-structuralism has been criticized within academia, for focusing its skepticism on its targets, such as individualist and essentialist positions, whilst failing to apply the same critical awareness to its own writers and theories. This means that some poststructural theorizing is guilty of taking an essentialist approach to poststructuralism itself (Bordo 1993, Seidman 1996).

Thus, in using an anti-essentialist epistemology, I have in this thesis taken into account the implications for the feminist aims of my research. But I would argue that, as I referred to in chapter two, there is still a case for researching into and campaigning on issues of gender that place women as a group, albeit a complex and diverse group, that suffer from inequalities in society and in the workplace. To argue this does not negate the constructionist, anti-essentialist aim of the research. Rather I have taken on the 'challenge for analysts', which is 'to cope with the fact that to some degree, both (essentialist and anti-essentialist) logics make sense' (Seidman 1996:396). I have also shown how both these 'logics' have been drawn upon by the interviewees in their talk, as they construct and challenge various identity positions in their accounts. To be dogmatic about either stance is to lose sight of the complexity of human interaction and its ideological bases. To return to Bordo (1993), I concur with her argument that to

take social constructionism to its logical conclusion is to begin to become morally and politically relativist, and to lose sight of the significance of social inequality in our society.

Most of our institutions have barely begun to absorb the message of modernist social criticism; surely it is too soon to let them off the hook via postmodernism and heterogeneity and instability. This is not to say that the struggle for institutional transformation will be served by univocal, fixed conceptions of social identity and location. Rather we need to reserve practical spaces both for generalist critique ... and for attention to complexity and nuance. We need to be pragmatic, not theoretically pure, if we are to struggle effectively against the inclination of institutions to preserve and defend themselves against deep change (Bordo 1993:242-3).

One way I have attempted to avoid being dogmatic is by maintaining a reflexive practice in this research. This has meant for example, that I have interrogated my own analysis and role as a researcher, as well as analyzing and questioning the interviewees' accounts.I discuss reflexivity further, in relation to the writing process, below.

The critique I have made of the entrepreneurial personality in this thesis has referred to how it is based on a liberal individualist model of the self. I have stated here that individualism is extremely pervasive in our society and so difficult to challenge effectively. I would argue that 'entrepreneurialism' is also pervasive in our society, and that I have been influenced it myself, despite my critical attitude to enterprise culture. I have enjoyed, for example, the 'entrepreneurial' aspects of my role as a Ph.D. student, with the flexible hours, loose forms of 'management' and 'hierarchy', the autonomy and the agency that it has entailed. On many occasions during my studies I have found myself 'promoting' my entrepreneurial lifestyle by suggesting it suits my 'personality'. I have made comments such as ' I would find it hard to work nine to five' or ' I

am not suited to working for institutions'. During my studies I have also done freelance research work, and I plan to continue to work as a self-employed researcher. As another freelancer has put it, ' I admit to being lured by the sirens of free agency myself' (Klein 2001:254). If someone interviewed me about my working life it is likely that they would find in my accounts, evidence of the gendered entrepreneurial model of the worker and of the individual that I have highlighted in other people's interview talk. I draw attention to my own mobilization of the entrepreneurial discourse to highlight how pervasive it is in our society and how difficult it is to resist. I do so also to emphasize the point that whilst I, some of the people I spoke to in the creative industries and many of the academics whose work I have read, may enjoy some of the benefits of 'entrepreneurial' work such as flexibility, freedom and autonomy, there is another side to the 'casualization' or de-standardization of work across the globe. As Klein has written,

> On the whole, casualization pans out as the worst of both worlds: monotonous work at lower wages, with no benefits or security, and even less control over scheduling (Klein 2001:254).

In chapters five and six, I focused on how 'creativity' is presented as an important aspect of both the 'new economy' and the entrepreneurial self. Whilst creativity and 'creative thinking' has been promoted in management discourse and business psychology literature as a trait that applies to a variety of sectors, I have examined in this study how the term creativity is applied specifically to the creative industries. Some aspects of the promotion of creativity that I have identified in relation to the creative industries have been associated with the wider enterprise use of the term creativity. For example, the way creativity has been used to reinforce the economic value of the creative industries, through its link to concepts such as 'innovation' and 'enterprise'. However there are two aspects of 'creativity' that I have addressed in this thesis that I would say are more specifically relevant to creative industries discourse. These are the use of the term creativity to describe arts and cultural production -making things, and

the use of the term 'creative' to describe a personality trait of the types of people who work in the creative industries. In chapter five I argued that the discourse of enterprise creativity has dominated and incorporated many other understandings of terms such as 'creativity' and 'culture' (Jones 2001). As with the way the individualist ideology has incorporated potential opposition to it, even if people consciously talk of 'creativity' as arts practice in a way that attempts to challenge the values of enterprise culture, their voices are drowned out and swallowed up by the discourse of enterprise creativity. An example of this process, cited by Klein (2001), is the way in which elements of internet sites and posters made by anti-corporate groups such as *Adbusters*, that satirize well-know adverts by multinational companies, have been adapted and encouraged by the companies themselves to publicize their products in a 'humorous' manner. This was brought to an extreme level when a firm directly approached one of the political anti-advert groups to design one of their publicity campaigns (Klein 2001). This appropriation of marginal or political forms of creativity makes it difficult to use the arts and to discuss artistic activities for the furthering of social equity goals. Rather than give up on the potential for art and cultural/creative activity to challenge inequality and to empower people, I would suggest that academics practitioners and campaigners should draw people's attention to the way that creativity and culture have been incorporated into the values of enterprise and that we should stand up against that appropriation wherever possible. One way to do this may be to abandon using the term 'creativity' altogether, and to attempt to use other words less associated with enterprise culture.

In addition to my interrogation of this thesis with regard to the issues of individualism, essentialism, entrepreneurship and creativity, the analysis in chapter seven of the interviewees' accounts of gender inequality raises some questions which I consider here. These relate primarily to the issue of resistance to gender inequality and to the use of discourses that perpetuate gender inequality. As I stated in chapter seven, the lack of resistance I found in the

interviewees' accounts did not preclude the people I spoke to from resisting gender inequality in their working lives beyond the confines of the interview. But this raises the problem of how to conduct research that could witness, analyze and encourage resistance to gender and other social inequalities. If I have collaborated with the participants in the production of discourses and discursive practices that reproduce gender divisions, I could be seen to contributing to the maintenance and reproduction of gender inequalities in the creative industries. As with my critique of the entrepreneurial discourses, simply to criticize justifications of gender inequality does not fulfil the feminist goals of my research. This relates to an issue relevant to a range of studies: the potential for research to be 'liberating' (Crotty 1998). Writers on interviewing as a qualitative research method have argued that if an interviewer challenges the interviewee too strongly on issues such as gender, this can inhibit the interviewee from talking openly, and thus halt or shorten the interview and prevent the production of detailed accounts. Thus I tended to keep my contributions to a minimum as explained in chapter four, in order to maintain the flow of the interview. However I did try and encourage the participants when they began talking positively about resistance to gender inequality, both in the interviews themselves and, as sometimes was the case, once the tape had been switched off. As I explained in chapter four, the interviews may have been a way for the participants to enter into a dialogue about gender issues that continued after the interview. In this sense they could have contributed to liberational goals. During the participant observation I was more proactive about discussing gender issues from a feminist perspective. An example I gave in chapter four was of a workshop at a conference where I told the group I was concerned about the gender imbalances in creative industries work and at the conferences. This prompted some discussion of the situation and some of the workshop participants came up to me in the break to continue talking about gender. Thus I have not been complacent about the potential for this study to further my feminist aims, and I have not assumed that I do so simply by analyzing the data from a feminist perspective. I realize that research can only

be liberating if it is conducted in conjunction with continued dialogue and political action.

Writing and Reflexivity

Before exploring the possibilities for future research that have emerged from this study, I should like to consider the writing process itself, particularly with reference to reflexivity. I briefly referred to the writing of the thesis in relation to the research process in chapter four. Writing is important because, as Richardson has argued, writing for qualitative[60] research is not 'just a mopping-up activity at the end of the research project' but rather it forms a 'method of knowing' that is important throughout the research process (Richardson 1998: 345). The analysis of data for example, although it involved preliminary stages such as transcribing and organizing the data into categories, was largely achieved through writing down my initial thoughts about the extracts of interviews, documents and participant observation notes, and then going through a process of extending and redrafting what I had written into coherent chapters of the thesis. Also, in this chapter, I am not simply reporting on a set of ideas and responses I have had to my research; rather I have developed those ideas through writing. Thus writing is a vital aspect of reflexive research because it is through a combination of writing and thinking that reflection occurs.

Richardson has explored two important aspects of writing that relate to reflexive research practice. These are acknowledging we write from particular positions at specific times, and that we should not try 'to write a single text that says everything to everyone' (Richardson 1998: 345). In discussing these two aspects of research writing, Richardson highlights the influence of poststructuralism on qualitative writing, because poststructuralism emphasizes the roles of diversity of perspectives, fragmentation of meaning, and social context in the research (and the writing) process (Richardson 1998, Bordo 1993).

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[60] Writing is crucial to all forms of research inquiry but Richardson (1998) focuses on writing for qualitative research, as I do here.

The first aspect of writing as influenced by poststructuralism, is the emphasis on how writing can be a way of understanding ourselves 'reflexively as persons writing from particular positions at specific times' (Richardson 1998: 349). The writing of the thesis has been crucial to this reflexive 'self-awareness', because it has been through writing down theoretical ideas, descriptions of how I conducted the research, and the reporting of the analysis, that I have become aware of my role in the research process, the assumptions I have brought with me, and the way I have interacted with the participants and the data. This is in part because when something is written down it looks more authoritative and intransigent than when it is still a 'thought' or an 'experience'. And to be reflexive is to question the authority of statements, to qualify them and contextualize them within a particular personal, social and theoretical setting.

An important element of the setting in which I have written this thesis is academia, and the expectations and constraints it entails. Due to the academic conventions which dictate what a thesis should look like, its basic structure and style, and also due to more general expectations of how information should be reported and presented, this piece of writing has not been as reflexive as it might have been. For example, I have attempted to make the point that the theory, epistemology, analytical approach, methodology and methods of this research, have been intertwined with each other, and with the writing process. And yet to reflect that fully in the thesis I would have had to produce a document much more fluid, and maybe more chaotic than this one. In order for this thesis to be accepted as an academic piece of work, and for it to be readable and coherent, I have presented the reflexivity within boundaries. If I had not been so tied to the conventions of academic writing, I might also have challenged some of the ways of presenting epistemology and theory in the thesis. As Richardson has pointed out, terms such as the philosophical 'foundations' of research or the theoretical 'framework' , suggest a rigid, linear structure for developing theory in research which does not adequately describe the process I went through.

Richardson in the quote above refers to the 'arrogance' of 'science writing'. Whilst the constructionist epistemology and the reflexive practice within this thesis have 'released' my work from that 'arrogant' objectivism to a large extent, it could be argued that a hint of arrogance remains. Particularly if the research is placed within feminist, liberationist aims, it could be said that by writing the thesis as I have done, as my 'expert' analysis of other people's words and accounts, and to some extent as a commentary on their lives and experience, I have not been true to the aims of feminism and other liberation struggles. Feminists and other writers have suggested ways to overcome the problem of the expert, by collaborating more fully than I have done with the research participants to produce the research knowledge, by working in a research team or by conducting action research that sets out to solve immediate problems in the community (Naples1998). There have also been studies which have focused as much on the writer as on the 'subject', and have examined how the research process affects the researcher, again to challenge the role of researcher as 'expert' (Stanley and Wise 1983).

I also concur with Richardson's second point, that reflexivity 'frees us from trying to write a single text in which everything is said to everyone'. Thus, I do not present this research as the final or the most valid piece of work on the subject of gender in the creative industries. In deciding not to emphasize the 'personal' aspects of this research and the impact that doing it has had upon me, I have not aimed to make it seem more 'objective' or 'universal'. I hope to follow up some of the questions this process has led me to pose about myself and my role as a researcher, in future pieces of writing that accentuate some of the subjective and personal aspects of the research context and process. As another way of acknowledging that this is not the only possible or 'true' analysis of gender in the creative industries, I make some suggestions below of possibilities for future research, both in the subject of gender and the creative

industries, and in linked subjects that have emerged from the analysis presented here.

Possibilities for future research

In this chapter I have reflected upon some key themes that featured in the analysis presented in the thesis. I have also commented on the reflexive writing that I have aimed to put into practice during my research. Finally I would like to make some suggestions for future research in the area of gender and the creative industries. As I stated in chapter one, work in the creative industries, particularly from a gender perspective, is a topic that is under researched. Thus any rigorous research in this area would be useful. But here I focus on ideas for potential projects that have emerged as a result of the analysis in this study. This means I primarily explore the possibilities for discourse-analytic research.

I have stated from the outset that I have conducted this research from a feminist standpoint, using a constructionist epistemology to study the gendering of work in the creative industries. However, rather than examining the construction of femininities, of roles and identities associated with women as many other feminist writers have done[61], I concentrated more on how the images of personhood and categorizations of job roles and workers presented in the data are based on dominant models of *masculinity*. I did this because the senior positions in the creative industries are dominated by men, and when I started to explore the creative industries in Sheffield and at national conferences, the majority of the policy makers, conference speakers, academics and business people that I came across were men. Thus to try to understand the ideological basis and justifications for this gender imbalance it was necessary to look at how masculinity dominates creative industries discourse. As I progressed with the research I realized that the popular claim amongst those I spoke to, was that in gender terms the creative industries are 'fair' and 'equal' (see chapter six). Thus

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[61] See Pollert 1981, Cockburn 1990, Adkins 1995, Crompton 1997, Robinson and Richardson 1997.

an exploration into how masculine models of personhood and work dominate in the creative industries served to counter these claims of equality. By focusing on how 'hegemonic' models of masculinity (Connell 1995) are presented in gender neutral terms I have highlighted the way in which dominance is achieved through presenting the dominant group as normal, as universal. With regard to possibilities for future research, there is scope to continue this critique of the masculinized version of personhood and of workers. In particular it would be worthwhile to examine, within the context of the creative industries, the 'masculinization' of other 'traits' attributed to the entrepreneurial personality, apart from autonomy, agency and self-actualization, the ones I have looked at in detail in this study. These 'traits', some of which I have commented on briefly in the thesis, include 'passion', 'commitment', 'confidence', 'risk-taking' and 'innovation' (Dyson 2000, Jennings 1994).

Another way of producing more research on masculinized models of personhood and the worker in the context of the creative industries, would be to carry out a study of powerful people within the creative industries. As I have stated, the ratio of men to women becomes much higher in high status jobs in the creative industries, such as film director, TV controller, new media executive and record producer (Cliché et al 1999). It would be interesting to find out more about the masculinization of work at these high levels. In particular, some ethnographic studies could highlight some of the masculinized 'gender cultures' (Maddock 1998) that may not be detected or discussed in an interview setting. As researchers on the subject have argued, access can be a problem when attempting to research powerful groups. An ethnographic study may overcome some access problems, especially if the researcher worked for the creative industries organization being studied, and so could gain the trust of her employer. Also, there is a case for conducting covert research in order to gain information about powerful groups (Punch 1998).

In addition to aspects of masculinity, another key topic area that would be useful to study in more detail is the inter-relationship between gender and relations such as class and race. In chapters one and two I explained why I have prioritized the study of gender over other areas of inequality. I stated that gender is so under-researched in the context of creative industries work that I thought it would be useful to conduct a study that concentrated on gender relations predominantly separately from, but with occasional reference to other issues such as race and class. I also argued that it is justifiable to focus on gender because gender remains a significant and prevalent aspect of inequality in the creative industries. However during the research I became aware of discursive practices which were rooted more in discourses of 'class' or 'race' than in gender. I discuss here the possibility for future research examining gender alongside class and race in the creative industries, by referring to two interactions from my interviews in Sheffield's CIQ.

During my research in the creative industries, both in Sheffield and at conferences in the UK, I became increasingly aware that the majority of the people I met and spoke to were middle class. I also noticed that, in the interviews particularly, although there were only a few isolated occasions when class was directly referred to, the participants and I became involved in discursive practices that mobilized class discourses. One such interview was with Lisa, the director of a film festival. In chapter six, in the discussion of constructions of the 'creative' as a type of person, I referred to Lisa's assertion, 'I don't really mix in straight world all that much', and to the way she made a distinction between 'straight' people and those who work in the creative industries. I argued that she could have been mobilizing discourses of class difference through constructing boundaries between different groups of people. Lisa also included me in this boundary work, with questions directed at me such as 'She's quite sort of straight isn't she? I mean she's kind of like old style straight person isn't she?' By inviting me to agree with her about her labelling someone as 'straight', Lisa used an identification technique that placed me in the

same group as herself. This identification could have been on class grounds, as I am a white middle class woman. Thus it would be very interesting to conduct some creative industries research that includes the use of analytic techniques from conversation analysis, that examines identification and boundary work in an interview context, with specific reference to class identities.

The second interview that provided me with ideas for further research was with a young black man who worked voluntarily for a media training organization. In chapter four I mentioned the 'reticence' of this interviewee, and the difference in social background between him and me. In terms of analyzing the data from the interview with this person, I did not include extensive excerpts from the interview in the analysis I have presented in chapters five, six and seven. This was because most of our interactions were very short, and many of the responses the interviewee gave consisted of one or two word answers. The potential for conducting detailed discourse analysis on the talk in this interview was limited. But this does not mean that the young man and I were not involved in a 'discourse' or that the interview had little or no meaning. On the contrary, on a personal level and in terms of my thinking about power and inequality in the creative industries in Sheffield, this interview made a strong impact on me, and stood out from the other 21 interviews that I conducted. In particular, it made me wonder if the issues I discussed in the interview, and the way in which I introduced them, could have alienated the young man in some way. It could have been the case, for example, that for a young black unemployed man, questions of gender seemed much less relevant than issues of class and ethnicity, even if the interviewee did not conceptualize them in those terms. I also considered that my 'identity' as a white middle class woman could have intimidated him in some way. Thus in contrast to the 'identification' that occurred between Lisa and me, in this interview there were not many points of connection between me and this interviewee. I did not notice my questions being 'racialized', but they were formed in the context of the creative industries and academia, both of which are dominated by white people. It would be interesting

to carry out some discourse-analytic research, again using techniques from conversation analysis, that examines distancing processes in an interview context, particularly along lines of race and ethnicity, and that identifies 'whiteness' in a discursive context (Dyer 1997).

I have concentrated here on the potential for future research to be conducted in the sphere of discourse analysis and discourse-oriented studies. However, there is also scope for other types of research to be conducted on the subject of gender and work in the creative industries. For example, more statistical research on gender in the creative industries would be useful, particularly that which could be broken down into specific sectoral areas and job roles. As researchers on the creative industries have pointed out, changes to the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes would also be useful, so that the creative industries could be included in large employment and labour market databases (O'Connor 1999, Fleming 1999). Gender statistics on self-employed and freelance workers would also be useful, as these types of work status are common in the creative industries. As a qualitative researcher, although I work from a social constructionist epistemology, and use discourse analysis, I do not think this is the only way to conduct qualitative research. In an under-researched area such as gender and the creative industries, it would be useful for research to be conducted that starts from a variety of epistemological and analytic perspectives. For example, there is a potential for studies using grounded theory, phenomenology and content analysis to illuminate aspects of gender and work in the creative industries that have not been covered in detail here.

In terms of methodology there are some potential areas for future research that have emerged from this study. As I explained in chapter four, I initially intended to conduct case study research but did not secure adequate access to do so. Case study research into small businesses in the creative industries would be worthwhile, as it could enable the researcher to gain interview data from workers in a variety of roles and at various levels in the hierarchy of an

organization. Also a case study could provide the opportunity to gain access to documentary data such as emails, minutes of meetings and internal memos that could highlight different gendered discourses and discursive practices. I mentioned the possibility of using ethnography to study powerful people in the creative industries. It would be useful in general more ethnographic research in this field. Some detailed ethnography would provide some rich descriptive data, as well as providing an opportunity for more in-depth analysis in this field.

The analysis presented in this study not only points to possibilities for research into gender and the creative industries; it has also led me to think of ideas for future research in other areas. For example, the analysis in chapter seven, of discursive justifications for gender inequality made me realize there is potential for future discursive studies on the issue of discussing and justifying gender inequality. The analysis in chapter seven was inspired by the work of Dryden (1999) and Gill (1993), who examined talk involving justifications of gender inequality in marriage and radio DJ work respectively. The fact that their observations were relevant to workers in the creative industries suggests to me that the practice of justification is relevant to a variety of aspects of gender and other social inequality. Thus research that focuses on this could be useful in a number of settings and contexts, and in relation not only to gender but also relations such as class and race. Another area of analysis that relates to other contexts apart from the creative industries is the examination of entrepreneurial models of workers. This, as writers have discussed, is relevant to a number of work situations, and also to the way we approach what it is to be a person in western society (Doherty 2000). Thus more research into the concept of being entrepreneurial would be useful, in relation, for example, to the delivery of public services, health and well-being, and personal relationships. A further topic area that I refer to in this thesis is urban regeneration. As I have explained, this issue has been particularly relevant in Sheffield and South Yorkshire since Objective One funding was awarded in 1999. Whilst there are many evaluation

projects on urban regeneration initiatives, there is little critical research on the subject, and this would be worthwhile.

In this chapter I have examined aspects of this study at the levels of epistemology, theory, methodology and analysis. I have also made suggestions for possible future research in the broad areas of gender and work in the creative industries, gender studies and enterprise culture. One thing I have not done is to make 'recommendations' for action, aimed towards policy makers in the creative industries. This is because I have analyzed and criticized discourses that are extremely pervasive in our culture and that I have argued are difficult for us all (including me) to abandon and replace with something else even if we wanted to. The process of changing the way we speak, the language we use and the ideologies we associate ourselves with is not one that can be legislated for at a policy level. Having said this I have written this thesis with the aim of contributing to social change and in particular to improvements in gender relations in creative industries work. In particular I hope my work adds to and strengthens the critical voices within the creative industries arena, that struggle to speak out against the clamour of enterprise culture.

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Appendix 1

Preparing Data for Analysis: Examples of Interview Transcripts, Observation Notes and Document Extracts

Interview Transcript

The following is an extract from a transcript of one of the 22 interviews I conducted. I list the key transcription conventions I adhere to in the form of footnotes.

Elly[62]: Was it particularly thought out that you didn't want to always expand your own core of staff so...?[63]

Pat: Absolutely.[64] It was,[65] it's critical to the way we started out. We started out with a business plan and the primary erm[66] function, not, function isn't the right word, <u>the culture of the organization was to mirror the sector that we're there to support. Well at the moment the majority of our clients far less than five people therefore if we became a company that employs 30 people we no longer mirror the sector that we're trying to support and we, we think that's very important</u>[67]. I mean it may be that as we deal with bigger clients we do have to go it may also be that as there is demand for more specialized services and we feel that we could do that job very well, that we do it, but under another company, and just have a relationship with the company rather than, but yeah it's, it's very fundamental to the way we operate that we actually but the other thing we didn't want to do is we didn't want to be a training agency that concentrated on supply side services so in other words we have a particular [?][68] and that's what we sell and we're really good at it , <u>what we wanted far more to be was demand led, so that we we're bespoke services that can listen to what people say they need and then design something in response to what they're asking for. And the only way you can do that is by keeping your organization very fast changing and very flexible and very innovative.</u> You can't do that as soon as you get locked into, well actually we've invested all our money into accrediting er this particular

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[1] I use my first name as well as the interviewee's (invented) name in order to maintain parity between the way I present myself and the participants in the transcript.

[63] ...? Is normally used at the end of one of my questions where I do not finish either because I 'trail off' or the interviewee interrupts with a response.

[64] . (full stop) indicates a definite pause as if to end one sentence or topic and start a new one.

[65] , (comma) indicates a brief pause for breath

[66] erm , or er, a representation of vocal hesitation

[67] underlined text represents talk that I consider particularly important and that I refer to in the analysis.

[68] [?] indicates that I did not hear or understand what was said on the tape.

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training course or managing performing arts or something, it's like delivering NVQs or, you know?

Elly: Yeah, I understand that, yeah.

Pat: That's not what we are. We're basically a broker of, of erm the [expertise?][69] required to grow the creative industries economy. That's what we are we're a broker of services.

Elly: Erm, and do you have an official job title?

Pat: Yeah, I'm a chief executive (laughs)[70].

Elly: And erm, I don't know, I don't imagine you have a set routine every day or every week but what are you, the kind of tasks that you do most frequently?

Pat: ...(3 secs)[71] They're actually split every three months into three main bits. One is research, the second is erm, is like research and planning, two is delivery and action, and three is monitoring and review.

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[69][expertise?] the word inside the brackets is what I think I heard on the tape but I am not 100% sure

[70] (laughs) indicates that the interviewee utters a laughing sound. (we laugh) indicates that both the interviewer and the interviewee laugh at the same time.

[71] .... (3 secs) indicates a second pause.

Observation notes

Below is an example of some notes I typed up from handwritten notes taken in a research setting, in this case a conference. The notes are quite brief and range from observations of my surroundings and the people in them ("men:25, women:5?"), to direct quotes from other people ("Don't blame us, blame the organizers"), to summaries of what I heard (" Profit-but quality and innovation in urban environment")

Friday workshop: recreating the city
<u>Men: 25 women 5?</u>
At beginning- all introduced ourselves.
I said about men in black.
Chair - A L(white male): <u>"Don't blame us, blame the organizers!</u>

City place marketing, new images, cultural agenda.
Nick - Urban Splash: 'sorry for being a man in black'.
Creative approaches to property development
<u>Profit- but quality and innovation in urban environment.</u>
Give something back to community - add value.
12 years ago-case for residential accommodation in Manchester city centre. built loft apartments.

Last guy: we don't do residential "as my wife will tell you..."?
"I've nothing against trees, but you can't get rent for them".
Changing names at this conference:eg transport exec- communications expert

Document Extracts

Below are examples of extracts that I took from documents and typed up verbatim. On the left hand side above each extract is the reference and page number of the document in question (e.g. DCMS 1998:10). On the right hand side above the extract is the discursive theme to which this extract relates (.e.g. newecon represents 'the new economy').

DCMS1998:10   **newecon**

Focusing increasingly on global opportunities with the government playing its role in promoting creative industry exports, removing obstacles to free trade or imposing measures which would harm the international competitiveness of UK companies and promoting an image of Britain as the creative ad innovative hub of the world.

DCMS1998:10   **newecon**

Maximizing the opportunities and minimizing the threats of new technologies.

FOCI19999:2   **newecon**

The global economy means that new technologies emerge constantly and new markets open up. There are new competitors but also new opportunities. Product life cycles in the millennium will be measured in months, not years. Creativity, enterprise and flexibility are vital for success.

Appendix 2 Interview Schedule

NB: this schedule serves as a guide for the themes to be covered in the interviews. It did not determine the exact questions I asked, for I followed participants' leads in terms of the direction in which our conversation went.

Intro

First I thought I should tell you a bit about my research. I am doing a Ph.D. gender and work in the cultural industries, focusing on Sheffield. This project includes interviews with people working for organisations based in the Workstation.

I will be recording the interview but this is for my benefit only ; no-one else will hear the tape.
Our conversation is confidential, and both your identity and that of your organisation, will be concealed when I come to write up my research.

I am most interested to hear individual's opinions and perceptions of the work they do, and of the environment in which they work. So, please answer the questions as fully as possible. If you don't understand anything, or you want to clarify a point you make, feel free to interrupt me.

Section one: Route to Job and Organisational Background

I'm interested in how you came to be in the job you are doing now?
How long have you been working here?

What are the main activities of your organisation?

How is it structured/funded?

Section Two: Your Job and Your Role

What are the main roles of your job?

Who do you see the most on a day today basis?

Do you feel that they are mainly men or women?

Are there any particular jobs done mainly by men or by women?

Why do you think that might be?

How do you feel about your job in general?

What is the best/worst thing about your work?

How do you feel about the pay and conditions?

Do you have set routine in your work?

How does your work fit into your life?

Section Three:Work Cultures/Networking

How would you describe the atmosphere a work?

How do you communicate with your colleagues?

Is it easy to approach the management about problems?

Do you socialise with any of your colleagues out of work?

Do you network with colleaugues in or out of work?

Section Four: The Cultural Industries Quarter

Do you have a definition of the CIQ?

Would you consider your organization to fit into that definition?

Did you always want to work in the cultural/creative industries?

How does it compare to working in other sectors, e.g. from, a gender point of view?

Section Five:Gender at Work

Would you say gender was an important issue to you at work?

Do you notice any differences between the way men and women behave/communicate at work?

Has an issue arisen over gender at work?

Do you see it as an advantage or disadvantage being a (wo)man in your job? Why?