Improving data practices to monitor inequality and introduce social mobility measures

- a working paper for the cultural sector

Dr Susan Oman, July 2019

This is the final version of a working paper that can be used in conjunction with a Policy Briefing document called: 'Measuring social mobility in the creative and cultural industries – the importance of working in partnership to improve data practices and address inequality'. Both of these documents can be found here: https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/faculty/social-sciences/making-a-difference/sheffield-solutions

About the Author

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Abstract: the purpose of the working paper

Arts Council England (ACE) wants to understand class and social mobility in the cultural workforce. If this is to be achieved, more attention should be paid to how the sector talks about class and social mobility, particularly as new ways to measure it are introduced. Furthermore, we need to understand how personal data of all kinds are collected, valued, used and reported across the cultural sector. The work presented here is independent academic research from Dr Susan Oman's Fellowships in 'Good Data, Diversity and Inequality in the Creative Economy' at the Universities of Leeds and Sheffield. This working paper summarises and updates reports to ACE in July and December 2018, and presents context, workings, findings and recommendations to help the cultural sector understand how it might begin monitoring class inequality and revisit its data collection practices.

Part 1 summarises the research methodology, findings and recommendations. Three overarching recommendations offer indications on how social mobility metrics might work in ACE-funded organisations and the broader sector. These are:
1. Any questions on social mobility should follow Cabinet Office guidelines as closely as possible.
2. ACE and the cultural sector should work together to establish social mobility measures and understand how the components of someone's social origins intersect with other aspects of inequality.
3. ACE and the cultural sector should co-produce formal guidance on good practice when collecting and monitoring data on protected characteristics. This should include guidance for organisations to communicate the rationale behind the questions to staff and offer assistance to ease responding.

Part 2 of the working paper begins by setting out the context for this research, informed by an overview of sector and wider work on social mobility and a short literature review. This reflects ongoing work in different areas of the arts – and beyond – to reveal how ACE and the cultural sector can not only begin work in the area but contribute to the broader knowledge base. The working paper then sets out a two-phased methodological approach, which provides a bridge into the presentation and discussion of key findings to inform work in areas related to data, diversity and policy across the sector.

The findings aim to inform knowledge and processes related to data and inequality inside ACE and across the sector. They also aim to avoid exacerbating existing issues for those answering survey questions related to their protected characteristics, for National Portfolio Organisation (NPO)[1] staff returning data to ACE, and for staff within ACE itself. The appendices can be used for reference and as additional information when reading this working paper and when beginning monitoring work.

This working paper presents independent academic research. All discussions remain confidential and are only partially shared as evidence in such a way that no individual person or organisation's identity would be revealed.

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[1] NPOs are multi-annual ACE-funded organisations

Part 1 – executive summary

Introduction to the research

To better understand social mobility and address issues of class inequality in the cultural sector, we need to introduce ways to talk about them openly in people's everyday working lives. We also need to introduce ways to measure and monitor these issues. There is growing media attention on what are understood to be falling levels of opportunities for people from less-privileged backgrounds to access creative professions. However, social science research, using large-scale longitudinal survey data, explains that this narrative of change is more complicated than it appears and demands further investigation[2]. There have also been several calls for more data, as levels of understanding of inequality across disability, race, gender and other protected characteristics, differ[3]. If the cultural workforce in organisations funded by ACE does not reflect the diversity of the national population, what might be done to address this problem?

This calls for two things: firstly, to investigate whether ACE-funded organisations are accessible for all; secondly, to understand how ACE's data collection processes might contribute to the current evidence base, informing its own institutional learning and sector-wide understanding of how to address inequalities. In May 2017, ACE conducted an internal pilot social mobility survey with a sample of its staff as a first step towards addressing this issue. Subsequent to this formative work exploring measures of social mobility, Dr Susan Oman designed a programme of research to investigate data issues highlighted by Creative Case reports[4], including low response rates to key questions, as well as the discomfort and lack of clarity that emerged surrounding some of the piloted questions to assess social mobility. To do this, an ambitious, in-depth qualitative study was proposed, working with a sample of 15 NPOs.

Research aims and phases

This research aimed to understand how people working in the sector would respond to established questions used to measure class and social mobility. Crucially it set out to do so in the context of ongoing workforce monitoring and data collection. This included understanding the following in terms of 'data' and 'diversity' practices and policies in order to inform ACE's future work:

- How existing data collection might incorporate questions that could help understand social mobility
- How people working in arts organisations understand class and wider issues of social justice in access to the arts
- How people feel answering and asking questions that enable equality monitoring
- What people understand about the value of the data collected and how it is used.

The research took place over two phases. Phase 1 primarily used qualitative methodologies, such as interviews and focus groups, to explore how ACE's NPOs currently collect and use data on equality and diversity, and how they might respond to new and established social mobility questions.

Informed by the findings of Phase 1, Phase 2 piloted standardised survey questions in a way that resembled ACE's Annual Survey data return. Interviews were also conducted with key staff members who had been responsible for the pilot within their NPO to get their perspective on the process of surveying their staff and returning these data.

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[2] Brook, O., O'Brien, D. and Taylor, M. (2018a) Panic! Social Class, Taste and Inequalities in the Creative Industries. Create London. Available at: http://createlondon.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Panic-Social-Class-Taste-and-Inequalities-in-the-Creative-Industries1.pdf

[3] Oakley, K. and O'Brien, D. (2015) Cultural value and inequality: a critical literature review. Swindon: AHRC: Arts & Humanities Research Council.

[4] See Arts Council England (2018) Equality, Diversity and the Creative Case: A Data Report, 2016-17. Available at: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/publication/equality-diversity-and-creative-case-data-report-2016-17 and Arts Council England (2019) Equality, Diversity and the Creative Case: A Data Report, 2017-2018. Available at: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/publication/equality-diversity-and-creative-case-data-report-2017-2018

Findings and recommendations for using social mobility metrics in ACE's Annual Survey

Data and the processes used to collect them have a central role in how different sectors and policy address inequality. Attention to issues of class and social mobility is central to this progress. However, the measure of social mobility that is recommended as the most robust involves asking questions about people's social origins that can feel both alien and intimate. This research spent a year working with the cultural sector to understand how this measure – and other proxy questions – 'work' in and for the sector. The research explored different aspects of organisational culture to understand how different kinds of personal and monitoring data are currently administered. It also sought to understand how people feel answering questions about different aspects of their identity and their social origins.

1. **Sector responses to the four recommended Cabinet Office questions**

Cabinet Office has recommended four measures to be used by employers, including the Civil Service, to measure the socio-economic background of staff. These are parental qualifications, parental occupation, type of school attended, and eligibility for free school meals. The question considered the most robust is parental occupation. In addition, Cabinet Office welcomes using other questions, if deemed useful. The Civil Service are also requesting that their staff self-assess their socio-economic status. This section sets out sector responses to these questions and recommendations (where applicable) are presented in bold.

The question about **school type** received a relatively low negative response but employees of one organisation with a very international workforce felt unable to answer the question properly (a challenge also noted by Ofcom). **If this question were used, clear communications are required on school definitions, and there should be consideration as to how an international audience might respond.**

The Cabinet Office recommendation to collect data on **Free School Meals** is made on the proviso that it would work in the organisation concerned, but this research and ACE's internal pilot indicates that this is not ideal. For example, over a third of ACE's staff would not be able to answer this question meaningfully; either born before 1980 (when the 1980 Education Act changed who was entitled to meals at school) or went to school overseas. **Assessment of ACE data on its staff, the sample of NPOs surveyed and academic recommendations suggested it would not be a useful metric.**

The question about **parental qualifications** was fairly uncontentious in principle. However, the sub-categories were difficult for many respondents to use and there was much confusion over what counted and what didn't. **Were this measure to be used, it should be accompanied by clear communications on how to collect data on all categories that do not appear on the list, such as PGCEs.**

The question about **parental occupations at 14** received a very high negative response. These included discomfort at being asked these questions as they felt unfamiliar, emotional responses owing to life circumstances at the age of 14 and practical unease as the answer to the question is not always known. However, it is considered the most robust and should be adopted to meet Cabinet Office recommendations, which will bring ACE practices in line with other parts of the CCIs, such as Ofcom.[5] **ACE should lead 'soft' communications with the sector on the value of the question and develop effective guidance to share with organisations to help them collect the data, and reassure staff who share their data.**

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[5] Ofcom, for example, in agreement with major broadcasters, specify that the best single indicator was found to be the question which asks the individual what their parental/carer occupation was when they were aged 14. Ofcom (2018) Diversity and equal opportunities in television 2018: Monitoring report on the UK-based broadcasting industry. Available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0021/121683/diversity-in-TV-2018-report.PDF

Additional measures

The Civil Service will also use a fifth measure: self-assessment of socio-economic background. Some arts organisations already use a measure of self-assessment, but it has technical problems owing to the subjective nature of the question. This research also found that many who were surveyed and participated in the focus groups struggled to self-define their class. **Were the sector to use this measure, it would require clear definitions on class categories. Notably, Cabinet Office have not done this and there is a danger that these categories would in themselves receive much attention, deflecting from the value of the project to address inequality.**

The question that received the most attention that was not a question about class or a protected characteristic was that asking about a person's **current job**. The categorisations were unsatisfactory for a significant number of respondents. There are discrepancies in the way that individual HR departments categorise jobs. For respondents, though, the largest problem was in the discrepancy between how they identify as professionals and how they are categorised. 'Other' was an extremely problematic sub-category, and was more frequently raised as an issue in connection to job type than what might be considered more sensitive questions, such as sexuality or ethnicity. **To understand social destination (and thus social mobility), the sector must invest time and resource into classifying jobs, accounting for ACE's previous work with the sector, for example, with stakeholders like Nesta and the Work Foundation. The CCIs must work together to categorise creative occupations, as this work is crucial in ways that exceed the project to measure social mobility.**

Cabinet Office welcome other measures in addition to the four core measures they are recommending. These might include, for example, geographical origin, and childhood and current housing situation. It is unlikely that these data would be requested from ACE by government departments. ACE only requests data it will use. However, these data do provide interesting and useful information on social mobility and inequality that will improve understanding of the other measures. Further information on these questions can be found in the findings.

2. The cultural sector is keen to better understand data and diversity issues

A discussion on how and why different arts organisations have collected inequality data would be of interest to those who are less informed. ACE could support informal networks (some of which already exist[6]) that work to support those in NPOs with concerns on the quality of their data and the implications behind data practices.

During the research, many people asked about a public consultation and dissemination event. ACE could look into grounding such an event in academic learning but aimed at the sector. The success of the Panic! event and report[7] indicate the interest and investment in understanding and tackling inequalities across the sector. This research found an appetite in how to improve sector equality and the value of data in doing this and there are indications a similar event would be well-received.

3. There are strong ideologies within institutional cultures

Organisations across the sector need to address the anxieties and concerns within their own organisations. There appears to be a strong relationship between specific working cultures and concerns regarding particular personal data. Some organisations have a clear policy against collecting data on particular protected characteristics, particularly sexuality, and the staff in these organisations were the most negative towards that

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[6] The Culture Insight Managers network (CIM) is committed to supporting peer support in the sector on data, research and insight practices
[7] Brook, O., O'Brien, D. and Taylor, M. (2018a) Panic! Social Class, Taste and Inequalities in the Creative Industries. Create London. Available at: http://createlondon.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Panic-Social-Class-Taste-and-Inequalities-in-the-Creative-Industries1.pdf

question in the survey. This research indicates that if a concept or issue, and the rationale behind its measurement, is discussed across an institution and is familiar to staff, there is less resistance to the question. These insights can help design future research to improve communication with the sector on the importance of all aspects of equality monitoring and to inform how NPOs communicate with their staff.

4. When to introduce new equality monitoring questions

This research revealed there is a great deal of scope to improve data practices and the quality of data across the cultural and creative industries (CCIs). Its findings suggest a number of easy ways to improve people's experiences of having their data collected. It demonstrates that the better people feel about having their data collected, the better the quality of the data.

Recommendations were made to ACE that 'social origins' question/s should be introduced to the Annual Survey for the 2020 – 2021 collection, as this is when other questions are expected to change in line with ONS amendments to the Census. This will enable NPOs to re-survey all staff together for baseline data, explaining that other questions may change and why. This falls in line with ACE policies on the notice required to introduce new questions to the Annual Survey and it gives time to inform NPOs and Major Partner Museums (MPMs) of their intentions and to support better data collection.

Overarching recommendations

1. Any questions on social mobility should follow Cabinet Office guidelines as closely as possible

This allows for comparison with and contribution to national-level datasets. Cabinet Office aim to have baseline data by 2020. Adapting questions will cause validity issues for the sector's data. Furthermore, this research found that adapting questions to alleviate concerns was not necessarily successful. Thus, amending the questions may compromise data, whilst not improving experience of data collection.

To improve reception of the questions, it is recommended that they are presented with accompanying contextual information. Some of the Cabinet Office questions are unfamiliar and the wording is alien to people working in the sector. The research found out that explaining the rationale behind the questions was valuable at an organisational and individual level.

2. ACE and the sector should work to better measure social mobility and understand how the components of someone's social origins intersect with other aspects of inequality that are more familiar

There is ongoing work by ONS regarding changes to Census questions (particularly around the sub-categories relating to ethnicity).[8] Further work is required to understand the implications of these changes on ACE – and the broader sector's – future equality and diversity work.

Ongoing work to improve the Annual Survey and other centralised data collection processes should consider the recommendations from the report that informs this working paper. ACE's Data and Reporting Team (DART) has been taking some expert consultation on the wording of other protected characteristics questions (such as with

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[8] At the time of writing, there had not been an update on the census proposal. The white paper was published on 14 December 2018
https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-2021-census-of-population-and-housing-in-england-and-wales

Stonewall on gender and sexual orientation). This work to improve all monitoring questions should be used in conjunction with the findings from this research, feeding into examples of good practice and appropriate categorisations.

Social origins questions will enable an understanding of social mobility, if measured against social destination, which should be measured in a corresponding way. The most apposite measure of social destination is people's current job. However, although both origins and destinations are measured using ONS' NS-SEC seven classes of occupation[9], these descriptions do not always mean much to people working in creative sectors and do not account for holding multiple positions at the same time. It is also not practical to use job title to capture data on current job as 'social destination'. ONS' NS-SEC coding tools do not always code cultural sector professions efficiently and coding job titles is resource-heavy and subjective. Work has been done to translate familiar arts and culture categorisations into something which maps onto NS-SEC. This should be revisited and updated.

NPOs and their employees had various issues with job categories in the Annual Survey. ACE DART team have devoted much resource into improving these. Whilst a perfect compromise is unlikely, more work is advisable. Furthermore, NPO HR departments are not necessarily coding their staff jobs in a way that maps onto coding categories used in the Annual Survey. ACE should work with the sector to improve working practices with regard to classifying jobs, taking into account ACE's previous work with the sector, for example, with stakeholders such as Nesta, CCS Skills and the Work Foundation.

In all surveys requesting personal data, such as protected characteristics, more categories should be introduced, avoiding 'other' where possible. This should reduce reluctance to respond, enable participants to define between 'prefer not to say', 'not applicable' and 'I don't know', improving the experience of survey participation and the accuracy of the data.

3. There should be formal guidance for the cultural sector on good practice and communication with staff when collecting data on social and economic background

ACE should take the lead on how internal and sector-wide communications can improve knowledge and experiences of data collection. Accessible 'how to' guidance could also include some context as to the history behind the questions, why they are useful now, how the data will be used and what they can reveal to improve future understandings and ways forward.[10] There were concerns as to whether targets and KPIs will be introduced as a result of collecting new data. Providing this information could reduce anxiety in the broader sector.

ACE and the sector should collaborate on devising good practice when communicating with staff. This should include survey techniques, guidelines on the questions and good practice on question categories.

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[9] See Appendix E

[10] Cabinet Office offers some guidance to employers in Chapter 4. This could prove a good starting point
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/786937/Measuring_Socio-economic_Background_in_your_Workforce__recommended_measures_for_use_by_employers.pdf p. 17

Part 2 – working paper

Current practice to understand social mobility

ACE and the Creative Case for Diversity

ACE collects and reports on workforce data by way of its Annual Survey, reflecting on these data annually in reports, such as 2019's Equality, Diversity and the Creative Case: A Data Report, 2017-2018.[11] There is not yet a sufficient amount of time to adequately identify long-term trends or indeed how policies and other interventions may have successfully addressed issues of inequality. However, recent developments in ACE's reporting do highlight key areas in which better data are required to understand who is working in organisations funded by ACE. ACE's most recent data[12] indicate that overall, there are moderate increases in the proportion of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME), disabled, LGBT and female workers within the workforce that was monitored.[13] However, people who identified as a BME category and as disabled continue to be under-represented across the sector's workforce and leadership.

Positioning social mobility within the broader frame of inequality

The research asked questions on social mobility in a broader frame of other issues of inequality. Firstly, because it is likely these data will be collected together in ACE's Annual Survey and broader sector monitoring, secondly because it is important to retain and reinforce the project of data collection as one of social justice, not simply of measuring people or targets, and thirdly, because in doing so, insight could be gained regarding any issues with extant protected characteristics questions. In order to improve transparency and perceptions of data collection techniques, the project sought to improve understanding of how people feel when asked questions about their protected characteristics and/or social origins.

The research design opened up discussion on the importance of diversity data at four levels: across ACE; in NPOs; across the broader workforce; amongst the cultural sector more generally. It explored common concerns:
- What are these data for?
- Who sees them?
- What happens to them?
- How are they useful or how can they become more useful for institutional learning?
- How will they improve social inequality?

Prior ACE work on understanding social mobility: using workforce data

In 2017, a pilot social mobility survey was conducted on a sample of 50 ACE employees, 30 of whom completed the survey. The survey tested several social mobility questions and gained some basic understanding of people's experience and comfort in responding. The report from the 2017 initial pilot informed the research design of this project, but the data were not available due to data protection and storage.

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[11] Arts Council England (2019) Equality, Diversity and the Creative Case: A Data Report, 2017-2018. Available at: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/publication/equality-diversity-and-creative-case-data-report-2017-2018
[12] Arts Council England (2019) Equality, Diversity and the Creative Case: A Data Report, 2017-2018. Available at: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/publication/equality-diversity-and-creative-case-data-report-2017-2018
[13] ACE monitors its annually-funded portfolio of organisations, including NPOs, MPMs and Sector Support Organisations (SSOs)

Cabinet Office recommendations to organisations to understand their workforces

In 2016, Cabinet Office consulted over 40 employers and experts in social mobility on a long list of 26 potential measures of socio-economic background. This consultation resulted in a shortlist of 12 measures (reproduced in Appendix D). A series of test questions for these 12 measures was devised and piloted across the Senior Civil Service and other employers, who also shared insights from the socio-economic background data they were already collecting. These insights and pilots aimed to arrive at a set of three to five measures of socio-economic background. In October 2017 the Civil Service Diversity and Inclusion Strategy was published, confirming commitment for 'the Civil Service to be the most inclusive employer in the UK by 2020' and the establishment of 'a baseline of data on socio-economic background in the Civil Service' by 2020'.[14] Subsequent to these efforts, Cabinet Office published its recommendations on measures of socio-economic background in May 2018.[15]

Other work on social mobility in the CCIs: broadcast

Ofcom have been working with the five main broadcasters (Viacom, Channel 4, ITV, BBC and Sky) to try and agree a common measure of people's social and economic background (note, not social mobility). There are indications that they intend to report on the industry's social and economic diversity in 2019, but this was not available at the time of updating this paper in July 2019. The five broadcasters acknowledged this as a key area for future work and have worked with the Bridge Group (a charitable policy association researching and promoting social and economic diversity and equality) to develop their understanding of social mobility.[16] Publication of data on the social and economic background of BBC employees caused some controversy and media interest in August 2018.[17] Research and monitoring has also been undertaken in varying forms by Channel 4, ITV and Viacom. Sky is also keen to begin monitoring but, according to Ofcom[18], is waiting on the agreed question to take forward.

In March 2018, a consensus was reached that the best single indicator to determine employees' social and economic background was found to be the question which asks people what their parental occupation was when they were aged 14. Ofcom recommends that all broadcasters begin with this question as a key indicator to start collecting data on social and economic background 'to enable consistent monitoring across the industry'.[19] There was also agreement that more discussions were needed with regards to the 'drop down options' and that further collaboration is required across the sector to discuss next steps and how to improve access to the industry.

Beyond the creative economy: a social mobility case study in accountancy

Sam Friedman and Daniel Laurison's book on the 'class ceiling' involves analysis of large-scale survey data and also includes four case studies in specific professions: broadcast, acting, architecture and accountancy.[20] Accountancy is one of the most closely scrutinised professions in terms of social mobility[21] and their case study

[14] Civil Service (2017) A Brilliant Civil Service: becoming the UK's most inclusive employer. The Civil Service Diversity and Inclusion Strategy. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/658488/Strategy_v10_FINAL_WEB6_TEST_021117.pdf

[15] Cabinet Office (2018) Annex A - Evaluation of measures of socio-economic background. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/713739/Annex_A-_Evaluation_of_measures_of_Socio-economic_background.pdf

[16] Ofcom (2018) Diversity and equal opportunities in television 2018: Monitoring report on the UK-based broadcasting industry. Available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0021/121683/diversity-in-TV-2018-report.PDF

[17] Conway, E. (2018) Corbyn has no right to judge my background, The Sunday Times, August 23 2018. Available at: https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/f14d0216-a6ea-11e8-a109-8163aa975df4

[18] Ofcom (2018) Diversity and equal opportunities in television 2018: Monitoring report on the UK-based broadcasting industry. Available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0021/121683/diversity-in-TV-2018-report.PDF

[19] Ofcom (2018) Diversity and equal opportunities in television 2018: Monitoring report on the UK-based broadcasting industry. Available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0021/121683/diversity-in-TV-2018-report.PDF, pg 10

[20] Friedman, S. and Laurison, D. (2019) The Class Ceiling: Why it Pays to be Privileged. Bristol: Policy Press

[21] Friedman, S. and Laurison, D. (2019) The Class Ceiling: Why it Pays to be Privileged. Bristol: Policy Press. Pg 245

was inside a firm 'widely considered an industry leader on social mobility'. It had piloted a range of initiatives aimed at tackling barriers to access. These included introducing 'contextual' academic data and school and university-blind graduate applications. It also collects data on the socio-economic origins of staff, in terms of whether they received free school meals, the type of school they attended and whether their parents went to university, together with other data relating to gender, ethnicity, office location, service line and performance. 79% of the workforce responded to these questions.

Notably, the firm did not collect data on parental occupation at the time of the study and was unwilling to survey their staff further. It was not clear at the time of reporting whether this will be reviewed or the reason why the firm was using all the other Cabinet Office suggestions apart from this measure.

Ground up work measures of class and socio-economic inequalities in the arts

There are a number of bottom up organisations working hard to understand how monitoring class in the sector can work with initiatives to bring about change.[22] Other organisations have been asking people to self-identify their current socio-economic status, or class, such as The Young Vic. Outside of the performing arts, some organisations, such as New Writing North, host a prize for working class writers that asks them to self-elect as working class, but do not press them for evidence for ethical reasons.

Summary
There is a great deal of appetite in the arts and cultural sector, the wider CCIs and beyond for better organisational data on social inequalities. However, at present, working practices on equality monitoring are inconsistent and discussions are fragmented. The Cabinet Office, Ofcom, and leading social scientists recommend one measure above all others: the occupation of the main wage earner in a person's household when growing up. This is requested around one specific age: the age of fourteen.

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[22] For example, the work of Common: https://commontheatre.co.uk/whatwedo/

The literature on social mobility

The literature review is divided in two parts. The first section outlines various meanings and measures of social mobility. The second section discusses inequality issues in the arts and how measuring socio-economic origins can present new understandings of how to tackle inequality in the arts.

Social mobility – what does it mean?

Social mobility has been defined in a paper to Cabinet Office as "...the movement or opportunities for movement between different social classes or occupational groups and the advantages and disadvantages that go with this, e.g. income".[23] 'Social mobility' as an idea has been 'moving up the political agenda since the turn of the century at an astonishing rate'[24], most recently articulated as a priority with the creation of the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission in 2010 (renamed the Social Mobility Commission in 2016) to monitor progress.[25] There is, however, much ongoing debate about how best to define and measure social mobility.[26]

The increased use of the term 'social mobility' in political, media and popular discussion has seen it take on a new meaning, often substituted into the discussion of 'class' inequality. However, social mobility has more precise definitions in academic research, with some bemoaning the lack of clarity that is prevalent in 'too much loose talk about 'needing more mobility' from politicians'.[27] Disciplinary differences (particularly between economics and sociology) favour different measures, varying across aspects of education, occupational status, individual earnings or household income. Furthermore, there are competing ideas surrounding which aspects of it are most pressing as a policy issue. In general, 'social mobility' refers to the numbers of people ending up in different 'class positions' from their parents. The nuance in meaning is often around what is meant by 'class position'.

Absolute social mobility is one of two main concepts in social mobility and refers to people ending up in different class positions from those of their parents. This widely shared political and public aspiration implies improved prospects for everybody. However, downward social mobility is often absent from these discussions and calls the project to increase social mobility into question empirically and politically.[28]

Relative social mobility, on the other hand, is about how those opportunities are distributed. It might simply be described as "the extent to which an individual's chances depend on their parents' education or class".[29] Researchers of relative social mobility are concerned with the opportunities and prospects of people from working class backgrounds in comparison to those from middle class backgrounds and vice versa.

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[23] Aldridge, S. (2004). Life chances and Social Mobility: An overview of the evidence. Prime Minister's Strategy Unit. Available at: www.swslim.org.uk/documents/themes/lt10_lifechances_socialmobility.pdf

[24] Payne, G. (2017) The new social mobility: How the politicians got it wrong. Bristol Policy Press.

[25] The Social Mobility Commission is an advisory Non-Departmental Public Body (NDPB) of the Department for Education. Its role is "to monitor the progress of the United Kingdom government and others in improving social mobility and reducing child poverty. It's board famously all resigned in protest at the lack of progress.

[26] For more comprehensive histories of competing political and academic definitions of social mobility, see John Goldthorpe (2013) Understanding – and misunderstanding – social mobility in Britain: the entry of the economists, the confusion of politicians and the limits of educational policy, *Journal of Social Policy*, 42: 431–450 and Geoff Payne (2017) *The new social mobility: How the politicians got it wrong*. Bristol Policy Press.

[27] Payne, G. (2017) The new social mobility: How the politicians got it wrong. Bristol Policy Press. P vi

[28] As Jo Littler explains, "Measuring 'relative' social mobility involves comparing rates at which those from 'lower down' move up, compared to how many 'higher up' fall down; and as Vikki Boliver and David Byrne recently argue, not only has there been 'little if any sign of [people] becoming any more equal over time' but with a crumbling middle class, 'upward mobility increasingly necessitates downward mobility'". See Jo Littler (2017) *Against Meritocracy: Culture, power and myths of mobility*. Routledge. https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781317496045 pg 55

[29] OECD (2017) The only way is up? Social Mobility and Equal Opportunities – the issues notes. OECD Publishing, Paris. Available at: https://www.oecd.org/inclusive-growth/inequality-and-opportunity/The-Issues-Note-Social-Mobility-and-Equal-Opportunities-May-4-2017.pdf

Therefore, on a macro level, social mobility is a concept that attempts to describe positive social change for politicians and in the press; on the micro level it is a term that is used to describe a change in social class. It can be used to refer to individuals, families, households or other categories of people moving within or between 'classes' in the UK. Most generally social mobility has tended to suggest the affordance of opportunities for those from working-class backgrounds to access a more middle-class lifestyle, thereby implying that this offers improved quality of life.

The idea that middle class way of life is somehow better than a working class one is extremely problematic from an ethical perspective. Furthermore, questions regarding how to understand the difference between classes are evolving. Recent work has suggested that representing class as three definable strata in society (upper, middle and lower class) might be out-dated and overly simplistic. The influential Great British Class Survey (GBCS) provided several vital insights into how class is more complex than traditional categories may have implied. Furthermore, it opened up interesting methodological questions regarding how to survey class and social inequality more broadly.[30]

Different approaches to measuring social class and mobility produce very different results, as academics Buscha and Sturgis have explained: "Within the past ten years, researchers have concluded that social mobility in the UK has declined (Blanden et al., 2004; 2013), increased (Lambert et al., 2007; Li and Devine, 2011; Bukodi et al., 2015) and remained more or less static (Goldthorpe and Jackson, 2007; Goldthorpe and Mills, 2008). Logically, of course, it is hard to envisage the circumstances in which all three positions can be correct".[31]

Social mobility – how to measure it?

As well as different disciplinary approaches affecting how we understand social mobility, these longitudinal approaches are reliant on national-level surveys, which have also seen recent developments.

A report to The Social Mobility Commission[32] indicates that until recently, the UK had lacked data extensive enough to inform targeted policy interventions intended to improve social mobility. New socio-economic background questions in the Office for National Statistics' (ONS) Labour Force Survey have opened up opportunities for a more detailed picture of social mobility in relation to the workforce. While this new, national-level survey dataset is promising in its capacity to reveal scales of inequality in greater detail, it is not always suitable for addressing questions as to why inequality persists in the workforce.[33] This is often more readily visible in qualitative work that investigates the experiences and attitudes of individuals and the working cultures and practices of institutions. Successful studies on the police force have used both to investigate how successful its diversity policy is.[34]

One way of measuring social mobility is through examining occupations. This has an extensive tradition in sociology and it is how the ONS classifies people's origins. If we take a person's current job as indicative of their destination, how their parents or carers were employed when they were growing up would reveal their origins.

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[30] See Savage, M. et al. (2015) Social Class in the 21st Century, Pelican Books.

[31] Buscha, F. and Sturgis, P. (2018) Declining social mobility? Evidence from five linked censuses in England and Wales 1971-2011. British Journal of Sociology 69(1) 154-182 DOI: 10.1111/1468-4446.12275. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/596945/The_class_pay_gap_and_intergenerational_worklessness.pdf pg 155

[32] Friedman, S., Laurison, D. and Macmillan, L. (2017) Social Mobility, the Class Pay Gap and Intergenerational Worklessness: New Insights from The Labour Force Survey. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/596945/The_class_pay_gap_and_intergenerational_worklessness.pdf

[33] In the most recent surveys of the labour force, the ONS has asked people about their class origin. They have done this by asking what the main income earner in their household did for work when they were about 14. Knowing if someone had a parent who was a doctor (NS-SEC I) or a cleaner (NS-SEC VII) offers an opportunity understand something of someone's class origin.

[34] Afful, I. (2018) "The impact of values, bias, culture and leadership on BME under-representation in the police service", International Journal of Emergency Services, Vol. 7 Issue: 1,pp.32 – 59. 59. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJES-05-2017-0028

It is largely assumed that almost all jobs in the creative industries are middle class destinations, yet the people doing those creative jobs might come from a range of different class origins.[35] The Panic! Social Class, Taste and Inequalities in the Creative Industries report[36] used data from the ONS' Labour Force Survey to understand class origins in this way. In looking at those people who worked in creative occupations and how their parents and carers were employed, the authors found people of working class origin to be underrepresented in specific cultural and creative jobs – fewer than 13% in both publishing and the film and TV industries and only marginally better in the arts, at 18%.[37]

One recent social mobility study 'reveals gaping class divides at work'[38] whilst others reveal gaps in pay and progression.[39] A recent report to the Social Mobility Commission[40] found that those from more privileged backgrounds still dominate what might be called traditional professions (medicine, law, journalism, academia and management consultancy). It also found that those from working-class backgrounds in those professions earn £6,800 less than colleagues from professional backgrounds. Furthermore, even when educational experience, human capital and a range of other measures are equal, those from working-class backgrounds still face what is being called a 'class pay gap' of £2,242. The report found that upwardly mobile women and ethnic minorities face a double disadvantage.

Thus, understanding social mobility in the workforce is not only a case of understanding who gets to work in certain desirable occupations. It is also important to consider how this labour is rewarded financially and in terms of opportunities for career progression. In other words, in order to fully understand social mobility in NPOs, as with other parts of society[41], we not only need to understand who is getting in, but who is getting on, rather than just getting by.

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[35] O'Brien, D. (2018) Tackling class discrimination Arts Professional. Available at: https://www.artsprofessional.co.uk/magazine/article/tackling-class-discrimination

[36] Brook, O., O'Brien, D. and Taylor, M. (2018a) Panic! Social Class, Taste and Inequalities in the Creative Industries. Create London. Available at: http://createlondon.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Panic-Social-Class-Taste-and-Inequalities-in-the-Creative-Industries1.pdf

[37] Brook, O., O'Brien, D. and Taylor, M. (2018a) Panic! Social Class, Taste and Inequalities in the Creative Industries. Create London. Available at: http://createlondon.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Panic-Social-Class-Taste-and-Inequalities-in-the-Creative-Industries1.pdf

[38] The Social Mobility Pledge (2018) Social Mobility study reveals gaping class divide at work. Available at: https://www.socialmobilitypledge.org/news/classdivide June 27, 2018

[39] Laurison, D. and Friedman, S. (2016) The Class Pay Gap in Higher Professional and Managerial Occupations. American Sociological Review 2016, Vol. 81(4) 668–695; also Friedman, S., Laurison, D. and Miles, A. (2015) Breaking the 'class' ceiling? Social mobility into Britain's elite occupations, The Sociological Review, Vol. 63, 259–289 (2015) DOI: 10.1111/1467-954X.12283

[40] Friedman, S., Laurison, D. and Macmillan, L. (2017) Social Mobility, the Class Pay Gap and Intergenerational Worklessness: New Insights from The Labour Force Survey. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/596945/The_class_pay_gap_and_intergenerational_worklessness.pdf

[41] See for example Oman, S., Rainford, J. and Stewart, H. (2015) 'Access in Higher Education: A triumph of hope over experience?' Discover Society, December 2015. Available at: https://discoversociety.org/2015/12/01/stories-of-access-in-higher-education-a-triumph-or-failure-of-hope-over-experience/

Understanding the creative workforce and issues of inequality

Arts are one of the greatest forces for openness and social mobility[42]
(Matt Hancock, former Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, 2016)

Academics Kate Oakley and Dave O'Brien have highlighted what they term "unprecedented media interest in questions of representation and inequality in cultural production".[43] Typically, both research and media attempts to address these questions tend to assume that those who work in the arts undertake work that is both aspirational and 'creative'. The very first definition of creative industries in 1998 by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) indicates that these activities rely heavily on 'talent', more specifically skilled or 'creative' individuals.[44] It is, therefore, perhaps unsurprising that emphasis on the special qualities of 'creative labour' in its economic and social contributions to various policy areas[45], and the transferable skills of creativity into broader ideas of innovation and economic development[46] have left little room for attention on the practices and specificity of creative labour in policy discourse.[47] Research has hitherto centred on those most readily imagined as 'art workers'[48] or 'the cultural workforce'.[49]

Thanks to improved data and increasing academic and policy research, we have good quality evidence about gender inequality and some on inequalities of ethnicity and age in the arts but relatively little about inequalities of class, sexuality, disability and region or place. As a result, there are indications that patterns of inequality in terms of gender and ethnicity replicate from industry to industry.[50] However, we still don't know enough about the causes for this and how these inequalities intersect on a large scale[51], despite damning evidence of the effect of the cultural industries workforce on issues, such as racism,[52] and the ineffectiveness of diversity policies to address it.[53] Those who work in the CCIs are amongst the most highly qualified across a range of sectors; more than half (62.2%) of those working in the creative industries had a degree, compared to 34.4% for total jobs in the UK.[54] Yet compared with other highly qualified individuals, those working in the creative economy do not enjoy the same level of salary and economic stability expected of middle-class professions.[55]

Oakley's research has pointed out that 'the cultural labour market remains polarised by gender, ethnicity and social class'.[56] More typically, sociological lenses on the creative workforce have often been limited to one or two areas, such as gender or ethnicity, which have tended to dominate discussions of inequality in the cultural

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[42] Hancock, M. (2016) Arts are one of the greatest forces for openness and social mobility. The Telegraph, , November 18, 2016. Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/11/18/arts-are-one-of-the-greatest-forces-for-openness-and-social-mobi/

[43] Oakley, K. and O'Brien, D. (2015) Cultural value and inequality: a critical literature review. Swindon: AHRC: Arts & Humanities Research Council. P 19

[44] DCMS & Creative Industries Task Force (1998), Creative Industries 1998: Mapping Documents, London: DCMS

[45] See for example Campbell, P. (2014) Imaginary Success?—The Contentious Ascendance of Creativity, European Planning Studies, 22:5, 995-1009, DOI: 10.1080/09654313.2012.753993 or Oakley, K. (2009). The disappearing arts: Creativity and innovation after the creative industries. International Journal of Cultural Policy, 15(4), 403–413

[46] Typical of New Labour policy, such as: Department for Culture, Media and Sport. (2008). Creative Britain: New talents for the new economy. DCMS. p13, 31, etc

[47] Comunian, R. and Conor, B. (2017) Making cultural work visible in cultural policy in V. Durrer, T. Miller and D. O'Brien (eds). The Routledge Handbook of Global Cultural Policy.

[48] Banks, M. and Oakley, K. (2015) Class, UK art workers and the myth of mobility. In: Maxwell R (ed.) The Routledge Companion to Labour and Media. New York: Routledge.

[49] Oakley, K. (2011) In its own image: New Labour and the cultural workforce, Cultural Trends, 20:3-4, 281-289, DOI: 10.1080/09548963.2011.589709

[50] Comunian, R. and Conor, B. (2017) Making cultural work visible in cultural policy in V. Durrer, T. Miller and D. O'Brien (eds). The Routledge Handbook of Global Cultural Policy. P. 272

[51] Comunian, R. and Conor, B. (2017) Making cultural work visible in cultural policy in V. Durrer, T. Miller and D. O'Brien (eds). The Routledge Handbook of Global Cultural Policy. P. 272; Oakley, K. and O'Brien, D. (2015) Cultural value and inequality: a critical literature review. Swindon: AHRC: Arts & Humanities Research Council.

[52] Saha, A. (2018) Race and the cultural industries, Polity Press.

[53] Nwonka, C. (2015) 'Diversity pie: rethinking social exclusion and diversity policy in the British film industry', Journal of Media Practice, 16(1): 73-90.

[54] DCMS (2018) DCMS Sectors Economic Estimates 2017: Employment. Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/dcms-sectors-economic-estimates-2017-employment

[55] Comunian, R., Faggian, A. and Jewell, J. (2014) Embedding arts and humanities in the creative economy: the role of graduates in the UK Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy 2014, volume 32. pp 426 – 450

[56] Oakley, K. (2011) In its own image: New Labour and the cultural workforce, Cultural Trends, 20:3-4, 281-289, DOI: 10.1080/09548963.2011.589709

workforce in isolation.[57] The recent high-profile Warwick Commission on the Future of Cultural Value (2015) offered some discussion on an increasing problem of the underrepresentation of women and ethnic minorities in the UK cultural industries. It also expressed concern that 'no in-depth statistical analysis of cultural and creative workforce data in terms of socio-economic backgrounds has been published, even though the data are available through ONS data-sources'.[58]

Recent governmental and academic research has attempted to fill some of the gaps in the picture of socio-economic origins and their impact on getting in and getting on in the creative professions. The most prominent recent example in the arts and cultural sector is that which informed the high-profile Panic! report by Brook, O'Brien and Taylor.[59] They analysed the ONS' Longitudinal Study, attempting to represent social mobility into cultural occupations, also looking at the demographics of the cultural and creative work-force using the ONS' Labour Force Survey. The research also drew on 237 interviews with cultural workers in order to understand aspirations, perceptions and experiences of inequality working in the arts. Understanding the extent of the problem on a large scale using national level survey data has set an important and urgent agenda for the need to better integrate analyses of class into broader discussions of inequality in the arts. This is reflected in project titles, such as 'Panic!' and one of the partner organisations on the project, 'Arts Emergency'.

As historical analyses point out, the cultural labour market has long been polarised by gender, ethnicity and social class. Despite high levels of graduates by historical standards, wages are low, and due to the practice of unpaid "internships" and highly informal recruitment practices, class-based exclusion is rife in the sector and often reflected in ethnicity.[60] To this extent, the idea that policies to improve social mobility were a success and the creative professions were becoming more equal is now in contention.[61] Therefore new policy-focussed action should be informed not only by new data and evidence, but reflection on previous interventions and their impacts on the issue at hand.

As work using the Creative Skillset census has shown, the largest occupational group in the CCIs is 'business management, encompassing a wide range of generic business support areas such as finance, HR, press and PR'.[62] However, not all of these functions appear in prior work analysing the socio-economic status of those working in cultural occupations, which tends to focus on workers who are obviously artistic and creative in their labour, who are often by job title.[63] There is, therefore, much work to be done to understand a creative workforce as all the labour which supports the production of culture. This is especially important if we are to understand social mobility as getting in, getting on and getting by in the industry.

This research responds to the lack of engagement with intersecting issues of working in the arts and the professions more generally. Measuring occupational status is premised on ideas of how the kind of job you have reflects a particular class status. 'Class' as a discourse is still contested and is but one lens through which to investigate barriers to accessing the professions. If the arts are to be inclusive, questions of race, gender, disability and socio-economic origins should be addressed alongside questions of how a person was educated and supported when young, through to their caring responsibilities and housing situation as an adult.

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[57] Conor, B., Gill, R. and Taylor, S. (2015) Gender and Creative Labour. London: Wiley-Blackwell.

[58] Warwick Commission on the Future of Cultural Value (2015) Enriching Britain: Culture, Creativity and Growth The 2015 Report by the Warwick Commission on the Future of Cultural Value. Available at:
https://warwick.ac.uk/research/warwickcommission/futureculture/finalreport/warwick_commission_report_2015.pdf pg 26

[59] Brook, O., O'Brien, D. and Taylor, M. (2018a) Panic! Social Class, Taste and Inequalities in the Creative Industries. Create London. Available at:
http://createlondon.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Panic-Social-Class-Taste-and-Inequalities-in-the-Creative-Industries1.pdf

[60] Oakley, K. (2011) In its own image: New Labour and the cultural workforce, Cultural Trends, 20:3-4, 281-289, DOI: 10.1080/09548963.2011.589709.

[61] Brook, O., O'Brien, D. and Taylor, M. (2018b) There was no golden age: social mobility into cultural and creative occupations. SocArXiv. March 27. doi:10.31235/osf.io/7njy3

[62] Creative Skillset (2012) Employment Census of the Creative Media Industries. Available at:
https://creativeskillset.org/assets/0000/5070/2012_Employment_Census_of_the_Creative_Media_Industries.pdf

[63] See for example, table 3 in Creative Skillset (2012) Employment Census of the Creative Media Industries. Available at:
https://creativeskillset.org/assets/0000/5070/2012_Employment_Census_of_the_Creative_Media_Industries.pdf

Using occupational status or job title to understand social mobility is complex. The most established approach to measuring social mobility in this way is the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC), as advised by the ONS.[64] This is recommended by Cabinet Office and prominent sociologists of class.[65] It establishes a person's social origins and is done through the classification of the occupation of a person's parent or carer at the specified age of 14. More information can be found about NS-SEC in Appendix E.

While NS-SEC is generally considered most appropriate in the measurement of social origins to begin to understand social mobility, its application has limitations. Job titles evolve over time, so the classifications become less accurate and are therefore amended.[66][67] Furthermore, the percentage of the labour force doing professional and managerial work has risen from 15% in the 1920s to 45% today, which has implications for analysis.[68] This will affect how change over time appears, as Brook, O'Brien and Taylor show, necessitating the analysis of relative as well as absolute mobility.[69]

The arts sectors need to be aware of these changes over time and across sectors. Job titles are not uniform descriptors across sectors, or indeed, even in subsectors of the creative and cultural industries.[70] These categorisations also rely on people having a single occupational status, rather than holding a selection of responsibilities across various organisations, which is familiar working practice in the cultural industries. Furthermore, previous attempts to use NS-SEC to code the creative workforce by hand have discovered that this is not a neat and satisfactory process, as found when trialling hand-coding to NS-SEC in this research.

These analyses of occupational status emerge from a particular idea of class and representation in which a clear line of separation remains based on time-long ideas of blue and white-collar labour, and which still reside in cultural imagery, as evidenced in the poster shown below. However, recent high profile and accessible discussions of class from outside the academy deviate slightly from these descriptions. Reni Eddo-Lodge explains, 'the saying goes that if you're paid by the hour and you rent your home, then you're working class, and if you're paid monthly and own your home, you're middle class'.[71] Eddo-Lodge encourages her readers to move away from picturing the working class as "a white man in a flat cap", encouraging instead to think of "a black woman pushing a pram".[72] Lynsey Hanley's autobiography of growing up working class refers to her father's white-collar job only once. Instead, Hanley's description of her working-class origins and experience of entering into middle class spaces as she grew up are based on place.[73] Where you grow up not only affects your class identity, but is an important dimension often missing from social mobility datasets, such as the ONS' Labour Force Survey. A recent report to the Social Mobility Commission urged that region of origin be included in future surveys.[74]

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[64] Other classification systems are sometimes thought more suitable for particular contexts, see Connelly, R., Gayle, V. and Lambert, P.S. (2016) A Review of occupation-based social classifications for social survey research Methodological Innovations Volume 9: 1–14.

[65] Savage, M. et al. (2015) Social Class in the 21st Century, Pelican Books; Friedman, S. and Laurison, D. (2019) The Class Ceiling: Why it Pays to be Privileged. Bristol: Policy Press

[66] Donkin, A., Huang Lee, Y. and Toson, B. (2002) Implications of changes in the UK social and occupational classifications in 2001 for vital statistics. Population Trends 107 Spring 2002. Office for National Statistics.

[67] According to DCMS, it has been 'working closely with the Office for National Statistics to try and influence changes to Standard Industrial Classifications (SIC) and the Standard Occupation Classifications (SOC). The SOC codes are subject to review by the ONS, and therefore the Creative Occupations are subject to change over time as the SOC codes change. The current standard is SOC2010. The next review is impending and will determine changes to be made in preparation for SOC2020'. DCMS (2016).

[68] Friedman, S. and Savage, M. (2018) 'A new politics of institutional classicism' Move on up: Social mobility, opportunity and equality in the 21st century. London: IPPR. Pg 60

[69] Brook, O., O'Brien, D. and Taylor, M. (2018b) There was no golden age: social mobility into cultural and creative occupations. SocArXiv. March 27. doi:10.31235/osf.io/7njy3.

[70] Collis, C., McKee, A. & Hamley B. (2010) Entertainment industries at university: Designing a curriculum in A. McKee, C. Collis and B. Hamley (eds). Entertainment Industries: Entertainment as a Cultural System. 2012, Routledge.

[71] Eddo-Lodge, R. (2017) Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race. Bloomsbury.

[72] Eddo-Lodge, R. (2017) Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race. Bloomsbury.

[73] Hanley, L. (2016) Respectable: the experience of class.

[74] Friedman, S., Laurison, D. and Macmillan, L. (2017) Social Mobility, the Class Pay Gap and Intergenerational Worklessness: New Insights from The Labour Force Survey. Available at:
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/596945/The_class_pay_gap_and_intergenerational_worklessness.pdf

Posters of Panic! 2015 visual campaign by Peter Saville.   (Credit: Emil Charlaff)

In the Routledge Handbook of Cultural Policy, Comunian and Conor (2017) demand that 'cultural policy must be open about the problems of cultural work, to challenge explanation and foreground workers too often left out of celebratory policy discourses'.[75] Yet, only part of the workforce who work in arts organisations and the broader creative economy have typically received attention when the creative workforce is discussed as a whole. This reinforces the fact that some categories of disadvantage are more visible than others.[76] Therefore, improving the quality of data on the whole workforce is important, 'but also the temporality of the actions and concerns around equality as well as how visible issues often return to invisibility'.[77] If inequality and social mobility in the cultural sector and broader CCIs are to be understood more fully, broader engagement with the whole workforce, together with an assessment of what interventions have worked in the past, is required, otherwise issues related to those who get in, get on and get by will continue to be obscured.

There is still much work to do to understand the scale of inequality in the arts workforce, as well as to appreciate the diversity of the types of work and ways of working which make measurement difficult. The lack of research on inequalities of class, sexuality, disability and region or place are currently being addressed with new data and analyses. However, class, sexuality and disability have proved difficult to collect data on from the workforce and it has not yet been possible to do so in a way that is intersectional. Furthermore, the literature demonstrates the requirement to explain exactly what is being measured when attempting to measure social mobility. The question of 'what does it mean? and how can it improve inequality overall?' remains.

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[75] Comunian, R. and Conor, B. (2017) Making cultural work visible in cultural policy in V. Durrer, T. Miller and D. O'Brien (eds). The Routledge Handbook of Global Cultural Policy.

[76] Oakley, K. and O'Brien, D. (2015) Cultural value and inequality: a critical literature review. Swindon: AHRC: Arts & Humanities Research Council.

[77] Gill, R. and Prat, A. (2008) In the Social Factory? Immaterial labour, precariousness and cultural work, Theory, Culture and Society 25: 7-8, 1-30.

Methodology

Overall research design

The brief was to design a programme of research to inform the introduction of social mobility questions for NPOs, given the sensitive and somewhat alien nature of some of the questions. The research was designed to illuminate how issues relating to inclusion were perceived by NPOs and translated into policy and practice; furthermore, to address existing challenges of data collection. Following the Twitter hashtag #Creativecase in January 2018, it was clear that the sector was not feeling listened to on issues relating to data and diversity. The research was designed to listen to organisations and individuals to attempt to address these frustrations.

The programme of research was inductive, using mainly qualitative methods. Participation in the project enabled NPOs and their staff to have their say on what it might mean for the cultural sector to measure social mobility, to understand it in broader terms of social inequality and to recommend what might be done to begin to address inequality in the arts.

Phase 1 methodology

Nationwide consultation – interviews and focus groups

A consultation comprised a final sample of 15 NPOs that differed in terms of size, location, discipline area and size of grant. One-to-one interviews were held with 51 senior members of staff with key responsibilities for data and diversity across various functions. Focus groups benefitted from the perspectives of workers across functions and paygrades of each organisation, targeting those that do not necessarily have key responsibilities for data or diversity policy

Focus groups

Focus groups took place between March and May 2018. 126 staff from 13 NPOs participated in 26 group discussions. There were no focus groups with members of the Executive Board, Governance and Planning team, which one might assume are on the highest pay grades. While it was specified that it was important the focus groups were comprised of colleagues who knew each other and worked together, this was not always going to be possible. In order to profile the part of the workforce comprised of less 'regular' jobs, such as associate artists or volunteers, an email with recruitment text was prepared that was to act as a template for organisations to amend to suit their working cultures. This was broadly considered a useful recruitment approach.

Colleagues completed two dummy questionnaires containing social mobility questions. They were then asked to reflect on the experience of the questionnaire: its format, question wordings, emotional responses to the questions and anything else they wanted to say.

Social mobility questionnaires trialled in the focus groups

Two questionnaires were designed to present to focus group participants in order to elicit responses to social mobility questions.

Questionnaire 1

The first questionnaire (see Appendix A) mirrored the questions used in the 2017 Social Mobility Survey pilot undertaken inside ACE with 50 of its own staff. This was developed internally but was informed by the 12 questions used by the Civil Service in their pilot survey of 4,000 senior civil servants.

Given that Questionnaire 1 mimicked the ACE pilot, it was divided into two sections:
- Job characteristics
- Social mobility questions, including:
    - type of school attended
    - parental higher education
    - eligibility for free school meals

The internal ACE pilot survey questionnaire was able to ask about pay grade. It was unlikely that all NPOs would follow a comparable grading system, so Cabinet Office recommendation was used instead, asking 'which of the following describes your main job?', with an amended sub-instruction to accommodate the flexible working typical of the cultural workforce. Thus, it asked, 'Please select all options which apply to your role/s.'

Also, in line with the Cabinet Office pilot was a question about the occupation of the main earner of the household at the age of 14. This was question was correctly predicted to be controversial but given the sociological emphasis on parents' professions in understanding social origins[78], it was important to trial it. It was hoped that the intended safe space of the focus group discussion would alleviate some of the concerns regarding sensitivity to this question.

Questionnaire 2

The second questionnaire (see Appendix B) brought together questions from different sources designed to investigate broader questions of social mobility than those already trialled by ACE, taking the heterogenous nature of NPO workforces into account. Critics of social mobility measures argue that a wider range of dimensions of mobility and life chances need to be considered.[79] These broader concerns were grouped into domains, although these groupings were not clearly delineated on the form.[80] The form aimed to capture some of the complexity of social mobility, reflecting different aspects of class background and potential drivers or indicators of social mobility found in the literature. For example, Savage et al. (2015) talk of the new landscape of class as an interplay of social, cultural and economic capital,[81] in particular:
- Education
- Spatial inequality
- Social and cultural capital – acquired and inherited
- Occupational status and salary
- Housing
- Class identity v class consciousness and snobbery

It also responded to this point made by a respondent to ACE's Social Mobility survey:

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[78] Brook, O., O'Brien, D. and Taylor, M. (2018b) There was no golden age: social mobility into cultural and creative occupations. SocArXiv. March 27. doi:10.31235/osf.io/7njy3.

[79] See for example Payne, G. (2017) The new social mobility: How the politicians got it wrong. Bristol Policy Press.

[80] Clearly indicating what a question alludes to and why might prove useful in future data collection and should not be dismissed just because it was not used here.

[81] Savage, M. et al. (2015) Social Class in the 21st Century, Pelican Books.

"I was comfortable asking the questions but don't feel there were enough questions to get a true sense of someone's socio-economic status (I appreciate that is determined by current socioeconomic models/research) e.g. parents {sic} profession. Additionally, I don't think the questions were nuanced enough to establish a true picture, for example my one parent who has an undergraduate qualification, did so before I was 18 but when I was at primary school; this was made possible through access study of an access course, not needing to pay tuition fees and grandparents living in the locality - in other words I was born into a family where neither parent had achieved a post-secondary level of education."[82]

Interviews

50 one-to-one interviews were conducted with key members of staff across functions and areas of the organisation responsible for aspects of data and diversity. This was to offer an organisational perspective on the project from different angles. For example, data insight specialists at larger NPOs often do not deal with any staff data for data protection reasons. Similarly, they will not necessarily work directly on institutional policies on workforce data collection, equal opportunities forms or diversity policy.

Each interview began with a question on how an individual's role related to data, diversity and inequality, which set the tone of the discussion. Rather than a strict topic guide, each interviewee's lines of discussion would be questioned based on their own expertise and organisational logic. Each interview aimed to touch on perceptions of the opportunities and challenges of introducing social mobility questions to an interviewee's areas of working knowledge.

These multiple perspectives were sought not only to inform the research on variety in data practices and diversity policies but also to inform how to best move into the next stage of the project. How can data be more valuable and useful to organisations? How could organisations be supported so they can collect better data?

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[82] Cited in Poole, E. (2017) Social Mobility Survey: Pilot survey with Arts Council staff. Internal report to ACE, May 2017.

Phase 1 sample

Figure 1 Map of 19 NPOs initially approached to participate

Some organisations took part in only one or two interviews and did not have the resource to facilitate further interviews or the focus groups. Another organisation was not able to participate in Phase 1 but participated in Phase 2. Other organisations found out about the work from ACE blogposts or discussions in the sector and requested involvement at a later stage.

From an initial sample of 19 organisations, a final sample of 15 organisations was decided. In most cases, all contacted were keen to be involved.

Whilst recognising that it is not possible to claim that this is representative of the sector (or England) as a whole, a 'good spread' as achieved. The diversity of organisational funding bands, discipline areas and funding areas are outlined in Table 2. All ACE funding areas are represented in the sample and funding bands[83] are fairly well distributed. Dance was not represented in Phase 1 but was in Phase 2.

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[83] The National Portfolio is organised into three bands with a separate category for Sector Support Organisations. Band 1 represents organisations receiving up to £249,999 per year; Band 2 NPOs receive up to £999,999; and Band 3 NPOs receive a minimum of £1m per year. Sector Support Organisations (SSOs) are in the portfolio because of the sector-specific work they do but must also contribute one or more of ACE's goals. For more information see: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/download-file/NPO_2018-22_Relationship_Framework.pdf

Funding Band	ACE Region	Discipline	Phase 1	Phase 2
2	North West	Combined arts	y	Y
1	South East	Combined arts	y	N
2	South West	Combined arts	Y	N
1	South West	Libraries	y	N
2	North East	Literature	Y	Y
3	East	Museums	y	Y
3	West Midlands	Music	y	N
1	North East	Music	y	Y
SSO	London	Not discipline specific	Y	Y
3	West Midlands	Theatre	y	Y
3	London	Theatre	Y	Y
1	Yorkshire	Theatre	y	Y
1	London	Visual arts	y	y
2	South West	Visual arts	Y	Y
2	London	Dance	Unable	Y
3	South East	Dance	Unable	Y
1	North West	Literature	Unable	No submission
1	North West	Combined arts	Unable	Y
3	London	Theatre	N	Y
2	North West	Combined arts	N	y

Table 1 The participating NPOs across Phase 1 & 2, to show spread of location, funding band, discipline with amount of interviews & focus groups

Phase 2 methodology

ACE internal pilot

The second phase was an online survey of questions piloted inside ACE in September 2018. The whole workforce was invited to participate, potentially offering insight into how employees from different departments, areas and pay grades were engaging with issues relating to data and diversity. In addition to the questions themselves, an email was sent from the DART team introducing the survey, with additional text from the researcher contextualising the importance of the pilot and its individual questions.

Communications around the pilot were designed to encourage staff engagement with the questions and to share their reflections on the process of answering them. There were 112 responses in total and only six were not fully completed. Seventy-three respondents responded to the free-text field.

ACE staff questionnaire

There were small differences in the questionnaire that was piloted on ACE staff and trialled by NPOs. It mirrored the questions used in the 2017 Social Mobility Survey pilot inside ACE, which in turn, was informed by the 12 questions used by the Civil Service in their pilot survey of 4,000 senior civil servants.[84] As the Cabinet Office recommendations were issued in May 2018[85], these also informed Phase 2.

This survey was divided into sections:

- Current role: Area of work; employment status; *grade (on ACE internal staff only)
- Familiar demographic questions: Age, ethnicity, gender identity; sexual orientation; disability
- Social mobility questions: type of secondary school attended by the respondent; occupation of an individual's parent/guardian/carer; highest qualification of their parent/ guardian/ carer; home ownership
- Free text comments: here respondents were encouraged to comment on the survey and their feelings on the political project to understand social inequalities

The sample is not detailed here, owing to issues relating to disclosure.

NPO pilot

Mimicking "the portal"

Replicating the process and feel of the existing portal on which NPOs return each Annual Survey, aggregated data were returned between Monday 10 and Friday 28 September 2018. In addition to the fields for data aggregated from individual staff responses, there were a number of free text fields asking for more detail on sampling, disseminating the questionnaire, collecting and returning the data, as well as the process overall and how broader issues of measuring class had impacted on them and the organisations.

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[84] Cabinet Office (2016) 'Civil Service pilots new social mobility measures', 17 August 2016. Available at: www.gov.uk/government/news/civilservice-pilots-new-social-mobility-measures.
[85] Cabinet Office (2018) Annex A - Evaluation of measures of socio-economic background. Available at:
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/713739/Annex_A-_Evaluation_of_measures_of_Socio-economic_background.pdf

Communications

The link to the survey portal was shared via an email from ACE thanking the NPOs for participating and explaining more about the process involved and why their participation was so valuable.

There were also communications directly between Dr Susan Oman and NPOs. This aimed to maintain the relationship that Dr Oman had nurtured throughout the research, easing the process of asking staff to answer questions. Additionally, contextual information was provided as guidance that could be adapted to suit the working culture of each NPO and which could be shared with staff as a message from the researcher. NPOs were encouraged to use this as they saw fit to encourage participation, and to explain about why the NPO had chosen to take part and what staff participation would contribute. Also shared were embedded links to blogposts written by Dr Dave O'Brien[86], Dr Susan Oman[87], Cat Hammersley[88] (ACE) and Abid Hussain[89] (ACE), which foregrounded different reasons why the project was important.

Questions

To replicate the experience of the Annual Survey, ACE's DART team disseminated an off-line template to be shared with staff in the NPOs. This featured the familiar quality monitoring questions, together with the piloted social mobility questions. It was left up to each NPO how they disseminated the questions and the template was formatted to be printable, if organisations or their staff wished to complete the survey offline. The social mobility questions were informed by the Cabinet Office recommendations issued in May 2018. Following findings in Phase 1 fieldwork, amendments to the recommended questions was trialled to investigate how adapting aspects of language or sub-categories may improve reception in the cultural sector. There were also small differences in the questionnaire that was piloted on ACE staff and that trialled on NPOs, divided into the same four sections outlined above.

Interviews with NPOs

In addition to the feedback that organisations presented to ACE through the portal with the aggregated data, interviews were also conducted with key staff members who had been responsible for the pilot within their NPO. 12 NPO representatives were able to take part in an interview, either by telephone or in person.

Interviews enabled a number of things:
- A more detailed account of organisational perspectives. The more conversational nature of collecting feedback data encouraged reflection on aspects of the process in a way that completing online questions may not.
- The opportunity for questions to be asked that probed certain issues more deeply than the survey.
- Accounts of participation that were completely anonymous from ACE.

[86] O'Brien, D. (2018) Tackling class discrimination Arts Professional. Available at: https://www.artsprofessional.co.uk/magazine/article/tackling-class-discrimination

[87] Oman, S. (2018b) The Inequality Challenge in the Arts, Arts Council England, 10 September 2018. Available at: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/blog/inequality-challenge-arts

[88] Hammersley, C. (2018) Diverse Figures, Arts Council England, 21 May 2018. Available at: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/blog/diverse-figures

[89] Hussain, A. (2018) Breaking barriers: on class and social mobility in arts and culture, Arts Council England, 19 April 2018. Available at: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/blog/breaking-barriers-class-and-social-mobility-arts-and-culture

Phase 2 sampling

NPO surveys

Each NPO approached sampling their staff differently. Some organisations chose not to or were not able to send any reminders. One NPO launched the survey alongside other relevant activities in the organisation, for example, a week raising awareness of diversity issues, including bias training and other workshops. Another NPO involved the diversity advocacy group and one of the directors, and spent time with different parts of the organisation trying to increase participation, with articles in newsletters, etc.

Following Phase 1, four of the original organisations chose to not move into Phase 2. Two of those who had not been able to participate in Phase 1 were able to take part in Phase 2 and two new organisations also took part. One of the 16 NPOs did not make a submission to the portal in the given timeframe, and thus Phase 2 also had 15 NPOs submit to the portal, four of which were different from Phase 1.

Sampling within NPOs

Ten out of the 16 participating NPOs invited all their staff to participate. Five picked a sample of office or full-time staff only. One organisation asked full-time, permanent staff only, one organisation did not invite staff directly involved with a production that coincided and another organisation only trialled it on part of their workforce they were communicating with regarding the delivery of a specific project.

Comment on the sample

Whilst a sample of 15 NPOs is not representative of the sector, Table 2 (above) shows the continuation of participating organisations from Phase 1 to 2. The diversity of organisational funding bands, discipline areas and funding areas are also described. Dance is represented by the sample in Phase 2, addressing a lack of representation in Phase 1.

The continuation of some organisations, along with the introduction of new organisations, was designed to offer insights regarding whether different types of organisations acclimatise to questions or concepts. For those that joined in Phase 2, the issues were often new.

Comment on phase 2 questionnaire responses

Free text fields in the survey were hand-coded as the descriptions in these fields enables deeper understanding of perceived issues. Aggregating the thematic analysis of free text responses enabled insight into the number of people with positive or negative attitudes towards a particular question or their experience of a particular issue.

NPOs used a variety of ways to share the survey; most emailed the spreadsheet (five), used Survey Monkey (or similar) (four) or a paper version of the survey (three). Three NPOs used a combination of the above. No NPOs returned the full free text responses to ACE, and not all NPOs returned the free text responses to Dr Oman. Furthermore, these data arrived in different formats. In some cases, there is free text from an organisation, but they did not complete the return to ACE in such way that it is possible to see what percentage of respondents used free text. Other organisations presented staff with a free text field to comment on each question while the majority followed the example offered by the ACE team and disseminated a version of the questionnaire with only one open field at the end. Given the incompatibility of these data, the numeration of the coded free text fields is not presented in tabulated form in this paper but referred to in text as an indication for future research.

Findings

Summary of responses to social mobility question areas

This section presents an overview of the responses to the four question areas that are recommended to be measured by the Civil Service (2018): parental qualifications, parental occupation, type of school attended and eligibility for free school meals.[90] Three additional areas are reported on, namely, current role and job characteristics, class self-identification and demographics and protected characteristics.

It also presents recommendations for how ACE might progress the measurement of social mobility through this question type.

School attended

Phase 1
- A number of respondents struggled to provide an answer to the type of school attended between the ages 11 to 16. Twenty-one respondents (out of 126 in total) circled more than one of the options or wrote a qualifying statement that demonstrated that the question was not possible to answer through tick box alone. However, zero ticked 'Prefer not to say'; two ticked 'Don't know' and no-one ticked that they attended a school not represented by the form.
- Nine respondents were able to clearly articulate (without a qualifying statement) that they attended a selective state school, however focus group discussions revealed that many found this question confusing. Sixty-three people, so exactly 50% of the sample, were able to state that they attended a UK non-selective state school. Nine people ticked independent fee-paying with a bursary and eight without.
- In the free text version of this question, a number of people queried the public / private definition, and also took the opportunity to state whether they attended grammar or comprehensive schools.
- Ten people had attended school outside the UK. Going forward it may be useful to ask these respondents a follow up question about the type of school they attended, although unifying this in a meaningful way is problematic.

Phase 2

Issues with the question on schooling emerge disproportionately from one NPO in particular, with all but two of these responses. Objections to the question all related to the format, its wording and concerns regarding the lack of suitability for organisations that rely on an international workforce. This is most probably the reason for such a large response from one organisation with a proportionally large international workforce.

Recommendation

Were this question to be used, clear communications are required on school definitions, and there should be consideration as to how an international audience might respond.

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[90] Civil Service (2018) Measuring Socio-economic Background in your Workforce: recommended measures for use by employers. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/768371/Measuring_Socio-economic_Background_in_your_Workforce___recommended_measures_for_use_by_employers.pdf, pg 7

Parental education

The question about parental qualifications received a relatively positive response rate across the qualitative work (Phase 1) and the pilot questionnaire (Phase 2). This is most probably as it is a question that is familiar to people across social, cultural or geographical origins. Furthermore, the idea of being 'the first generation to attend university' is something that has meaning to people and helps contextualise the less common questions.

Phase 1
- Not many respondents struggled to provide an answer to their parents' level of education using either the tick box on Questionnaire 1, or the two free text fields on Questionnaire 2. Some annotated the tick box Questionnaire with queries such as: "NVQ level 3?" or "how do you define a PGCE?".
- In focus group discussions, people were keen to qualify their parents' education:
  - *"the question about your parents having completed their degree, I had to say yes, but my mum did an Open University degree whilst we were growing up while she worked, so I think that's quite different to being able to go to the university when you're 18 and afford that"*

Phase 2
- The question asking about how your parents or carers were educated received the lowest negative response on principle. However, people did raise concerns about the subcategories available and difficulties they had completing qualifications or where their parents 'fit'.

Recommendation

Were this question to be used, it should be accompanied by clear communications on how to answer and collect data on outliers to the categories, such as PGCEs, etc.

Free school meals

The Cabinet Office recommendation to collect data on Free School Meals is made on the proviso that it would work in the organisation concerned.

Phase 1

While this question was familiar to most people born in the UK, not everyone was able to answer it, or they proposed problems with it as an indicator:
- *I grew up one of 2 children in a single parent family - with no paternal financial support. I think we would have been eligible but my mum refused to find out - pride I guess? Social stigma?*
- *Pre-1980 I think all junior school kids got free meals + free milk? If so - yes!*

There were a number who wrote n/a. Discussion surrounding this question in the focus group suggests n/a indicates that respondents didn't feel that the question applied to them. One international participant suggested that this question made it feel as if the survey was only for people from the UK.

Recommendation

Assessment of ACE data on its staff and the sample of NPOs surveyed suggested it would not be a useful metric. Over a third of workers sampled were born before 1980 (when free school meals become national provision) or were educated privately or overseas. As a result, this question was not trialled in Phase 2.

Parental occupation, or that of the main wage earner at home when 14

This question was the most unfamiliar and problematic for the research participants.

Phase 1

Focus groups with a younger demographic discussed how they did not in fact know what their parents did for a job. This might be down to two things. Firstly, they may be embarrassed of their parents' jobs because they seem too working class or too elite to the peer group in the discussion. There is sociological research which would support this hypothesis. Furthermore, the changing nature of industry and the growth of the 'knowledge economy' has seen an increase on what has been called 'immaterial labour', in that it is not easily recognizable as work in a traditional sense. This also calls into question the contemporaneity of how labour is classified (as reinforced by experiences of trying to code jobs in the arts).

However, despite the fact that a number of people claimed to not know what their parents did in open discussion, there were not as many missing data from either the free text version of this question or the tick box version, as might be expected. The apparent discrepancy between what was discussed and what was completed in the form may be down to interviewer or group effects. For example, people may have guessed on the form, but when a peer admitted they did not know, this was then confessed by others in the group.

There was much discussion on the practical and ethical implications of asking this question, however. For a number of people, they had lost a parent at around the age of 14, and the focus group discussion sometimes led to them being visibly upset. One person had lived in care at 14 and another had cared for her dying parents at 14. Others described how divorce complicated their responses. For example, one person explained that her dad gave them expensive holidays, but the fact that she lived with her single mother meant that she felt unfairly qualified for free school meals. Another participant who lived with their middle-class step-father felt betrayal to their working-class father when listing the step father's occupation as main earner.

This question also led to many empathetic discussions of how people they knew may not be able to complete these questions. On a number of occasions, people referred to abusive childhoods and the dredging up of painful memories.

Phase 2

Overall, when piloted, there were fewer negative responses to the question that asked about parental and/or carer occupational status. Proportionally fewer people rejected the proposition of this question or raised concerns regarding its use altogether. Instead, responses were often concerned with the wording and the format of the question itself. There were far fewer emotional responses in the survey than in focus groups. This could be as a result of acclimatisation or the effect of the mode of data collection (people may be more likely to discuss feelings in a group discussion, for example).

However, in both the pilot questionnaires within ACE and across the NPOs, this was the second question that people responded to the most using free text.

Recommendations

- The most robust way to understand social origins is to collect data on the parental occupations of the workforce, following Cabinet Office guidance and that of leading sociological work.
- The question should be adopted to meet Cabinet Office recommendations, which will bring sector practices in-line with other parts of the CCI sectors, such as broadcast, for example.
- Care is required in the presentation of this question and communications surrounding its introduction.

Job characteristics and current role

Phase 1

Questionnaire 1 (see Appendix A) asked, 'which of the following describes your main job? Please select all options which apply to your role/s.' The most of the options available that were chosen was eight across all the 18 possible job characteristics, with some discussants exclaiming that they were still unable to represent themselves in the form, saying 'I just see can't myself in it'. This was also the question with the greatest extraneous free text information, as people could not see the value of ticking this box without explaining more of themselves. As a result, these data proved extremely difficult to code.

Questionnaire 2 (see Appendix B) asked for 'Current Role / job title(s)'. The free text offered them the chance to describe their jobs in their own words. Often this description differed from official lists which came from HR. This is a crucial point when considering. Less than 30% (36/126) responses to the question using free text could be confidently coded using The Office for National Statistics' (ONS) National Statistics Socio-economic (NS-SEC) coding tool to arrive at a standard occupational classification (SOC) code.[91] This is not a feasible approach to coding current socio-economic status.

Phase 2

The question that received the most attention that was not a question pertaining to a person's social origins was that asking about a person's current job. The categorisations were unsatisfactory for a significant number of respondents and this also came through as a major issue in the feedback from NPOs – both by way of the survey portal and in interviews. There are discrepancies in the way that individual HR departments categorise jobs. For respondents, though, the largest problem was in the discrepancy between how they identify as professionals and how they are categorised. 'Other' was an extremely problematic category and was mentioned more in connection to job type than what might be considered more sensitive, pertaining to sexuality or ethnicity, for example.

Recommendation

To understand social destination, the sector must invest time and resource into classifying jobs, taking into account ACE's previous work with the sector, for example, with stakeholders like NESTA and the Work Foundation. The CCIs must work together to categorise creative occupations, as this work is crucial to the sector in broader ways than just measuring social mobility.

Class self-identification

Phase 1
- Self-identification of current class status, and class whilst growing up were the second most discussed issue in the focus groups, with most of the groups not feeling that they could answer this question confidently.
- Many group discussions felt that class was inappropriate and outmoded.
- By-and-large, people were receptive to the idea of measuring socio-economic origins to reduce inequality, they just did not feel that they could categorise themselves.
- Many asked for definitions of what is meant by each class category.

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[91] The NS-SEC coding tool asks a series of up to 3 questions to code NS-SEC for a given SOC 2010 code. See ONS (2010) and Appendix E for more details

Phase 2
- The survey was split almost 50-50 between those who felt measuring class in this was vital, and those who felt it was regressive.
- Many asked for definitions of what is meant by each class category.

Recommendation

Were the sector to use this measure, it would have to offer clear definitions on class categories. Notably, Cabinet Office have not done this and there is a danger that these categories would receive much anxiety and negative attention, deflecting from the value of the project to address inequality.

Additional questions relevant to the cultural sector
Cabinet Office welcome other measures in addition to the ones they are recommending. The most prominent suggestions emerging from this research were:
- Geographic origins.
- Exposure to cultural participation and practices when growing up, from parents and from schooling.
- Housing situation while growing up and now.
- More detail on extended family to understand social mobility of individuals and influences on cultural capital.

These questions would provide interesting data that could help paint a useful and fuller picture of who gets to work in the arts and progress through it. Findings from the qualitative research indicate that people felt more listened to as individuals when more detail was requested. This is likely to be because the questions accommodate description of the individual life-course more than some of the others. That said, some respondents felt that these questions increased feelings of being judged (the questions on housing situation and cultural participation, particularly).

Recommendation

It is unlikely that these data would be requested from ACE by government departments. ACE only requests data it will use. However, these data do provide interesting and useful information on social mobility and inequality that will improve understanding of the other measures.

General note on demographics and protected characteristics

It is unsurprising that individuals also took issue with the way they were asked for personal data on their protected characteristics. What is more surprising is how different this was across organisations. One of the datasets of free text responses that were returned in Phase 2 had the most respondents take issue with the way the question on disability was asked: two and a half times as many people took issue with the question on disability than the question on sexuality, for example, four times more than ethnicity. On the other hand, staff from another organisation were six times as likely to take an issue with the sexuality question than the disability question.

These results indicate that working cultures affect how people respond to these questions and the issues they relate to in their own right. There are insights to be gained on whether communications can improve this.

Recommendation

Organisations across the sector need to address the anxieties and concerns within their own organisations. There appears to be a strong correlation between specific working cultures and concerns regarding particular personal data.

When to introduce new equality monitoring questions

Social origins questions should be introduced to the Annual Survey for the 2020 – 2021 collection, when other questions will possibly change in line with ONS practices. This will enable NPOs to re-survey all staff together for baseline data. This falls in line with ACE policies on the notice required to introduce new questions to the Annual Survey and it gives time to inform the sector of their intentions and to support better data collection.

Experiences of responding to the questionnaires

During Phase 1 of the research, participants were asked to complete two questionnaires in their focus groups. After completion groups discussed their experiences of the questionnaires. Their responses included issues about length, preference towards a particular questionnaire, format and things that had been difficult to understand or answer.

One of the key findings was that all groups had an issue with an aspect of the question on parental occupation, largely because it was alien to them and they did not understand the rationale for the question. The second most problematic questions were those that asked people to identify their own class. However, across the groups were different difficulties or discomfort in answering a selection of questions from across the two questionnaires. This section explores some of the key themes, sharing some of the comments from the groups.

Relevance of the survey to the lives of those in the sector

In spite of the large number of questions, a number of groups discussed how an understanding of how they had had access to the arts and other opportunities throughout their life required more questions than had been presented across the two questionnaires. This is counterintuitive to the assumption that adding a few questions to more familiar questions on characteristics would feel bothersome.

Respondents felt that the survey was not always considered relevant to their background and that life is not necessarily reflected in the form. They reported lacking confidence in knowing or giving the answer. In a similar vein, it was felt that the form is too generic.

Perceived issue	Illustrative comment
Relevance	*No, I feel like it [the survey] hasn't really like got me in it, if that makes sense? (British citizen, of mixed heritage, currently freelancing in five jobs)*
Confidence in answers	*Q: And are there any [questions] that made you feel uncomfortable at all?* *A: No. It's just not knowing [the answer].*
Life does not necessarily reflect the form	*I couldn't really express that [parental job and the role of my father] in the form, it was too rigid for that.*
The form is too generic	*I think that can be difficult, yeah, 'cause it can feel slightly generic in the way you're answering it in a way because you--, so, for me, there's questions about like, my father and--, that was difficult to answer 'cause he wasn't involved in my upbringing at all.*
Not knowing parents' jobs	*I have no idea what my mum did when I was 14, I can't remember 'cause I know she doesn't do the same job now, but I think it was kind of similar to the other job, but I absolutely can't remember.* *I said the same, I also said that--,* *Yeah, and my dad actually, I can't remember [laughs].*

Discomfort in completing the questionnaires or questions

The following issues were identified in the questionnaire responses:
- Fear of judgement
- Feelings of surveillance and suspicion, concern about data security
- Being a minority makes you identifiable
- Feeling like the form is trying to seek out information on you
- Emotional responses, such as:
  - Empathy, concern for upsetting others
  - Upset at having to ask questions about parents
  - Shame and stigma of where you grew up

Perceived issue	Illustrative comment
Fear of judgement	*I kept wondering, 'what you are really asking of me?*
Feelings of surveillance and suspicion	*I think to be fair, I mean coming from this from a personal perspective, things like this, it does make you feel quite suspicious or quite uncomfortable.*
Data security	*if I wasn't confident about how good the security was around dealing with and processing this information, I would feel uncomfortable actually, especially the estimated earnings, the gender identity and sexual orientation, those are the things that are sort of very personal to people.*
Being a minority makes you identifiable	*cause when you talk about being identifiable now, it's for me personally if I filled in an anonymous questionnaire and put myself down as black British, then you've failed, you can tell it's me [all laugh].*
Feeling like the form is trying to seek out information on you	*I find these kinds of forms uncomfortable. Less to do with me but more to do with I know that they're seeking out information about people that aren't really in an arts context, that they kind of want to know--, like that whole diversity question, I know that, you know, I'm pretty much representing that person that we know is working in this sort of institution or visiting that gallery or--, and then so some of those questions feel really uncomfortable, no matter what that says.*
Different feelings about disclosing disabilities	*I mean I'm visually impaired which is my--, it depends on… some mental health people might not want people to know about it 'cause it affects them in ways which people could be perceived as negative... but it doesn't bother me in the slightest being asked. But I know a lot of people [that are] the exact opposite, [they] would try to hide it in every sense [they] could and didn't like people knowing it at all*
Empathy, concern for upsetting others	*I think because a lot of the questions, if you were someone that had a particular struggle around those things, they could be quite upsetting to answer.*
Empathy, concern for upsetting others	*Cause you'd be like, oh yeah, like this is just remembering all these gross things that have happened to me, like--, or like--, not me personally, but I'm just thinking this, you know, like some of these things might be quite upsetting for people that are still dealing with trauma or dealing with specific identity issues*
Upset at having to ask questions about parents	*I found it really upsetting answering these questions.* *Thank you for saying that, but like it's really important that you, that you explained that. Were they all upsetting? Would you be happy to tell me which particular ones? This one [points to parental occupation in front of the group]..'Cause this one's about me. But I think this one is, like, less about me.*
Shame and stigma of where you grew up	*And then writing that I live in social housing was a bit odd for me, it felt really uncomfortable. I think there's a sensor for me that feels a little--, I've felt shame a lot of my life and it's not like a conscious thing, but there's a little bit of shame that I live in social housing*

Understandings of social mobility

When questioned about understandings of social mobility, it was clear that some of the respondents didn't understand the term, hadn't heard it before and were suspicious of it.

Perceived issue	Illustrative comment
Don't understand the term	*I think I'd have to take a guess and I'm not necessarily--, I'm not sure that I'd guess right, so I'm not going to--*
Haven't heard the term before	*Q: So, what we're going to talk about now is this thing called social mobility. Does that sound familiar? like does anyone know what that is?* *A1: No.* *A2: I'm about to read what this says.* *Q: [Laughs] That's cheating.* *A3: No, I don't know.* *Q: Is it a phrase that you've kind of heard on the news and stuff?* *A1: No.* *A3: Is it--, it's different from mass migration?*
Suspicion of the term social mobility	*I think that the words social mobility have been created to cover talk about class.*

Understandings and discussions of class

There was a division in the focus groups regarding perceptions of class as an everyday issue. Some stumbled for a word, when going to use class, fearful that it might cause offence. A number of groups discussed how they felt we should not be talking about class any longer. It was described as an out of date way of describing the world; younger participants especially felt that people had stopped discussing class. Most striking was some felt it was morally wrong to talk about class.

Conversely, people who had lived overseas, or were of an older generation, felt class is talked about all the time. They were much more comfortable using the term to describe themselves and describe society more generally.

The following issues were identified:
- Conversation often moved between issues of measuring class inequalities, whether you care about class and knowing your class
- Not understanding class categories and the boundaries between them
- Class is outdated, or people disagreeing with the idea we no longer talk about class
- Negative experiences of talking about class
- Apologising for using the word class, in case it caused offence

Perceived issue	Illustrative comment
Conversation often moved between issues of measuring class inequalities, whether you care about class and knowing your class	*A1: I'm not uncomfortable, I just don't really see the need, or I don't really care. I'm definitely not upper class, obvs [all laugh]. I think, if I had to say because of what class goes on, I think I'm classed as middle. But I think my parents were working, I couldn't be bothered if anybody calls me working class but I don't think I am because of the way it's described. So, I put working* *A2: I'm never sure what class I am.* *A3: I don't know what the difference is.* *A1: Well I think it's like white collar, blue collar jobs and all that malarkey. So, there's certain jobs that are classed as more a working-class job and other jobs classed as a middle-class job. So, working class, things like builders and manual and labour, but middle class is more like office is what I thought.* *A3: I think it's the lifestyle you lead rather than the job you do.* *A2: I think it's a combination.* *A1: I just don't care what someone's class is*
Not understanding class categories and the boundaries between them	*So, I just think there definitely is differences between the lower class and the middle class at the minute. I think it's quite upsetting to say as well it depends on financial, doesn't it? but what's a certain amount of money that you earn that turns you from a lower-class person to a middle-class person? What's the boundary of it?*
Class is outdated	*the Victorian class system isn't the most useful way to determine people's whatever you want to call it, it's not even that any more is it?*
People disagreeing with the idea we no longer talk about class	*"I think since I've moved to this country there hasn't been a day that the word class has not fallen in a conversation, whoever I'm with."* *"Yeah, you're obsessed with talking about class."* *"Yeah, so even the notion that you don't talk about it is demonstrably nonsense… I feel like it's constantly used. I mean where are those people who don't use it? Even in a jokey way. "Oh, that's so middle class with your hummus"*
Experiences of talking about class as a negative thing	*I think that like probably the only times it's been talked about in my life is the sort of classic--, that there's a lot of negative connotations with every--, lower class. And so, I think that's why the conversations around class can never be, you know, like sort of positive ones, because it's always around connotations which are to do with like working class and middle class and like. So, I've never really understood where I sit, and never really wanted to because none of them seemed very appealing [laughs]. I don't know.*
Apologising for using the word class, in case it caused offence	*I'm sure there are an awful lot of working class people who do love to do this thing and all the rest, and sorry about using the term working class as well, but I just mean maybe in these--, in terms of encouraging true social mobility--,*

Phase 1 interviews

Why measure class?

Interviewees wanted to know why they should measure class and what it will change. They were also interested in how these data and all data could work better for them and the organisations they work for.

- Organisations want better data
- They want more of a say in how things are done and how and what data is collected
- They want to learn and share information about who is talking about class in the sector. How can that be facilitated or improved?
- They want to use data collection to understand the work they do

Perceived issue	Illustrative comment
Why measure class?	*the monitoring class thing is a little bit... meaningless, I guess, unless there is a response to it and that is about sector, about change, isn't it?*
Tell us why we should measure class	*I don't know what I'm trying to say here... Maybe just, don't try and--, it's almost that they're trying to get the stuff done before really kind of communicating why.*
Does the sector understand class?	*Fascinating to hear what the sector has to say about class. The sector doesn't understand class*
Who is talking about class in the sector? How can that be improved?	*So, we are also missing out on good stories of social mobility, and I know I'm not alone 'cause we don't ask those questions and we should. And there are those of us not in as precarious a position as a lot of our artists and freelance staff, who'd be perfectly happy to talk about it.*
Using data to create meaningful targets	*And it's very difficult to set a target because--, I personally constantly feel--, questioning my own bias in proposing it.*
Wanting more of a say in how things are done, and doing them right	*what's coming to the fore is my concern of a whomping great incorrect approach...*
Data collection to understand the work you do	*It is kind of not really acknowledged as like a good thing but if we're trying to tackle specific groups and why they're not progressing in certain ways, you need certain types of data. How you ask for that and what you're asking is another question.*

The experience of collecting asking these questions

NPOs feel uncomfortable asking these questions, are thinking about how to communicate to staff why these data are important and didn't ask or measure some questions for practical reasons or because they didn't feel it was right.

Perceived issue	Illustrative comment
Feeling uncomfortable asking these questions	*so, some of these questions, if I had to ask the [local community I work with] some of these questions, I would feel hugely uncomfortable. I don't mind being asked them*
Thinking about how to communicate to staff why these data are important	*Our workforce are really keen to understand why we want the data, how we're going to use it, what does it mean for them, what business is it of ours in actual fact as to whether they are heterosexual, bisexual, they don't wish to identify with any particular gender, you know, what's it got to do with us? And it's a really good question, and you go, hmm, well what it's got to us is that we--, to do with us is that we want to be a progressive organisation… And I guess I don't know the answer though to the question but why do you need to know about my parents' background, that that's a really difficult one, and so I'm very interested to hear what the Arts Council have got to say about that.*
Questions not being asked	*Ethnicity I think could be a challenging one potentially. At the moment we don't ask people for their ethnicity, so and yet I have targets around engaging with--, so how do you measure that? Do you just stand in the theatre and make a sort of guess, you know.*
Wanting to know about inequality but not wanting to ask the question	*And sexuality is the one that makes us all, you know, start running round in circles going, "if you ask that, I don't know what we're going to do!" and yet we would love to know... but we don't have the measure and it feels like an intrusive question. We're a bit stuck.*

The nature of diversity work

There is a spectrum of excellent practice in relation to data and diversity. In the case of one organisation, this has manifested in the clear commitment and strategizing of resource and labour, resulting in clear investment in better data to help the organisation improve the diversity of its work. A commitment to both data and diversity should reinforce each other across the sector, informing 'best practice' that is specific to each organisation rather than an ideal of best practice for the whole sector.

In organisations with mature and informed diversity work and practices, there was the opportunity for interesting discussions on ways forward, for example, what works and where things go wrong. What emerged was the clear message that good work in terms of inclusion needs to be resourced and strategized and that it is about relationships and allowing these to develop over time.

The following challenges were identified:
- The naming and framing of diversity and inclusion
- Finding your networks and peers as a diversity practitioner
- Diversity work is not always valued
- When organisations do see the value of diversity work, they want to exploit it
- Finding the right benchmark for your organisation
- Understanding good inclusion work in the context of the local community
- Time is a valuable resource to build an approach to inclusive employment

Perceived issue	Illustrative comment
The naming and framing of diversity and inclusion	*I've recently dropped the title diversity because I think it's a little bit unhelpful to the cohort that we work with. A lot of our funders or some of our funders I should say refer to this group as disadvantaged or deprived, which are both words that I don't really like working with.*
Finding your networks and peers as a diversity practitioner	*And I find, you know, the point is I do not have a compatriot that I know of that's working specifically with an inclusion remit for an arts organisation in [X location] that is of colour... So that's sometimes very, very lonely and those conversations, finding people to have those conversations with on a level can be quite difficult. And I often have to look to other industries and/or other networks to find my peers.*
Valuing diversity work	*The important part is that [my organisation] pays me to do it [diversity work]… there were so many people who want to have these conversations with me for free. Like they just don't get it.*
Finding the right benchmark for your organisation	*finding out, you know, what is diversity for your location. Because if I define it by London standards of diversity I'm going to fail, if I define it by Wales standards of diversity I'm also going to fail.*
Understanding the best way of serving the community through inclusion strategies	*One of the challenges in learning and engagement is [this location] is 98 per cent white British [place]. We do a lot of work with young people with disabilities, we do a lot of work with young people living in socio-economic deprivation, but there aren't large areas of the community that are black or Asian or other minority ethnic groups and I think if we had a strategic commitment to [this location] it would feel like we were doing it to tick a box if we went out into other communities purely to set up a project for that purpose, so we try to stay true to what it is that we're doing and make sure that everything is completely accessible and that we have genuinely good long term community links. There are other diverse communities here*

Data anxieties

The research highlighted how differentiated data expertise is in the cultural sector. There were a number of key findings:
- There is a lack of confidence in data practices across many organisations, whilst other NPOs have a number of data experts
- Different funders require different data
- Organisations want more control of and knowledge about what happens to their data once they have reported them

Perceived issue	Illustrative comment
Confidence and expertise in data practices	*I think there's also a lack of confidence across the sector in terms of feeling like they're doing the correct thing, especially around evaluations but also around monitoring. So, it's kind of understanding the best way to collect data, the best way to store data and I imagine that that's not just about audience and audience development but also within kind of internal practices as well.*
How it feels to return data returns to funders	*It feels like carrying a Bag of rocks* *Pain and heartache of collecting data [for multiple organisations]*

Phase 2 interviews

The key finding from Phase 2 interviews was that Phase 1 had in some cases impacted on organisational culture in ways that may have improved the response to the questions in survey format:

- Participating in research on social mobility and social origins changed the organisation
- Those interviewed explained how participating in the research had impacted in some way or another. Some organisations felt that although they had been working well on diversity issues and 'having conversations anyway', the research 'may have changed the primary focus from people of colour to class... Social background [wasn't] something [they] had much conversation before so it has made that more part of whole conversation'

Others talked of their surprise at 'the negative energy it created' from others in their organisation:

- *All those people are highly engaged and care very much about issues of diversity, inclusion, equality, etc and they didn't reply and I found that interesting. I thought it might be the questions, but it wasn't that, it was that this is confusing and made me have 'big feels'*

The NPO cited above has subsequently spent a lot of time thinking about what measuring social origins means for the organisation, including how its workforce feel in the way that they are asked to reflect on their social position differently. It has thought about how it might interact with the working-class communities that it works with and how it might sensitively record these issues.

Learning about how to collect data

One organisation found the exercise useful in understanding how its workforce feel about particular questions pertaining to protected characteristics. A number of people who had recently taken new posts with responsibility for Annual Survey returns have had the opportunity to think differently about how to improve the data they collect and the way they work with staff to collect data. Some of the data practitioners in larger organisations were able to recognise that not only were ACE categories different from their workforce classifications, but that their own HR departments were categorising differently, again.

Response to the survey

Some organisations had a high response rate to the survey – in some cases over 80%, which was reportedly far higher than typical staff surveys. Others, despite increased effort and communications disseminating the survey, found a lower return than normal. There was no particular insight into why, apart from the short window that the survey was open.

The survey could not collect responses from all staff types which affects the outcomes

Staff who objected to being classified in the first place were less likely to complete the forms, no matter how successful communications and recruitment were in the organisations. Associate artists across disciplines were less likely to complete the survey, whether they were staff or on short-term contracts. There was also a very low return from volunteers. Particular facets of the organisation would have a negative response to being classified in different ways. One example given was 'actors in terms of ethnicity because they don't want to be typecast'. The same was true of dancers and age, and craftsmen and disability. To this end, one interviewee questioned if those who feel that class is outmoded, or feel insecure classifying themselves in this way, even completed the questionnaire.

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APPENDIX A: Questionnaire 1

SECTION A – JOB CHARACTERISTICS

Question 1

Which of the following describes your main job?
Please select all options which apply to your role/s.

1. Performer / artist
2. Production / exhibition management
3. Learning, engagement, outreach
4. Finance
5. HR
6. Governance and Planning
7. Development
8. Communications and marketing
9. Customer Services
10. Facilities, security and front of house
11. Executive and corporate
12. Other: please add
13. Routine manual and service occupation, such as cleaner
14. Semi- routine and service operations, such as security guard
15. Technical and craft occupations
16. Clerical and intermediate occupation, such as secretary, call centre worker
17. Modern professional occupations, such as artist
18. Traditional professional occupation, such as accountant
19. Senior managers, usually responsible for planning and organising on a strategic level
20. Other: please add

SECTION B – SOCIAL MOBILITY QUESTIONS

Question 2

What type of school did you mainly attend between the ages of 11 and 16?
1. A state-run or state-funded school – Selective on academic, religious or other grounds
2. A state-run or state-funded school – Non-selective
3. Independent or fee-paying school – Bursary
4. Independent or fee-paying school – No bursary
5. Attended school outside the UK
6. Prefer not to say
7. *Don't know*
8. Other type of school (please specify)

Question 3

Had any of your parent(s) or guardian(s) completed a university degree course or equivalent (e.g. BA, BSc or higher) by the time you were 18?
1. Yes – both
2. Yes – one
3. No
4. *Prefer not to say*
5. *Don't know*

Question 4

If you finished school after 1980, were you eligible for Free School Meals at any point during your school years?

Free School Meals are a statutory benefit available to school-aged children from families who receive other qualifying benefits and who have been through the relevant registration process. It does not include those who receive meals at school through other means (e.g. boarding school).

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not applicable
4. *Prefer not to say*
5. *Don't know*

Question 5

Thinking about to when you were 14 years old, were you
1. Living with one or both parents present (including adoptive parents)
2. Living with other family members (grandparents, aunts, siblings etc)
3. Not living with your family? (foster care, looked after by friends, children's home etc.)

b) Who was the main wage earner in your house at that time?
1. Mother
2. Father
3. Other family member
4. Joint main earners
5. No-one was earning

c) What was their main job at that time? _____
If you selected joint main earners, you can pick either
If main earner had multiple jobs at this time, please choose the job held for the longest

d) What did they mainly do in that job?
_____

e) Were they?
- An employee
- Self-employed

APPENDIX B: Questionnaire 2

Social Mobility – a case of the arts

This form will provide the basis for discussion today. Your answers will not be stored alongside your name on, or the recording of what you say today. They will help understandings of the varieties of experience and background which lead to a life working in the arts. Your answers will only be presented in summary, such as: "10% of people had childcare responsibilities".

Current Role / job title(s) _____

Part-Time / Full-time / _____ Freelance / Contract _____

Estimated earnings / salary for last 12 months from the arts _____ from elsewhere _____

Age ___

Gender Identity ___

Sexual Orientation _____

Racial or ethnic identity _____

Place where you spent the longest growing up (town / city / country) _____

Current Postcode _____

Who do you live with? (Shared; co-occupied with partner; family (children); parents) _____

Who owns your property? Private Landlord; Social housing; You? _____

Are you a parent, step-parent or legal guardian? _____

Are you a carer of any other dependents? _____

Do you consider yourself to have any disabilities? ___

If so, would you be happy to explain more here? _____

Do you often declare disability on forms like this? _____

If you grew up in the UK, did you attend state school from 12-16? Or private? _____

Did you receive free school meals as a statutory benefit? _____

Have you attended post sixteen education? (college or university) _____

Where did you attend? _____

What did you study? _____

Was it relevant to your current role? _____

If you attended university or college, how old were you when you started? _____

Did you do an unpaid internship that is relevant to your current role? _____

If so, how did you fund this? please circle all that apply: bank loan, part-time job, sabbatical, family, bursary, Other?

Do you remember encouragement to participate in the arts through school trips and activities?_____

Did your parents encourage and support arts or sports classes outside of school? Please give brief details

_____

Did either of your parents attend university or college before you were 14? _____ As an adult?___

What was your father's job when you were 14? _____

What was your mother's job when you were 14? _____

What class do you identify as? _____ What class would you say you were growing up? _____

APPENDIX C: Questionnaire 2 and indicated areas of inequality

Question offering free text response	Options to aid completion	Potential indicator of socio-economic status
Current Role / job title(s)		Professional status
Part-Time / Full-time /		Professional status Economic capital
Freelance / Contract		Professional status Economic capital
Estimated earnings / salary for last 12 months from the arts		Professional status Economic capital
[Estimated earnings] from elsewhere		Professional status Economic capital
Age		Protected characteristic
Gender Identity		Protected characteristic
Sexual Orientation		Protected characteristic
Racial or ethnic identity		Protected characteristic
Place where you spent the longest growing up	town / city / country	Place Economic capital Parental background
Current Postcode		Housing Place Economic capital
Who do you live with?	Shared; co-occupied with partner; family (children); parents	Housing Place Economic capital
Who owns your property?	Private Landlord; Social housing; You?	Housing Place Economic capital
Are you a parent, step-parent or legal guardian?		Barriers to professions
Are you a carer of any other dependents?		Barriers to professions
Do you consider yourself to have any disabilities?		Protected characteristic
If so, would you be happy to explain more here?		Protected characteristic
Do you often declare disability on forms like this?		Protected characteristic

Question offering free text response	Options to aid completion	Potential indicator of socio-economic status
If you grew up in the UK, did you attend state school from 12-16? Or private?		Education Economic capital
Have you attended post sixteen education? (college or university)		Education
Where did you attend?		Education
What did you study?		Education
Was it relevant to your current role?		Education
If you attended university or college, how old were you when you started?		Education
Did you do an unpaid internship that is relevant to your current role?		Professional qualification Aspiration Cultural capital Social capital
If so, how did you fund this?	Please circle all that apply: bank loan, part-time job, sabbatical, family, bursary, Other?	Economic capital
Do you remember encouragement to participate in the arts through school trips and activities?		Education Cultural capital Aspiration
Did your parents encourage and support arts or sports classes outside of school? Please give brief details		Parental influence Cultural capital Aspiration Potential effects of parental time to enable activities
Did either of your parents attend university or college before you were 14? As an adult?		Parental background
What was your father's job when you were 14?		Parental background
What was your mother's job when you were 14?		Parental background
What class do you identify as?		CLASS
What class would you say you were growing up?		CLASS

APPENDIX D: The 12 Cabinet Office measures used in their 2016 pilot

The 12 Cabinet Office measures are:
1. whether the individual spent time in care
2. whether the individual ever had refugee or asylum status
3. whether the individual was a carer as a child
4. the type of secondary school the individual attended
5. the name of the school the individual attended
6. whether their parent, guardian or carer had completed a degree
7. the highest qualification of their parent, guardian or carer
8. the home postcode of the individual at age 14
9. whether the individual was eligible for free school meals
10. the occupation of their parent, guardian or carer
11. the tenure of the accommodation they lived in as a child
12. a self-assessment of their socio-economic background status

Sourced from Cabinet Office and Civil Service (2016) Establishing common measures of socio-economic background: a closed consultation. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/establishing-common-measures-of-socio-economic-background

APPENDIX E: NS-SEC seven class professions

Table 1. The National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC): seven-class version.

	Class description	
1	Higher managerial and professional occupations	Salariat
2	Lower managerial and professional occupations	
3	Ancillary professional and administrative occupations*	Intermediate
4	Small employers (less than 25 employers) and own account workers	classes
5	Lower supervisory and technical occupations	
6	Semi-routine occupations	Working class
7	Routine occupations	

* NS-SEC names Class 3 simply as 'Intermediate occupations'. We elaborate on this to give a better idea of the occupations included.

"In NS-SEC, occupation and employment status are taken together as indicators of employment relations, and thus of class position. At the top of the class hierarchy are the two levels of salaried managerial and professional employees—Classes 1 and 2— labelled together for present purposes as the salariat; and, at the bottom come the body of wage-workers in more or less routine jobs—Classes 6 and 7—labelled as the working class. The three intermediate classes, though distinctive, need not themselves be seen as ordered. Classes 3 and 5 comprise positions with 'mixed' employment relations—that is, ones involving various compromises between the conditions of employment typical of salaried and of wage work; while Class 4 stands apart in being that of small employers and self-employed workers."

"The strength of NS-SEC lies in the degree to which it differentiates individuals in terms of their economic situation, which it does to a greater extent than would a focus simply on their incomes. NS-SEC is in fact quite strongly associated with income level. But, in addition, it is also associated with three other important aspects of individuals' economic lives: income security, short-term income stability, and longer-term income prospects (Goldthorpe & McKnight 2006; Chan & Goldthorpe 2007; McGovern et al. 2008)."

This text and table are both taken from John Goldthorpe (2016) Social class mobility in modern Britain: changing structure, constant process, a lecture in Sociology read 15 March 2016, published in the Journal of the British Academy, 4, 89–111. DOI 10.5871/jba/004.089

APPENDIX F: Cabinet Office guidance on questions to use in relation to the recommended measures

The questions used in [the Cabinet Office's] pilot survey for each of the recommended measures proved effective, and [their] recommendation is that other employers adopt the same questions, as set out below. Also set out below is a refined question on self-assessed socio-economic background, which [they] intend to use in the Civil Service, in addition to the other four measures.

TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED

1. What type of school did you mainly attend between the ages of 11 and 16?

- State-run or state-funded school - selective on academic, faith or other grounds
- State-run or state-funded school - non-selective
- Independent or fee-paying school - bursary
- Independent or fee-paying school - no bursary
- Attended school outside the UK
- Don't know
- Prefer not to say
- Other (please specify):

PARENTAL QUALIFICATION

2. What is the highest level of qualifications achieved by either of your parent(s) or guardian(s) by the time you were 18?

- At least one has a degree level qualification
- Qualifications below degree level
- No formal qualifications
- Don't know
- Not applicable
- Prefer not to say
- Other (please specify):

PARENTAL OCCUPATION

3a. Thinking back to when you were aged about 14, which best describes the sort of work the main/ highest income earner in your household did in their main job?

- Modern professional occupations such as: teacher/lecturer, nurse, physiotherapist, social worker, welfare officer, artist, musician, police officer (sergeant or above), software designer
- Clerical and intermediate occupations such as: secretary, personal assistant, clerical worker, office clerk, call centre agent, nursing auxiliary, nursery nurse
- Senior managers and administrators usually responsible for planning, organising and co-ordinating work and for finance such as: finance manager, chief executive
- Technical and craft occupations such as: motor mechanic, fitter, inspector, plumber, printer, tool maker, electrician, gardener, train driver
- Semi-routine manual and service occupations such as: postal worker, machine operative, security guard, caretaker, farm worker, catering assistant, receptionist, sales assistant
- Routine manual and service occupations such as: HGV driver, van driver, cleaner, porter, packer, sewing machinist, messenger, labourer, waiter / waitress, bar staff
- Middle or junior managers such as: office manager, retail manager, bank manager, restaurant manager, warehouse manager, publican
- Traditional professional occupations such as: accountant, solicitor, medical practitioner, scientist, civil/mechanical engineer
- Short term unemployed (claimed Jobseeker's Allowance or earlier unemployment benefit for a year or less)
- Long term unemployed (claimed Jobseeker's Allowance or earlier unemployment benefit for more than a year)
- Inactive (excluding those that are retired)
- Retired
- Not applicable
- Don't know
- Prefer not to say
- Other (please specify):

3b. Thinking back to when you were aged about 14, did the main/highest income earner in your household work as an employee or self-employed?

- Employee
- Self-employed with employees
- Self-employed/freelancer without employees
- Not working
- Don't know
- Not applicable
- Prefer not to say

3c. If the highest income earner in your household was employed when you were aged 14, how many people worked for their employer? If they were self-employed and employed other people, how many people did they employ?

- 1-24
- 25 or more
- Don't know

- Not applicable
- Prefer not to say

3d. If the highest income earner in your household was employed when you were aged 14, did they supervise any other employees? A supervisor is responsible for overseeing the work of other employees on a day-to-day basis.

- Yes
- No
- Don't know
- Not applicable
- Prefer not to say

FREE SCHOOL MEALS

4. If you finished school after 1980, were you eligible for Free School Meals at any point during your school years? Free School Meals are a statutory benefit available to school-aged children from families who receive other qualifying benefits and who have been through the relevant registration process. It does not include those who receive meals at school through other means (e.g. boarding school).

- Yes
- No
- Not applicable (finished school before 1980 or went to school overseas)
- Don't know
- Prefer not to say

SELF-ASSESSMENT OF SEB STATUS

5. Compared to people in general, would you describe yourself as coming from a lower socio-economic background?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know
- Prefer not to say

APPENDIX G: Phase 2 questions shared with NPOs by ACE DART

ABOUT YOU – please tick the box that you feel best describes you

Is your current role:

Artistic	☐
Manager	☐
Specialist	☐
Other	☐

Full time	☐
Part time	☐
Voluntary	☐

Click here for staff type definitions

ETHNICITY	
WHITE:	
British	☐
Irish	☐
Gypsy or Irish Traveller	☐
Any other White background	☐
MIXED:	
White and Black Caribbean	☐
White and Black African	☐
White and Asian	☐
Any other Mixed/Multiple ethnic background	☐
ASIAN/ASIAN BRITISH:	
Indian	☐
Pakistani	☐
Bangladeshi	☐
Chinese	☐
Any other Asian background	☐
BLACK/BLACK BRITISH:	
African	☐
Caribbean	☐
Any other Black/African/Caribbean	☐
OTHER:	
Arab	☐
Any other ethnic group	☐
Prefer not to say	☐
Not Known	☐

AGE	
0-19	☐
20-34	☐
35-49	☐
50-64	☐
65+	☐
Prefer not to say	☐
Not known	☐

DISABILITY	
person, or have a long term health condition?	
Yes	☐
No	☐
Prefer not to say	☐
Not known	☐

SEXUAL ORIENTATION	
Bisexual	☐
Gay Man	☐
Gay Woman/Lesbian	☐
Heterosexual/Straight	☐
Prefer not to say	☐
Not Known	☐

GENDER IDENTITY	
Female	☐
Male	☐
Non-binary	☐
Prefer not to say	☐
Not Known	☐
Is your gender identity different to that which it was assumed to be at birth?	
Yes	☐
No	☐
Prefer not to say	☐
Not known	☐

SOCIAL MOBILITY QUESTIONS

This question responds to evidence that people from certain educational backgrounds are more likely to end up working in an arts organisation.

1 What type of school did you mainly attend between the ages of 11 and 16

State-run/funded school – selective on academic, faith, other grounds	☐
State run/funded school – non-selective	☐
Independent or fee paying school – bursary	☐
Independent or fee paying school – no bursary	☐
Attended school outside the UK	☐
Don't know	☐
Prefer not to say	☐
Other – Please specify	

The following 3 questions ask about what your parents did as a way of understanding your start in life. These questions do not make judgements about what they did. Because you are more likely to attend university if your parents or guardians did, and more likely to have a certain kind of job if your parents or guardians were employed in a certain way, it is important to see if this is the case in the organisations we

2 What is the highest level of qualifications achieved by either of your parent(s) or guardian(s) by the time you were 18?

At least one has a degree level qualification	☐
Qualifications below degree level	☐
No formal qualifications	☐
Don't know	☐
Not applicable	☐
Prefer not to say	☐
Other – Please specify	

3a Thinking back to when you were aged about 14, which best describes the sort of work the main/highest income earner in your household did in their main job?

MODERN PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS	
Eg teacher/lecturer, nurse, physiotherapist, social worker, welfare officer, artist, musician, police officer (sergeant or above), software	☐
CLERICAL AND INTERMEDIATE OCCUPATIONS	
Eg Secretary, personal assistant, clerical worker, office clerk, call centre agent, nursing auxiliary, nursery nurse	☐
SENIOR MANAGERS AND ADMINISTRATORS	
Usually responsible for planning, organising and co-ordinating work and for finance, such as finance manager, chief executive	☐
TECHNICAL AND CRAFT OCCUPATIONS	
Eg motor mechanic, fitter, inspector, plumber, printer, tool maker, electrician, gardener, train driver	☐
SEMI-ROUTINE MANUAL AND SERVICE OCCUPATIONS	
Eg postal worker, machine operative, security guard, caretaker, farm worker, catering assistant, receptionist, sales assistant	☐
ROUTINE MANUAL AND SERVICE OCCUPATIONS	
Eg HGV driver, van driver, porter, packer, sewing machinist, messenger, labourer, waiter/waitress, bar staff	☐
MIDDLE OR JUNIOR MANAGERS	
Eg office manager, retail manager, bank manager, restaurant manager, warehouse manager, publican	☐
TRADITIONAL PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS	
Eg accountant, solicitor, medical practitioner, scientist, civil/mechanical engineer	☐
SHORT TERM UNEMPLOYED	
Eg claimed Jobseeker's Allowance, or earlier unemployment benefit, for a year or less	☐
LONG TERM UNEMPLOYED	
Eg claimed Jobseeker's Allowance, or earlier unemployment benefit, for more than a year	☐
RETIRED	☐
NOT APPLICABLE	☐
DON'T KNOW	☐
PREFER NOT TO SAY	☐
OTHER – Please spe	

3b Thinking back to when you were aged about 14, did the main/highest income earner in your household work as an employee or self-employed?

Employee	☐
Self-employed with employees	☐
Self-employed/freelancer without employee	☐
Not working	☐
Don't know	☐
Not applicable	☐
Prefer not to say	☐

This question enables you to write whatever you think in the free text. You might choose to say working class or middle class, or something else

4

What class would you say you are now?

What class would you say you were growing up?

Thankyou for your time in completing this pilot, we will use the data to help us look at how we can best monitor social mobility within our sector. Please do feel free to leave any comments about how you have found the questions, and any thoughts you have about the process. These will