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Precarity and second job-holding in the creative economy

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ABSTRACT

There is extensive research on creative occupations, problematising precariousness, pay gaps, unpaid work and other issues. Less research, and little quantitative work, has looked at multiple job-holding. Issues including portfolio careers, moonlighting, "slashies" and side-hustles are emblematic, and core to the discourse surrounding the creative economy. We use the UK's Labour Force Survey to analyse the extent of multiple job-holding in creative work, and identify three types of second job-holding, according to whether the main, second or both jobs are creative. We compare the characteristics of individuals for each type, and use Understanding Society to show how they move between them over time. We find that second-jobholding is twice as common in core creative as other occupations, and that people working outside London are more likely to combine creative with non-creative work. Those with a creative second job are unlikely to move to a single creative job over time.

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Introduction

The creative economy has long been associated with complex patterns of employment (Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009). Despite their status within the upper reaches of the occupational hierarchy, cultural and creative jobs do not have the same employment stability associated with other professions such as medicine, or accountancy (De Peuter, 2014). Indeed, much of the popular perception of creative occupations is shaped by a set of clichés attached to "starving" artists, actors "resting" between jobs, and media workers having "side hustles".

As with all clichés, these contain an important element of truth. Numerous academic studies show that creative work is precarious, with potentially great financial, and social status, rewards (Higgs et al., 2008; Menger, 2015; Throsby & Zednik, 2011). These rewards are coupled with considerable risks placed upon the individual creative worker. Those risks and rewards are not evenly distributed, and the creative economy sees a range of inequalities associated with class, race, and gender, and other characteristics (O. Brook et al., 2020).

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This detailed understanding of the demographic patterns of the workforce is not matched by equivalent research on job quality and security. While there are rich qualitative and ethnographic studies of creative jobs, there has been less quantitative research on this subject, certainly in the UK (Davies & Lindley, 2003 excepted), and little longitudinal analysis of the employment trajectories of those employed in multiple jobs over time.

This article addresses that relative absence in the literature. Using data from the UK's Office for National Statistics Labour Force Survey (LFS), we analyse second job-holding in creative occupations. Patterns of second job-holding, and how these differ according to demographic and employment characteristics, give important indicators as to the trajectory of workers careers in creative occupations. In addition, the literature on creative industries has indicated that specific demographic groups struggle to get *in* to creative occupations. By looking at second job-holding we are able to explore whether having a second job in creative work is a means of entering full time creative work.

We acknowledge that holding multiple jobs is not by definition precarious. It may well be a means to avoid or mitigate the effects, whether financial or emotional, of the precarity endemic to creative employment. However, we might also anticipate that individuals may be less likely to gain creative leadership roles while juggling non-creative work. We explore if underrepresented groups are further marginalised through their employment patterns, offering potential explanations for their lack of success in getting *on*.

After reviewing the literature on inequality, precariousness and second job-holding in creative work, the article then moves in three stages. First, using descriptive statistics from the LFS, we show how second job-holding is unevenly distributed across creative occupations. We identify three typologies of multiple job-holding in the creative economy: "Portfolio" creative workers, who hold multiple jobs within creative occupations; "Main creative" workers, who have a creative main job and non-creative second job; and "Side creative" workers, who have main jobs in non-creative occupations and second jobs in set of core creative occupations.

We then use these three types of second job holder within creative occupations as the outcome of multinomial logistic regression models to explore how the demographic, geographic and social class backgrounds of members of each of category of dual jobholding compares with those who hold a single creative job. These differences give clues as to the underlying experience, and potential inequalities, associated with second job-holding in creative industries.

To probe further we use longitudinal data from the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), also called Understanding Society survey. We compare the occupational transitions of different patterns of dual creative jobholders over time. We find that relatively small numbers of people transition from being a Side creative – combining a non-creative main job and creative second job – to holding a single creative job over time. We find that moonlighting in creative work is unlikely to offer a route to establish oneself as a full time creative worker, if that is the desired outcome. Over the longer term the creative labour market alone is a difficult place to sustain careers, but combining creative and non-creative jobs may allow creative workers to offset risk from unstable careers, or top up income where insufficient creative work is available.

The findings are significant in three ways. First, we offer a framework for understanding second job-holding in the creative economy. Second, we use that framework to offer empirical analysis of the extent and distribution of second jobholding, and compare

this to other kinds of work. And finally we explore how these patterns relate to existing work on inequality in the creative economy.

Precariousness, inequality, and creative work

Inequalities are now a central part of research on creative industries. Multiple authors have demonstrated the widespread and embedded inequalities in the workforce and institutions central to the production of culture. This is in contrast to celebratory research on the "creative class" (Florida, 2002) and the rhetoric of policymakers internationally. Inequalities associated with ethnicity (Saha, 2018), gender (Conor et al., 2015) and social class (O. Brook et al., 2020), are all well-established problems, with literature exploring the mechanisms driving the absences of people of colour, women, and those from working class origins from key parts of the creative economy (O'Brien et al 2016; Hesmondhalgh, 2019; O. Brook et al., 2020).

There are numerous explanations for these patterns of exclusion and inequality: alongside the structural sexism and racism, class ceilings and ableist working practices (Dent, 2020; Friedman & Laurison, 2019 Saha, 2018; Wreyford, 2018), working conditions, and especially precarity, are also important explanations of creative industry inequalities (e.g. Gill & Pratt, 2008; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2011; Menger, 2001).

Precarity and precariousness have become key terms for capturing the insecurities of creative work. The terms are associated with a broad range of occupations (e.g. Standing, 2014), and can be defined in various ways (Alberti et al., 2018). Casual labour with low income, and an associated lack of job security, are key (e.g. Grimm & Ronneberger, 2007; Standing, 2011). While these elements characterise many occupations, they have seen extensive attention in discussions of the creative economy.

Previous literature has exposed the precariousness of creative workers' employment, such as the high presence of freelancing, contract work, self-employment, temporary work, and part-time jobs (De Peuter, 2014, p. 32), and recent work highlighted that while 14% of the UK workforce is self-employed, this rises to an astonishing 88% of music, performing and visual arts occupations (Feder et al., 2024). Other scholarship has exposed various exploitative practices (McRobbie, 2016) involving low paid work, large use of internships and free work (O. Brook et al., 2020). A number of qualitative studies have also highlighted the precarious existence in terms of the feelings and perceptions of insecurity held by creative workers (Alacovska & Bille, 2021; Umney & Kretsos 2015).

This literature is especially important in the context of the gap between the high profile "winners" in creative labour markets, who can expect large financial and social status rewards, and the majority of workers who face poor conditions and pay in comparison to other professions (O'Brien et al., 2016). These "ordinary artists" (Becker, 1951; Perrenoud, 2007), neither rich nor famous, exposed to precarious and intermittent working conditions, are the focus of our analysis.

Second jobs and creative work

A number of studies have shown that dual job-holding, broadly defined as working patterns where individuals work more than one job at a time, is relatively more common in

the creative economy (Menger, 2001; Davies & Lindley, 2003; Higgs et al., 2008; Throsby & Zednik, 2011). There are several reasons for this. Working second jobs can relate to the range and type of the creative jobs available in the labour market. For some workers this may reflect choice and flexibility; however, existing literature suggests it as a result of the precarious nature of much creative work.

Creative careers may be structured around a "portfolio" of jobs (Gill, 2002; Henaut et al., 2023), where creatives take multiple jobs within the same occupation as their main jobs, or other creative occupations. Creative workers may benefit from enlarging and even diversifying their portfolio activities (Menger, 2001). They may want to take as many jobs as possible, if this contributes to the growth in expertise or reputation of the artist. A large portfolio may also signal success, or high demand for their talent and skills. It has been argued that portfolio careers are even endemic to the creative economy, as creative careers are structured on this type of work (Gill, 2002). Hence, it would be no surprise if creative workers are more likely than average to hold multiple jobs.

In addition to a main job in a non-creative occupation, individuals may take a second job in a creative occupation. Here the creative job may correspond to a cultural passion, vocation, or a "calling" (Shimizu et al., 2019). While Naulin and Jourdain (2020) observe that these jobs may entail activities that were once not paid, it may also be that these second jobs correspond to economic pressure and the necessity to supplement main incomes.

Some second jobs may provide a differential source of prestige and income related to creative work, even where those second jobs are not in the creative economy. Ashton et al. (2013) note the important role of "teacher-practitioners" in creative higher education, and that teaching is an important destination for creative graduates, much of it in creative arts education. Schlesinger and Waelde (2012) give the example of composers and choreographers teaching music. Throsby and Zednik (2011) mention actors working in corporate training programmes and tourism. Such workers may not consider their teaching to be separate from their creative work, but simply a way of balancing income instability. Davies and Lindley (2003) noted that 60% of creative workers with a second job worked in professional or associate professional occupations in these additional jobs, twice the proportion of people with a non-creative main job. Yet even these high-quality second jobs have implications for both creative careers and inequalities.

The literature on creative work suggests particular forms of second job-holding may have practical (Friedman et al., 2019) and psychological impacts (McRobbie, 2016). A second job may lessen a creative worker's competitiveness as they have insufficient time to support their creative work, for example actors preparing for auditions (Friedman et al., 2019). Individuals may also see their work-based identity undermined, experiencing a "status discord" between the status associated with the main creative job and the second job (Kosugi, 2008 Standing, 2011).

All of these main job characteristics may lead people to take second jobs, whether because their main job is not sufficient to reach the desired level of income, or the desired level of job stability. In creative work, which has uncertain patterns associated with (short term) contracts (Gill, 2014), dual job-holding may also be a strategy to manage risk, in anticipation of periods of low demand in the creative economy.[1] Throsby and Zednik (2011) found that only 62% of Australians whose main work was

artistic wanted to spend 100% of their time on arts projects, and the most common reasons for them taking on non-arts work were low pay and insufficient work available.

Although we know about the range of inequalities in creative work, and have seen extensive research on the role of employment patterns in those inequalities, this review of the existing literature has demonstrated that, the most recent quantitative work which included multiple job-holding by creative workers, by Davies and Lindley in 2003, dates from 20 years ago. Multiple jobholding was small part of their report, and they did not explore its relationship with social inequalities, nor longitudinal outcomes. It is to these specific patterns of second job-holding that the article now turns.

Data and methods

Data sources

We have used two sources of data for the analyses. First, we use the UK Office for National Statistics' Labour Force Survey (LFS). We use data from the years 2015 to 2021, which enables us to explore trends over time, and to build a large enough sample of these relatively rare jobs to understand the social inequalities associated with both first and second creative job-holding. The third wave collected in each year (July–September) asks questions about respondents social class background (parental occupation, as described in the variables section). In addition, we explore longitudinal patterns in multiple jobholding using Understanding Society. The interviews in wave 3–9 of Understanding Society were held between years 2011 and 2019.

Creative occupations

While defining creative occupations is contested, we use a definition that is widely shared in the literature. We focus on creative *occupations* rather than creative *industries*, meaning that we study individuals with a creative job, irrespective of the industry in which they work (creative or not). For example, a photographer employed by a bank is included in our analysis, while an accountant working in a theatre is not.

In terms of which occupations we define as creative, we start from the definition developed by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), and we further differentiate between three groups. Reflecting the view that creative services and cultural production constitute separate industries (Higgs et al., 2008) and that such industries follow different trends with regard to the labour market (Cunningham & McCutcheon, 2018), we differentiate between core and non-core creative occupations. We define as core creative those occupations that create artistic, literary, or cultural products, and non-core those occupations that the DCMS situates within the broader creative economy. With regard to "borderline" cases, such as IT consultants, we follow Campbell et al. (2018) in placing these jobs within their own category. Overall, this results in the following categories (Table 1 shows a full list with SOC2010 codes):

Core creative occupations: Film, TV, radio and photography; Publishing; Museum, galleries and libraries; Music, performing and visual arts.

Non-core creative occupations: Advertising and marketing; Architecture; Crafts; Design; IT occupations.

Sample selection

The sample is restricted to workers aged 16-69. We excluded unpaid family member workers (12 individuals). In LFS, the question on whether the workers have second jobs is based on the employment status in second jobs, filtered on being in employment in a first job. Individuals who have second jobs due to a temporary change of jobs are not counted among dual job holders.

In Understanding Society, individuals are counted as dual job holders if they answer yes to the question "Do you currently earn any money from a second job, odd jobs, or from work that you might do from time to time, apart from any main job you have?". We consider as dual job holders the individuals who work and who have a second job.

Our measure of second job refers to jobs during the reference week (i.e. week of the interview or week ending on Sunday in LFS). This is an important caveat to the analysis: it will underestimate multiple jobholding as it does not include those who hold multiple jobs over a year, for example some weeks as a bartender and others acting, depending on availability of work, only those who work in both jobs in the same week. It will also not include people whose work in their additional job was unpaid, which might be the case not only for those whose earning from their second job is low and variable, but also where considerable time might be taken in unpaid portfolio preparation or rehearsals, for example, where only the exhibition or performances are paid. While it is difficult to estimate the impact of this, we argue that it is still of interest to understand both the extent and the patterning of this kind of working, both occupationally, socially and geographically.

Second jobs and work patterns of dual job holders

We use the occupational code SOC2010 related to the first and second occupations, to define whether either job is creative. Using the LFS data we are only able to use the 3-digit classification to identify the second jobs. In theory this includes some occupations that are not creative in the creative second jobs, (full list in Table 2).[2] However, in practice the impact is minimal – within core creative occupations, the only non-core occupation included is public relations professionals.

Sample size

The data from the LFS include 18,654 respondents with a main job in all creative occupations, and 274,252 in non-creative occupations. The sample of creative workers by occupational groups is shown in Table 1. The longitudinal data from Understanding Society is based on a sample of 2,766 individuals (2,033 who have responses 1 year later, and 1,341 who have responses 2 years later).

Variables

To analyse the characteristics of creative workers, and their employment, we use gender, ethnic group, age, level of education, and area of work (London vs elsewhere). The parental background in LFS is based on the NS-SEC classification of the occupation of the respondents' higher-earning parent, when they were age 14, and it is collapsed in

three levels: managerial/professional (NS-SEC 1-2)/ intermediate (NS-SEC 3-5)/ working class (NS-SEC 6,7,8). The conversion from the occupational code of the parents to their social status level is done according to ONS guidelines.[3] With regard to employment, we analyse whether the job is permanent or temporary, full or part time (and reason for working part time), and whether they are employed or self-employed.

Our outcome variable is whether, and how, a creative worker holds multiple jobs. We distinguish three profiles of dual job holders: Portfolio, who hold more than one core creative job; Main creatives, whose first job is creative and second job is not; and Side creatives, whose first job is not creative but second job is. While the term "portfolio" is widely used in the literature on creative work (for example, Gill, 2002; Menger, 2001; Schlesinger and Walede, 2012), existing classifications do not distinguish which job takes up more time among those working both creative and non-creative jobs. For that reason, we have introduced the terms "main creative" and "side creative".

Methods

Part one of the analysis consists of descriptive statistics. In part two, we use multinomial logistic regressions to investigate how individual and occupation-related characteristics affect the "risk" of belonging to a particular dual job-holding profile, relative to the "risk" of having one creative job (Relative Risk Ratio). In part three, we analyse the occupational trajectories of different dual-jobholding groups, over one and three years.

Results

Prevalence of second jobs

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics for creative jobs in the LFS, the number of survey respondents, the average weighted number that this represents in the workforce per year 2015–2021, and what proportion of each creative occupation declared a second job, compared to other kinds of occupations. On average, 6.8% of those having a main job in core creative

Table 1. Sample of creative occupations in UK Labour Force Survey, 2015–2021.

SOC 2010 code	Occupation (main job)	Sample	Weighted no. per year (mean)	% has 2nd job
Core creative				
2451	Librarians	237	24,556	4.7%
2452	Archivists and curators'	158	17,147	7.1%
2471	Journalists, newspaper and periodicals	693	86,426	4.4%
3411	Artists	488	52,884	7.6%
3412	Authors, writers and translators	740	85,495	4.8%
3413	Actors, entertainers and present	385	45,121	14.0%
3414	Dancers and choreographers'	148	16,409	8.7%
3415	Musicians'	375	45,549	12.8%
3416	Arts officers, producers and directors	712	95,633	5.5%
3417	Photographers, AV and broadcasting e	686	80,246	5.2%
	All core creative	4,622	549,467	6.8%
Non-core creative		8,263	957,747	3.2%
Creative IT		5,769	696,926	2.3%
Professional, not creative		122,281	13,317,751	3.6%
Not Professional, not creative		151,971	16,770,821	3.3%
All working		287,049	31,590,100	3.5%

occupations have a second job. This share is almost twice the working population as a whole, 3.5% of whom report holding a second job, and greater still than those in non-core creative occupations, 3.2% of whom have second jobs. There are even larger differences within core creative occupations: dual job-holding is as high as 14% for actors, 12.8% for musicians and 7.6% for artists. This highlights the particular importance of second jobholding in core creative occupations, as distinct from non-core, creative IT and other occupations, where the phenomenon is seen at a relatively consistent level across occupational codes. In comparison, Davies and Lindley (2003) noted that 7.4% of creative workers[4] had a second job in the LFS in 1997-2000, compared to 4.5% of other workers.

What sort of second jobs are main creative workers doing?

Tables 2 and 3 show cross tabulations of first and second jobs of the dual job-holders in our weighted sample. We present the data by type of occupation, as discussed above. Table 2 shows the types of second job held by those working in the core and non-core creative occupations. For core creatives who have a second job, 38% of these are also core creative jobs – that is Portfolio careers. This falls to 15% for those whose first jobs are non-core creative. Conversely, 8% of core creatives who have a second job, work in a non-core creative role, compared to over 30% of those whose first job is also non-core creative. Other kinds of second jobs are more likely to be of professional standing than not, which corresponds with Davies and Lindley's findings for 1997–2000.

Table 3 shows the first jobs held by all those reporting each kind of second job. For those with a core creative second job, 18% also have a core creative first job, but they are most likely to have a professional but non-creative first job. Those with a non-core creative second job are strongly likely to have a professional, non-creative first job.

Table 2. Type of occupation of second jobs holders, for core and non-core creative first job holders. Dual job holders age 16-69, LFS 2015–2021 Q3, weighted sample.

	First Job			
	Core creative		Non-core creative	
Second job	Weighted pop per year	%	Weighted pop per year	%
Core creative	20,430	37.9	6,204	14.9
Non core creative, excl. IT	4,547	8.4	13,122	31.6
Creative IT	385	0.71	1,358	3.3
Non creative, professional	14,857	27.5	9,430	22.7
Non creative, non prof	13,746	25.5	11,385	27.4
Total	53,965	100	41,498	100

Table 3. Type of first occupation for core and non-core creative second job holders. Dual job holders age 16-69, LFS 2015–2021 Q3, weighted sample.

	Second job			
	Core creative		Non-core creative	
First job	Weighted n per year	%	Weighted n per year	%
Core creative	20,430	18.1	4,547	4.4
Non core creative, excl. IT	6,204	5.5	13,122	12.8
Creative IT	2,484	2.2	3,288	3.2
Non creative, professional	46,701	41.3	53,028	51.7
Non creative, non prof	37,271	33	28,547	27.8
Total	113,090	100	102,531	100

These two tables also illustrate a further important finding – there are many more people with a second core creative job (113,000 per year) than there are people holding a core creative first job who also hold a second job (54,000 per year). This underlines the importance of second jobs within the creative workforce, an important contribution to the literature on precarity in creative work, given that studies such as Throsby and Zednik's (2011) only included those whose main job was artistic.

Table 4 lists the most frequent second jobs for those employed in core creative occupations. This corresponds to an extent with the existing literature – the largest of these is other core creative jobs, in other words Portfolio careers. There is also a significant number of people employed in sales and customer service occupations, whether at senior (managers and proprietors) or junior levels (including bar staff and waiters). Also notable is the high proportion reporting teaching as their second job, although it is not possible to say whether their teaching relates to their creative practice (nor, in this case, whether they are teaching in higher, secondary or primary education).

Table 5 displays the most common first jobs held by those with a core creative second job. This shows a similar pattern – the largest number in other creative occupations (16% on aggregate), with others most often employed in education (12% on aggregate) or customer service (5%). Of those in education, the proportion known to be working in higher education is relatively high – 3.2% of the total, or about ¼ of those in education – supporting the "teacher-practitioner" model. Another significant group have their main employment in marketing and sales (4.8%).

Table 4. Most frequent occupational groups for second jobs of core creative workers. Dual job holders age 16-69, LFS 2015–2021 Q3, weighted sample.

SOC 2010 Minor occupation group (second job)	Weighted n	Pct
341 Artistic, Literary and Media Occupations	13,584	26.8
231 Teaching and Educational Professions	7,752	15.3
247 Media Professionals	3,031	6
927 Other Elementary Services Occupations	1,702	3.4
125 Mgrs & Proprietors in Other Services	1,692	3.3
711 Sales Assistants and Retail Cashiers	1,677	3.3
415 Other Administrative Occupations	1,670	3.3
354 Sales, Marketing and Related Associates	1,287	2.5
122 Managers and Proprietors in Hospitality	1,149	2.3

Table 5. Most frequent occupational codes for first jobs of those reporting core creative second jobs. Dual job holders age 16-69, LFS 2015–2021 Q3, weighted sample.

Occupation (main job)	Mean weighted no. per year	Percent
2471 Journalists, newspaper and periodicals	2,446	4.8
3416 Arts officers, producers and directors	2,366	4.7
2319 Teaching and other educational profs	2,294	4.5
2314 Secondary education teaching profs	1,959	3.9
3413 Actors, entertainers and presenters	1,634	3.2
2311 Higher education teaching profs	1,601	3.2
3412 Authors, writers and translators	1,443	2.9
3417 Phtgrphrs, AV & b'casting eqp ops	1,272	2.5
3545 Sales accounts and business dev execs	1,061	2.1
7111 Sales and retail assistants	929	1.8
3415 Musicians	826	1.6
3543 Marketing associate professional	785	1.6
9273 Waiters and waitresses	781	1.5
9274 Bar staff	776	1.5
3411 Artists	742	1.5

Table 6. Weighted observations of categories of dual jobholders, by year. Age 16-69, LFS 2015–2021 Q3.

Career type, core	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
One creative job	449,699	496,960	458,475	451,270	486,998	513,146	472,647
Portfolio	16,200	17,699	28,174	21,936	12,303	26,434	20,264
Main creative	23,454	20,769	27,137	26,384	27,726	23,380	33,531
Side creative	95,348	105,977	97,179	85,545	90,812	74,861	99,919
Total	584,701	641,405	610,965	585,135	617,839	637,821	626,361

The data shown in tables 4 and 5 confirms the heterogeneous picture of dual jobholding among creative workers. Those in core creative occupations are much more likely to work second jobs, compared to the rest of the workforce. Non-core creatives have similar rate of second job holding to other parts of the workforce. The additional jobs of those involved in core creative work are most likely to be in other core creative jobs, in education, or in customer services.

Changes over time

In this section we focus on dual jobholding involving core creative workers, and investigate how this has changed over time. Given the dramatic effect of the COVID pandemic on the creative workforce (Owen et al., 2020) we would expect to see changes to the patterns of jobholding over time.

Quantifying our three groups – portfolio, main creative, and side creative – over time in Table 6, we see a relative consistency over time in the proportion of creative workers in each of these career types, with between 14% and 18% of the workforce in one creative job, 1%−3% in Portfolio careers, and between 5% and 7% in main or side creative patterns. In 2021 there is an absolute and proportional drop in those making their living only from creative occupations (in One creative job or a portfolio of creative jobs) and an increase in those combining creative and non-creative occupations (Main creatives and Side creatives). This is likely due to the disproportionate impact of the COVID pandemic on availability of creative work (O. Brook et al., 2022; Owen et al., 2020) and an increase in the need for creative workers to undertake non-creative work. Another possible explanation, especially for the increase in Side creatives, may be a larger number of people rediscovering their creative practice during the pandemic, and managing to gain work from it since.

Full- and part-time working

Table 7 shows analysis of the full- and part-time working patterns of core creative and other workers, in their main jobs. This shows that the rate of full time work in core creative main jobs is similar but slightly lower than other occupations, but that the reasons for working

Table 7. Patterns of full- and part-time working in core creative and other main jobs. Employed people age 16-69, LFS 2015–2021 Q3, weighted sample.

	Core creative occupations	Other occupations
FT	68.5%	74.3%
PT Couldn't find	5.3%	3.2%
PT didn't want	22.4%	18.2%
PT other	3.7%	4.3%
N	542,537	31,479,370

part time are higher both for those that couldn't find and for those that didn't want full-time work. This highlights that accessing full-time creative work is relatively more difficult than in other occupations, although this only applies to 5% of creative workers. Not wanting to work full time is a much more common reason for part-time working in creative work in absolute terms, and this is also higher than for other occupations.

Who works second jobs?

In this section we focus on how individual and labour market characteristics relate to dual job-holding: who works second jobs? We use multinomial logistic regression models to estimate how the three profiles of dual job-holders (Portfolio, Main creatives and Side creative) differ from core creatives who do not work second jobs, with regard to individual and employment-related characteristics. The individual characteristics we investigate are gender, ethnic group, social class, age, level of education and geography (working in London vs the rest of the UK). The employment-related characteristics that we consider refer to the main job: employed or self-employed, full- or part-time working, and reasons for part-time work.

Table 8 shows the results in terms of relative risk ratio (RRR). The RRR estimates the risk of belonging to each of the career profiles rather than the reference group (having one creative job) changes with the variable in question. A positive RRR indicates that an increase in this variable (or a positive value for this characteristic, such as being a woman) is associated with a higher probability of belonging to this career profile than to having one creative job, and a negative value indicates a lower risk.

Table 8 shows two versions of the model: model 1 contains only the socio-demographic and geographic variables of the respondents, and finds that graduates and people from intermediate and working class backgrounds are significantly more likely to be in the Portfolio category compared to those with one creative occupation, and both Main and Side creatives are significantly less likely to be working in London.

Model 2 incorporates characteristics of their main job. The second model is a highly significant improvement on the first, with a reduction in the log likelihood of 7004 for a reduction in degrees of freedom of 12. In addition to the previously significant correlates of being a Portfolio worker, we now also find that they are much more likely than people with one creative job to be an employee, and if they are part time they are more likely to say that they were unable to find full time work, but even more likely to say that they didn't want full time work. Main creatives are now found to be significantly less likely to be Black or from a minority ethnic group, they are less likely to be an employee and even more likely than Portfolios to say that they couldn't find full-time work, but also more likely to say that they didn't want it. Finally, Side creatives are significantly more likely to be men, and much more likely to be employees in their main job. They are slightly more likely than those with a single creative job to say that they couldn't find full time work, although it should be remembered that in this case the kinds of main job they are discussing are not creative ones – and, with this in mind, they are most likely to say that they didn't want a full time main job.

These results are not as significant as might be expected given the strong social class inequalities that are often seen in analysis of creative work. Nevertheless, some patterns emerge: Portfolio workers are to be more likely to be London-based, and to be highly

Table 8. Multinomial logit model. Different working patterns in creative occupations. Relative Risk Ratio. LFS 2015–2021 Q3, age 16–69. All Creative occupations.

	Model 1			Model 2		
VARIABLES	Portfolio RRR	Main creatives RRR	Side creative RRR	Portfolio RRR	Main creatives RRR	Side creative RRR
Woman (ref:man)	1.210	1.071	0.915	1.004	0.952	0.682***
	(0.198)	(0.149)	(0.074)	(0.173)	(0.141)	(0.061)
BAME (ref:white)	0.974	0.625	1.069	0.991	0.495**	1.153
	(0.283)	(0.199)	(0.157)	(0.290)	(0.166)	(0.178)
Par. Status (ref: Managerial/ Prof)						
Intermediate	1.865***	1.206	1.006	1.831***	1.187	1.012
	(0.405)	(0.196)	(0.093)	(0.400)	(0.195)	(0.098)
Lower	2.324***	1.069	1.018	2.256***	1.079	0.961
	(0.555)	(0.209)	(0.112)	(0.540)	(0.213)	(0.111)
Age	1.049	1.042	0.974	1.064	1.061	0.985
	(0.049)	(0.040)	(0.020)	(0.051)	(0.042)	(0.023)
Age Squared	0.999	1.000	1.000	0.999	0.999*	1.000
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Has a degree (ref: no)	1.617**	1.032	1.002	1.642**	1.143	0.931
	(0.338)	(0.160)	(0.089)	(0.349)	(0.179)	(0.088)
Work in London (ref. RUK)	1.038	0.527***	0.581***	1.032	0.571***	0.545***
	(0.188)	(0.098)	(0.060)	(0.188)	(0.109)	(0.058)
Employee (ref. s/e)				1.946***	0.330***	5.446***
				(0.330)	(0.059)	(0.533)
Working PT reason (ref FT)				1.786*	2.195***	1.449*
Couldn't find FT				(0.621)	(0.560)	(0.302)
Didn't want FT				1.838***	1.954***	2.397***
				(0.353)	(0.317)	(0.241)
Other reason				1.151	1.033	1.406
				(0.611)	(0.422)	(0.337)
Constant	0.007***	0.025***	0.530	0.003***	0.022***	0.132***
	(0.007)	(0.021)	(0.227)	(0.003)	(0.019)	(0.064)
Observations	5011			4991		

educated but less likely to be of high social status. The models results show the greater difficulty of making a full time living from creative work outside the capital, and a mixed picture between those that seem to be holding two jobs out of necessity and those doing so from preference.

What are the consequences of non-creative second jobs for the creative career?

In this section we explore the longitudinal patterns of dual job-holding in a creative career. We use data from the Understanding Society survey and observe transitions between working patterns over time. We discuss the likelihood of leaving creative work, or becoming a Single creative or Portfolio holder, though whether that is in fact the desired or intended outcome is not known, and may not be the case.

In Figure 1 we show the transitions after one year. We can see that for Single creatives, the largest group, the mostly likely destination a year later is that they are still Single creatives (nearly 80%) and the next most likely destination is unemployment (9%) or non-creative work (7%). A total of 6% will take on multiple jobholding. Both Main creative and Portfolio workers are slightly more likely to have become Single creatives (45% and 39% respectively) than remain in their current employment patterns (31% and 36%). This does suggest that

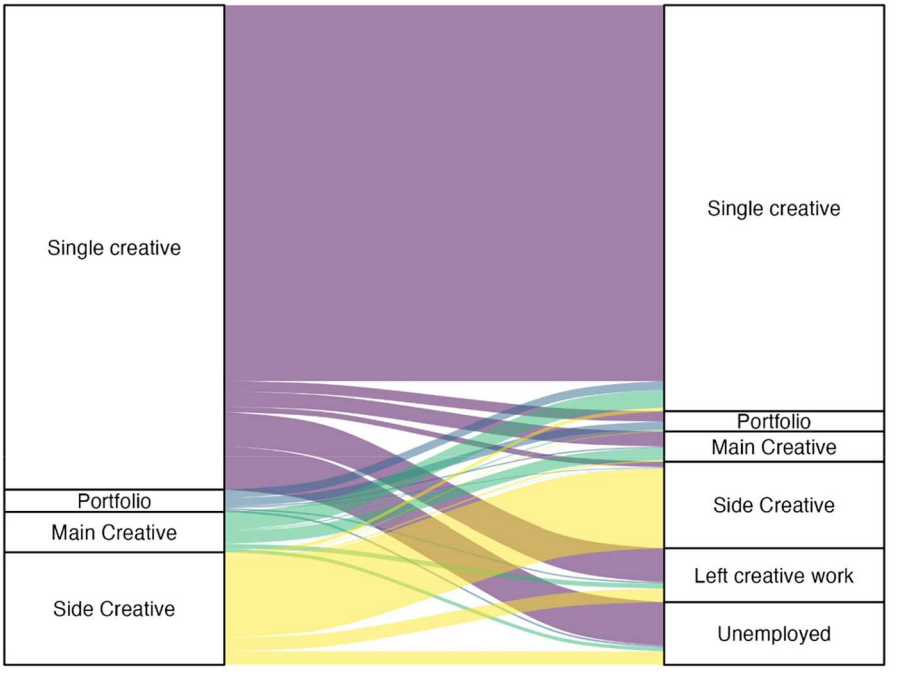

Figure 1. Employment type transitions of creative workers after one year. Source: Understanding Society waves 2011–2019, $n = 2{,}033$.

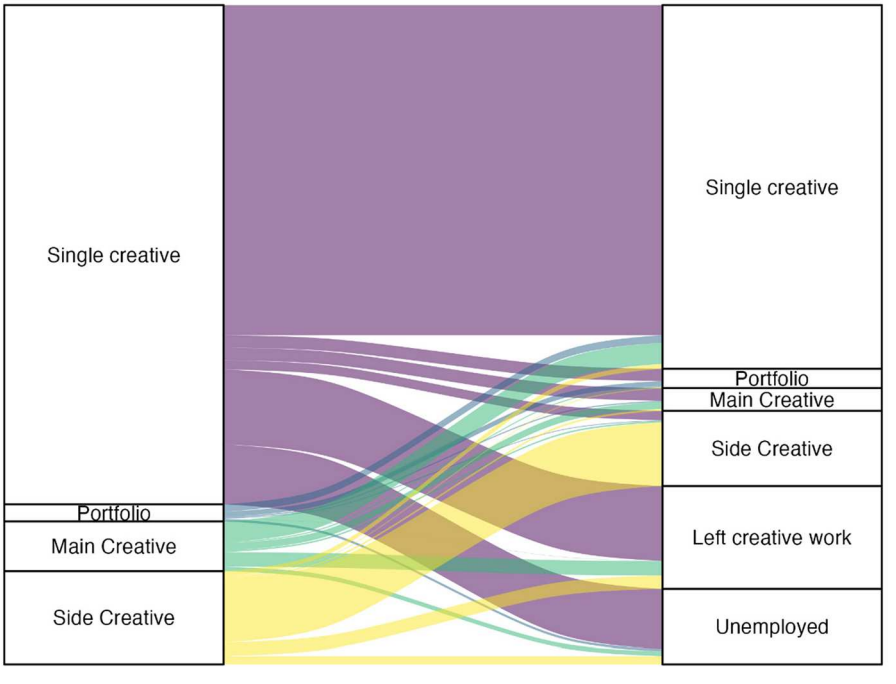

Figure 2. Employment type transitions of creative workers after three years. Source: Understanding Society waves 2011–2019, $n = 1{,}341$.

these working patterns might be intended to be a stepping stone to a Single creative job. Side creatives, by contrast, are most likely to have continued in that working pattern The fact that the Portfolio group is difficult to read from the chart reminds us that in this data this is a relatively small group, smaller than the discourse would lead us to expect might suggest.

Looking at transitions over three years in Figure 2, we can see that the same patterns are strenthened. Most Single creatives have maintaned that position, small numbers have moved to dual jobholding, larger numbers have left creative work or become unemployed. Portfolio workers are almost all in a Single creative job or Portfolio work, Main creatives have more heterogenous outcomes, with the majority holding a Single creative job, Portfolio work or maining a Main creative pattern. Side creatives are the most likely to have maintained their working pattern over the three years: they are the least likely after Portfolio workers to have left creative work, supporting the idea that dual jobholding is a means of persisting in a creative career.

Conclusions

The creative worker as a "slashie" (Duffy, 2015), juggling multiple jobs has become a dominant way of describing the reality of work in the contemporary creative economy. However, comparative little has been done to map the extent of multiple job-holding in the creative economy, and who is affected by it. Moreover, understanding the *consequences* of multiple job-holding, again using high quality nationally representative data sets, has also not seen the same level of attention as qualitative (Campbell 2018) and ethnographic (Duffy, 2017) work. It is here that this paper makes its contribution.

As we have shown, dual jobholding is more common in the creative sector. People in creative main jobs are more than twice as likely to hold second jobs as other occupations across the economy. This pattern is stable over time, in our dataset covering 2014–2021, but also similar to that found by Davies and Lindley in 1997–2000. Where people are combining creative and non-creative work, their creative work is more likely to be their second job.

At the same time, it is notable that this level is lower than expected given the academic and popular discourse related to slashies and moonlighting. This contrast may be explained by the fact that the LFS will only record dual jobholding if paid work is undertaken in both jobs in the reference week. It may also relate to the strong psychological identity of creative workers, as explored most recently by Henaut et al. (2023).

The patterns of second jobs are not evenly distributed. Those with second jobs, as compared to those with only one creative job, are less likely to be from professional and managerial social class backgrounds. Those combining creative and non-creative work are much more likely to be based outside of London, underlining the difficulty both practically and psychologically of making a living from creative work outside the capital, when the creative economy is overwhelmingly concentrated there (Oakley et al., 2017; Watson, 2020).

This suggests that, as a range of literature shows (O. Brook et al., 2020), those with the resources that flow from higher class status are more able to navigate the demands of precarious work within the uneven geography of the UK's London-centric creative economy. At the same time, our analysis of career trajectories complicates this picture.

Mixing creative and non-creative work does not generally lead to a single creative job; it may, however, be a way of sustaining a creative career even where the prospects of full-time creative work do not exist.

The recent literature on "good work" in the creative sector (Carey et al., 2023) demonstrates the need to take seriously workers' choices and sense of control over careers, and the meanings and sense of identity they find from their occupations (Henaut et al. 2023). Over the medium term, we see different career patterns are not clearly socially stratified which reflects the findings of Throsby and Zednik (2011), other than by geography and the spatial inequalities of the UK's creative economy. This contrasts with recent analysis of qualitative data on careers suggesting very different experiences of career stability depending on the demographics of the creative worker in question (S. Brook et al., 2020).

These two positions are not necessarily in tension. Workers with the economic, social and cultural capital to bridge creative work and more stable occupations such as teaching (O. Brook et al., 2020) may articulate a sense of choice and career control, whilst those without these resources might experience the frustrations, identified by McRobbie (2016) of being unable to make a creative career in an expensive major city, add up. For both groups, in the medium term, not transitioning into one full time creative job can still cover very different sets of lived experiences. Experiences of multiple jobholding may also vary by age group, even if age does not statistically predict this type of working pattern. While those involved in dual job-holding in creative work may be more likely to report not wanting full time work, suggesting a role for personal choice in these working patterns, the extent to which this choice is a struggle will be likely strongly related to social inequalities.

It is here where future research might be most fruitful. Understanding if experiences of control over careers are stratified according to varieties of career pattern is a crucial question, particularly over the longer term. Better integrating the qualitative and quantitative literature on experiences of second jobs is also ripe for a new, major, research project. Moreover, understanding how second jobs are patterned in the creative economy does not account for "success" in creative work. Understanding the links between patterns of work and sense of job satisfaction can certainly be addressed quantitatively; the sense of aesthetic accomplishment and cultural value that flows from patterns of work is perhaps a greater challenge for researchers examining the link between labour, art and culture.

Notes

1. Other risk diversification strategies include having private (for example partner's) support, public support, or collective forms of insurance.
2. For the 2021 LFS wave, the main occupation is offered with SOC 2010 coding, but the coding for second jobs is only offered with SOC 2020 codes – the closest equivalent codes were used.
3. https://www.ons.gov.uk/methodology/classificationsandstandards/otherclassifications/thenationalstatisticssocioeconomicclassificationnssecrebasedonsoc2010#deriving-the-ns-sec-full-reduced-and-simplified-methods.
4. There are some differences in methodology and coding, but Davies and Lindley's creative workers correspond quite closely to our core creatives.

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