Glass ceilings sticky floors, and satisfaction: rewards and remuneration

Chapter 3 Glass ceilings sticky floors, and satisfaction: rewards and remuneration

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Abstract

This chapter looks at the rewards of creative careers and focuses on both pecuniary and non-pecuniary rewards: salary and career satisfaction. Creative careers, on average, offer lower salaries and are not compensated in the form of higher career satisfaction. In the short term there is a gender pay gap which persists for the UK but in Australia women catch up over the medium term. In the UK there is evidence of a gender glass ceiling in creative careers, with men having greater pay growth, in and outside of creative careers; whilst in Australia there is evidence of a sticky floor in creative careers. There are no general gender differences in career satisfaction and no evidence creative graduates trade off lower returns for higher career satisfaction.

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 showed that in both countries creative graduates tended to have more precarious labour outcomes than non-creative graduates and, in particular, creative men have better outcomes than creative women in terms of finding creative work and graduate level work outside of creative occupations. In this chapter we focus on the rewards to creative careers and whether women face further inequality in respect to rewards. We distinguish between two types of rewards; pecuniary and non-pecuniary.

Pecuniary rewards are understood as the salary commanded by creative workers. Firstly we compare the salaries of creative and non-creative graduates, since UK evidence suggests creative arts degrees (Belfield et al., 2018a, b; Britton et al., 2020) attract the lowest returns, compared to not doing a degree) overall among degree subjects; for men the return is negative. In Australia whilst the return to a creative arts degree has improved over time, with them now returning a positive return, it still attracts lower returns than other degree subjects (Daly et al, 2015; Lewis and Lee, 2019, 2020). A general gender pay gap[1] is well documented across Western countries (see for example Blau and Kahn, 2017 for an extensive review). In the UK, women are, now on average, more educated than men (Costa Dias et al., 2018), more likely to enter higher education and, on average, outperform men in higher education (Hilman and Robinson, 2016), with similar patterns in Australia[2] (Olsen et al., 2006). Despite the closing (and reversal in some cases) of the gender gap in education, and falling of the gender pay gap over time, there is still a persistent gender pay gap (Blau and Kahn, 2017, 2000; Goldin, 2014; Winter-Ebmer, 2005) and sorting across occupations (Blau and Kahn, 2017), with evidence that female dominated occupations pay less (Blau and Kahn, 2017; Leuze and Strauß, 2016).

[1] We define the gender pay gap as the difference between the mean earnings of men and women as a percentage of mean earnings of men.

[2] See for example https://www.wgea.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/august_2019_grad_factsheet_0.pdf

Chevalier (2007) found that a reasonable proportion of the gender pay gap within graduates can be explained by differences in degree subject, occupation and career expectations/attitudes.

Therefore, in this chapter we are interested in understanding: if there is a gender pay gap within creative careers and whether this varies by creative domains and types of jobs entered? Whether creatives graduates experience more or less gender inequality than non-creative graduates? The first destination survey period (4/6 months) is often considered too short to assess returns to a degree, as certain groups may take longer to assimilate into the labour market, especially creative graduates (Ball et al., 2010), as seen in chapter 2. Evidence also suggests the gender gap widens across the life cycle (Swaffield and Manning, 2008; Goldin et al., 2017), especially for graduates (Barth et al., 2021; Belfield et al., 2018a, b; Britton et al., 2020). So we also utilise the longitudinal destination surveys and ask: doesthe gender wage gap widen across careers and, in particular, across creative careers in the medium term?

Non-pecuniary rewards are usually connected with career satisfaction. In the literature it is acknowledged that graduates may be trading off higher incomes in their career choices to achieve more satisfaction in terms of quality of life and work balance, personal fulfilment and independence (Ball et al., 2010). There is also an assumption that creative graduates, especially artists, may be in particular less driven by pecuniary rewards (Abbing, 2002; Abreu et al.,2012; Comunian et al., 2010; Throsby and Zednik, 2011). Furthermore, it is shown that women are less driven by pecuniary rewards, placing less importance on salary and promotion than men, and more on the work itself, work schedules and relationships with employers and co-workers (Bender at al., 2005; Clark, 1997; Chevalier, 2007) and that women have lower expectations (Clark, 1997; Long, 2005; Sloane and Williams, 2000; Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza, 2000). Despite typically having poorer labour market outcomes than men, evidence suggest women report higher level of job satisfaction than men (Clark, 1997; Long, 2005; Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza, 2003). Therefore, we then move onto looking at non-pecuniary rewards and are interested in: whether creatives experience more career satisfaction than non-creatives? Do financial returns account for career satisfaction? Does finding creative work matter for career satisfaction of creative graduates? Are there any gender differences in career satisfaction?

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 3.2 describes the sample used, while Section 3.3 presents a discussion of our key results relating to pecuniary rewards and section 3.4 focuses on non-pecuniary rewards. The final section 3.5 draws some preliminary conclusions and highlights new directions for further research.

3.2 Sample

In this chapter we predominately focus on those in full-time work, for several reasons; firstly, women are more likely to work part-time, especially for Australia, where part-time work is more prevalent, as illustrated in chapter 2. There are also differences in the return to part-time work between the UK and Australia. In the UK part-time jobs have a wage penalty (Manning and Petrongolo, 2008; Connolly and Gregory, 2009 and Mumford and Smith; 2009), and part-time work impacts wage growth through less cumulative work experience (Costa-Dias et al. 2018). In contrast, in Australia there is some evidence of a part-time wage advantage (Booth

and Wood, 2008). Finally our data permits only the use of salaries of full-time workers as part-time salaries are unreliable (and have a lower response rate) in the UK HESA data. Focussing on full-time workers will give us a better picture of how creative graduates fare compared to non-creative graduates, and women compare to men, when faced with same opportunities, i.e. full-time work and well-matched jobs, and if they then face further inequalities.

We utilise both the first destinations survey (DLHE and GOS) and the longitudinal survey (LDLHE and GOS-L) for both countries. For the first destinations survey we have sample sizes of 39,670 (10,389) men and 52,685 (14,994) women for the UK (Australia) for our sample who report salary for their main job[3]. For the longitudinal survey and we have sample sizes of 16,735 (3,421) men and 20,320 (5,898) women for the UK (Australia). It is worth reiterating that the sample size in GOS is smaller in the first place and with full-time employment rates also lower in Australia so this will lead to much a smaller Australian sample compared to the UK, particularly for creative graduates. Therefore, for some aspects of our salary analysis we can only utilise the UK data e.g. when breaking down by subject or comparing changes between the short and medium using the longitudinal data.

In the UK non-pecuniary returns are captured by career satisfaction where respondents are asked how satisfied they are with their career to date which is only asked in the UK longitudinal survey. When focusing on non-pecuniary returns we start by focussing on all classified as being in the labour market (i.e. those in full-time work (including self-employment and full-time work and study), part-time work or voluntary work) and have a sample size of 4,995 creative men and 7,345 creative women in the UK (and a comparison group of 17,945 and 24,505 non creative men and women respectively); which will give us a broader picture of potential rewards of a creative degree. We then move to exploring the experience of on the full-time work group, and then those who report a salary. There is no corresponding measure in the Australian longitudinal survey so our analysis of non-pecuniary returns focuses on the UK.

3.3 Pecuniary Rewards

Firstly, we note that among our sample of full-time workers, creative graduates (£18,215), earn, on average, 18% less than non-creative graduates (£22,220) in the UK, which is also true in Australia with creative graduates ($45.335) earning 16% less than non-creative graduates ($54,139). This finding is consistent with past evidence in the UK (Abreu et al., 2012; Comunian et al., 2015, 2014; Comunian and Jewell, 2018; Faggian et al., 2013, 2010) and Australia (Daly et al, 2015; Lewis and Lee, 2019, 2020) albeit using different definitions of creative graduates. So we know that not only are creative graduate careers more precarious, as highlighted in chapter 2, but they are also less well rewarded than non-creative careers even within full-time opportunities.

Table 3.1 shows a breakdown of mean salary by gender in the short term and medium term, across creative and non-creative graduates and by type of job. There is a clear overall gender gap in earnings among full-time workers in the UK (Australia) of 10% (7%). The median

[3] We focus on salaries with values between 10,000 and 100,000 as advised by HESA for the UK, and for consistency adopt the same approach for Australia.

gender gap is 6% (5%) in the UK (Australia) which is lower than the pay gap for the general population in the UK which was around 10%[4] and in Australia 17%[5] in 2013. So the gender pay gap among graduates, at least in the short term, is lower than for general population which is consistent with the argument that the gender pay gap is smaller among the more highly educated compared to lower levels of education. However, in the UK the gender gap widens in the medium term (3,5 years) from 10% to 14%, consistent with UK evidence that the gender pay gap is now larger within graduates than within lower levels of education (Costa-Dias et al, 2018) and highly educated men tend to see greater wage growth across the life-cycle (Costa-Dias et al, 2018). Whilst in Australia the general gender gap falls in the medium term from 7% to 5%; we know from chapter 2 that female graduates to some extent catch up in the medium term in Australia. In the short term, the gender wage gap is similar for creative and non-creative graduates, in the UK, with the gap only widening for non-creatives in the medium term. In Australia the gender pay gap is higher among creatives compared to non-creatives in the short term but falls considerably for creative graduates in the medium to almost zero (with a smaller fall for non-creative graduates). Therefore, in Australia women again seem to catch up with men in terms of salaries, especially for creative graduates. In the UK evidence suggest that men have greater wage growth across the life cycle (Swaffield and Manning, 2008) but this is not the case for creative graduates so whilst there is a gender gap within creative careers this does not appear to grow over time in comparison to non-creative careers.

We know creative graduates typically earn less than non-creative graduates but how dependent is this on the type of work they enter? Creative graduates may be rewarded differently according to whether they are matched on the basis of their education and/or subject, with evidence of a wage penalty for individuals who are over-educated (McGuiness, 2006). We therefore follow chapter 2 and split jobs into: creative occupations (a proxy for a subject match for creative graduates), a non-creative graduate level job (a proxy for an educational match only) and neither a creative or graduate job. Table 3.1 also compares differences in salary between creative and non-creative occupations), with a further split just for creative graduates. In general, non-creative graduate level occupations pay more than creative occupations so creative graduates have a higher return by being matched vertically but outside of a creative occupation. Chapter 5 looks in more detail at the utilisation of skills using the trident model.

The gender gap is smaller among creative occupations in the UK compared to non-creative graduates occupations (9% versus 11%). Whilst the gender gap widens within non-creative graduate level jobs between 6 months and 3.5 years (from 11% to 15%) in the UK, this is not the case for creative occupations (9% vs 8%) and within creative graduates the gender gap is similar or falls slightly within the job types (10% vs 8% for creative occupations; 11 vs 10% for non-creative graduate occupations). In Australia the gender pay gap is initially higher (11% vs 7%) for creative occupations compared to non-creative graduate occupations, but in the medium term is similar and much lower (4% and 5% respectively), especially among creative

[4] Own calculations from UK the Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (ASHE) – data downloaded from NOMIS https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/default.asp

[5] Australia's Gender Pay Gap Statistics https://www.wgea.gov.au/data/fact-sheets/australias-gender-pay-gap-statistics

graduates (2% for both). Therefore women are catching up in the Australia, especially among creative graduates, whilst in the UK creative women only make at best very small inroads.

Table 3.1 Mean Salary (base N in brackets): Creative and Non-Creative Graduates with Short term vs Medium-term comparison

	UK (£)						Australia (AUD)					
	6 months		3.5 years		Gender gap (%)		4M		3 years		Gender gap (%)	
	M	F	M	F	6M	3.5Y	M	F	M	F	4M	3Y
All graduates	22,825	20,489	29,995	25,908	10	14	56,008	51,880	67,420	63,908	7	5
	(39,670)	(52,685)	(16,735)	(20,320)			(10,079)	(14,706)	(3,301)	(5,732)		
Non-creative graduate	23,583	21,159	31,117	26,634	10	14	56,578	52,488	68,531	64,781	7	5
	(32,615)	(43,345)	(13,420)	(15,905)			(9,422)	(13,708)	(2,980)	(5,099)		
Creative graduate	19,320	17,380	25,578	23,355	10	9	47,830	43,534	57,098	56,876	9	0
	(7,055)	(9,340)	(3,315)	(4,415)			(657)	(998)	(321)	(633)		
Occupation												
Creative	20,471	18,715	27,066	24,887	9	8	50,354	44,802	57,687	55,469	11	4
	(5,140)	(5,300)	(2,160)	(2,400)			(510)	(634)	(211)	(329)		
Non-creative grad.	25,553	22,851	33,012	28,155	11	15	58,740	54,509	70,448	66,861	7	5
	(22,715)	(30,305)	(10,760)	(12,775)			(6,429)	(9,948)	(2,356)	(4,076)		
Neither	18,594	16,846	23,348	20,903	9	10	51,334	46,626	60,495	56,929	9	6
	(11,790)	(17,065)	(3,775)	(5,110)			(3,140)	(4,124)	(734)	(1,327)		
Creative graduates												
Creative	20,003	18,052	26,213	24,043	10	8	48,556	43,806	55,787	54,757	10	2
	(3,080)	(3,155)	(1,315)	(1,540)			(305)	(406)	(142)	(259)		
Non-creative grad.	22,227	19,877	28,302	25,462	11	10	55,022	51,243	63,931	62,563	7	2
	(1,625)	(2,115)	(1,180)	(1,655)			(125)	(201)	(105)	(218)		
Neither	16,405	15,563	20,704	19,653	5	5	42,893	39,288	49,918	52,449	8	-5
	(2,345)	(4,065)	(810)	(1,215)			(227)	(391)	(74)	(156)		

Data source: 2012/13 DLHE (6 months) LDLHE (3.5 years) for the UK; 2014 GOS (4 months)
GOS-L (3.5 years) for Australia

Notes: Includes those in full-time work (inc. self-employed) who report a salary between 10,000 and 100,000 and report information on occupation; for the UK Statistics are weighted to adjust for the unequal probability of selection for the LDLHE survey (see Appendix); the gender gap (%) is calculated as the difference between male and female earnings divided by male earnings
Base N in brackets

Experiences may vary according to educational domain, so we break down by educational domain for the UK (where the sample size permits), in table 2. The highest paid creative graduates are in domain F (Design and creative subjects) for men and domain A (Cultural and Natural Heritage) for women. Interestingly, the first (F) tends to be the more business/commercially driven sub-sector of the creative economy, while the second (A) is more likely to connect with public sector or third sector organisations. There is a gender pay gap across all domains but the size varies, with a larger gender gap among graduates in F (Design and creative subjects) and C (Visual arts and craft) at 6 months (which are above the general gender gap of 10%; all other domains are below the average gender gap). Domain F, as noted in chapter 2 is the most common educational domain for both sexes. With the exception of A and F the gender gap falls over time within domains.

. Table 3.2 Mean Salary (base numbers in brackets) by Educational Domain: UK Only

	6 months		3.5 years		Gender gap (%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	6 months	3.5 years
a. Cultural and natural heritage	19,387	18,513	27,446	25,152	5	8
	(1,110)	(1,180)	(575)	(630)		
b. Performance and celebration	17,425	16,076	23,464	22,332	8	5
	(420)	(460)	(265)	(285)		
c. Visual arts and craft	17,719	15,659	21,654	20,849	12	4
	(260)	(645)	(125)	(270)		
d. Books and press	18,701	17,895	23,869	24,128	4	-1
	(855)	(2,135)	(465)	(1,115)		
e. Audio and visual interactive	17,615	16,321	22,729	21,642	7	5
	(1,235)	(1,390)	(650)	(630)		
f. Design and creative subject	20,814	17,849	28,529	23,715	14	17
	(2,885)	(2,895)	(1,080)	(1,165)		

Data source: 2012/13 DLHE (6 months) and LDLHE (3.5 years)
Notes: Includes those in full-time work (inc. self-employed) who report a salary between 10,000 and 100,000 and report information on occupation; for the UK Statistics are weighted to adjust for the unequal probability of selection for the LDLHE survey (see Appendix); the gender gap (%) is calculated as the difference between male and female earnings divided by male earnings

Given the sample at the two time periods in Table 3.1 is different, as not everyone is in the labour market or necessarily in a creative occupation at both time periods, differences across time may reflect movements into and out of creative occupations. Therefore, to explore differences in creative careers in more detail we examine a sample from the UK LDLHE sample (where who the sample size permits) who were in the labour market at both time points, and compare average salaries in table 3.3. across groups according to whether they were in a creative occupation at 6 months and 3.5 years. We have a base sample size of 1,380 men and 1,770 women. Table 3.3 shows more men remain in creative occupations (which reflects men are more likely to be in a creative occupation at both time periods), although more

women than men who previously were not in one enter creative occupations by 3.5 years Among creative careers, those who leave creative occupations earn the most by 3.5 years (this fits with the story in table 3.1 where earnings are higher in non-creative graduate jobs), followed by those who remain in creative occupations.

We can see the gender gap widens (from 11 to 14%) for those who continue their careers in creative occupations and is very small for those entering a creative career later (2%) which implies that at least for the UK within creative careers the gender gap is widening across the career path. This is not picked up in table 3.1 due to individuals moving in and out of creative occupations. As we have noted earlier, non-creative graduate jobs, on average pay more, and leaving a creative occupation has a much biggest pay off for men than women, with a gender gap of 17% by 3.5 years. We saw earlier in table 3.1 that men's higher wage growth was not evident within creative occupations, which could reflect those men seeking higher wage growth leave creative occupations. However, we do not know the reasons for leaving creative occupations e.g. whether individuals are leaving in pursuit of higher returns, because they are unsatisfied or because jobs are more precarious.

Table 3.3: Occupation Status and Salary gender gap between 6 Months and 3.5 years in the U.K.

	Distribution (%)		6 months		3.5 years		% Gender gap	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	6 months	3.5 years
Remain in creative occ.	32	25	20,541	18,337	30,576	26,275	11	14
Enter creative occ.	11	13	18,075	17,482	25,639	25,101	3	2
Leave creative occ.	11	11	19,427	18,078	31,727	26,348	7	17
Remain in non-creative occ. - grad job	18	14	23,336	20,912	32,924	28,458	10	14
Remain in non-creative occ. - non-grad job	29	37	17,173	16,148	24,161	22,882	6	5

Data source: LDLHE (3.5 years)

Notes: Includes those in full-time work (inc. self-employed) who report a salary between 10,000 and 100,000 and report information on occupation and were employed at 6 months and 3.5 years; for those who remain in a non-creative occupation: graduate job status refers to having a graduate job at both time periods Statistics are weighted to adjust for the unequal probability of selection for the LDLHE survey (see Appendix)

*Base sample: 1,380 men and 1,770 women

Past research finds that part of the general gender pay gap is driven by men being over-represented at the top of the wage distribution with women facing barriers to reach the top of the distribution, known as the glass ceiling (Arulampalam et al., 2007; Kee, 2006), and that men are over-represented in top jobs (Fortin et al., 2017). Therefore, in the context of the gender wage gap among creative graduates it is important to consider whether a glass ceiling exists, given we know men tend to earn more and the gender gap widens across time for creative graduates who remain in creative occupations. Table 3.4 shows the gender gap across the wage

distribution, at the bottom (10% percentile), middle (50% percentile) and the top (90% percentile) for the first destination survey for both countries.

For both creative and non-creative graduates at 4 to 6 months the gender pay gap is higher at the top of the distribution (at the 90%) level with this slightly higher (lower) among creative graduates at 15% (11%) compared to 12% (13%) among non-creatives in the UK (Australia). Therefore, the gender gap is much wider at the top for creative graduates in the UK than in Australia. At 6 months there is evidence of a glass ceiling where the gap is larger at the top compared to the middle (Albrecht et al., 2003; Arulampalam et al, 2007; Kee, 2006) and this is true of both countries. However, for creative occupations there is less evidence of a glass ceiling, with the gap between the middle and top much smaller. In Australia there is also evidence of a sticky floor (where the gap at the bottom is wider compared to the middle) for non-creative graduates and non-creative non-graduate occupations.

By 3.5 years in the UK we see a widening of the gap at the top, especially for non-creative graduates and non-creative graduate level occupations, with also the case for creative occupations but to a lesser extent. However, whilst the gap is widening in the middle for non-creative occupations this is not the case for creative occupations. Therefore this implies that the greater wage growth for men in creative careers implied by table 3.3 is driven by men doing well at the top of the distribution, and why we do not see much of a fall (if at all) in the gender pay gap in table 3.1. We know that men earn more at the top and this is truer in non-creative graduate jobs so this may help explain the higher returns for men leaving creative occupations. In contrast in Australia there is no evidence of a glass ceiling in the medium term, but some evidence of a sticky floor for creative occupations.

Table 3.4: Gender Gap (%) Across the Wage Distribution

	UK					Australia				
	Subject		Occupation			Subject		Occupation		
	Creative	Non-creative	Creative	Non-creative grad.	Neither	Creative	Non-creative	Creative	Non-creative grad.	Neither
6 months						**4 months**				
Mean	10	10	9	11	9	9	7	11	7	9
10%	0	0	7	6	0	4	11	3	8	17
50%	6	5	10	8	6	7	5	13	8	10
90%	15	12	11	14	15	11	13	14	13	11
N men	*7,055*	*32,615*	*5,140*	*22,715*	*11,790*	*657*	*9,422*	*510*	*6,429*	*3,140*
N women	*9,340*	*43,345*	*5,300*	*30,305*	*17,065*	*998*	*13,708*	*634*	*9,948*	*4,124*
3.5 years						**3 years**				
Mean	9	14	8	15	10	0	5	4	5	6

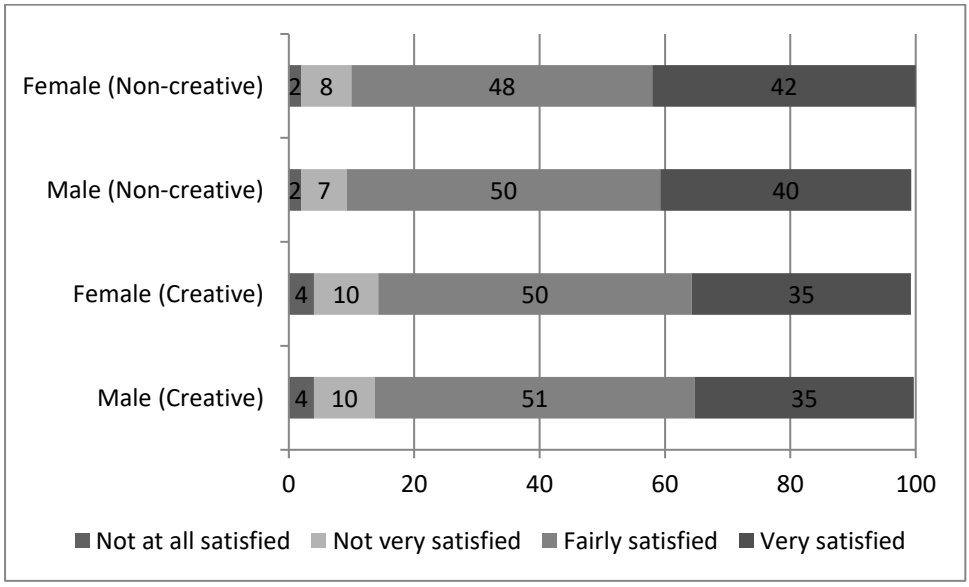
10%	0	6	0	5	0	-7	5	10	4	5
50%	4	14	4	13	5	1	7	4	4	7
90%	16	20	15	19	14	1	5	6	4	6
N men	*3,315*	*13,420*	*2,160*	10760	3775	*321*	*2,980*	*211*	2366	734
N women	*4,415*	*15,905*	*2,400*	*12,775*	*5,110*	*633*	*5,099*	*329*	*4,076*	*1,327*

Data source: 2012/13 DLHE and LDLHE for the UK; 2014 GOS and GOS-L for Australia
Notes: Includes those in full-time work (inc. self-employed) who report a salary between 10,000 and 100,000 and report information on occupation; for the UK Statistics are weighted to adjust for the unequal probability of selection for the LDHE survey (see Appendix)

3.4 Non-Pecuniary Rewards

We now move on to look at non-pecuniary rewards and explore career satisfaction for the UK using the LDLHE survey where respondents are asked on a 4-point scale how satisfied they are with their career to date. We start by comparing non-creative and creative graduates in figure 3.1. A high majority of graduates are satisfied i.e. either 'very satisfied' or 'fairly satisfied' with their careers to date, with non-creative graduates more likely to be satisfied (around 90% of non-creative graduates and 85% of creative graduates). We can see that dissatisfaction either 'not at all satisfied' or' not very satisfied' is slightly higher for creative graduates. There does not seem to be any real gender differences in satisfaction levels with non-creative women slightly more likely than creative men to report being 'very satisfied' (42% of women compared to 40% of men).

Figure 3.1. Career Satisfaction By Gender (%)



Data source: 2012/2013 LDLHE

Notes: Includes those classed as being in the labour market (full-time work, part-time work or voluntary work) ; Statistics are weighted to adjust for the unequal probability of selection for the LDLHE survey (see Appendix)
Base N: Includes 4,995 and 7,340 creative men and women; 17,945 and 24,505 non creative men and women respectively

However, we know that creative and non-creative graduates have differing labour market outcomes so we split by employment type as past evidence suggests job satisfaction varies by whether an individual (predominately for women) is full or part-time (Booth and Van Ours 2008, 2009): full-time work versus non-full-time work (we combined unpaid work with part-time work due to small cell sizes), and job type (creative occupation, non-creative graduate occupation, neither creative or graduate occupation) in table 3.5 We follow Abreu et al. (2015) and Hersch and Xiao (2015) and focus on 'very satisfied' versus other categories, given the high majority report either very or fairly satisfied. Firstly, we note that creative graduates tend to report lower levels of satisfaction than non-creative graduates which is consistent with past work (Abreu et al, 2012, 2015; Comunian and Jewell, 2018). There appears to be little gender differences within creative graduates which is consistent with past literature which finds no gender differences in job satisfaction by gender among as those that are more educated or in professional occupations (Bender et al., 2005; Hersh and Xiao, 2015; Ward and Sloane, 2000). Bönte and Krabel (2014) found for German graduates early in their career that men and women had similar expectations and preferences, and whilst the difference was not large, women reported slightly lower levels of job satisfaction.

Satisfaction is lower for part-time work (especially for creative graduates where only 18% of men and 20% of women are very satisfied), but higher for women compared to men undertaking part-time work, consistent with past studies (Booth and Van Ours 2008, 2009). This implies that women are in general more satisfied with part-time or unpaid employment compared to men and that it may be a career choice due to lifestyle and values rather than of necessity. Bell and Blanchflower (2019) show that satisfaction is impacted by how hours differ from desired hours so those who are involuntarily unemployed or under/over employed will be more dissatisfied. It may be that those in part-time work are unable to find full-time work or are combining part-time work with other jobs which may be especially true of creative graduates. However, we do not necessarily find that women in full-time work report higher levels of career satisfaction as is found in the general job satisfaction literature (Clark, 1997; Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza, 2003), which may reflect, as we have seen, that women tend to have poorer outcomes in terms of job match and salary. Although we note non-creative women do report higher levels of career satisfaction than non-creative men.

We then specifically look at the job match within full-time work (given we know that part-time workers are less satisfied and women are more likely to report part-time work). Those graduates finding either graduate level work or creative work are more likely to report being very satisfied, compared to those in full-time work in general. Past evidence (Allen and van der Velden, 2001; Mateos-Romero and Salinas-Jiménez, 2018; Mavromaras et al., 2013) found that skill matches are more closely related to job satisfaction than education matches are, with educational matches more strongly related to salary, with some evidence that the impact of skill mismatches are higher for women in Australia (Mavromaras et al., 2012). However, we do not find that for creative graduates being a creative occupation leads to higher satisfaction than being in a non-creative graduate level occupation. What is clear is that creative graduates get more dissatisfaction from being in part-time/unpaid work and non-graduate and non-creative

work than non-creative graduates do; again this may reflect that these are less of a choice for creative graduates.

Table 3.5: Career Satisfaction (% Very Satisfied) by Job Type

	Creative		Non-creative	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Full-time work	38	37	41	43
(Base N)	*(4,390)*	*(6,375)*	*(17,025)*	*(22,035)*
Part-time/Unpaid work	18	20	25	32
(Base N)	*(605)*	*(970)*	*(920)*	*(2,570)*
Creative Occupation (full-time work)	42	42	40	40
(Base N)	*(1,850)*	*(2,280)*	*(1,060)*	*(1,150)*
Non-Creative Graduate Job (full-time work)	42	44	45	48
(Base N)	*(1,470)*	*(2,365)*	*(12,055)*	*(15,370)*
Non- Creative and Non-Graduate Job (full-time work)	24	23	30	31
(Base N)	*(1,055)*	*(1,715)*	*(3,855)*	*(5,455)*
Above mean salary	54	54	49	52
(Base N)	*(1,090)*	*(1,020)*	*(7,510)*	*(6,060)*
Below mean salary	28	31	29	37
(Base N)	*(2,225)*	*(3,390)*	*(5,910)*	*(9,845)*

Data source: 2012/2013 LDLHE

Notes: Statistics are weighted to adjust for the unequal probability of selection for the LDLHE survey (see Appendix)

One question is whether creative graduates are more willing to trade off income for greater career satisfaction? This hypothesis is not supported by the comparison of satisfaction levels for those above and below the mean salary in table 3.5. Women are more accepting of having a salary below the mean than men which fits with the idea that men are more driven by pecuniary outcomes than women. Table 3.6 takes this a step further and compares the correlation between satisfaction and salary of creative and non-creative graduates. We may therefore expect the relationship (correlation) between income and satisfaction to be lower for creative graduates, but this does not seem to be the case as shown in table 3.6; this funding is consistent with Comunian and Jewell (2018) who also found the impact of salary on satisfaction was higher for creative graduates.

Table 3.6 Correlations between satisfaction and salary

	Creative		Non-creative	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
All	0.30	0.30	0.25	0.22
	(3,280)	*(4,375)*	*(13,340)*	*(15,825)*
Creative occupation	0.25	0.23	0.24	0.20
	(1,305)	*(1,530)*	*(845)*	*(855)*
Non-creative graduate job	0.23	0.19	0.19	0.14
	(1,170)	*(1,645)*	*(9,535)*	*(11,080)*

Non-creative and non-graduate job	0.31	0.27	0.28	0.25
	(795)	*(1,195)*	*(2,935)*	*(3,855)*

Finally, we look by educational domain and find that for creative men graduates in F (Design and Creative Subjects) followed by A (Cultural and Natural Heritage) have the greatest satisfaction, which are also the higher paid domains for men. Whilst for creative women those in B (Performance and Celebration) followed by D (Books and Press) have the highest satisfaction levels. Women are more satisfied in domains B, D and E (Audio and Visual Interactive), with men more satisfied in F. It would be interesting in future research to consider how these sectors map onto business sectors to explore whether commercially-driven for profit companies making up the field could be offering less opportunities to female creative workers, compared with public or third sector dominated fields.

Table 3.7: Career Satisfaction by Subject Domain (base numbers in brackets), % Very Satisfied

	Male	Female
a. Cultural and natural heritage	37	35
	(800)	(1,010)
b. Performance and celebration	35	41
	(465)	(510)
c. Visual arts and craft	30	29
	(230)	(600)
d. Books and press	32	37
	(665)	(1,715)
e. Audio and visual interactive	32	35
	(1,030)	(1,075)
f. Design and creative subject	40	36
	(1,565)	(1,940)

Data source: 2012/2013 LDLHE

Notes: Includes those classed as being in the labour market (full-time work, part-time work or voluntary work) ; Statistics are weighted to adjust for the unequal probability of selection for the LDLHE survey (see Appendix)

3.5 Conclusions

This chapter aimed to explore rewards to creative careers and gender inequality in rewards. Firstly, consistent with past evidence, creative careers, on average, have a lower return to non-creative careers, with the highest return from finding graduate level work outside of creative occupations. We know from chapter 2 that women who enter creative careers tend to have poorer labour market outcomes than men, and this persists in terms of lower salaries. However, we find that gender pay gaps are smaller in creative careers compared to non-creative careers and in Australia the gender gap reduces over the medium term, whilst in the UK gender gaps persist and in some cases widen. So whilst graduates in Australia are faced with a poorer labour market it is a more inclusive one in terms of gender equality,. However, it is important to also consider the wage distribution. There is evidence of a glass ceiling in creative careers in the UK which persists over time, so women do not access the same opportunities as men in creative careers. We provided evidence that creative men are experiencing greater wage growth, on average, than women, within and outside creative careers, potentially driven by greater inequality at the top of the distribution In Australia we see any early disadvantage, including any glass ceiling, disappear in the medium term. However, there is evidence of a sticky floor in Australia in creative careers, suggesting creative women are experiencing low pay at the bottom of the distribution. So whilst there seems to be greater opportunities for creative careers in the UK than in Australia, women in the UK appear to have less access to these higher paying opportunities.

The assumption that creative graduates trade-off pecuniary returns for greater job satisfaction is not supported by our evidence, and there is no evidence that lower economic returns for creative graduates and creative careers are compensated in the form of higher career satisfaction. In particular we found no evidence that the relationship between income and career satisfaction is weaker for creative graduates. We also do not find that women are more satisfied with their careers, although we so find some evidence suggesting that women are less driven than men by pecuniary rewards, and that women may be less dissatisfied with not attaining certain desirable aspects of their career such as not finding full-time work, or earning below the mean salary.

Therefore, we do not find that creative careers are well rewarded, or that they are only rewarded for a few with men tending to do well at the top of the distribution. For the UK, we found that over the medium term those starting out in a creative career where better rewarded if they left the creative sector. We are only able to follow individuals in the medium term up to 3/3.5 years which is still a relatively short period, so we cannot assess creative careers over and long period and we also know that gender pay gaps tend to widen around the time of having children (Costa-dias et al., 2018); therefore a future research avenue is to explore experiences over a longer time period.

We also note that we were only able to focus on full-time salaries so we may underestimate the wage penalties of a creative career where outcomes tend to be more precarious. We also have to be slightly cautious in interpreting results as there are some differences in salary responses

rates by gender, country and creative versus non-creative graduates (see data appendix) so we should view results as indicative. We do not know motivations for entering and leaving creative occupations, or general career motivations so future research could examine these in more detail which would help unpack what is happening within creative careers, and why men appear to have higher wage growth within creative careers, once we are able to account for those men leaving creative occupations who enter higher paid occupations elsewhere.

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