STRONGER ARTS AND CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS FOR A GREATER SOCIAL IMPACT

CREATIVE LENSES
Catalyst programme
Case study
VILLAGE UNDERGROUND

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Introduction
This case study explores changes made by Village Underground, an independent cultural venue in London, UK, as a result of thinking about its business model and the challenges encountered as part of the process. Business model is a contested term, but the following definition captures the essence of the idea:

A business model describes an organisation's activities and assets and the ways that they are combined to create value for the organisation itself, for individuals and for society.

This definition highlights that business models are not all about money-making. Business models are to do with how organisations combine resources to create and capture financial and other forms of value within different institutional logics. Creating a successful business model requires finding people, funders and partners that value what an organisation does and are willing to enter into financial or other exchanges to access it: directly, as a user or customer, or indirectly, as a funder, partner or donor.

There are several possible ways of describing business models. This case study uses a combination of dominant approaches in order to detail the important parts of the organisation as well as the relationships and behaviours that have enabled it to succeed over time. To situate the business model within its context, the case study highlights the mix of political, economic, social and technological factors informing existing business models whilst also indicating instances where contextual factors call for adjustments to the existing model or a shift between one model and another. Throughout the case study, the role of institutional logics, organisational cultures and personal motivations in shaping business model design and choices of how to change or modify business models comes into the frame.
This case study is one of eight written as part of Creative Lenses (2015-2019), funded by Creative Europe. As part of the project, the partners designed and implemented a series of eight ‘Catalyst’ projects in 2017-2018, during which an arts and cultural organisation was provided with resources to make changes. The project did not prescribe any particular type of change, leaving organisations to identify their own priorities and objectives. For Village Underground the resources provided were: financial support (£20,000 plus £3,500 for audience development), mentoring support from Creative Lenses partners and a series of workshops attended by all the organisations and mentors.

As a kind of action learning, the research applied an analytical lens to the practices and experiences of the organisations participating in the Creative Lenses Catalyst Programme. The purpose of the research was to understand what approaches were taken to business model change and why, and to question how organisational cultures and institutional logics have shaped and been shaped by the process. The research explores the relationship between the frameworks of values underpinning cultural work, the organisation’s particular mission and the need to produce sufficient income. Data were gathered through interviews, site visits, participation in workshops and document analysis. The case study was written by academic researchers and was reviewed by members of the organisation and its mentors.

Being Experimental, Learning to be Routine

Village Underground is an independent performing arts venue based in Shoreditch, east London, UK, programming live music and club nights, as well as offering corporate hires and co-working spaces for creative practitioners. As it prepared to open a second, larger venue in London in 2018, VU faced challenges about how to sustain its experimental approach and working culture while making its everyday operations routine. This case study explores how a focus on internal management raised issues about hierarchy, leadership and identity.

The key learning points from this case are:

• Making changes to the business model reverberates throughout the organisation including on staff, requiring managers initiating change to be prepared to address these effects
• Business model change is a complex process of negotiation where organisational history and values, team dynamics, individual and group commitments all influence how intentions are translated into practice
• Scaling up to run more and bigger venues requires a shift to routine working which may present difficulties for an organisation with competences in exploring and experimenting
• A transformational change can be accompanied by adjustments to the finer detail of how an organisation operates

Organisational Overview

The availability of a number of old underground train carriages coupled with affordable rent in a building owned by the municipality provided the impetus for the founder to establish Village Underground (VU) as a co-working space on the roof of a building in Shoreditch, east London in 2004. Pre-gentrification, there were several unused or derelict buildings in the area, and few shops or places to go out. In what is now a classic case of urban restructuring and gentrification, Shoreditch is now an important destination for people enjoying a night out in London as well as providing high end hotels, luxury flats, boutique shops and offices.

Having been a pioneer in bringing people to Shoreditch, VU contributed to the process of urban transformation in this part of London. As one of the early members of the core team put it, ‘We delivered the commodification of cool’. But the wider set of changes resulting from massive private development in the local area now presents a threat to VU’s long-term future, including large

1 Interview, London, 2017
increases in its rent and changes to the mix of nearby businesses and venues and the visitors they attract.

The majority of VU’s income comes from its programme of music and club nights and private and branded hires. VU’s mission is rooted in a vision of the arts as transformative, not just offering people a good night out in Shoreditch: ‘We believe that the power of culture lies in inspiration, transformative experiences that have the capacity to change perceptions, people and societies and that’s why we work very hard to present the best new culture as it happens.’ It’s not just a commercial organisation putting on live music and club nights. VU knowingly makes choices about what to put on to shape culture in particular directions, from up-and-coming as well as established performers such as Underworld, Dirty Projectors or Panda Bear to DJs such as Fourtet.

VU’s origins and mission mark it out as an organisation comfortable with doing what management academics call ‘exploration, the ability’ to continually reconfigure resources to adapt to changing circumstances and identify opportunities. However it faces challenges in another kind of organisational capability, ‘exploitation’, that is, developing and using competences to exploit these opportunities. Organisations that are good at balancing exploration and exploitation are called ‘ambidextrous’. Thus far, VU is an example of an organisation that is good at identifying and developing opportunities. But with a significant new development, the opening of a new arts venue in Dalston, another part of east London in September 2018, VU may have to focus more on exploitation, to create the stability and routines required to run a larger venue, with new partners and audiences and a different scope.

Organisational Background

In the early years, the VU founders decided that in order to provide affordable studio space for creative practitioners, they would raise additional income by altering the business model to programme performing arts events downstairs. Over several years, VU transformed from a small-scale, informal operation centred on the provision of co-working space to a multi-purpose music and arts venue with a capacity of about 700 people. Open mostly in the evening and not every day of the week, VU became an important part of the urban music scene in London. The underground train carriages on the roof that provide the co-working spaces lend VU a distinctive identity but they are not its main business model.

The years since VU became a well-known London music venue have been marked by constant change, both in the external and internal environment. One of the external changes that has added significant pressure to VU’s ability to sustain itself is the increase in rent for the Shoreditch building, owned by the municipality, Hackney Council. Following a rent review in 2017, the annual rent increased from £40,000 a year to over £200,000 a year. Having successfully renegotiated another 15 years in the building in early 2017, VU has secured its medium-term future. However this significantly higher rent has produced changes inside the organisation. For example it has resulted in a process in which there are decisions to make about which events to programme and how to use the space, balancing profitable private hires with other uses of the space that are less profitable. The staff are well attuned to negotiating between these tensions. ‘I think we also had the acknowledgement that because of these things – financial pressures and our other values – that a balance can very rarely exist and there will always be an imbalance that that’s part of the beauty of what we do. I hope we can reach the balance.’

The language and practices of constant negotiation and adjustment are therefore built into VU. ‘Not receiving core funding for our programming means that we have to make artistic compromises in order to keep a balance between the artistic programme and our financial obligations.’ Public subsidy has not as yet featured in VU’s business model, so its decreasing availability in the UK following the 2008 financial crisis and subsequent austerity measures is not the main issue currently facing the organisation. The funding context is competitive, especially in London. VU applied to be an Arts Council England (ACE) National Portfolio Organisation (NPO) which would mean receiving several years of committed funding, but it was not successful. ‘We scored highly on many points but I suspect the fact we are in London had a negative impact on our application, given the fierce competition within London and ACE’s recent focus on funding organisations outside the capital.’

Current Business Model

The business model of VU has three core components: programming live music events, club nights and private and branded hires, each with its own activities, audiences, income streams and costs. A fourth more minor area is renting out co-working space at the venue. Turnover in 2016 was around £2.6 million with a profit of £277,000. Other activities include curating a wall and a window gallery on a busy road to showcase art and hiring out a wall for
mural advertising. Private corporate events are the most profitable of VU’s activities, followed by ticket sales and bar takings.

Before developing the new building in Dalston there were around 12 full-time staff, four freelance or part-time staff and around 39 staff on zero-hour contracts, making them a flexible resource for VU adapting to changing bookings and numbers of events. Staff note enduring divisions between the staff who work during the day, upstairs in the train carriage that serves as VU’s own office, and the team who generally work at night, who produce the events and run the operations downstairs. Since it does not run events every day, VU was unable to offer many permanent contracts. However operating three spaces in the new Dalston building including a bar/restaurant opening every day will change the mix of staffing resulting in more staff, working more hours and more of them on permanent contracts.

In terms of legal structure, VU is a limited company solely owned by the founder and director Auro Foxcroft. Over the years, VU has tried out different kinds of organisational structure, including hiring two managing directors to provide operational oversight and co-ordination. As a result, the hope of self-management rests on a structure in which one person is the sole owner of the organisation and bears legal and other responsibilities for VU’s activities.

Organisational Culture and Values

With over a decade’s experience leading the organisation, VU’s founder has pushed for the team to move towards a self-management system based on distributed authority, reducing the need for them to play a conventional role of leader or CEO. The hope for a self-managing organisation is that it would reduce the need for hierarchical relationships; staff are encouraged to be personally responsible for decisions and their own professional development. But this approach has not been equally welcomed by all. In addition to having different stakes in the organisation because of the precarious employment contract they are on, some staff are used to and prefer conventional hierarchical structures or may not want to invest so heavily in their work. Further, for some members of staff, this approach to leadership and management creates uncertainty and a lack of clarity about who has decision making power. Staff spoke of a challenging working environment, particularly in terms of how colleagues speak to one another and how conflict is managed.

Understanding these tensions requires looking more closely into how staff talk about their reasoning for working for an organisation like VU, particularly in terms of how their commitment to the organisation’s mission means they might accept challenging working conditions. Discussions of identity in the arts tend to focus on artists to the relative neglect of the category of the cultural worker. These are people who work in arts organisations and may practice as artists or other forms of cultural producer alongside their work, yet whose paid employment involves the management and administrative work without which their employer would cease to operate.

Problematic narratives circulate about cultural workers, many of which take their cue from the myth of the struggling artist sacrificing their own material needs for the benefit of their art and the publics who encounter it. In other words, this work has such a value to society that it is worth doing even when governments cease to fund it.

A more focused understanding of the identity-work undertaken by cultural workers is needed, encompassing the troubling material conditions made acceptable or the inequalities reinforced by the status attributed to these occupations in popular culture, media and, to a certain extent, higher education institutions. As one member of VU staff reflected, this quickly becomes normalised: ‘Yeah it is like a thing that you work in culture and you are prepared to earn very little because of the passion and you care so much.

9 Zero hour contracts are common in the hospitality and catering industry in the UK but controversial. For example staff have different rights and benefits to those with employment contracts offering fixed hours. For more on these differences and the implications for workers see Koukaiaaki, A., and Ioan-Katsaropos. 2017. Temporary contracts, precarious employment, employees’ fundamental rights and EU employment law. Study for the PETI Committee. Brussels: European Union. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/supporting-analyses.
about it and I think there’s a bit of taking advantage of people like that.” 13 As the quote from this staff member captures, personal belief that your work is in some way aligned with certain values, makes cultural workers vulnerable to exploitative conditions.

Certain values or social goals serve different functions for different staff members. For example, staff who occupy an advocacy role, such as directors or leaders, may find it strategically useful to utilise language favourable to policymakers and funders in the accounts they give of organisational values and the agendas they pursue as part of the cultural sector. VU’s founder is involved in the London Music Board, a body aiming to protect grassroots music venues from increasing licensing costs, pressure from developers to reduce noise levels as commercial districts are redeveloped for housing and rising rents. A language of social impact is likely to facilitate this aim. This framing is therefore an important element of the future sustainability of the venue, whether its claims can be evidenced or not. This perspective highlights that organisational values serve a function, personally, professionally, and strategically. They may enable the business to develop in new directions, or may enable it to in-build exploitative working conditions.

Managing Business Model Change

The transition over the years from a small-scale workspace for creatives to a multi-purpose arts venue created issues that are yet to be fully addressed. This has been exacerbated by the decision for VU to become a multi-venue organisation. In September 2018, VU opened a new venue, Evolutionary Arts Hackney (Earth) in Dalston, east London after renovating a former cinema into an approximately 2,000 capacity space spread across two venues. This is a significant development for the organisation. The new venue’s programme combines commercial events (live music, club nights, talks, markets and performances) with local engagement activities such as a partnership with arts charity Community Music to engage young people in Dalston with the arts in a more substantial way than has been possible at the Shoreditch space. The new building has three different event spaces including a 750-seat theatre and will have a restaurant/bar that is always open. This shift to being open regularly, rather than intermittently is an important change for the team in terms of being an audience-facing organisation open much more often, with higher expectations of quality of environment. ‘We’ll have to run this restaurant with much better quality than we’ve had to do things before.’ 14 Opening up a large new venue and working with new partners creates opportunities but also challenges and requires new skills and processes: “Up until now we have been less focused on exchange and collaboration, and more on presenting culture to an audience.” 15

In order to acquire the funds to open the new venue, VU received public and private investment. The team combined public and social investment in the form of loans from the Arts Impact Fund and the Big Issue Foundation with a bank loan and individual investments. To support the planned studio and educational facilities for local young people, a crowd-funding initiative is underway. 14

In addition to this major development, there are other drivers of change to which VU has to adapt. One is the reduction in consumption of alcohol among consumers, resulting in reduced bar takings that are an important part of the income stream: ‘There is much more of a movement towards wellbeing. If you’re not selling people booze then what are you going to sell them because you’ve got to sell them something in order to finance the art.’ 15

Creative Lenses Catalyst project

In relation to these ongoing developments, Village Underground used the Creative Lenses Catalyst Programme’s dialogues, financial resources and mentoring in 2017-2018 to surface and address some of these subtle but enduring issues. 16 The activities were into three areas: working out how to enable effective collaboration across the organisation to deliver its ambitious plans, staff development and how the organisation approaches its marketing, addressing some of the developments in the external environment. A closer look at the detail of these changes, and the reasoning behind them, is a reminder that business model change can be about adjustments to internal processes, roles and structures underpinning how an organisation operates that may be necessary during a period of rapid transformation.

Catalyst Project Action One: Organisation Redesign

The first action concerned internal organisation principles and processes. For several years the core team had been exploring ideas of self-management, inspired in particular by a book arguing for non-hierarchical, dynamic ways of organising based on conscious evolution, which the author calls ‘teal’. 17 The management principles on which ‘teal’ organisations are thought to work are self-organising teams and ‘holacracy’ rather than hierarchy, without the usual roles, job descriptions, and formal processes associated with formally structured organisations. 18 The main issues VU hoped self-management

14 Interview, September 2018.
15 Internal project document, 2017.
18 Co-author Lucy Kimbell was the mentor working with Village Underground during the Creative Lenses project.
will address are: increased respect between team members by reducing ego-based behaviour; quicker decision making by removing the need for manager authorization or consensus; and, clarity regarding the organisation’s purpose and financial status. These final two are important as freedom to make decisions is predicated on those decisions being aligned with the organisation’s purpose and financial position. For example VU is hoping to develop a responsive financial dashboard to help with this.

After exploring several different approaches to self-management, mainly holocracy and agile working, the leadership team at VU decided to develop its own approach suited to the needs and priorities of the organisation. VU experimented by organising staff into ‘autonomous small cross functioning self-organising teams’, known as squads. For each problem they are asked to solve, each squad has responsibility from beginning to end for everything, aside from defining the problem, a task that remains the responsibility of the leader. All staff members are free to join squads of their choice. This is particularly important for VU who employ a mix of office and venue staff. Moving to this model is expected to impact the business model through improving productivity by ‘harnessing the value and thinking of everybody in the organisation’ in particular the staff working on zero-hours contracts in the venue who have not historically contributed to decision making or projects.

In terms of organisational culture, encouraging individuals to make decisions based on the priorities of the organisation rather than their own interests or loyalties is hoped to reduce conflict and change a working environment where disrespecting and criticizing others had become normalised. In the interests of improving productivity, reducing animosity in the workplace and becoming a more ‘responsive organisation’, VU continues to redesign its organisational structure, supported by whole-team and small-group discussions about a renewed commitment to a positive and respectful organisational culture. VU decided to focus on these aspects of its business model as there were enduring concerns following a period of ongoing business model change. This approach was seen as holding the potential to bolster the sustainability of the organisation, by improving staff retention and by increasing enjoyment of working at VU. Staff were seen as crucial to the business model of VU, a key asset to use a term associated with the business model construct, meaning working culture is of paramount importance to VU.

Alongside a plan to transition to being a self-managing organisation, a related project ‘Let’s Be People People’ was set up initiated and led by one member of staff. This was essentially staff development, but with a twist. In brief, staff were allocated time and funding through Creative Lenses to arrange training from or visits to external organisations based on a topic of interest to them, and that would be of benefit to VU, as well as to the member of staff. This model was therefore based on the same self-management or ‘teal’ principles being advocated in the larger project.

Staff were briefed about the opportunity and were free to arrange this and would be paid to cover their time. At VU, the human resources (HR) function is un-developed compared to arts organisations that have governance structures and funding that requires them to recruit, train, manage and support staff in particular ways. People learn on the job and informally. But this initiative recognised the staff as a key resource in the organisation, according to the member of staff who developed and led the project: ‘We have chosen to take that time and money and offer it directly to our staff; importantly, not just to our office staff but to all staff in the organisation. It is an investment in our people and an opportunity for them to take if they choose to. We are only as good as the investment we make in our staff and the education we give them.’

A third action supported by Creative Lenses aimed to inform and professionalise how VU approaches audience development, another project that has been waiting in the wings for some years. VU used the resources to employ a consultancy to research and model its audiences. While not a central priority, increasing income from ticket sales and the bar is important for VU, as is designing the programme to speak to the interests, tastes and habits of their audiences. There are plans to use this analysis to inform the programming of the new venue as well as the existing one.

Results and Discussion

In a fast-moving, experimental organisation such as Village Underground, new initiatives are common. The activities associated with Creative Lenses took place while VU was developing and implementing its plans to develop its much larger second London building with three distinct spaces. Efforts to create self-organised ‘squads’ to work together to develop plans relating to the new building were intermittent. Despite the expressed desire to
implement self-management and distributed decision making, the reality at VU was that key decisions were still being made by the director and a small group of staff.

Practical rather than structural issues played a role in slowing down the transition to self-management, particularly with the staff development programme. Many staff simply did not have time to pursue this opportunity. ‘I’m very sad to say that I didn’t get going at all with mine. When we first had the planning meeting I was fairly new to VU and didn’t really have a grip on what my job entailed. In the last few weeks or so however it’s really stepped up, which is great, but it means I now have loads on! I’m sorry to say that this project and time got away from me’.23

While having limited time is an issue, other reasons for self-management not developing might result from the fact that it is not well-aligned with the existing work practices at VU. For example meetings continued to take place where only selected people are invited; policies and procedures remained mostly informal. One member of staff described the dynamics at play as ‘founder syndrome’.24 A common feature in many organisations, this is a situation where an individual stays closely involved in leading an organisation he or she founded, presumably assuming that not doing so would be to its detriment.25 This results in a founder maintaining disproportionate power and influence relative to their day-to-day involvement in the organisation. Importantly, ‘founder syndrome’ may not arise out of mal-intent but may be a manifestation of a founder’s determination for their organisational vision to flourish. As such, there is a need to bring the reality closer to the intention, in order for all staff to feel there is substance behind the rhetoric of self-management.

In terms of the audience development work, with its new venue and associated partnerships and funding, VU was left with questions about what its mission might be. ‘I’m very sad to say that I didn’t get going at all with mine. When we first had the planning meeting I was fairly new to VU and didn’t really have a grip on what my job entailed. In the last few weeks or so however it’s really stepped up, which is great, but it means I now have loads on! I’m sorry to say that this project and time got away from me’.23

In terms of the audience development work, with its new venue and associated partnerships and funding, VU was left with questions about the kinds of audiences it was supposed to work with and serve. Audience development is a key focus of UK and EU cultural policy. For example a report published by the European Commission heralded it as ‘an essential vector for the relevance and sustainability of any cultural entity at the financial, social and even cultural levels’.26 Organisations operating in the subsidised cultural sector are pressurised to take an ‘audience-centric’ approach with expectations about which audiences they should pursue. VU can be seen to occupy the space between a market-orientated approach and a product-led approach to programming. The language used in organisational documents and by staff suggests a strong alignment with a belief in the value of the type of culture they present and a desire to address the exclusions that result from a commercial approach in the absence of public subsidy. ‘There are expectations that arts organisations should become more commercial and business-minded which has a knock-on effect on programme quality, charitable work such as outreach and social programmes. There is also a societal impact in terms of access to culture if the price of tickets is too high’.27

On the one hand, developing knowledge of its audiences will enable VU to tailor the programme and the offer to the needs of its markets. This will benefit ticket sales, and may provide important pointers as to how VU can adapt to the changing habits of audiences as demand for alcohol decreases. In another sense, evidencing an interest in its audiences, particularly those currently ‘indifferent’ or ‘underrepresented’ (this latter term is aligned with the broader ideological project of cultural policy), could pave the way for VU to attract more public funding. For this to work, however, VU will need to prioritise implementing projects which respond to this newly acquired knowledge of their audiences.

Within several years of being founded, VU has transitioned from being a small-scale co-working space to a well-known multi-purpose arts venue with large audiences, big name performers and associated legal, contractual and operational infrastructures, policies and practices, many of which were informal. VU has focused efforts on constantly adapting its business model in response to changes such as the gentrification of east London resulting in a significantly higher rent and changes to the night time economy it serves. Its creative, informal culture has been sustained throughout this as an example of an exploratory capability. However with its increased rent for the Shoreditch building, and the preparations and investment in the new Dalston building, its experimental way of working is facing the challenges of creating and sustaining organisational routines associated with running a bigger space that is open daily to the public.

The Creative Lenses project gave VU the opportunity to surface and invest resources in addressing its organisational structure and culture. The core team involved in these developments believed improvements in these areas have the potential to improve productivity and staff satisfaction. Both are key elements of a sustainable business model. The potential for culture to contribute to progressive social and political action remains VU’s aim, albeit

27 Internal project document, 2017.
one increasingly crowded out by commercial pressures. Limited budgets mean that choices have to be made, and too much emphasis on economic goals does put other objectives at risk of receding. However, this was broadly accepted as a fact of working life rather than a major concern.

Making organisational changes has not been straightforward, as they take place in the messy and busy reality that is an arts organisation. Tension is acknowledged by the majority of staff rather than downplayed. This emphasises that business model change, at whatever scale, is not simply implemented from the top or off the back of a directive from a funding body. Rather, business model change is a complex process of negotiation where organisational history and values, team dynamics, individual and group commitments all influence how intentions are translated into practice.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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