



UNIVERSITY OF  
LEICESTER

RESEARCH INSTITUTE  
FOR CULTURAL AND  
MEDIA ECONOMIES

# Workforce Diversity in the UK Screen Sector

Evidence Review

CAMEo

ZOOM 1:1.4 f=15-25mm

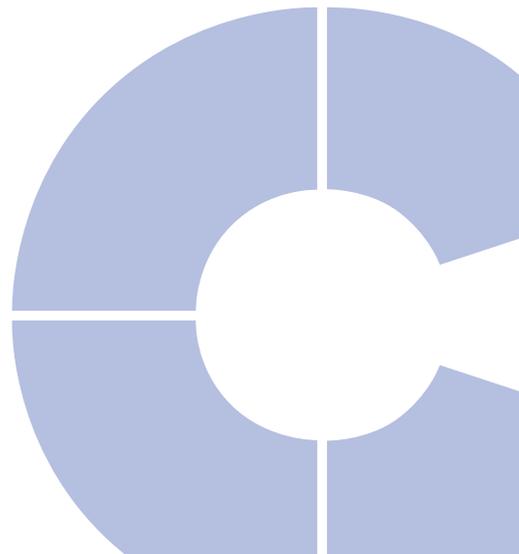
A close-up photograph of a camera lens, showing the lens element and the surrounding metal housing. The lens is illuminated with a warm, golden light, and the background is a soft, out-of-focus bokeh of blue and white light spots. The lens is mounted on a camera body, and the text 'ZOOM 1:1.4 f=15-25mm' is visible on the lens barrel.

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# **Workforce Diversity in the UK Screen Sector An Evidence Review**

CAMEo Research Institute for Cultural and Media Economies





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## 1. Executive summary

### Diversity in the UK Screen Sector Workforce, 2012-2016: What does the evidence tell us?

The screen sector is vitally important to the economic, social and cultural life of the UK. According to research which covers the UK's film, television, animation and video games industries, the sector generated over £6bn for the economy (2013), including £1.5bn in overseas investment (Olsberg SPI with Nordcity 2015).<sup>1</sup> The latest data published by the British Film Institute shows that the UK film industry alone had a turnover of over £10 billion in 2015.<sup>2</sup>

The screen sector is also central to the cultural and leisure activities of the UK's diverse population. For example, film is valued as an important part of British culture and plays a role in constructing national and individual identity (Northern Alliance and Ipsos MediaCT 2011).<sup>2</sup>

We live in a diverse society, however, the screen sector's on and off screen workforce does not reflect the diversity of the UK's population as a whole. There are longstanding and complex barriers to attaining equality of opportunity and participation.

Across the UK screen sector and academia a number of workforce diversity studies have been undertaken in recent years. These studies vary in terms of the aspects of diversity they focus on, their scale and aims and objectives. However, what is missing from the research currently is an understanding of the cross-cutting themes and multiple effects of lack of diversity and inclusivity in the screen sector, and how these impact individuals with protected characteristics working in the industry.

In order to address this knowledge gap, the external advisory group to the BFI's National Lottery-funded Research and Statistics Fund commissioned this evidence review. The aim of the review is to pull together findings from these diversity studies and establish the research (and evidence) base on workforce diversity in the UK screen sector. The review systematically evaluates the research on workforce diversity in the United Kingdom's film, television, animation, video games and visual effects (VFX) industries published between 2012 and 2016. It gives the most complete picture to-date of what is known about the screen sector workforce, including:

- the current state of workforce diversity;

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<sup>1</sup>In 2013, the UK film industry directly supported 39,800 jobs and had the highest export intensity of any UK service sector (65% compared to 35% across the UK economy as a whole). High-end television directly supported 8,300 jobs; video games 12,100 jobs and animation 1,300 jobs. Olsberg SPI with Nordcity (2015). 'Economic Contribution of the UK's Film, High-End TV, Video Game, and Animation Programming Sectors: Report presented to the BFI, Pinewood Shepperton plc, Ukie, the British Film Commission and Pact'. London: Olsberg SPI, pp.1-101. Available at: <http://www.o-spi.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/SPI-Economic-Contribution-Study-2015-02-24.pdf>

<sup>2</sup>BFI (2017). 'The UK film economy. BFI research and statistics'. London: BFI. Available at: <http://www.bfi.org.uk/sites/bfi.org.uk/files/downloads/bfi-uk-film-economy-2017-08-30.pdf>

- the complex causes of the lack of workforce diversity;
- interventions to increase workforce diversity;
- the evidence on positive social and business benefits of increased workforce diversity.

The commercial and cultural benefits of diversity and inclusion for creativity and audience engagement across film and the screen sector is a priority for the future success of the industry, as noted in BFI2022.<sup>3</sup> This strategy was followed by the BFI Future Film Skills Strategy which identified the need to bring more skilled workers into the industry to ensure its continued growth and competitiveness, at the same time offering the opportunity to ensure that the UK has a more representative workforce. The BFI Diversity Standards are working to improve inclusion and representation on and off-screen for BFI-funded projects and are also being adopted by the industry more broadly. The BFI's Diversity Targets for funded projects and the BFI's own staffing will be formally introduced in April 2018.

### 1.1. Key findings

- Obtaining a nationally representative picture of workforce diversity from the available data sources is a challenge due to the different sector definitions, categories and methodologies employed by public and industry bodies (Creative Skillset, DCMS, ONS).
- While there are good sources of data on the demographic composition of some sectors (particularly film and television), little is known about workforce diversity in others (animation, video games and visual effects).
- Research has predominantly focused upon issues surrounding gender workforce representation, and to a lesser extent ethnicity and disability. Comparatively little is known about other key characteristics such as social class, sexual orientation, location and religion.
- Women, disabled workers, workers from working class and ethnic minority backgrounds, carers and individuals living outside London/South East England are significantly less likely to establish and maintain a career in the UK screen sector.
- Many workers have to overcome more than one barrier to workforce participation, e.g. women from working class backgrounds or disabled workers who also have caring responsibilities.

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<sup>3</sup>BFI (2017). BFI2022 Supporting UK Film. London: BFI. Available at <http://www.bfi.org.uk/2022/>

- Particularly powerful obstacles to workforce participation are the screen sector's reliance on personal networks for allocating work and business opportunities; a 'white, male, middle class'-dominated industry culture; working conditions characterised by long working hours, flexible and mobile working and income insecurities; and an underlying acceptance of these conditions as diversity-unfriendly but necessary and unchangeable.
- Challenges of reconciling childcare responsibilities with intensive, flexible working hours and lack of access to parental leave schemes make workforce participation and advancement particularly difficult for parents.
- There is some evidence that interventions in the form of training schemes and mentorship programmes can be successful in providing entry routes into the screen sector workforce for limited numbers of women, BAME people and disabled people. There is, however, little to suggest that these interventions have to date had any success at addressing the underlying causes of inequality or the existence of barriers to equal participation.
- Understanding the effects of different kinds of interventions designed to increase workforce diversity is hampered by a lack of robust, independent evaluation.
- Within the screen sector there is a strong perception that barriers to greater workforce diversity are a 'lost opportunity', for companies, for creative teams, and for audiences but we do not articulate well enough precisely what benefits greater workforce diversity might bring.
- The evidence for positive business benefits from increased diversity is lacking and advocates are compelled to rely upon anecdotes.

Given the timing of the evidence review, issues arising from the Referendum on the UK's membership in the European Union did not yet feature in the evidence base. However, recent research on skilled migration suggests that the ability of screen sector companies to recruit skilled migrants from both within and outside the EU is likely to feature strongly in future discussions of workforce diversity, particularly in more information technology-intensive industries such as video games and VFX (see Windsor et al. 2016).<sup>4</sup>

## 1.2. Key recommendations

The screen sector faces a double challenge: Firstly, it needs better research into workforce diversity. Secondly, it needs more diversity-related practice that can form the basis of such research. Resources are needed for both better research and better diversity-related

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<sup>4</sup> Windsor, G., Bakshi, H. & Mateos-Garcia, J. (2016). 'Skilled Migration and the UK's Creative Industries'. London: NESTA, pp.1-15. Available at: [http://www.nesta.org.uk/sites/default/files/skilled\\_migration\\_and\\_the\\_uks\\_creative\\_industries.pdf](http://www.nesta.org.uk/sites/default/files/skilled_migration_and_the_uks_creative_industries.pdf)

practice to support the future vibrancy and growth of the sector in relation to diversity and inclusion and to deliver cultural and commercial impact. Where possible the recommendations below suggest close alignment of investment in research and diversity-related practice in order to use resources across the sector as efficiently as possible.

Given the resource implications, there is thus an urgent need to coordinate efforts and to ensure that resources across the sector are utilised effectively.

The report makes the following recommendations:

To improve the quality of research and evidence

1. Creation of consistent and sector-wide monitoring of key workforce characteristics to provide reliable sector statistics, preferably designed with a view to international comparability. Such efforts would likely need to be led by (groups of) sector organisations in collaboration with experienced academic or industry researchers.
2. More explicit integration between quantitative and qualitative studies. Smaller scale qualitative studies would allow in-depth analysis of the relationships, processes and practices behind statistics. Reliable workforce statistics would identify the issues qualitative studies could usefully explore.
3. Incorporation of rigorous evaluation into all interventions to improve inclusion and representation, preferably with a sector commitment to making evaluations publicly available.
4. Systematic research into key crosscutting research themes:
  - Empowering versus transforming interventions, i.e. initiatives designed to improve workforce participation for specific groups of workers versus initiatives designed to change industry structures and remove existing barriers to workforce diversity;
  - Interventions designed to persuade or convince versus interventions designed to regulate or incentivise;
  - The ways in which increased workforce diversity can lead to more diverse opportunities for employment and career progression, transform and improve organisational processes, and diversify output, and thus also increase business opportunities;
  - Attitudes towards diversity, inclusion and diversity-relevant aspects of screen sector culture.
5. Closer collaboration between academic and industry research, both in terms of methodologies and research foci.

To improve the availability and dissemination of knowledge

6. Creation of a national and periodically updated database of research into workforce diversity.
7. Creation of a practitioner-facing database of interventions to increase workforce diversity, preferably including descriptions and evaluations of initiatives.

To increase workforce-diversity relevant sector practice that can be researched

8. Creation of a sector-wider funding programme supporting initiatives and projects relevant to workforce diversity in combination with research on these activities. Such a funding programme could provide concentrated research capacity for a sector in which many businesses or organisations cannot afford interventions or evaluations.

## 2. Introduction

### 2.1. The issues

Diversity in film, TV, video games and other media has recently received considerable attention. Alarm bells rung by international UK talent such as Idris Elba, David Oyelowo, Julie Walters and Riz Ahmed<sup>5</sup> chimed with social media campaigns such as #OscarsSoWhite and #BritsSoWhite to draw public attention towards the under-representation of working class and non-white workers. The #MeToo movement has also highlighted how power imbalances in workplaces – which are not restricted to the screen sector – have enabled bullying and harassment to inhibit diversity and inclusion. The Set of Principles and Guidance to tackle and prevent bullying and harassment in the film and screen sector announced by the BFI and developed with BAFTA and industry partners specifically address inappropriate and unlawful behaviour. Similarly, reports of sex and age discrimination highlighted the working conditions of women in film, TV, video games and other media, and the recently released book 'Women in Game Development' prominently showcases 22 women's struggle against a hostile industry culture.<sup>6</sup> An increasing volume of industry and academic research provides further evidence of the privilege white, male and middle-class workers enjoy in the screen sector (see, for example, Eikhof & Warhurst 2013; Randle et al., 2015).<sup>7</sup> That the screen sector workforce is not diverse enough and that this lack of diversity is problematic has been discussed and researched for a considerable time. The recent publicity has garnered recognition for these issues more widely, beyond the screen sector and academia.

In relation to workforce diversity and how it might be improved, this attention has been a double-edged sword. On the one hand, there is now more and prominent space for discussing who gets to work in the screen industries and why, how existing patterns of entry and advancement might be changed and what would be gained by changing them. It is promising for policy and practice that there is now more information available and more attention directed towards these issues.

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<sup>5</sup> Text of Idris Elba's (2016) Keynote speech to Parliament on Diversity in the Media.

<http://www.channel4.com/info/press/news/idris-elba-s-keynote-speech-to-parliament-on-diversity-in-the-media>. BBC News (2016). 'Actor David Oyelowo calls for UK film diversity'. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-37584146>. Hatterstone, Simon (2015). 'Julie Walters: "People like me wouldn't get a chance today"'. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2015/jan/24/julie-walters-people-like-me-wouldnt-get-a-chance-today>. Riz Ahmed's Channel4 Diversity Speech 2017 to the House of Commons. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=36bcxDVNr1s>

<sup>6</sup> Campbell, C. (2016). How women in gaming face hostility. Available at:

<http://www.polygon.com/2016/7/21/12241890/women-game-development>.

<sup>7</sup> Eikhof, D.R. & Warhurst, C. (2013). The promised land? Why social inequalities are systemic in the creative industries. *Employee Relations*, 35(5), pp. 495–508. Available at: <http://www.emeraldinsight.com/10.1108/ER-08-2012-0061>; Randle, K., Forson, C. & Calveley, M. (2015). Towards a Bourdieusian analysis of the social composition of the UK film and television workforce. *Work, Employment & Society*, (X), pp. 590-606. Available at: <http://wes.sagepub.com/content/29/4/590>.

On the other hand, the debate has gained momentum and exposure so quickly that catchy headlines often blur the distinction between fact and opinion. For example, both BAME and disabled workers are clearly less visible on our screens than white and able bodied people, but do they lack visibility for the same reasons? It may sound obvious that working class youth find it more difficult to enter an industry built on personal networks than middle class kids with well-connected parents, but can mentoring programmes really address this problem? And while it is easy to claim 'we all know that diversity is better for business'<sup>8</sup>, where is the evidence? Workforce diversity in the screen sector is a much more complex and less understood issue than the public debate might suggest.

The British Film Institute (BFI) has adopted workforce diversity and inclusion as a key concern, cutting across film production funding, audience development, film education and film heritage<sup>9</sup>. It is committed to enabling easy access to film and moving image for everyone and to promote a wide range of voices both on and off screen.<sup>10</sup> In conjunction with this diversity agenda the External Advisory Group of the BFI's National Lottery-funded Research and Statistics Fund identified that the screen sector as well as the wider public would benefit from a robust assessment of what is and is not understood about workforce diversity in the screen sector. This report presents findings from an evidence review designed to provide that assessment. Based on a comprehensive review and assessment of research on workforce diversity from 2012 to 2016, the report

- consolidates the evidence base for workforce diversity in the UK screen sector;
- identifies practical interventions that have the potential to increase diversity in the UK screen sector;
- examines evidence of the social and business case for diversity in the UK screen sector;
- identifies gaps in our understanding of diversity in the UK screen sector;
- recommends next steps for research, policy-making and practice.

Following the research brief from the Research and Statistics Fund External Advisory Group, the report draws particular attention to intersectionalities and cross-cutting issues.

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<sup>8</sup> The Great British Diversity Experiment (2016) Findings and actions: Diversity is the new Darwinism. Available at: <http://www.thegreatbritishdiversityexperiment.com/>

<sup>9</sup> Diversity and inclusion is clearly embedded within current key policy and strategy initiatives for the sector led by the BFI's Future Film Skills strategy and backed by £20 million of National Lottery funding. BFI2022, the Institute's five-year plan for supporting UK film identified the opportunity to bring thousands more into the film industry where more skilled workers are needed and at the same time ensure that the UK has a representative workforce. The BFI's Diversity Standards aim to improve inclusion and representation on and off-screen for BFI-funded projects but are also being adopted by the industry more broadly. The Institute has also put Diversity Targets in place from April 2018 for BFI funded activities as well as its internal staffing.

<sup>10</sup> British Film Institute (2016). BFI 2022 Supporting UK Film. BFI Plan 2017-22, p. 4. Available at: [http://www.bfi.org.uk/2022/downloads/bfi2022\\_EN.pdf](http://www.bfi.org.uk/2022/downloads/bfi2022_EN.pdf)

By moving the debate beyond the previously common isolated consideration of individual diversity characteristics, the report seeks to facilitate a step change in the understanding and improvement of workforce diversity in the UK screen sector.

## 2.2. The evidence review

The need for the evidence review to be undertaken was established by the External Advisory Group of the BFI's National Lottery-funded Research and Statistics Fund. The External Advisory Group is comprised of screen sector stakeholders (private and public, cultural and creative organisations, education, academics and the wider film community) and steers and advises the Research and Statistics Fund on research priorities for the sector benefitting the sector and the wider public. Following the External Advisory Group's recommendation the evidence review was commissioned by the BFI through its Research and Statistics Fund and undertaken by the CAMEo Research Institute for Cultural and Media Economies at the University of Leicester. The review was organised around three main review questions:

- What is known about the current state of workforce diversity in the UK screen sector, e.g. about workforce composition, the causes of discrimination and unequal participation, barriers to increasing diversity, multiple and intersectionality effects, and differences between sector/sub-sector or diversity characteristics?
- What evidence exists on interventions to increase workforce diversity in the UK screen sector, e.g. initiatives and good practice of individual employers, sector organisations and in screen-related training and education?
- What knowledge exists on the evidence case for diversity in the UK screen sector, e.g. a positive business, cultural and social case for increased diversity; the various effects of the lack of workforce diversity; and positive outcomes for individuals with diversity characteristics?

The evidence review considered all UK-focused research published in 2012-2016 investigating workforce diversity in the screen sector. The start date was chosen as 2012, marking the publication of the UK Film Policy Review, an independent review chaired by Lord Chris Smith on behalf of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS).<sup>11</sup>

Workforce diversity was analysed in relation to the nine characteristics protected under the Equality Act (2010, see box)<sup>12</sup> with the addition of two further characteristics that were

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<sup>11</sup> DCMS (2012). 'A Future For British Film. It begins with the Audience'. Available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/78460/DCMS\\_film\\_policy\\_review\\_report\\_2012\\_update.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/78460/DCMS_film_policy_review_report_2012_update.pdf)

<sup>12</sup> The Equality Act is available at: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/contents>

deemed to be relevant to understanding screen sector workforce diversity: social class and location.

For this review, the screen sector was defined as comprising film, television, video games, animation programming and VFX.

Stage 1 of the evidence review comprised a rapid evidence review of dedicated research publications (i.e. from academic, government and industry sources) with a primary focus upon workforce issues in the UK screen sector, a primary focus on one or more diversity characteristics and published in English from 2012 to 2016. The search strategy covered research databases, websites of key organisations, Google Scholar, selected academic journals and the research team's professional contacts. Manual screening of 4,400 search results identified 173 items that matched the search criteria.

After a further top-level screening for quality and relevance for the review questions 80 research publications were carried forward as the evidence base into Stage 2.

Stage 2 of the evidence review consisted of an in-depth quality assessment of the identified research followed by a thematic synthesis. Each item was assigned two scores of 1-3 for (a) its scope, i.e. how large a share of the UK screen sector it was applicable to, and (b) its relevance for answering the review questions. A total of 63 items with a combined score of four or more were included in the thematic synthesis which is presented in this report (see Appendix 1 for methodological details).

### 2.3. The report

This report presents the findings from the thematic synthesis undertaken at Stage 2 of the evidence review.

*The Equality Act (2010) provides legal protection against discrimination in the workplace for the following protected characteristics:*

- Age
- Disability
- Gender reassignment
- Marriage and civil partnership
- Pregnancy and maternity
- Race
- Religion or belief
- Sex
- Sexual orientation

The evidence review also included a further two additional characteristics:

- Social class
- Location

Section 3 outlines the coverage and methodologies of the research constituting the evidence base.

Section 4 presents quantitative data on diversity in the UK screen sector workforce.

Section 5 synthesises findings from across the evidence base to explain influences on workforce diversity.

Section 6 assesses evidence on interventions to increase diversity in the UK screen sector.

Section 7 establishes the existing evidence of positive business, social and economic benefits of increased workforce diversity.

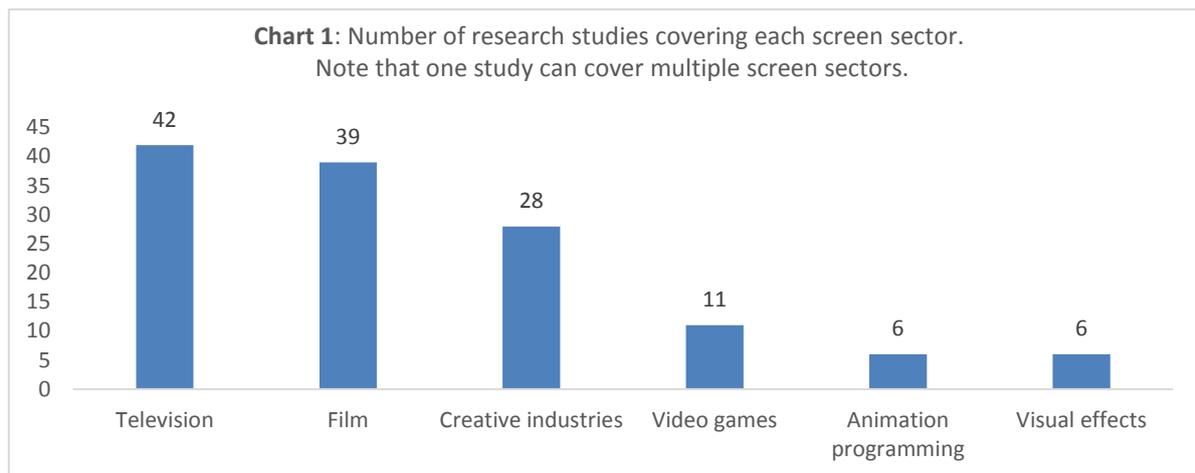
Section 8 summarises the gaps that have been identified in the evidence base.

Section 9 provides recommendations for further research, policy and practice.

### 3. The evidence base

This section introduces the evidence base resulting from Stage 1 of the full evidence review. It provides an overview of the coverage and methodologies of research into workforce diversity in the UK screen sector 2012-2016.

The evidence base comprised 80 studies that were identified as relevant to the terms of the review (see Appendix 2 for the full list of studies). Of these, 34 were academic articles, 40 were industry reports and six were a mix of books, book chapters, and other sources.



#### 3.1. Coverage of screen sector

The evidence review found more research items about TV and film than about video games, animation and VFX screen industries.

A considerable proportion of the studies identified (21%) investigated workforce diversity in the creative industries as a self-contained category (Chart 1).

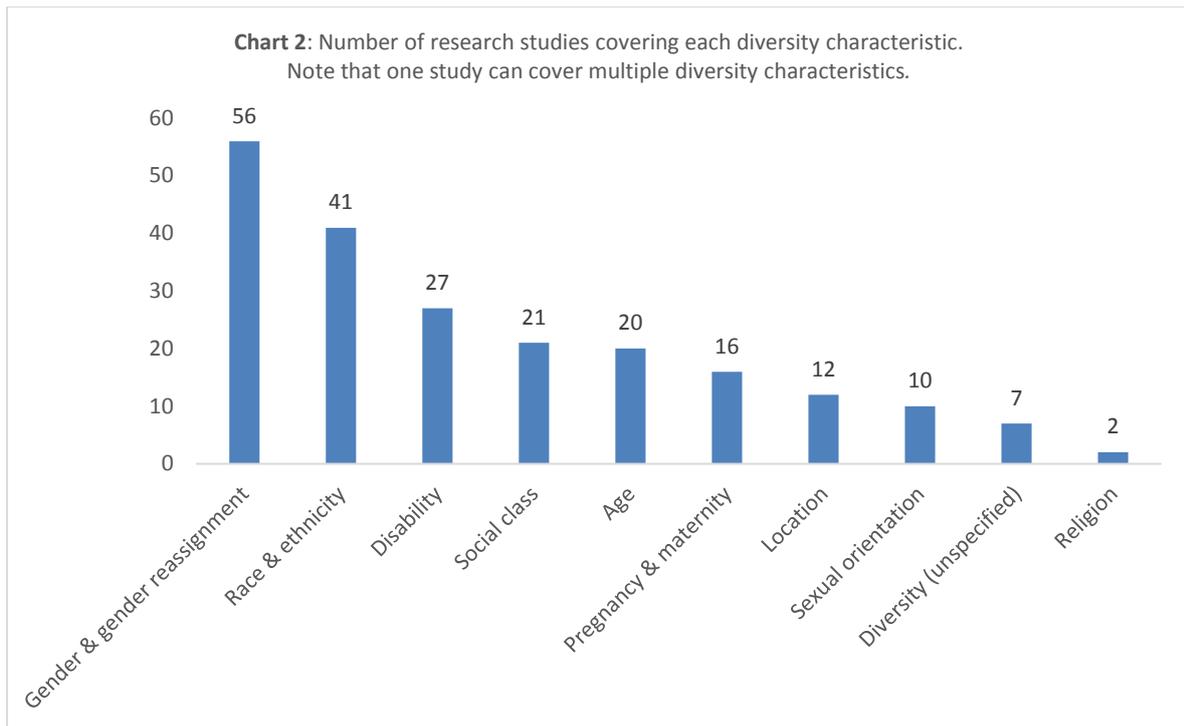
#### 3.2. Coverage of diversity characteristics

Gender and issues related to gender were by far the most frequently researched issues related to diversity, followed by ethnicity, disability and social class characteristics.

Diversity characteristics related to sexual orientation and religion and belief were seldom explored in detail, although Creative Skillset has recently started monitoring sexual orientation as part of its data collection<sup>13</sup> (Chart 2).

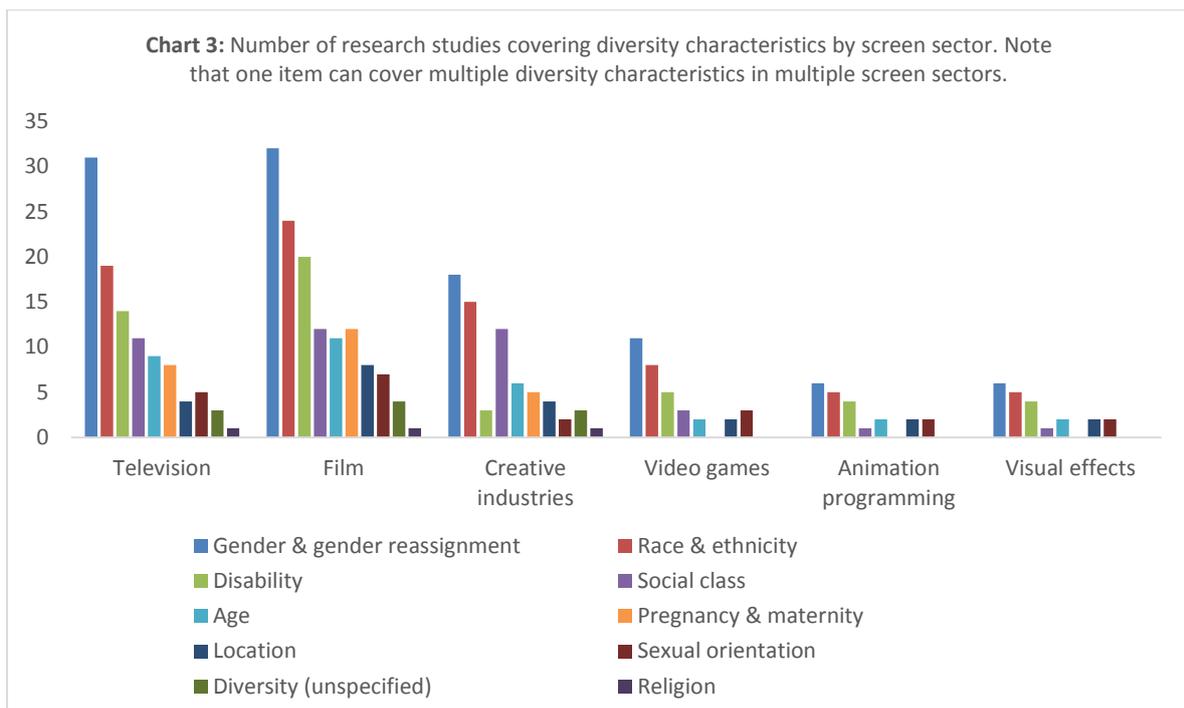
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<sup>13</sup> Creative Skillset (2014b). The Creative Media Workforce Survey 2014 Summary Report, p.5. Available at: [http://creativeskillset.org/assets/0001/0465/Creative\\_Skillset\\_Creative\\_Media\\_Workforce\\_Survey\\_2014.pdf](http://creativeskillset.org/assets/0001/0465/Creative_Skillset_Creative_Media_Workforce_Survey_2014.pdf)



### 3.3. Coverage of diversity characteristics by screen sector

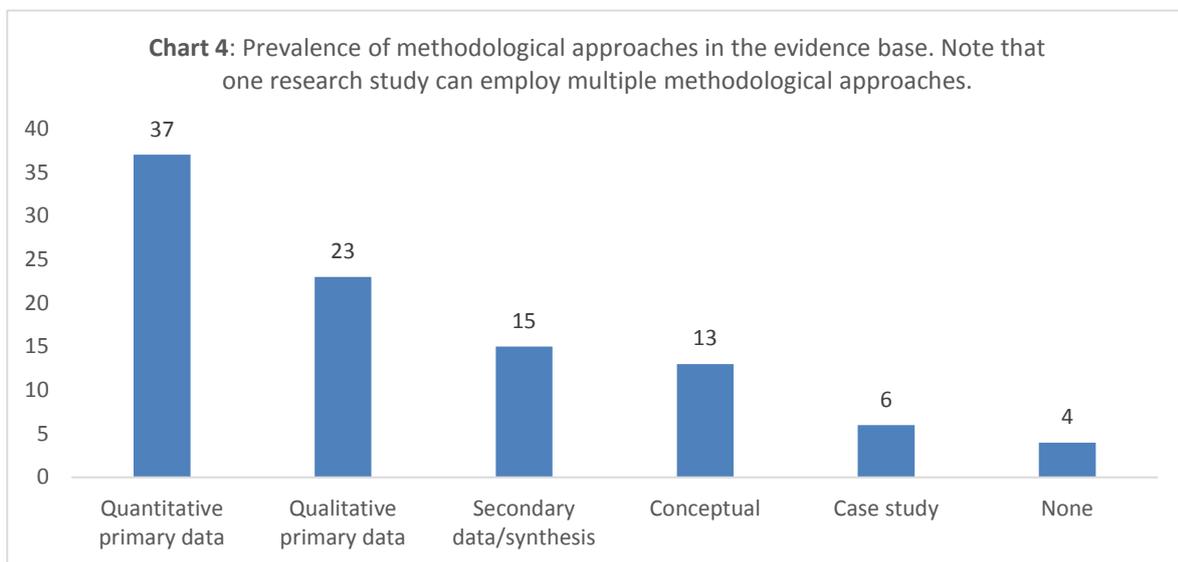
The availability of research varied greatly by screen sector. Issues of gender, ethnicity, social class and disability were relatively well-covered in television and film (Chart 3). Comparatively little research has been conducted on workforce diversity in video games, animation and visual effects. For these sectors, some evidence is now emerging regarding gender, ethnicity and disability. The number of these studies is still small compared to the coverage of the same issues in TV and film.



### 3.4. Overview of methodological approaches

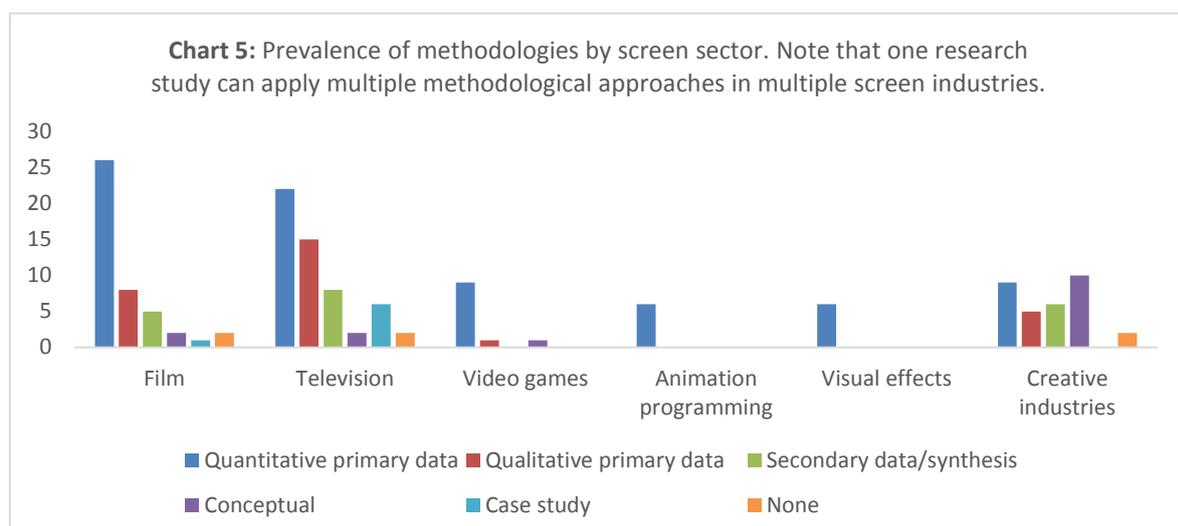
Most studies in the evidence base made use of a quantitative methodology, usually in the form of surveys. Qualitative methodological approaches, such as analysis of interview data, were the second most common source of empirical evidence.

Studies were classified as employing secondary data analysis if their main contribution was based upon existing sources of data, qualitative or quantitative. Conceptual studies provided theoretical or conceptual insights into screen sector workforce diversity without necessarily using primary or secondary data. Six studies investigated specific cases (e.g., the digital industries in Cardiff). Four short industry reports were included for their potential value to increase understanding of sector practices and demographic make-up although they did not present a clearly defined methodology (these are listed in Chart 4 as 'none').



### 3.5. Methodological approaches by screen sector

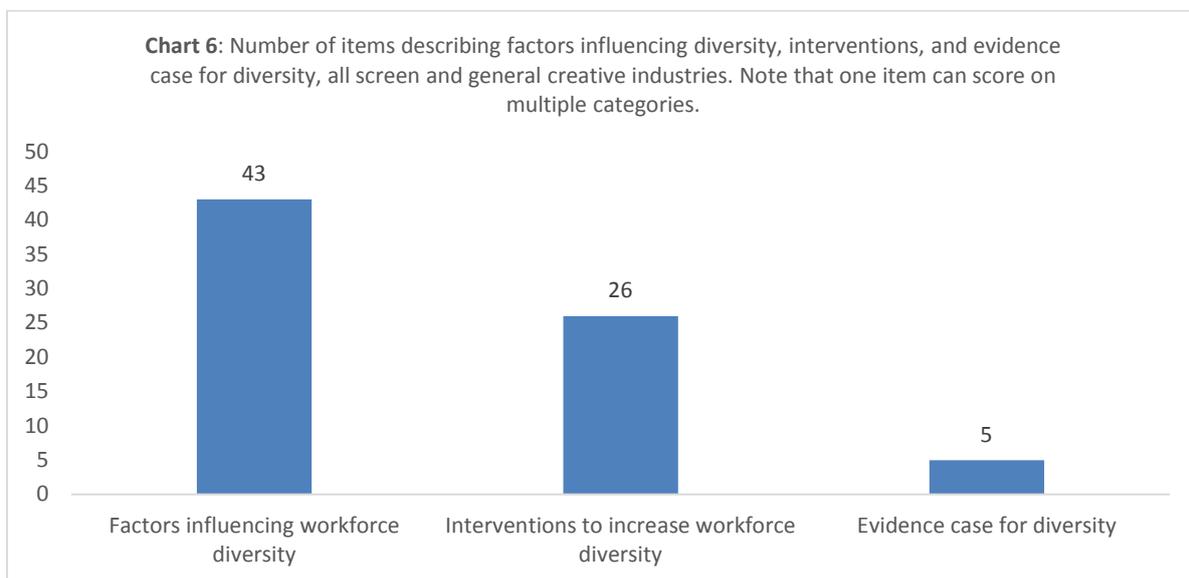
Thorough understanding of workforce diversity and its influences requires both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Overall, quantitative primary data collection is more prevalent in film and TV. Conceptual/synthesis approaches are more common in studies that focus upon the creative industries as a self-contained category (Chart 5).



Qualitative and conceptual approaches were particularly under-represented in video games, animation and visual effects.

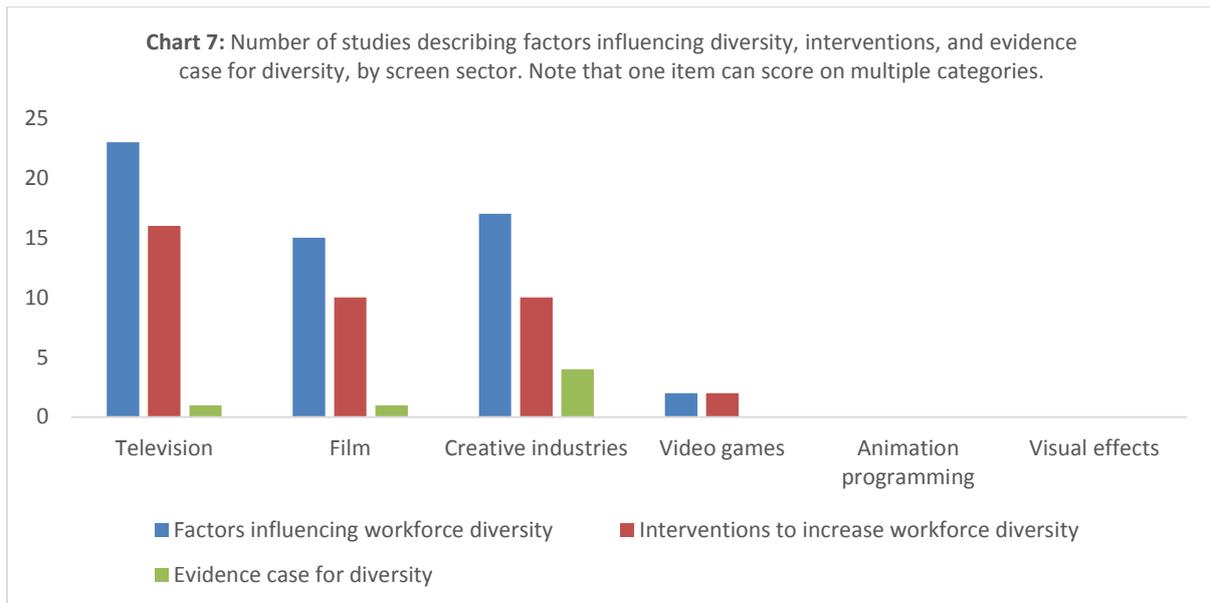
### 3.6. Research focus

The review classified studies according to how relevant they were to the review questions. The majority of the studies in the evidence base focussed upon factors that influence workforce diversity. Interventions to increase diversity were mentioned by 26 studies. The search only identified five studies which mentioned information relevant to the evidence case for diversity (Chart 6).



### 3.7. Research focus by screen sector

Chart 7 shows the research focus of the evidence base by screen sector. Television is the best represented in terms of studies that explicitly research factors influencing diversity and interventions to increase diversity. Whilst two studies of the video games industry were identified that focussed on these themes, there were no similar studies on animation or visual effects.



### 3.8. Summary

This section has provided an overview of the research upon which this evidence review is based. It showed the extent to which different diversity characteristics and different screen industries have received attention and different methodologies have been employed. Film and television are most researched. Comparatively little information is available about animation and visual effects. Information about the video games industry is growing. However, given its economic importance to the UK economy (£1.4bn in 2013)<sup>14</sup>, the video games industry remains relatively under-represented in published studies.

Issues related to gender are by far the most extensively covered aspect of workforce diversity characteristics. Race and ethnicity also received significant attention, followed by disability and social class. Location, sexual orientation and religion are under-researched across the screen sector.

Overall, quantitative data is the most common source of empirical evidence, extensively covering the film and television industries, but also to some extent other industries and mostly made up of industry and sector-body reports. Film and television are well covered by qualitative research but there is lack of qualitative data on workforce diversity in video games, animation and visual effects. The noticeable number of conceptual studies on the creative industries is mainly comprised of academic work on cross-cutting issues.

<sup>14</sup> Olsberg SPI with Nordcity (2015). p.2.

## 4. Diversity in the UK screen sector workforce

### 4.1. Sources of data on UK screen sector diversity

The main quantitative data sources on the current state of diversity in the UK screen sector are: the 2012 Creative Skillset Creative Media Industries Census and later workforce surveys<sup>15</sup>, and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) statistics on the Creative Industries.<sup>16</sup> While the BFI Statistical Yearbooks<sup>17</sup> collate data from other sources, they contain only limited information on workforce diversity. Selected data about specific industries or employers are available from other sources. For example, Directors UK<sup>18</sup> documents the representation of women and BAME groups amongst those television directors who make up its membership. However, the use of industry-specific data tends to lead to an ad-hoc reporting of workforce diversity in those industries alone. The findings are typically difficult to track over time and of limited comparability across screen industries.

Despite a range of available data sources and the work done by Creative Skillset and the DCMS, evidence on workforce diversity in the UK screen sector has important gaps. For example, the Creative Skillset census is based on employer responses from invitations sent to every registered company in the creative media sectors (including, but not limited to the screen industries).

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<sup>15</sup> Creative Skillset (2012). Creative Skillset Employment Census of the Creative Media Industries, pp. 1-78, available at [http://creativeskillset.org/assets/0000/5070/2012\\_Employment\\_Census\\_of\\_the\\_Creative\\_Media\\_Industries.pdf](http://creativeskillset.org/assets/0000/5070/2012_Employment_Census_of_the_Creative_Media_Industries.pdf); Creative Skillset (2014b); pp. 1-28; Creative Skillset (2016). 2015 Employment Survey: Creative Media Industries, pp. 1-7, available at: [http://creativeskillset.org/assets/0002/0952/2015\\_Creative\\_Skillset\\_Employment\\_Survey\\_-\\_March\\_2016\\_Summary.pdf](http://creativeskillset.org/assets/0002/0952/2015_Creative_Skillset_Employment_Survey_-_March_2016_Summary.pdf).

<sup>16</sup> Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2014). Creative Industries: Focus on Employment, pp. 1-84, available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/324530/Creative\\_Industries\\_-\\_Focus\\_on\\_Employment.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/324530/Creative_Industries_-_Focus_on_Employment.pdf); Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2015). Creative Industries: Focus on Employment, pp. 1-27, available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/439714/Annex\\_C\\_-\\_Creative\\_Industries\\_Focus\\_on\\_Employment\\_2015.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/439714/Annex_C_-_Creative_Industries_Focus_on_Employment_2015.pdf).

<sup>17</sup> British Film Institute (2012). Statistical Yearbook, pp. 1-220, available at: <http://www.bfi.org.uk/sites/bfi.org.uk/files/downloads/bfi-statistical-yearbook-2012.pdf>; British Film Institute (2013a). Statistical Yearbook, pp. 1-252, available at: <http://www.bfi.org.uk/sites/bfi.org.uk/files/downloads/bfi-statistical-yearbook-2013.pdf>; British Film Institute (2014). Statistical Yearbook, pp. 1-252, available at: <http://www.bfi.org.uk/sites/bfi.org.uk/files/downloads/bfi-statistical-yearbook-2014.pdf>; British Film Institute (2015). Statistical Yearbook, available at: <http://www.bfi.org.uk/education-research/film-industry-statistics-research/statistical-yearbook>; British Film Institute (2016). Statistical Yearbook, available at: <http://www.bfi.org.uk/education-research/film-industry-statistics-research/statistical-yearbook>.

<sup>18</sup> Directors UK (2014). Women Directors – Who’s Calling the Shots? Women Directors in British Television Production, available at: <http://birds-eye-view.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Women-Directors-Whos-Calling-the-Shots-a-report-by-Directors-UK-8-May-2014.pdf>; Directors UK (2015). UK Television: Adjusting the Colour Balance. Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic Directors in UK Television Production, available at: <https://d29dqxe14uxvcr.cloudfront.net/uploads%2F1447243539508-os03d6qe4pmsra4i-7c96b125575ce06ca956559154962a0a%2FDirectors+UK+-+UK+Television%2C+Adjusting+the+Colour+Balance.pdf>.

The survey achieved a 57 per cent response rate<sup>19</sup> but freelancers who were not working on the day of the census are excluded (this especially affects the film sector data).

In contrast, the DCMS statistics explore the composition of the 'creative economy' workforce which makes it difficult to isolate the screen industries. The DCMS breaks down information into the Creative Economy, Creative Industries and Creative Occupations (irrespective of industries), using Annual Population Survey data. The DCMS definition of creative industries differs from the Creative Skillset definition of Creative Media Industries (see Table 1), however, the 'focus on employment' does give a breakdown by sector.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to complications resulting from research designs and industrial classifications there are limitations on what the evidence base can tell us about the state of workforce diversity in 2016. The most comprehensive data source on workforce composition is Creative Skillset's 2012 Census. While subsequent surveys have supplemented this data in a number of areas, it is important to emphasise that in some cases much of what is known about the diversity of the screen sector workforce is based on slightly outdated information. It is therefore impossible to say with certainty how the picture has changed and whether trends towards greater diversity identified in the evidence base have proved sustained over the intervening period.

It is therefore a challenge to establish a current representative picture of workforce diversity in the UK screen sector. Bearing the above caveats in mind, the following sections discuss what the evidence base shows about diversity in the UK screen sector workforce 2012-2016.

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<sup>19</sup> The responses were weighted based on the employer population in each sector to obtain sector-level statistics. It is assumed that the central database of about 20,000 companies which constitutes the creative media industries employer population is relatively accurate. Subsequent Creative Skillset survey responses were then weighted based on the Census responses to insure reliable estimates. For more information, see the methodology sections in Creative Skillset (2014b, 2012).

<sup>20</sup> For a more detailed overview of what industries comprise the Creative Industries, see the DCMS Creative Industries Economic Estimates January 2016: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/creative-industries-economic-estimates-january-2016>

**Table 1:** Screen sector industries and other creative industry classifications

Screen industries	Creative Media Industries (Creative Skillset, 2012)	Creative Industries (DCMS, 2015)
Film Animation Visual Effects (VFX) Television	Film Animation Visual Effects (VFX) Television Radio	Film, TV, video, radio and photography
Video games	Interactive media Computer games	IT, software and computer services
	Commercials production and pop promos Corporate production	Advertising and marketing
	Archives and libraries	Architecture Crafts Design: product, graphic and fashion design Publishing Museums, galleries and libraries Music, performing and visual arts
	Facilities (may be part of film and television) Other	

#### 4.2. The overall picture

Overall, data availability and quality is considerably higher for film and TV than for animation, video games and visual effects. The creative industries sector as a whole features prominently in policy discourse and academic work but creative industries-framed studies often conflate issues that affect the screen industries in specific ways.

The proportion of women employed in the creative media industries (which have a slightly different footprint to the screen sector) has been slowly increasing, from 27 per cent in 2009 to 36 per cent in 2012 (Creative Skillset, 2012). The DCMS's Creative Economy employment statistics show the share of women within film, TV, radio and photography as 40 per cent in 2015, only 0.2 per cent higher than in 2011 but recovering from small decreases in 2012-2014 (again, a slightly different footprint to the screen sector but still a useful indicator). Women were particularly well represented in TV and film (40-50%) but less well in video games and visual effects (10-20%, for this and all subsequent information in this paragraph see Creative Skillset, 2012). Within TV and film women were over-

represented in makeup and hairdressing and wardrobe and costume occupation, fairly represented in business and legal occupations, but under-represented in other occupations, such as audio, lighting, camera and editing. There is also substantial regional variation, which will partly reflect the geographic clustering of industries with significantly higher shares of male or female workers in their workforce. For example, the representation of women might be lower in the East Midlands because of a higher density of video games companies (which tend to employ comparatively fewer women) in that region.

The picture regarding race and ethnicity in the workforce is less clear. While national statistics show that black and minority ethnic (BAME) employment has been increasing faster than the proportion of white employees in the Creative Industries workforce (DCMS, 2015), Creative Skillset (2012) reports a steady decline between 2006 and 2012, from 7.4 to 5.4 per cent.<sup>21</sup> While it may look like London and the South East employ more BAME workers than other UK regions, given that BAME representation is higher in London and the South East than anywhere else in the UK, the BAME proportion employed in the screen industries is not representative of the wider population (Creative Skillset, 2014; 2012).

Little is known about disability in the screen industries other than that disabled people are significantly under-represented across the board and that this situation has been slow to change. Around one per cent of all creative media employees were described as disabled by their employers but this figure was lower than that provided by employee self-reported surveys (5.6% in Creative Skillset's 2010 Creative Media Workforce Survey) (Creative Skillset, 2012). Disabled employees were better represented in terrestrial and cable and satellite television than in other sectors. The DCMS statistics do not collect disability-related indicators. In the UK population, 5.7 million working age adults (and 10.8 million adults) were disabled in 2011/12 (ODI and DWP, 2014).<sup>22</sup> The UK disability rate was at about 17 per cent in 2013/14 (Hankins, 2016), and Creative Skillset (2014) use the figure of 11 per cent of employees across all industries (ONS LFS Jan-Dec 2014 data).<sup>23</sup>

Information on sexual orientation and gender identity is not often collected in statistical surveys, and neither of the two main sources of data – the Creative Skillset census and the DCMS figures – include this aspect of workforce diversity. However, since 2014, the Creative Skillset workforce survey has collected this information, estimating that seven per cent of the creative media industries workforce identifies as lesbian, gay or bisexual (LGB), slightly above the UK national figure of six per cent, and one per cent of the workforce

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<sup>21</sup> The reasons for the discrepancy may be due to a difference in methodology, e.g. the Creative Industries and the Creative Economy comprising different industries, sampling differences etc.

<sup>22</sup> Disability was defined as having a 'longstanding illness, disability or infirmity, and [experiencing] significant difficulty with day-to-day activities' (ODI and DWP, 2014, p. 1). See:

[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/321594/disability-prevalence.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/321594/disability-prevalence.pdf)

<sup>23</sup> Hankins (2016) ONS Methodology Note: Measuring disability in the Labour Force Survey. LFS (Labour Force Survey) and FRS (Family Resources Survey) data, percentage of working-age disabled people. See:

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/methodologies/measuringdisabilityinthelabourforcesurvey>

identify as transgender (Creative Skillset, 2014). The proportion of the screen sector workforce who self-identified as LGB is relatively similar to the creative media industries average for most sectors, except for film and television, where it is considerably higher (10% and 8% respectively) and facilities, where it is considerably lower (3%) (Creative Skillset, 2014).

DCMS data suggest that across the creative economy only eight per cent of the workforce came from 'less-advantaged' socio-economic groups<sup>24</sup> compared to 34 per cent for the UK as a whole. For film, TV, video, radio and photography, 11.9 per cent of the workforce are from a less-advantaged background. The Creative Skillset 2012 census did not collect information about employees' social class directly, however, later workforce surveys collected related information. For example, the Creative Skillset 2014 survey reported that the proportion of the workforce who heard about their job through informal methods in the creative media industries increased from 46 per cent in 2010 to 56 per cent in 2014. Because workers from working-class backgrounds tend to be less well networked in the industry, such ad-hoc recruitment methods have implications for their likelihood to access screen sector jobs.

The following subsections review the evidence on workforce diversity for the differently screen industries.

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<sup>24</sup> 'Less-advantaged' socio-economic groups are understood to comprise the National Statistics Socio-economic Classification (NS-SEC) groups 5-8 which are technical occupations, semi-routine and routine operations and the long-term unemployed. For a full description see: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/classifications/current-standard-classifications/soc2010/soc2010-volume-3-ns-sec--rebased-on-soc2010--user-manual/index.html>

**Table 2:** Diversity by data source

Diversity characteristic	Creative Media Industries Census (Creative Skillset, 2012) %	Creative Industries (DCMS, 2015) %	UK Economy (DCMS, 2015) %
Women	36.0	36.7	47.2
BAME	5.4	11.0	11.0
Social class (NS-SEC 5-8)		7.9	34.0
Disability	1.0; 5.0*		11.0**
Proportion of workforce with degree	78.0*	60.5	31.8

Notes: \* Figures taken from Creative Skillset (2014) Workforce Survey, which is not directly comparable with the 2012 Creative Skillset Census; \*\* Figure taken from Creative Skillset (2014), based on ONS LFS Jan-Dec 2014 data, figure for all industries.

#### 4.3. Animation

The only sources of information about diversity in the Animation sector are Creative Skillset censuses and surveys, which are now several years old. The animation workforce diversity picture is mixed, with slightly better indicators for social class than for gender and ethnicity. Animation is male-dominated (only 20% of the animation workforce is female) and has similar proportions of disabled employees and LGBT employees as the creative media sector as a whole (Creative Skillset, 2014).

BAME employees comprise 3.5 per cent of the workforce (Creative Skillset, 2012). However, routes into animation employment were more informal than for the rest of the creative media industries (73% compared to 56%), especially being approached by an employer, which suggests that there may be high entry barriers for individuals with limited social networks (Creative Skillset, 2014). While the proportion of the animation sector workforce who attended a fee-paying school is below the average for creative media (11% compared to 14% (Creative Skillset, 2012)), a high proportion of the sector workforce had a degree-level qualification or above (89% (Creative Skillset, 2014)).<sup>25</sup>

#### 4.4. Film

Information about workforce diversity in film and television was among the most comprehensive in this evidence review. At the aggregate level, women's representation in the film workforce was above the creative media industry average, at 47 per cent compared

<sup>25</sup> Includes undergraduate degree, certificate, diploma.

to 36 per cent (Creative Skillset, 2012, p.31). Nevertheless, women were especially under-represented in the key creative and decision making roles, such as screenwriting and directing, and technical roles (e.g. transportation, sound, and camera departments). Women were over-represented in roles such as costume and make up (Follows et al., 2016).<sup>26</sup>

Among all UK independent films released in 2010-12, 11 per cent of directors and 16 per cent of screenwriters were female (BFI, 2013b). Female-directed film projects tend to have a higher proportion of women in key creative roles compared to male-directed projects. The influence of gender is especially visible in the case of writers, where only seven per cent of writers working with a male director were female compared to 65 per cent of writers working with a female director (all UK films 2005-2014: Follows et al., 2016). In addition, there is evidence to suggest that women are more likely to work in a small number of specific genres, despite the fact that many wanted to move beyond this type of employment (Follows et al., 2016) – the situation is similar in television and parallels disabled workers' situation (see below).

BAME workers represent 4.4 per cent of the film sector workforce, slightly below the industry average of 5.6 per cent. The proportion of BAME directors is lower, at 3.5 per cent (including film and television, Directors UK, 2015). Some evidence suggests that BAME and working-class employees do not have the same opportunities for working on high-quality projects compared to non-minority employees (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012).<sup>27</sup>

Workforce disability was at 0.3 per cent across the film sector and varied between one per cent in film production and 0.1 per cent in cinema exhibition. Disabled workers are more likely to work on projects associated with disability-specific programming in film and television, which would act both as a way into the industry but also as a way of 'ghettois[ing] workers', forming barriers to vertical and horizontal mobility within the sector (Randle & Hardy, 2016, p.6).<sup>28</sup>

The film sector workforce was slightly younger than the creative media industries as a whole, with 46 per cent of the workforce aged 35 and older compared to 52 per cent. Younger workers were more likely to work in cinema exhibition than in film production (62% compared to 54% aged under 35 respectively). The proportion of the film sector

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<sup>26</sup> Follows, S., Kreager, A., & Gomes, E. (2016). Cut out of the picture: A study of gender inequality amongst film directors in the UK film industry, pp. 1-139. Directors UK. Available at: [https://d29dqxe14uxvcr.cloudfront.net/generic\\_file\\_content\\_rows/file\\_1s/000/002/703/original/Cut\\_Out\\_of\\_The\\_Picture\\_-\\_Report.pdf?1462534821](https://d29dqxe14uxvcr.cloudfront.net/generic_file_content_rows/file_1s/000/002/703/original/Cut_Out_of_The_Picture_-_Report.pdf?1462534821).

<sup>27</sup> Grugulis, I. & Stoyanova, D. (2012). (Social Capital and Networks in Film and TV: Jobs for the Boys? Organization Studies, 33(10), pp. 1311–1331. Available at: <http://oss.sagepub.com/content/33/10/1311>.

<sup>28</sup> Randle, K. and Hardy, K. 2016. Macho, mobile and resilient? How workers with impairments are doubly disabled in project-based film and television work. *Work, Employment & Society*, pp. 1-18. Available at: <http://wes.sagepub.com/content/early/2016/06/30/0950017016643482>.

workforce who self-identified as LGB was the highest of all sectors, at 10 per cent, above the creative media industry average of seven per cent (Creative Skillset, 2014).

The film sector is characterised by a large proportion of freelance work in film production: about half of workers in film and video production worked on a freelance contract (BFI, 2016),<sup>29</sup> whereas only 10 per cent of the film distribution workforce work on a freelance basis (Creative Skillset, 2012).<sup>30</sup> The film production and distribution workforce is particularly London-based, with two thirds of all film and video production based in London and the South East. Cinema exhibition, and thus its workforce distribution, is more regionally balanced (Creative Skillset, 2012). These issues are likely to interact with social class to form more complex barriers to entry to work in the film sector, particularly to film production. For example, over half of the film sector workforce heard about their current job through informal means – this figure was particularly high for film production (71%) compared to film exhibition (47%) (Creative Skillset, 2014).

#### 4.5. Television

Information about workforce diversity in the television sector is among the most comprehensive, with information from organisations and from the major broadcasters themselves.

Overall, women formed 45 per cent of the television workforce in 2012, similar to the proportions in previous surveys (Creative Skillset, 2012). This proportion is similar to that given by broadcasters such as the BBC, Channel 4 and ITV. Overall there is good representation of women across the television industry except for technical roles (e.g. transport, audio, lighting, etc.). Similar to the pattern found in other screen industries and in other sectors of the UK economy, women are relatively under-represented in more senior roles and better represented at more junior levels (Gill, 2014).<sup>31</sup>

Evidence suggests that women in television tend to be associated with particular genres. For example, only a small number of popular UK dramas, entertainment shows and sci-fi genre shows employed a female director in 2011 and 2012 (Directors UK, 2014). In news broadcasting, 28 per cent of news television company directors are women (Centre for Women & Democracy, 2014).<sup>32</sup> Women are under-represented as presenters of 'hard' news

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<sup>29</sup> Estimates vary widely, with other data suggesting that almost 90% of film production workers are freelance (Creative Skillset, 2012).

<sup>30</sup> Because of the nature of the Creative Skillset census, freelancers not working on census day were excluded, but other surveys, such as Creative Media Workforce Survey, do capture this information.

<sup>31</sup> Gill, R. (2014). Unspeakable inequalities: Post feminism, entrepreneurial subjectivity, and the repudiation of sexism among cultural workers. *Social Politics*, 21(4), pp. 509–528. Available at: <http://sp.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2014/07/23/sp.jxu016>.

<sup>32</sup> News television companies comprise the BBC, Channel 4, ITV, Sky and Viacom (MTV). Centre for Women & Democracy (2014). *Sex & Power 2014: Who runs Britain? Counting women in coalition*, pp. 1-63. Available at: [http://www.cfwd.org.uk/uploads/Sex\\_and\\_PowerV4%20FINAL.pdf](http://www.cfwd.org.uk/uploads/Sex_and_PowerV4%20FINAL.pdf).

stories (GMMP, 2015; City University Women on Air in: House of Lords Select Committee, 2015)<sup>33</sup> and as experts or commentators.

The television workforce is more likely to include older workers (Creative Skillset, 2014) and to have a wide spread of ages in casting compared to other sectors (Drama UK, 2014)<sup>34</sup>. For example, 18.4 per cent of BBC's workforce and 10 per cent of Channel 4's workforce are aged 50 and over (Channel 4, 2016b; BBC, 2013)<sup>35</sup>. However, problems with older women's under-representation in the television workforce persist and appear to be more pronounced in Britain than in Australia and the US (House of Lords Select Committee, 2015; Wing-Fai et al., 2015).

BAME employees comprise 7.5 per cent of the television workforce, slightly above the creative industry average of 5.4 per cent (Creative Skillset, 2014), and higher in key channels, e.g. 13 per cent at ITV and 13.1 per cent at the BBC (TV, 2015; BBC, 2015).

Eight per cent of the television workforce self-identified as lesbian, gay or bisexual. The self-reported LGB proportion of the cable and satellite TV workers is higher than of any other screen industry and double that of the industry average, at 14 per cent (Creative Skillset, 2014a).

Disabled people are substantially under-represented in the television workforce. Estimates vary but Creative Skillset figures suggest it is at around two per cent of the workforce. For example, of all 'on-screen participants' in some of the most popular shows on key channels, only 2.5 per cent had an impairment, although there was some variety between channels (Lockyer, 2015).<sup>36</sup> Disabled workers are better represented (in proportion with the UK national average of disabled workers across all industries) in the make-up and hairdressing departments (12%) (Creative Skillset, 2012).

Over half of the UK television workforce is based in London (57%) and over a quarter of all jobs are in production (Creative Skillset, 2012). Forty per cent of the television workforce works on a freelance basis, with television production being one of the more freelance-dominated screen industries. The workforce in the television sector, especially independent television production, are most likely to have heard about their job through informal

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<sup>33</sup> House of Lords (2015). Women in news and current affair broadcasting. Select Committee on Communications. Available at: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201415/ldselect/ldcomuni/91/91.pdf>.

<sup>34</sup> Drama UK (2014). Theatre vs. TV. Available at [https://www.dramauk.co.uk/articles/actors\\_the\\_real\\_employment\\_landscape\\_update\\_2014](https://www.dramauk.co.uk/articles/actors_the_real_employment_landscape_update_2014).

<sup>35</sup> Channel 4 (2016b). Equality Duty 2015 Compliance Report. Available at: [http://www.channel4.com/media/documents/corporate/foi-docs/Equality\\_Duty\\_2015.pdf](http://www.channel4.com/media/documents/corporate/foi-docs/Equality_Duty_2015.pdf); British Broadcasting Company (2013). Developing our Story. Equality and diversity at the BBC 2012. Available at: [http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/diversity/pdf/22922\\_BBC\\_Equality\\_Information\\_Report\\_2013.pdf](http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/diversity/pdf/22922_BBC_Equality_Information_Report_2013.pdf).

<sup>36</sup> Lockyer, S. (2015). 'It's really scared of disability': Disabled comedians' perspectives of the British television comedy industry. *The Journal of Popular Television*, 3(2), pp. 179-193. Available at: <http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/intellect/jptv/2015/0000003/0000002/art00003>.

methods, while terrestrial television has a higher than average percentage of workers who heard about their current job either through an advert or through internal promotion.

#### 4.6. Video games

The most recent data in the evidence base on workforce diversity in the video games industry is Creative Skillset's 2012 Employment Census. The figures cited in this section may therefore not correctly represent the current state of workforce diversity. That said, up to 2012, the proportion of women employed in the video games sector has been steadily increasing and stood at 14 per cent in 2012 (Creative Skillset, 2012). Women are most under-represented in technical development roles (only 6% female) (Creative Skillset, 2012).

The BAME workforce proportion in video games had also been increasing and reached 4.7 per cent in 2012. The proportion of video games BAME employees is particularly high in the East Midlands (11%) (Creative Skillset, 2012). The video games sector workforce is also younger than the creative media industries, with only 32 per cent aged 35 and over (Creative Skillset, 2014). Eighty-six per cent of the workforce had a higher education qualification.

More than half of the video games sector workforce heard about their current job through informal means (56%, similar to that in the film sector). However, employees in this sector are also more likely to hear about their job through an advert than those in the creative media industries as a whole (20% compared to 13%).

The video games sector has one of the lowest proportions of freelance employment (14% compared to 24% for the creative media industries as a whole) (Creative Skillset, 2012). The proportion of freelance workers in the video games sector is higher in London and in Northern Ireland than in other geographical areas (Creative Skillset, 2012).

#### 4.7. Visual effects (VFX)

There is little published data on the VFX workforce, apart from Creative Skillset statistics. The vast majority of the VFX workforce are based in London (98%). Just under one fifth of the workforce are women (19%) and one per cent are BAME workers<sup>37</sup> (Creative Skillset, 2012). Only nine per cent of the VFX sector work on a freelance basis (Creative Skillset, 2012).

The visual effects sector workforce reports the highest proportion of people having heard about their job through informal channels (77%). VFX workers were especially likely to

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<sup>37</sup> However, changes between previous Creative Skill surveys and the 2012 census suggests that the BAME workforce proportion may be larger than reported.

make contact with a company (29%) or to have heard about the job through a friend or relative (19%) (Creative skillset, 2014). The VFX sector workforce also has the highest proportion of employees whose parents have degrees (55% compared to 44% for those across the creative media industries as a whole).

#### 4.8. Summary

This section presents what is known about the state of workforce diversity in the UK screen sector 2012-2016.<sup>38</sup> Most of the information stems from Creative Skillset's 2012 creative media industries census. Some more recent data is available from 2014, from the DCMS and from the Creative Skillset Workforce survey.

The data available to assess the current state of workforce diversity in the UK screen sector is patchy, with parts of the sector (particularly film and TV) receiving longstanding, detailed reporting that enables granular analysis and comparison over time. In animation and VFX, however, the picture is far less clear.

Across the screen sector there are significant variations of workforce participation for workers with the different diversity characteristics. The overall situation, it should be noted, is one of a pronounced lack of workforce diversity and persistent lack of equal workforce participation. Where granular detail exists, it shows that diverse workforce participation is often limited to certain roles and grades, particularly lower-status, lower paid roles. The exception to this is disability: disabled people are significantly under-represented across the screen sector and the data available suggests that this is true at all levels. Disabled workers generally face significant obstacles to equal opportunity and advancement in the UK screen sector.

While the research evidence that makes up this section of the evidence review provides a picture of workforce diversity and allows an evaluation of the quality and coverage of data reporting, it does not tell us about the specific mechanisms through which the lack of diversity is reproduced or about how these barriers can be overcome. The research evidence that speaks to these issues is evaluated in the following sections of this report.

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<sup>38</sup> It is worth re-emphasising that this report focuses on workforce diversity only. On-screen diversity, which takes into account, e.g., the diversity characteristics of characters video game, film or tv series characters, is a related but separate issue.

## 5. Barriers to greater workforce diversity

Our overview of workforce statistics showed that individuals with diversity characteristics are under-represented in the screen sector workforce. While evidence varies in quality and coverage for different screen industries and different diversity characteristics, the chances of establishing and maintaining a career in the screen sector are substantively lower for certain groups of workers.

To understand the reasons behind unequal participation and advancement, the evidence base review first focused on individual diversity characteristics. The aim was to understand the challenges workers with those specific characteristics face and to assess how a particular diversity characteristic has been covered by research. In a second step the evidence base was reviewed for issues and structural features that applied across several diversity characteristics.

### 5.1. Age

Research into how age influences careers and work experiences in the screen sector was almost exclusively focused on TV and workers' appearances. It highlighted the pressures in particular female workers feel to conform to youthful ideals of female beauty and to respond to more diffuse notions of being physically attractive in an industry focused on aesthetics (Eikhof & York, 2015).<sup>39</sup> Research on the BBC's attempt to refresh its brand showed that the focus on youthful aesthetics tended to be justified with audience demands, despite legal rulings that it was 'fundamentally ageist' for commissioners to assume that in order to attract younger audiences presenters had to be young (Spedale & Coupland, 2014).<sup>40</sup>

Researchers found that female screen workers engaged in 'beauty work' to avoid discrimination, i.e. they invested time and money to maintain or improve physical appearance, for instance through exercise, diet, cosmetics or surgery. But while younger presenters 'overtly emphasized physical appearance', their older colleagues tried to make experience and competence their personal selling points (Spedale & Coupland, 2014).

### 5.2. Disability

Similar to research on age, studies on disability focused on the link between opportunities for disabled workers and audience reactions to disability on screen (e.g. Lockyer, 2015).

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<sup>39</sup> Eikhof, D.R. and York, C. (2015). 'It's a tough drug to kick': a woman's career in broadcasting. *Work, Employment & Society*, pp. 152-161. Available at: <http://wes.sagepub.com/content/30/1/152>.

<sup>40</sup> Spedale, S. & Coupland, C. (2014). Gendered Ageism and Organizational Routines at Work : The Case of Day-Parting in Television Broadcasting. *Organization Studies*, 35(11), pp. 1585-1604. Available at: <http://oss.sagepub.com/content/35/11/1585.full.pdf+html>.

Despite overt commitments to recruiting talented actors, e.g. by the BBC, perceptions of how disabled workers might usefully be deployed were found to be 'limiting' and influenced by notions of disability as 'too edgy, risky, scary' and something that 'audiences aren't ready for' (Lockyer, 2015). The focus on audiences also resulted in what might be called relational perceptions of disability, e.g. of a worker viewed as not disabled in the context of radio work because his disability did not affect his voice (Randle et al., 2015). More explicitly than in the case of age, the research identified casting, commissioning and editing decisions as crucial, thereby inviting discussion of practices, perceptions and policies that influence these decisions.

Beyond the issue of perceptions, research by Randle and Hardy (2016) highlighted the implications of work practices for disabled workers in film and TV. Entry into these sectors is typically via work as a runner, a position that requires mobility and long hours. Physically impaired workers are effectively barred from this entry route and from positions requiring accessibility adjustments more generally. Importantly, tough competition can influence small companies' willingness, let alone ability, to make adjustments, as a frank statement from an independent producer illustrates: 'Why should I even think about disability unless it's going to make me money? I'm in business, I'm not a charity' (Randle & Hardy, 2016). Lastly, many disabled workers find it difficult or impossible to participate in the networking and socialising that sector careers are built upon, e.g. when pubs or bars are not accessible or conversation is reliant on an interpreter.

### 5.3. Gender

With respect to workforce participation and advancement, gender was the most extensively researched diversity characteristic in the evidence base. Before discussing the various aspects covered by this research, four points are worth noting. Firstly, across the evidence base researching gender equated to researching women. Secondly, the evidence base was dominated by binary notions of gender, i.e. data on women in the screen sector was compared to data on men. Thirdly, research into the causes of women's under-representation and into the barriers to workforce participation focused squarely on the film and TV industries. Other screen industries were only mentioned in summative studies that commented on the creative industries collectively. Fourthly, there are clear intersectionalities between the diversity characteristics gender and pregnancy/maternity. While some of these are flagged in this subsection, they will be discussed in full at the end of Section 4. The content presented here focuses on gender issues that are independent of women's maternal status. As Gill (2014) points out: 'large numbers of women [...] working in these fields do not have children yet are still under-represented in positions of seniority and power.'

Evidence from the film and TV sector comprehensively documents an industry culture in which gendered perceptions, gender bias, gender discrimination and gendered bullying are

still widespread. Women are perceived to be more capable of caring, nurturing and communicating (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2015)<sup>41</sup> and more suited to work on less serious topics such as children's programmes and quiz shows (O'Brien, 2014)<sup>42</sup> and in production management and coordination (Global Media Monitoring Project, 2015).<sup>43</sup> Women were perceived less suitable for senior and management roles (O'Brien, 2014) and for presenting topics that required gravitas: 'a producer told me that the documentary would be taken more seriously with a male voice over' (presenter cited in O'Brien (2014)). These perceptions are not confined to men, as illustrated by the example of a female commissioner who told a presenter that she was 'too young and pretty to have any authority as an expert' (Eikhof & York, 2015).

In addition to their actual content researchers noted two aspects about these perceptions. Firstly, while there may even be scientific evidence to back up some of the more benign claims (e.g. of women as better communicators), the truth value of these claims is irrelevant. As Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2015) put it, 'the key issue is that people working in television and other cultural industries have come to see gender in this way.' Secondly, while male workers are judged on their individual history of projects and successes, women are labelled based on beliefs about women as a group as a whole. Therefore, stereotypes of women working in screen are much more influential for the careers of individual women workers.

Notably, there was significant evidence that decision makers such as commissioners or producers linked negative and gendered perceptions of women to issues of risk. Market success in film and TV production is uncertain, project teams have to be assembled at short notice and because of tight production schedules and deadlines, key creative personnel cannot be easily replaced. In this context, men, especially those with an established track record of collaboration, are seen as a safer pair of hands. By contrast, 'women are consistently seen as "risky" in a way men are not' (European Women's Audiovisual Network, 2016a)<sup>44</sup>, for instance by funders: 56 per cent of respondents believed that having a female director had a negative influence on funding decisions from commercial funders in film and TV and 31 per cent believed that public funders were equally disinclined to finance the work of women directors (ibid).

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<sup>41</sup> Hesmondhalgh, D. & Baker, S. (2015). Sex, gender and work segregation in the cultural industries. *The Sociological Review*, 63(S1), pp. 23–36. Available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-954X.12238/full>.

<sup>42</sup> O'Brien, A. (2014). "Men own television": why women leave media work. *Media, Culture & Society*, 36(8), pp. 1207–1218. Available at: <http://mcs.sagepub.com/content/36/8/1207.full.pdf+html>.

<sup>43</sup> World Association for Christian Communication (2015). England, Scotland, Wales and the Republic of Ireland: Global Media Monitoring Project 2015 Four-Nation Report. Available at: [http://cdn.agilitycms.com/who-makes-the-news/Imported/reports\\_2015/national/UK.pdf](http://cdn.agilitycms.com/who-makes-the-news/Imported/reports_2015/national/UK.pdf).

<sup>44</sup> European Women's Audiovisual Network (2016a). Where are the women directors? Report on gender equality for directors in the European film industry, 2006-2013 (full report), pp. 1-202. Available at: [http://www.ewawomen.com/uploads/files/MERGED\\_Press-2016.pdf](http://www.ewawomen.com/uploads/files/MERGED_Press-2016.pdf).

With respect to the women themselves, there was some evidence of women not being confident enough to 'lean into' influential positions in screen work (e.g. House of Lords Select Committee, 2015). Other research pointed out that by conforming to ideals of youthful, sexy appearance, women contributed to the maintenance of disempowering expectations (Spedale & Coupland, 2014). However, there was also ample evidence of women being reluctant to raise gender issues, from production content through to actual discrimination, for fear of being labelled a 'killjoy' (Mills & Ralph, 2015)<sup>45</sup> or 'gaining a reputation within industry networks for being 'difficult' or 'troublesome' and thereby risking future work' (O'Brien, 2014). The reputation problem is particularly stark for the insecurities related to freelance work (House of Lords Select Committee, 2015).

Underneath such perceptions of clashes between what women had to offer and what the screen business demanded lay what Gill (2014) described as 'new sexism'. Proponents of this new sexism did not hold gendered views of women's skills and potential per se, they deliberately took feminist arguments on board and actively used these to 'anticipate and rebut potential accusations of sexism'. But ostentatiously gender-equal attitudes were then openly subjected to business imperatives, i.e. avoiding business risks was seen as a legitimate reason to make gender-based decisions (e.g. not hiring a woman because she might potentially go on maternity leave). Alarmingly, Wreyford (2015)<sup>46</sup> found such legitimising of discriminatory practices accepted even amongst the victims. Notions of acceptance prevailed in particular where gender issues intersected with established industry features, such as the reliance on networking. As Gill (2014) summarised: 'rather than criticising the fact that (net)working was practised in traditionally and sometimes exclusively male spaces, women were much more likely to take a view that can be summarised as: "you have to learn to play golf, then."'"

Across the evidence base there was surprisingly little mention of gender pay gaps. While some studies (e.g. European Women's Audiovisual Network, 2016) provided evidence of women earning considerably less than men for the same work, there was little discussion of gender pay issues across the evidence base.

#### 5.4. Location

The link between location and workforce diversity is under-researched. What research is emerging, though, shows location to clearly be relevant. The studies included in the evidence review emphasised a clustering of screen sector jobs in London and South-East

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<sup>45</sup> Mills, B., & Ralph, S. (2015). 'I Think Women Are Possibly Judged More Harshly with Comedy': Women and British Television Comedy Production. *Critical Studies in Television: The International Journal of Television Studies*, 10(2), pp. 102-117. Available at: <http://cst.sagepub.com/content/10/2/102.abstract>.

<sup>46</sup> Wreyford, N. (2015). Birds of a feather: Informal recruitment practices and gendered outcomes for screenwriting work in the UK film industry. *Sociological Review*, 63(S1), pp. 84-96. Available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1467-954X.12242>

England (Randle et al. 2015). Living outside this area can make access to screen work substantially more difficult: 'you've got to be in the nub, you've always got to be networking and keep yourself known to get those offers of work, and I just couldn't be in the nub because I didn't live in London' (film researcher cited in Wing-Fai et al., 2015).<sup>47</sup>

This issue appears to persist despite prominent initiatives such as the BBC's move of a substantive share of its production to Salford (Randle et al., 2015) or the potential for certain work such as screen writing to be undertaken relatively independently of location (Wreyford, 2015). However, in geographies with a smaller, more focused creative industries footprint such as Birmingham, industry networks can be easier to navigate and thus provide more viable entry routes for newcomers, including international migrants (Brown, 2015).<sup>48</sup>

Beyond physical accessibility, studies found links between location and young people's ambitions for a career in the creative industries. In locations that are economically less prosperous or have fewer creative industries employers, young people are less likely to think of a creative career as a viable option for two reasons.

Firstly, limited local creative industries activity and thus exposure to this particular type of economic production leads to perceptions of careers in these areas as not providing secure enough employment. Perceptions of career prospects both in the respective hometown and in locations with established creative industries were influenced in this way (Allen & Hollingsworth, 2015).<sup>49</sup>

Secondly, young people from creative industries cold spots felt they would have a credibility problem trying to establish a creative career elsewhere: 'If I said I was from my little town, they would be like "what experience do you have"?' (young female cited in Noonan, 2015).<sup>50</sup> Such links between location and the likelihood of talent to even consider a career in the creative industries are particularly problematic for parts of the screen sector that are equipment-heavy (e.g. TV and film production): the limited mobility of these types of screen work means it will likely have difficulty attracting talent from a diverse spread of geographies. The evidence base does, however, point towards clear links with socio-economic background and class on this issue, which will be discussed further below.

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<sup>47</sup> Wing-Fai, L., Gill, R. & Randle, K. (2015). Getting in, getting on, getting out? Women as career scramblers in the UK film and television industries. *Sociological Review*, 63(S1), pp. 50–65. Available at:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-954X.12240/pdf>.

<sup>48</sup> Brown, J. (2015). Home from Home? Locational Choices of International "Creative Class" Workers. *European Planning Studies*, 23(12), pp. 2336–2355. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09654313.2014.988012>.

<sup>49</sup> Allen, K. & Hollingsworth, S. (2013). "Sticky Subjects" or "Cosmopolitan Creatives"? Social Class, Place and Urban Young People's Aspirations for Work in the Knowledge Economy. *Urban Studies*, 50(3), pp. 499–517. Available at: <http://usj.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/0042098012468901>.

<sup>50</sup> Noonan, C. (2015). Professional mobilities in the creative industries: The role of "place" for young people aspiring for a creative career. *Cultural Trends*, 24(4), pp. 299–309. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09548963.2015.1088121>.

## 5.5. Pregnancy and maternity

Although there are significant intersectionalities with gender, research covering pregnancy and maternity was reviewed separately to synthesise knowledge on the particular challenges that working mothers face in the screen sector.<sup>51</sup> Regarding these challenges the evidence base was dominated by two distinct issues that, as Wing-Fai et al. (2015) also point out, need to be discussed separately.

Firstly, research focuses on the challenges mothers face combining work and childcare. Evidence is mainly drawn from TV and film, where working conditions are marked by long and unsocial hours, flexible contracts and freelancing, income insecurities, lowly paid entry positions and presenteeism, described by a news reporter as 'the "got to be there, got to do it"-atmosphere in the newsroom' (House of Lords Select Committee, 2015). For 9 out of 10 women interviewed by O'Brien, (2014), these circumstances combined to form 'a 'maternal wall' of uncompromising conflicts between work and family life'. The biggest problem is to find childcare that allows women to guarantee the flexibility and long hours and unsocial hours, including night shifts (e.g. Wing-Fai et al., 2015), and 79 per cent of respondents to the 'Making it possible' survey (2016)<sup>52</sup> indicated that their caring role negatively impacted their work in the screen industries.

A lack of corporate HR policies, in particular for those employed in small or medium-sized business and as freelancers<sup>53</sup>, means that these issues are largely for the women themselves to solve – hiding a pregnancy for fear of stalled careers is often just the beginning of the individualised struggle (Eikhof & York, 2015; Follows & Kreager, 2016; Wing-Fai et al., 2015). Their attempts to do so are often underpinned by a noticeable dedication to, or even love for, working in the screen sector (Eikhof & York, 2015, O'Brien, 2014) as well as an 'ethic of 'getting on with it', not 'moaning' or 'whinging' – in case this made one seem difficult' (Wing-Fai et al., 2015).

The second important issue in relation to pregnancy and maternity concerns the perception of mothers, or indeed women's potential to become mothers, and the discriminatory practices these perceptions lead to. The general understanding is that: 'you have to be available 24/7, including nights, [and] cannot contest overnight working' (BBC employee cited in House of Lords Select Committee, 2015). Because mothers are likely to struggle with these demands the widespread conclusion is that women are less well suited for

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<sup>51</sup> In line with the 2010 Equalities Act, the research reviewed focuses on mothers rather than fathers or parents. While some issues pertain to fathers as well, nuanced evidence is outstanding.

<sup>52</sup> Raising Films (2016). Making it possible: Voices of Parents & Carers in the UK Film and TV Industry, pp. 1-25. Available at: <http://www.raisingfilms.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Making-It-Possible-Full-Report-Results.pdf>. [Last accessed 21.11.2016].

<sup>53</sup> In 2015, 51% of those engaged in film and video production, a total of more than 24,000 people, were self-employed (compared to 15% self-employed across the UK workforce as a whole (BFI (2016). Employment in the film industry <http://www.bfi.org.uk/sites/bfi.org.uk/files/downloads/bfi-employment-in-the-film-industry-2016-06-30.pdf>)

screen sector work. Preferring men over women is therefore not seen as fundamentally problematic but as 'reasonable' or 'understandable' sexism (Wing-Fai et al., 2015): it is 'more 'rational' to hire a man, because he would be less likely to leave or to take time off'. Relatedly, Wing-Fai et al. (2015) also found decision makers saying that women's parenting responsibilities compromised their creative energies and will to succeed – in the words of a commissioning editor 'the hunger isn't there anymore'.

From studies into issues related to pregnancy and maternity it emerged that the current situation was perceived as inevitable within the industry, both with regard to work and employment conditions being what they are and mothers being less suited for working under these conditions. In theory, these issues would affect fathers as well (paternal status is not a diversity characteristic covered under the 2010 Equality Act) but the evidence base clearly shows that it is overwhelmingly women whose careers are affected by these perceptions.

A final issue related to pregnancy, maternity and working conditions is the dearth of successful role models. Irrespective of gender, 'the majority of leaders do not take career breaks, have never had a major caring responsibility and have done little or no part-time work over the course of their career' (Dodd, 2012<sup>54</sup>; see also Eikhof & York, 2015). Positive, workable examples of how to combine career and caring responsibilities are thus short in supply, reinforcing the belief that the two are difficult if not impossible to reconcile in screen sector work.

## 5.6. Race and ethnicity

Similar to age and disability, ethnic background and race as diversity markers comprise audio-visual aspects, e.g. workers' skin colour or accent. Again similar to age and disability, analyses centre on the link between audience reactions to race and ethnicity on screen and work opportunities for on screen talent, in particular from BAME backgrounds. Saha (2012)<sup>55</sup> for instance reports on the need of on screen talent not to look 'so in your face ethnic'.

Similar to disability, industry continues to closely link workers from BAME backgrounds with BAME topics and roles, thereby reproducing existing and reductive notions of race and ethnicity and preventing the genuine mainstreaming of race and ethnicity throughout the sector (e.g. Malik, 2013<sup>56</sup>; Saha, 2012). However, current research also links BAME workers' appearance and habitus to work or career-relevant activities off screen. A black stunt man

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<sup>54</sup> Dodd, F. (2012). Women leaders in the creative industries: a baseline study. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, 4(2), pp. 153–178. Available at: <http://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/full/10.1108/17566261211234652>.

<sup>55</sup> Saha, A. (2012). "Beards, scarves, halal meat, terrorists, forced marriage": television industries and the production of "race." *Media, Culture & Society*, 34(4), pp. 424–438. Available at: <http://mcs.sagepub.com/content/34/4/424.abstract>.

<sup>56</sup> Malik, S. (2013) "Creative Diversity": UK Public Service Broadcasting After Multiculturalism. *Popular Communication*, 11:3, pp. 227-241. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15405702.2013.810081?journalCode=hppc20>.

interviewed by Randle et al. (2015), for instance, cited a 'white middle class' accent as essential for moving up to stunt co-ordinator. Given that co-ordinator is an off screen position in a non-audio dependent area of production, his accent was far from a bona fide occupational requirement and should have been doubly irrelevant to his career progression.

In addition, because they are more likely to grow up and be socialised in considerable socio-economic and cultural distance from 'white...middle class and... Oxbridge' networks' (female BAME employee in the BBC quoted in Randle et al., 2015), BAME workers are less likely to command the direct social capital that facilitates careers in the screen sector (Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013). Notably, workers are keenly aware of their exclusion. Nwonka (2015),<sup>57</sup> for instance, reports feelings of being discriminated against on the grounds of race as widespread amongst film workers.

It is notable that current research on ethnicity and race equates to analyses of 'White-British' versus 'Black-Caribbean' and 'Asian'. There are, of course, historic reasons for such a perspective being more dominant in the UK. However, such narrow perspectives are likely to be limited in how accurately they capture the contemporary ethnic make-up of British society.

### **5.7. Religion, sexual orientation and gender reassignment**

Our review of quantitative evidence of the state of workforce diversity in the screen sector identified a range of studies that included the diversity characteristics religion, sexual orientation and gender reassignment. However, the evidence base contained no research of sufficient scope and relevance that explicitly analysed how these diversity characteristics might affect workforce participation and advancement.

### **5.8. Social class**

Social class is not one of the protected diversity characteristics under the 2010 Equalities Act, and consequently class inequalities are not as prominently discussed, researched and acted upon than in particular gender, age and ethnicity (Randle et al., 2015). Synthesising findings from across the evidence base, however, shows that class or socio-economic background influence workforce participation and advancement in a number of ways.

Firstly, workers from less well-off backgrounds are less likely to command the economic resource for establishing and maintaining a career in the creative industries, including the screen sector. They struggle to finance higher education as well as sustain themselves

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<sup>57</sup> Nwonka, C.J. (2015). Diversity pie: rethinking social exclusion and diversity policy in the British film industry. *Journal of Media Practice*, 16(1), pp.73-90. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14682753.2015.1015802>

through the unpaid internships and entry level positions upon which careers in the creative industries are based (e.g. Banks & Oakley, 2016<sup>58</sup>; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013).

Secondly, work in the creative industries, including the screen sector, is imbued with middle class-ness. Even when unrelated to the work itself, middle class habits and practices were seen as synonymous with good professional practice (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012). Such images of creative work impact career aspirations of young people: working class youth tended to view creative work as a middle class domain and as thus inappropriate for them (Allen & Hollingsworth, 2013). Parents and careers advisors were found to reaffirm perceptions that for a successful creative career one needed to be middle class and 'born into it like Peaches Geldof' (interviewee in Allen & Hollingsworth, 2013). Such views of creative careers as undesirable or unrealistic can also be part of a self-protection strategy, 'a defence from being positioned as "aiming too high" or "getting above yourself"' (Allen & Hollingsworth, 2013).

Thirdly, working class workers at any stage of their career are less likely to be able to draw on a network of relevant contacts. Networks tend to be built at university and during internships or are inherited from parents – three sources that working class workers are less likely to successfully access. The resulting lack of social capital puts those from working class backgrounds at severe disadvantages: accessing training and employment or, if they have made it into the industry, winning new business is significantly more challenging than for those who can draw on relevant social networks (Banks & Oakley 2015; Eikhof & Warhurst 2013). Several studies supported Grugulis and Stoyanova's (2012) conclusion: 'not only were middle-class professionals more likely to be working in film and TV, they also enjoyed better access to "quality" projects and possessed stronger and higher "quality" networks than their working-class colleagues.'

## 5.9. Intersectionalities and cross-cutting issues

Synthesising data across diversity characteristics exposed a number of intersectionalities and cross-cutting issues.

Intersectionalities are instances in which diversity characteristics overlap and the challenges individual workers are facing compound. If, for instance, a female worker has caring responsibilities and comes from a working class background, the screen sector's reliance on networking is likely to be problematic for her not only because it requires juggling childcare and out-of-hours activity but also because coming from a working class

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<sup>58</sup> Banks, M. & Oakley, K. (2016). The dance goes on forever? Art schools, class and UK higher education. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 22(1), pp. 41–57. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10286632.2015.1101082>.

background her personal networks are likely to be less useful in the middle class-dominated screen sector.

Several studies presented evidence of such intersectionalities. Being aware of intersectionalities is particularly important for attempts to improve workforce diversity in the screen sector: Because intersectionalities exist, addressing one obstacle to workforce participation does not necessarily enable a specific individual to participate on par with others. For example, in the case of a disabled female film researcher interviewed by Wing-Fai et al. (2015), it was the inability to move to London that held back her career, not her disability. Even if there had been a radical turn-around in industry culture and accessibility, her childcare commitments and financial position would still have prevented her from networking and keeping 'yourself known to get those offers of work'.

Despite their importance, intersectionalities are not systematically explored in the present evidence base. Allen and Hollingsworth (2013) demonstrate how location and class combine to make it less likely that young people from less well-off localities aspire to work in the creative industries. For women, age and gender powerfully intersect to constrain the employment opportunities on screen (e.g. Eikhof & York, 2016) and off screen (e.g. Mills & Ralph, 2015). Parental status also appears to be more problematic for women than men (e.g. European Women's Audio-visual Network, 2016).

However, from a sector and policy perspective there is specific merit in analysing those cross-cutting sector characteristics that make working in the screen sector challenging for more than one group of workers. Four such cross-cutting issues stood out from the evidence base.

Firstly, the screen sector remains reliant on networking for building up professional reputation and accessing work and business opportunities. Networking typically takes place out-of-hours, often outside the usual place of work (from the local pub to an event half-way across the country) and may involve specific non-work practices such as playing golf or dinner parties. It therefore requires physical mobility, extended temporal availability and the financial means to travel and partake in the activities in question. These aspects make networking a sector practice that workers with caring responsibilities, restricted mobility, limited economic resource or certain religious beliefs find more difficult to take part in (e.g. Randle & Hardy, 2016; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013).

In the screen sector, networks are also dominated by white, middle class men. Women and workers from working class and ethnic minority backgrounds are thus less likely to be part of these networks and when they do break into them, are more likely to feel alienated or be perceived as outsiders (e.g. Eikhof & York, 2016; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012).

The predominance of recruitment via informal contacts also has implications for diversity monitoring: it is much more difficult to monitor and influence diversity-related good practice if recruitment processes are informal and not recorded.

A second cross-cutting issue is the prevalence of flexible and freelance employment, which for many workers results in substantial income insecurities. This aspect of the screen sector is particularly difficult to navigate for those who command fewer economic resources (e.g. workers from working class backgrounds), who have dependent children or family members or who incur additional costs to participate in the screen sector, e.g. because of accessibility requirements or commutes.

A third cross-cutting issue that emerged from the evidence base concerned industry perceptions. Evidence in particular from film and TV production showed that work and employment in the screen sector are shaped by powerful and often unconscious perceptions of what characteristics are typical for screen sector workers. Nuances notwithstanding, these perceptions centre on white ethnicity, male gender, a middle-class, dynamic and youthful urban habitus as well as able bodied-ness. Workers who deviate from one or more of these characteristics are perceived as less fitting and as having to make a case for their inclusion. In some situations, e.g. when a screenplay requires a disabled or black actor, such cases are seemingly easily to make. However, such casting for specific characteristics can also lead to workers from particular groups being locked more tightly into certain positions and excluded from others.

The fourth important cross-cutting issue was an underlying acceptance of the context of screen sector work as a given and unchangeable, despite its often well recognised problematic impacts on workforce diversity. This acceptance was most noticeable with respect to working practices and recruitment. Long working hours and the sector ethos of being available 24/7 were accepted as facts rather than as practices that needed challenging and changing. Recruitment of men in favour of women because the latter would constitute a risk for project delivery was viewed as 'reasonable sexism', i.e. as a response to necessities and market pressures that individual decision makers had to obey to, even if they were aware of the discriminatory results. Similarly, recruitment via networks was an accepted and largely unchallenged practice, despite its obvious exclusionary effects.

## 6. Interventions to increase inclusion

One of the key aims of this evidence review was to identify and synthesise existing evidence on the effectiveness of interventions to increase workforce diversity. Such interventions might be undertaken in training and education, by individual employers or as sector wide initiatives. It is clear that interventions have become an important and prominent part of sector practice. But what kinds of intervention are most effective? The aim here is not to comprehensively catalogue and describe sector diversity policy and practice but to identify and review the highest quality research evaluation in order to distil current knowledge about effective interventions and to inform future policy and practice.

The search identified only a small number of studies which were relevant to understanding interventions to increase the diversity of the screen sector workforce and that were of sufficient scope to be included in the evidence review. The majority of these studies researched gender inequality and to a lesser extent ethnicity and disability. Nearly all of these studies focused on the film and television industries - indeed, the search found no studies that addressed interventions to increase diversity in the animation, video games or visual effects industries. Particularly striking was the lack of published evaluation of interventions carried out by organisations themselves.

This chapter first discusses the main screen sector responses to the lack of diversity and the problem of the lack of published, independent evaluation. It then discusses what the evidence base says about both the successes and limitations of current interventions to increase workforce diversity. Finally, it reports upon research which has sought to investigate attitudes to different kinds of interventions within the sector.

### 6.1. Empower or transform?

Interventions to increase the diversity of the screen sector workforce can broadly be divided into two categories. Interventions in the first category aim to **empower** under-represented groups by enhancing an individual's capacity to enter and progress within existing industry pathways. Interventions in the second category seek to **transform** sector practice to remove barriers to more equal participation. These interventions often operate at the level of policy.

Interventions to empower under-represented groups are the most prominent sector response to the problem of the lack of workforce diversity. Many of these take the form of training initiatives designed to equip individuals with the necessary skills, capitals and experiences to progress. Examples of empowerment interventions include the BBC's Extend programme which provides paid training placements for disabled production workers; Channel 4's Production Trainee Scheme which offers twelve month paid placements alongside training and is targeted particularly at disabled people and people from BAME backgrounds; and Creative Skillset's Buddy Programme developed in

partnership with The TV Collective which matched six BAME workers to experienced industry professional mentors.

Interventions which attempt to transform industry practice are fewer in number but tend to be more far reaching, often working at the level of policy and funding. Examples here include the BFI Diversity Standards commitment to encourage increased diversity in National Lottery-funded films; and Channel 4's 360° Diversity Charter which includes new commissioning guidelines to ensure that at least one lead character in scripted programmes has a disability or is from an ethnic minority background or is lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender. Both these schemes launched in 2015. A 2016 report by the European Women's Audiovisual Network named 'Where are the Women Directors?' identifies and compares initiatives to increase gender equality in film and television across seven European nations: Croatia, Austria, Sweden, France Germany, Italy and the UK. It notes that none of the countries examined have a mandatory approach to issues of under-representation and that schemes are often localized and organisation-specific, where they exist at all. The report notes the absence of regulatory frameworks across both broadcast and film to gather statistics on gender and other diversity characteristics. Specifically on the UK, the report notes that there exist 'welcome steps in the right direction' but it queries their efficacy for addressing 'deep-rooted problems'. The report concludes that 'assuming there is the political will to achieve gender equality for UK directors, stronger, coordinated action will be needed across the film and television institutions.' (Appendix VII, p.4)

Many of the above mentioned interventions are very recent and it is therefore perhaps unsurprising that publicly available evaluations of their effectiveness are limited. But it is noteworthy that the most significant sector responses to the problem of the lack of workforce diversity have received no robust independent evaluation. Published information on the content of interventions is sparse and there is almost no publicly available evaluation of outcomes.

It is also noteworthy that studies exploring industry and sector interventions to increase workforce diversity (see overview in Section 6.3) did not express confidence that schemes designed to empower under-represented groups would facilitate the step change needed to remedy the lack of workforce diversity. Interventions designed to empower certain groups of individuals are much needed steps in the right direction. However, they are not designed to address systemic challenges to workforce diversity in the screen sector, e.g. working hours or causes of income insecurities for freelancers. Empowering initiatives would thus need to be supplemented by more systemic initiatives to achieve sustained and quicker improvements of workforce diversity in the screen sector (Eikhof & Warhurst 2015; European Women's Audiovisual Network, 2016a).

## 6.2. The importance of public service broadcasters

Given the paucity of evaluative research on specific interventions, the evidence review sought to establish what could be learned from related studies that did not primarily focus on evaluation. Many of these studies are drawn from the academic literature and based upon qualitative investigations of the experience of under-represented groups, often taking a critical approach to sector policy and practice. A number of studies reveal both the importance of targeted interventions to empower under-represented groups – particularly of women, people from BAME backgrounds and disabled people – and also the limitations of such schemes in transforming sector policy and practice. In this, the role of broadcasters, primarily the BBC and to a lesser extent Channel 4, is evident.

For example, Randle and Hardy's research (2016) on the experiences of disabled film and television workers highlights that specialist programming for viewers with impairments is important for providing disabled workers with entry routes into the industry. The BBC is singled out repeatedly by their respondents as providing opportunities for disabled people through its specialist programming. They note, however, that despite the role of specialist programming as an important mechanism for gaining a foothold in the industry, it is widely felt to be devalued, of secondary importance and of poorer quality. Thus specialist programming rarely presented an opportunity for horizontal career progression, but instead constructed a 'glass partition', often blocking movement into mainstream programming.

Similarly, Saha's research, based upon extensive interviews and participant observation with British Asian cultural producers, notes that 'Asian filmmakers who make stories about Asian lives for terrestrial television are almost exclusively broadcast by the BBC and Channel 4.' He continues, 'it is no coincidence that these channels are both public service broadcasters, operating within public service remits which commit them to broadcasting 'minority-interest' programmes' (Saha 2012, p.427). However, Saha questions whether increased BAME workforce participation will improve the representation of minorities on television. His research demonstrates that, in order to succeed, BAME cultural producers are often compelled to become complicit in the racialized assumptions that dominate producer conceptions of what constitutes 'minority programming'. This echoes the conclusions of Nwonka's study of UK film policy, in which he notes that 'it is problematic to assume that [greater participation] will inevitably lead to a shift in the very discriminative nature of the film industry or have any impact in key decision making roles in the sector' (Nwonka, 2015, p.87).

Proctor-Thomson reports upon an intervention to encourage more women into the digital industries by promoting more varied role models in recruitment pages, in order to counteract the 'technical and geeky' image of a typical digital worker. The initiative sought to diversify the workforce by appealing to 'feminine interests' to attract more women workers. However, the study, which focuses on a textual analysis of the representation of

gender in recruitment literature, highlights the 'improbability that gender will be disrupted through such discursive practices' (Proctor-Thomson, 2013, 99-100).<sup>59</sup>

The BBC Charter which sets an important context for how public service broadcasters address workforce diversity issues was itself not the focus of the above studies. Across these and other studies (e.g. Eikhof & York, 2016), however, the influence of commissioner decisions was highlighted as central to addressing diversity issues.

### 6.3. Attitudes towards interventions to increase diversity

Two publications report on surveys of the attitudes of industry workers to interventions to increase diversity and found high levels of support for a range of measures.

The 'Where are the Women Directors?' report presents the results of a pan-European survey of 900 male and female film and television workers into attitudes towards various kinds of interventions to increase gender equality. In general, the report found support for a range of different kinds of interventions, although the extent of this support differs by country. Respondents were asked what initiatives they would support to help sustain women's careers. Gender equality in funding commissions was considered important for almost all respondents and of highest importance for the female respondents (94%). Targeted production funding, incentives for producers to work with female directors and increased funding for first and second films were also considered important, with an 80-88 per cent response. Women respondents especially favoured increasing support for first and second films and also gave higher recognition (87%) to the need to include more women from under-represented backgrounds, and to the need for increased support for distribution (84% as opposed to 77%). Three out of four respondents (77%) believed that quotas for state funding would help to achieve change. This was given the most support by British respondents and the least support by French respondents.

UK respondents were notably more affirmative of all suggested measures to increase gender equality than those from other European countries. Exhibiting more films directed by women had nearly universal support (97%). There was also high support, over 90%, for measures to affirm women's presence at every stage of their early careers – in education, in their transition from training into their careers, and in developing more film projects.

Another survey by the group Raising Films into issues faced by film and television workers managing caring responsibilities also found widespread support for interventions to increase gender equality. Their report notes that:

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<sup>59</sup> Proctor-Thomson, S.B. (2013). Gender disruptions in the digital industries? *Culture and Organization*, 19(2), pp. 85–104. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14759551.2012.754222?mobileUi=0&journalCode=gsc020>.

'There is a strong desire for cultural change within the industry to support these structural changes towards a more equal workplace, in order for parents and carers to have genuine and fair access. Changes such as the reduction of anti-social hours are seen as being beneficial for all – including audiences, who will reap the benefit of a more diverse creative cohort working in film and television.' (p.1)

The 'Where are the Women Directors?' and Raising Films research provide an indicative snapshot of attitudes towards measures to increase gender equality in film and broadcasting. However, the results are not generalizable across the population, or film and television workers as a whole – the Raising Films survey, for example, was based upon a self-selecting sample snowballed through their supporter network. This Review could find no other evidence of the extent of public or professional support for different measures to increase screen sector workforce diversity (see Recommendations).

#### **6.4. Evaluating the evidence on interventions**

There is evidence to support the view that targeted interventions designed to empower under-represented groups such as training schemes and mentorship programmes can be successful in providing entry routes into the screen sector workforce for limited numbers of women, BAME people and disabled people. Organisations with public remits such as the BFI, the BBC and Channel 4 have been at the forefront of these initiatives. There is, however, little to suggest that these interventions have addressed the underlying causes of inequality or removed barriers to equal participation. Indeed, research often highlights the limitations of such schemes in transforming the negative assumptions that surround diversity or the structural marginalization of more 'diverse' workers into specialist and minority programming.

If empowering under-represented groups through training has had limited success, would the industry support other kinds of interventions? There is some evidence of support for a broader range of interventions such as workforce quotas, targeted production funding and directives around working hours and flexibility. However, there is very little published, independent evidence available from which to make informed judgements about what policy and practice would receive broad support in the screen sector. The existing evidence is almost entirely for film and TV, and centres primarily upon gender, with a secondary focus upon ethnicity and disability.

Interventions do not tend to have research and evaluation built in which limits any cross-sector learning and applicability, even where positive outcomes are reported. This review found no study that employed control groups to measure the effectiveness of particular interventions, for example. Studies tend to be small and qualitative, and there is a lack of the sort of longitudinal work that might help understand the positive and negative effects of different kinds of interventions over time. This gap in the research base is made all the

more striking when viewed in the context of the number of interventions that have taken place, particularly in the television production sector, but also through sector-wide initiatives driven by bodies such as the Creative Diversity Network, the BFI and Creative Skillset. As it stands, the UK screen sector devotes significant resources to reproducing at best unproven intervention strategies, mostly aimed at empowering under-represented groups. Some of these empowerment initiatives may even be counterproductive to improving workforce diversity because they reinforce stereotyping and 'ghettoization' of workers with certain diversity characteristics (Saha, 2012; Proctor-Thomson, 2013; Nwonka, 2015). Clearly there is much more to be done to understand the effectiveness of different interventions to increase diversity, and given the lack of success to-date, this should be made a research priority.

## 7. The evidence case for diversity

Does the research evidence show a positive business, cultural and social case for greater workforce diversity? What is known about the effects of the lack of diversity on companies? This sections reviews research designed to answer these questions.

*'Diversity is, ultimately, about including a range of lived experiences; and such experiences are often different for those from minority backgrounds'.*

*'The social justice case for diversity is as clear as the business case. We see the creative output of the industry at its strongest when offering a diverse range of perspectives, and, even as small studio owners, the seemingly small hiring decisions we can make can set a precedent for inclusivity in the creative industries as a whole.'*

*Mitu Khandaker, Independent Games Developer, The Tiniest Shark*

*Quoted in Creative Industries Federation (2015), p.20*

The 'evidence case for diversity' has been an emerging theme in policy literature since 2012. The notion that 'more diverse teams do better' has become something of a truism, and is often featured in public debates about the need for a more diverse workforce in the UK's cultural and creative industries.

However, it is striking how little actual research evidence exists to back up this claim. This evidence review found only one study that empirically explored links between screen industry company performance and diversity (Dodd 2012, discussed below). There is, however, strong evidence of the lack of workforce diversity being perceived as limiting outputs of the

screen sector, for instance because it excludes 'talent' and reduces the diversity of perspectives and experiences in production and creative teams. This 'lost opportunity' narrative is explored in the first section below.

Given the paucity of research in this area, the second section reviews three reports that are outside the formal parameters of this review, either because they do not focus on the screen sector (McKinsey & Company 'Diversity Matters' 2014; Department for Business, Innovation and Skills 'The Business Case for Equality and Diversity', 2013) or because they do not contain primary empirical evidence (The Creative Industries Federation 'Creative

*"Diversity is a big, complex area. The aim of diversity policy in broadcasting is simple: to include and nurture talent, and to reflect contemporary Britain on and off screen."*

*Channel 4, 360 Diversity Charter 2015, p.3*

Diversity', 2015).<sup>60</sup> These reports have been included here for their potential to inform future research into workforce diversity in the screen sector.

### 7.1. Lack of workforce diversity: a lost opportunity

There is ample evidence that the lack of workforce diversity is perceived as a lost opportunity, for companies, for the UK's screen sector more generally and for audiences (BBC, 2013; Channel 4, 2016a;<sup>61</sup> Creative Scotland 2015;<sup>62</sup> Directors UK, 2014, 2015). Most of the research, however, presents this 'lost opportunity' narrative in anecdotal form. Our review was only able to identify one study based upon empirical evidence that sought to quantify what might be gained from greater workforce diversity.

Dodd's (2012) research on female leaders in the cultural and creative industries notes that there has been a lack of empirical data surrounding both the numbers of female leaders, and the effects of gender distributions in management on leadership styles and company performance. Dodd's work, a large scale quantitative analysis of leadership roles in cultural and creative industries, addresses the concern that 'organisations do not receive the benefits from a combination of different leadership styles that higher levels of female leadership would provide' (p.158).

According to Dodd's study, there is evidence of a correlation between women directors in organisations and high market value. These affects appear to be linked to gendered leadership styles: 'transactional' styles, that focus on building relationships and 'transformational' styles, which focus on aligning and giving common purpose, respectively.

It might logically follow from this finding that there are business performance enhancements to be gained from the combinations of different leadership styles attributed to other diversity characteristics. However, this claim has not been explored within the research literature, possibly because of the danger of stereotyping and essentialising the perceived characteristics of certain social groups in discriminatory ways.

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<sup>60</sup> McKinsey (2014). Diversity Matters. Available at: <http://www.diversitas.co.nz/Portals/25/Docs/Diversity%20Matters.pdf>  
Department for Business, Industry and Skills (2013). The business case for equality and diversity: A survey of the academic literature. Available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/49638/the\\_business\\_case\\_for\\_equality\\_and\\_diversity.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/49638/the_business_case_for_equality_and_diversity.pdf); Creative Industries Federation (2016). Creative Diversity. The state of diversity in the UK's creative industries, and what we can do about it. Available at: <https://www.creativeindustriesfederation.com/publications/creative-diversity>

<sup>61</sup> Channel 4 (2016a). 360° Diversity Charter - One Year on. Available at: <http://www.channel4.com/media/documents/press/news/Desktop/Channel%204%20360%20Diversity%20Charter%20-%20FINALxx.pdf>

<sup>62</sup> Creative Scotland (2015). Equalities, Diversity and Inclusion Report 2015, pp. 1-49. Available at: [http://www.creativescotland.com/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0004/31279/Equalities,-Diversity-and-Inclusion-Report-April-2015.pdf](http://www.creativescotland.com/_data/assets/pdf_file/0004/31279/Equalities,-Diversity-and-Inclusion-Report-April-2015.pdf)

*"Following current trends, by 2020 less than 2% of creative and cultural organisations will have a mixed management team. Unless this trend is reversed then it will become increasingly important for women and men to develop skills in both transactional and transformational leadership styles. If women and men do not work together to provide the balance of management styles that is reported to be successful, then it will be important that the individuals themselves (whether male or female) can exhibit and practice both. Crucially, it will be important to move away from pejorative classifications of a male and female style (where one is seen as less effective than the other) and towards a combined style of 'situational leadership' that recognises and utilises the qualities of each."*

*(Dodd 2012, p. 172)*

This point is picked up in Mills and Ralph's (2015) study of women in television comedy, based upon interviews with industry professionals. They note that the 'debate about the lack of women in television comedy works on the assumption that this is a problem, not only in terms of equality of access to work in the sector, but also because there is something particular which female writers may bring to the creative process' (p.104). The underlying assumption is that women make different contributions to men and if the majority of creative workers are men that limit the comedy output to one that reflects male perspectives. Mills and Ralph argue that defining humour as either 'male' or 'female' is both reductive and flawed, and point out that their interviewees struggled with this contradiction, 'acknowledging

the need for more women in the industry yet uncomfortable with concrete definitions of 'feminine' or 'female' comedy' (p.105).

Research on the disadvantages of low workforce diversity mostly looks at 'lost talent', specifically in key creative roles such as director and screenwriter. For example, diversity reports and policy documents from the BBC (2013), Channel 4 (2016a), Creative Scotland (2015) and Directors UK (2014) all conceive of the costs of the lack of diversity as limiting the talent available to the industry in key creative roles, and therefore limiting the kinds of stories and representations that the industry is able to produce. This 'lost opportunity' narrative is also prominent in the research on experiences of combining caring responsibilities with film and television production carried out by Raising Films (2016). Their

*"We have to support a diverse range of voices, talents and skill-sets. By discriminating (even unconsciously) against those who have other responsibilities, we are potentially letting a wealth of talent slip through the cracks. The result is a homogenized industry that doesn't benefit the business or the audience."*

*Female respondent, Raising Films Survey (2016, p.12)*

research shows a strong perception within the industry that the loss of women workers constitutes a loss of talent which translates into a lack of diverse voices and stories which again reduces audience appeal and market opportunities and thus ultimately constrains opportunities for generating revenue.

## 7.2. Workforce diversity and company performance

The only large-scale empirical investigation into workforce diversity and company performance conducted within the period covered by this evidence review was carried out by McKinsey & Company. This research does not mention the screen sector, cultural or creative industries explicitly but has been picked up within the sector to make the case for greater workforce diversity (Creative Industries Federation, 2015). The research looked at financial data and ethnic and gender diversity on the management boards of 366 public companies across a range of industries in the UK, Canada, the US, and Latin America. The analysis found a statistically significant relationship between more diverse leadership teams and better financial performance. According to the report, 'Diversity Matters', companies in the top quartile of gender diversity were 15 per cent more likely to have financial returns that were above their national industry median; companies in the top quartile of ethnic diversity were 35 per cent more likely to have financial returns above their national industry median; and companies in the bottom quartile for both gender and ethnicity were statistically less likely to achieve above-average financial returns than the average companies in the dataset (2014, p.1).

The 'Diversity Matters' report authors hypothesise that these correlations can be explained by a number of factors, all of which have potential applicability and relevance to the UK's screen sector. They are (cf. p.9):

- Attracting talent: A strong focus on women and ethnic minorities increases the sourcing talent pool, a particular issue in Europe. In a 2012 survey, 40 per cent of companies said skill shortages were the top reason for vacancies in entry-level jobs.
- Strengthening customer orientation: Women and minority groups are key consumer decision makers: for example, women make 80 per cent of consumer purchases in the UK; gay men and women have average household incomes that are almost 80 per cent higher than average.
- Increasing employee satisfaction: Diversity increases employee satisfaction and reduces conflicts between groups, improving collaboration and loyalty.

- Improved decision making:  
Diversity fosters innovation and creativity through a greater variety of problem-solving approaches, perspectives and ideas. Academic research has shown that diverse groups often outperform experts.
- Enhancing a company's image:  
Social responsibility is becoming increasingly important and many countries have legal requirements for diversity (e.g. the UK's Equality Act 2010).

The research does have limitations when applied to the UK screen sector. It only focuses on company management team diversity, and then only on gender and ethnicity. It is therefore not known

whether greater diversity across the entire workforce correlates with enhanced company financial performance or tell us anything about other under-represented groups. Secondly, the screen sector differs from other sectors regarding characteristics such as typical company size, organisation, working patterns or recruitment processes, which makes comparison and replication difficult. Nevertheless, the research has been taken up in the UK as evidence of the positive business benefits to be gained from increasing workforce diversity in the creative industries more broadly.

For example, the Creative Industries Federation report 'Creative Diversity' (2015) draws upon and adapts some of the ideas developed in 'Diversity Matters' for the cultural and creative industries. It makes the argument that 'as the creative industries sell ideas, content and products, they might benefit more than other businesses from diversifying because doing so would increase understanding of what different parts of the population might like' (p.2). It is notable, however, that 'Creative Diversity' is only able to draw upon anecdotal evidence in order to substantiate the case for greater workforce diversity.

The former Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS) produced a systematic literature review which assessed the evidence on workforce diversity and company performance. It concludes that while there is evidence that greater workforce diversity can increase company performance, this does not apply to 'all firms in all contexts at all times'

*Failing to diversify means wasted business opportunities:*

- *The BAME population will make up nearly a third of the UK's population by 2050 and its disposable income increased 10-fold in the decade from 2001*
- *Women influence 80% of buying decisions and by 2025 are expected to own 60% of all personal wealth*
- *Only 14% of workers in the £1.7 billion video games industry are women yet they play more than half the games.*

*Creative Industries Federation 2015, p.2*

(2013, p.vi). Greater workforce diversity can also be a cost, particularly for smaller firms in the short term. Therefore, the 'firm's economic and organisational context is crucial in determining how equality and diversity brings about business benefits' (p.vi). However, the precise mechanisms necessary for the generation of positive benefits through greater workforce diversity are not sufficiently evidenced and the report calls for more detailed case study work to explain the specific contextual determinants of increased business performance.

*External Business Benefits* arise when firms better represent the world (and legislative environment) around them. For instance, having staff with roots in other countries and cultures can help a business address its products appropriately and sensitively to new markets. Consumers are becoming more diverse and firms may need to reflect this or risk losing out in important markets.

*Internal Business Benefits* arise from improving operations internal to the firm. For example, a diverse workforce which includes a range of perspectives can improve creativity and problem-solving, resulting in better decisions. Also a diverse workforce can offer greater flexibility.

*Business, Innovation and Skills (2013, p.vii)*

### 7.3. Assessing the evidence case for screen sector workforce diversity

From the small number of studies cited above it is clear that while there is a strong perception that increased workforce diversity has strong company and business benefits, financial and otherwise, the actual evidence for such effects is at best incomplete. Larger organisations with more developed and embedded diversity policies are best placed to reap performance benefits from workforce diversity, while for smaller companies there is evidence of financial costs, at least in the short term (which may help to explain the role of large broadcasters in driving diversity interventions described in Chapter 6). Furthermore, studies have focused on ethnicity and gender and nothing is known about other diversity characteristics such as social class, disability, sexuality or religious beliefs. There is little understanding of what precise mechanisms, structures or conditions are best suited to realising or maximising benefits. Within the screen sector, there is a strong perception that barriers to greater workforce diversity are a lost opportunity for companies, for creative teams, and for audiences but there is a struggle to articulate precisely what greater workforce diversity might bring that is currently lacking. Most strikingly, there is the lack of robust evidence from within the screen sector itself. This absence of evidence does not, of course, equate to an absence of benefits from workforce diversification. It merely indicates that the research to investigate this issue has not been conducted. In this context,

advocates have to rely upon anecdotal evidence to make the case for diversity, and anecdotal evidence may not be convincing enough to initiate long-term shifts in sector practices or culture.

## 8. Gaps in the evidence base

The previous sections have alluded to gaps in the research on workforce diversity in the UK screen sector. This section lists key research gaps in detail before the following section 9 presents recommendations for how the most prescient gaps might be filled.

The most obvious gap in the evidence base concerns the availability of empirical evidence. Generally,

- There is considerable imbalance in the coverage of the screen sector, with film and TV much more comprehensively researched than animation, VFX and video games.
- There is considerable imbalance in the coverage of diversity characteristics, with gender and to some extent race/ethnicity, disability and class much more comprehensively covered than age, pregnancy/maternity, location, sexual orientation and religion. Gaps in the coverage of certain characteristics can have important implications within research. For instance, diversity-focused studies still view employment opportunities as predominantly concentrated in London and South-East England whereas maps of economic activity show a slightly different picture, at least for some screen industries.<sup>63</sup> Internal imbalances are also notable: While gender is extensively researched, gender reassignment is not covered at all and race/ethnicity are predominantly conceptualised as White-British versus Black-Caribbean and Asian. Reflecting the definition of the diversity characteristics in the 2010 Equalities Act, caring responsibilities are researched almost exclusively in relation to women, not in relation to parents or carers of whatever gender. Disability features almost exclusively in the guise of physical disability, cognitive disabilities or mental health conditions receive little mention.
- There is considerable imbalance in the type of data available on the screen sector. Film and TV are subjected to a range of research approaches while video games, animation and VFX are covered by a small number of quantitative surveys only. While the majority of film and TV research is also quantitative, for these parts of the screen sector there is at least a considerable number of qualitative studies that can provide in-depth insights to aid interpretation of statistics. Such interpretations are particularly important to understand the complex interactions between factors that influence workforce diversity.

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<sup>63</sup> E.g. Nesta (2014). A Map of the UK Games Industry, <http://www.nesta.org.uk/publications/map-uk-games-industry>

In addition to gaps in the data coverage across the screen sector and diversity characteristics, there are also remarkable gaps in the issues addressed by research in the evidence base.

- Only a very limited number of studies focus on pay and its likely unequal distribution. The evidence base contained a small number of references to gender pay gaps but pay (as an important outcome of workforce participation) was not a main focus of research. This omission is particularly striking as mentions of income insecurities resulting from flexible and freelance work abound across the evidence base.
- Evidence on interventions is limited. Information on what a particular intervention comprised was often restricted to headline facts rather than in-depth insight. There is a particular dearth of rigorous evaluations and assessments of the potential to upscale successful interventions or distribute learning across the sector.
- There is little systematic comparison of interventions to empower certain groups of workers versus interventions that seek to transform structures that constrain workforce diversity.
- There is little systematic comparison of interventions that are designed to persuade of pro-diversity practice versus interventions that incentivise or regulate against practice that does not demonstrate positive impact on workforce diversity.
- There is hardly any research on the evidence cases for workforce diversity, be it economic, social or cultural.
- There is only very limited research into promotion and career progression.
- There is little recognition that workforce diversity may affect outcomes (and thus creative business, social or cultural cases) at different levels, e.g. more diverse workforces may bring in more diverse talent and thus diversify employment opportunities, but they may also transform processes (e.g. more diverse decision makers might make different decisions) and create more diverse outputs and thus diversify business opportunities.
- Intersectionalities are recognised as important but empirical evidence tends to be a by-product of studies into a single diversity characteristic. There were no studies that made the exploration of intersectionalities their main aim.
- Cross-cutting themes are under-researched and their discussion is largely confined to conceptual research.
- There are hardly any internationally comparative studies that would allow benchmarking the UK screen sector against other countries.

Lastly, comprehensive analysis of workforce diversity in the screen sector is impeded by definitional inconsistencies. Industry statistics apply different definitions of the screen sector, in particular where they cover creative industries beyond screen. These inconsistencies make rigorous comparisons or aggregation of data almost impossible. Less stark but still limiting are inconsistencies in the conceptualisation of diversity characteristics. The most common point of reference is the 2010 Equalities Act but the protected characteristics listed in this context do not comprise social class and location (two powerful influences on workforce diversity) and narrow the perception of caring responsibilities to the gendered category pregnancy/maternity.

## 9. Recommendations

Following on from the research gaps detailed in section 8, this section makes recommendation for next steps in research, policy-making and practice.

As section 8 has indicated, there are currently substantive gaps in the evidence on workforce diversity in the screen sector. The traditional remedy for such cases of limited evidence is more and better research. Indeed, and as will be outlined below, more and better research on workforce diversity in the screen sector is needed. However, what is also needed is more practice that research can be conducted upon. Interventions aimed at improving workforce diversity are limited in number, for instance. Similar constraints arise for researching the evidence case for diversity. To use a particularly stark example: if there are only extremely few teams in, say, film production that comprise disabled workers, researchers would struggle for empirical cases with which they could explore the business case for more diverse teams.

The sector therefore faces a double challenge: it needs more and better research and it needs more practice that research can be undertaken on. However, increasing research and practice requires resource. This requirement is particularly challenging for the screen sector which boasts only a limited number of medium to large sized employers. Both research and positive practice that can improve workforce diversity are dependent on financial resource and the ability to bear risk – neither are readily available for the many small and micro businesses and freelancers that make up a large share of the UK screen sector. Sector organisations can and do facilitate both research and practice change but coordinating a diverse range of stakeholders is challenging both in terms of practicalities and transaction costs. Our recommendations below are therefore phrased in recognition of an urgent need to coordinate efforts and to ensure that resources across the sector are utilised effectively.

To improve understanding of and initiatives to increase workforce diversity in the UK screen sector, this report makes the following recommendations:

### To improve the quality of research and evidence

1. Creation of consistent and sector-wide monitoring of key workforce characteristics that can provide reliable sector statistics, preferably designed with a view to international comparability. Such efforts would likely need to be led by (groups of) sector organisations in collaboration with experienced academic or industry researchers.
2. More explicit integration between quantitative and qualitative studies. Smaller scale qualitative studies would allow in-depth analysis of the relationships, processes and practices behind statistics. Reliable workforce statistics would allow identifying the issues qualitative studies could then usefully explore.
3. Building in of rigorous evaluation into all interventions to improve diversity, preferably with a sector commitment to make evaluations publicly available.
4. Systematic research into key crosscutting research themes:

- Empowering versus transforming interventions; i.e. initiatives designed to improve workforce participation for specific groups of workers versus initiatives designed to change industry structures and remove existing barriers to workforce diversity;
  - Interventions designed to persuade or convince versus interventions designed to regulate or incentivise;
  - The effect of workforce diversity in terms of diversifying employment opportunities, transforming and improving processes and diversifying output and therewith business opportunity;
  - Attitudes towards diversity and diversity-relevant aspects of screen sector culture.
5. Closer collaboration between academic and industry research, both in terms of methodologies and research foci.

#### To improve the availability and dissemination of knowledge

- 6. Creation of a national and periodically updated database of research into workforce diversity.
- 7. Creation of a practitioner-facing database of interventions to increase workforce diversity, preferably including descriptions and evaluations of initiatives.

#### To increase workforce-diversity relevant sector practice that can be researched

- 8. Creation of a sector-wider funding programme that funds initiatives and projects relevant to workforce diversity in combination with research on these activities. Such a funding programme could provide concentrated research capacity for a sector in which many businesses or organisations cannot afford interventions or evaluations. The programme could be modelled on the Digital R&D Fund for the Arts and Culture in England, which awarded in a competitive process project funding to sector/research partnerships and also facilitated cross-project learning.<sup>64</sup>

There is currently significant attention to workforce diversity issues in the UK screen sector. Given the range of different stakeholders already involved in diversity research and the expertise already created, the UK is in a strong position to lead efforts to improve our understanding of workforce diversity and of the possibilities of improving it. Sector

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<sup>64</sup> The Digital R&D Fund for the Arts and Culture was funded by Nesta, Arts Council England and the Arts and Humanities Research Council. The Fund awarded project funding for digital innovation projects. Funding had to be applied for by partnerships of arts organisations and digital partners (who undertook the project) and research partners (who provided project evaluations). Cross-Fund workshops and activities facilitated cross-project learning (<http://artsdigitalrnd.org.uk/about/>)

organisations and alliances will be key to facilitating improvements in both research and practice. Because the range of stakeholders (screen sector businesses, organisations, educators, researchers etc.) varies considerably with respect to their size, resources, footprints, expertise, interests and ambitions, sector-wide organisations such as the BFI are particularly well-placed to broker collaborations and instigate research that can make a difference to those working in the UK screen sector.

## 10. Appendix 1: Methodology

The evidence review of workforce diversity in the UK screen sector 2012-2016 was divided into two stages. Stage 1 included (1) the development and implementation of a search strategy designed to identify, screen and catalogue relevant literature, and (2) the delivery of a list of relevant sources as a searchable Excel spreadsheet to the British Film Institute as a resource for future policy making and research. Stage 2 comprised a quality assessment of the literature and subsequent thematic review and synthesis. Stage 1 took place in May and June 2016; Stage 2 was completed in November 2016.

### 10.1. Stage 1: Search strategy

The search strategy was developed following the principles of rapid evidence review. It identified and mapped current knowledge about and approaches to workforce diversity with rigorous, explicit and systematic methods whilst making concessions to the breadth or depth of assessment in comparison to a systematic review.

The range of evidence to be included, the key terms to identify titles and abstracts of published research and ongoing research projects, and the properties for assessment were developed into a search protocol and agreed with the BFI at an inception meeting in May 2016. The search strategy was subsequently tested and refined by the research team with input from an information librarian based at the University of Leicester.

#### Search terms

An expanded list of key search terms was developed by the research team and tested against existing bibliographic records. The terms were subjected to further testing across academic databases.

The expanded list of search terms were grouped into three categories:

- **Diversity characteristics:** older, younger, youth, young people, old people, disability, disabled, impairment, accessibility, ableism, gender, gender reassignment, parent, pregnant, pregnancy, maternity, sexism, sexist, marriage, married, civil partnership, race, ethnicity, ethnic, racism, BAME, BME, minority, gay, lesbian, bisexual, LGBT, sexual orientation, religious expression, religious belief, precarious, precariat, social class, socio economic background, discrimination, diversity, discriminate, discriminate.
- **Screen sector:** film, cinema, television, TV, video game, video gaming, computer game, game development, animation, visual effects, VFX, screen industry, screen industries, digital media, interactive media, content creation, audio visual, creative.
- **Work and employment:** job, worker, workforce, 'work force', training, education, employment, employer, employed, labour, labor, self-employed, freelance, recruitment, professional, apprenticeship.

Any item that contained any combination of terms from each of the three categories in the title, key words or abstract/summary was considered for inclusion in the review.

#### Search locations

Searches were undertaken across four locations: academic research and literature databases, the websites of stakeholder organisations, relevant academic journals and Google Scholar. The research team also sourced a number of relevant publications from professional knowledge.

#### *Academic databases*

Business Source Complete, ASSIA, Sociological Abstracts Online; MLA, Arts and Humanities Citation Index, Social Science Citations Index and Conference Proceedings Citation Index – Social Science and Humanities collections of ISI Web of Science.

#### *Organisation websites*

In addition to the search of academic databases for a comprehensive identification of scholarly research, the websites of public, third sector and commercial organisations that work in relation to the UK screen sector were also searched. The aim was to identify the most up-to-date industry research and grey literature related to industry initiatives and studies. The identification and selection procedure for the website search grouped organisations into four categories:

- **Broadcasters:** BBC, ITV, Channel 4, Sky
- **Public/semi-public institutions and organisations:** Arts Council England, British Council, British Film Institute, DCMS, Creative England, Creative Europe, Creative Northern Ireland, Creative Skillset, Creative Scotland, Eurimages, Film Cymru, Film London, Games London, NESTA, OFCOM, Screen South, Screen Wales, Screen Yorkshire, Screen South, Welsh Government
- **Industry trade bodies/trade unions:** BECTU, Creative Industries Federation, Directors UK, Equity, European Audiovisual Observatory, PACT, Production Guild of GB, TIGA, UKIE, UK Screen Association, Writers Guild
- **'Third sector' organisations/pressure groups:** Blitz Academy, Creative Diversity Network, European Women's Audiovisual Network, Stonewall, Women in Film and Television

Each website was searched first by navigating to dedicated research and publication repositories and manually searching; or where these did not exist, using search functions with diversity key terms and manually screening results.

#### *Academic Journals*

A number of selected academic journals were also searched manually in order to ensure that relevant research not captured through the academic database search was included.

The following journals were searched by using diversity search terms in the online search function:

International Journal of Cultural Policy; Media Industries Journal; Journal of British Cinema and Television; Media, Culture & Society; Feminist Media Studies; Organisation; Work, Employment and Society; Organisation Studies.

### *Google Scholar*

Google Scholar was used to search for any items not identified through the procedures above. A simplified set of key terms was selected and the first 1000 results were imported into Microsoft Excel using Harzing's Publish or Perish software.

### *Professional networks and knowledge*

The research team also employed professional networks and contacts in order to identify research that was not yet published but of relevance to the Review.

### Screening

The search identified approximately 4400 items.

The search results were screened by the research team and the exclusion criteria were applied. The team tested the data extraction and data entry process working as a group from the same dataset. The reliability of the team members' understanding and application of the inclusion and exclusion criteria was tested and one refinement was made: the category 'creative industries' was added to the screen sector categories. Reliability was further ensured through regular communications between team members to ensure that the exclusion criteria were clear.

The screening process resulted in 80 studies identified as relevant to the terms of the review (see Appendix 2 for the full list of studies). Of these, 34 were academic articles and 40 were industry reports. The remaining 6 were a mix of books, book chapters and other sources.

These 80 studies were then carried forward to Stage 2.

### Limitations

The literature search was dependent upon identifying potentially relevant research through the information contained in titles, abstracts/summaries and keywords indexed on academic databases, websites and the internet. The information available in these categories varies between academic discipline and journal conventions; grey literature sometimes contains detailed executive summaries but not always. This means that variations in the information available through these sources may have affected the search results. Furthermore, Google Scholar only enables the search function within the title of items.

For example, information regarding location was only present in the title, abstract/summary and keywords of approx. 53 items. Likewise, sample sizes and sometimes methodology were not always forthcoming from these categories.

These limitations were mitigated through a detailed screening process in which exclusion reliability was subject to checking. The research team also utilised professional knowledge and previous research to ensure that relevant studies were included.

## 10.2. Stage 2: Review

### Quality Assessment

Research on diversity in the screen sector workforce addresses a range of social, economic, political and cultural concerns, and emerges from an equally broad range of academic, public and third sector sources with different methodological and epistemological traditions and conventions. It was determined at the inception stage of the review that the available evidence was likely to vary across screen sector and diversity characteristics and likely to comprise a high number of localised qualitative and case study research. For evaluating the body of evidence on diversity in the UK screen sector with a view to informing future policy, the traditional quality assessment measures of systematic review developed in public health and social policy research and based on generalisability, validity and replicability are therefore limited in their usefulness. Instead, the review was conducted using a rapid evidence review approach that weighed an assessment of methodology (e.g. type of data, sample size) and publication type (e.g. academic publication, report) against an assessment of a study's usefulness for addressing the questions that the review seeks to answer. The latter assessment was conducted applying a score of 1-3 to each study identified in the literature search under two categories: scope and relevance.

#### *Scope*

The degree to which a study was based on evidence which has wide applicability and/or generalisability for an understanding of workforce diversity in the UK screen sector.

1. Wholly or primarily conceptual/not based upon empirical evidence. The study may synthesise some secondary evidence; or the study may be purely conceptual drawing upon no empirical evidence.
2. Mixed methods or localised case studies based on qualitative and/or quantitative empirical data but without a level of cross-cutting sector generalisability of findings or conclusions.
3. Quantitative and/or qualitative empirical evidence of sector wide or national samples; large-scale sector/cross-sector syntheses of secondary data.

## *Relevance*

A study would score highly on this measure if it directly engaged with the key themes the review sought to investigate: the causes of the lack of diversity and/or barriers to diversity in the screen sector; interventions to increase diversity; the evidence case for diversity.

1. Not engaged with the review questions. While the study may use terminology or address themes and issues related to diversity in the UK screen sector, this is not the focus of the evidence produced or the conclusions drawn.
2. Partially related to the review questions. The study is focussed on diversity issues but the review questions are not its main focus.
3. Directly related. The study is explicitly focussed, in its framing and/or conclusions, on the questions that the review seeks to answer.

Any study scoring a minimum of 4 points was included in the full review.

It is important to note that the quality assessment criteria employed in this review are not taken as a measure of research design quality or validity, but as a measure of the ability of the study to aid in answering the Review questions.

In total, 63 studies were assessed as of sufficient scope and relevance to be included in the full review.

## **Thematic Review**

The 63 studies were read by the research team and thematically coded using the Nvivo 11 software package. The findings were synthesised by the research team into the evidence review. Synthesis was structured by the Review questions:

- What is known about the current state of workforce diversity in the UK screen sector, e.g. about causes of discrimination and unequal participation, barriers to increasing diversity, multiple and intersectionality effects, and differences between sector/sub-sector or diversity characteristics?
- What evidence exists on interventions to increase workforce diversity in the UK screen sector, e.g. initiatives and good practice of individual employers, sector organisations and in screen-related training and education?
- What knowledge exists regarding the evidence case for diversity in the UK screen sector, e.g. a positive business, cultural and social case for increased diversity; the various effects of the lack of workforce diversity; and positive outcomes for individuals with diversity characteristics?

An advisory board comprised of researchers associated with the CAMEo Research Institute at the University of Leicester was consulted upon a draft of the review prior to publication.

The project was overseen by a project steering group at the BFI. Drafts of the report were reviewed by the project steering group and the external advisory group of the BFI's National Lottery-funded Research and Statistics Fund.

## 11. Appendix 2: Sources

This Appendix lists all research items that were included in the evidence review, including those sources which constituted the evidence base for in-depth review at Stage 2 and those sources explicitly cited in the report.

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## **CAMEo**

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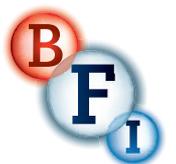
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