

Arts, media and ethnic inequalities

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Key findings

- Ethnic minority people are less likely than white Britons to work in the creative industries and are more likely to experience unemployment from precarious labour in the creative industries.
- Ethnic minority people represent 6% of workers in design; 9.1% in film, TV and radio; 6.7% in music and performing and the visual arts, compared to 14.1% of the overall population for England and Wales and 40% in London, where there is a high concentration of cultural and creative industries (Warwick Commission, 2015).
- There is a paucity of data available to examine the demography of ethnic minority groups in the cultural and creative industries. Where data are available, for example, from the BBC or Channel 4, they are organisation-specific and show a clear need for organisations to increase the number of ethnic minority people in their workforce.
- The BBC Census (2017/18) revealed that 14.8% of staff are from an ethnic minority background. Nonetheless, only 10.4% of the senior leadership roles are filled with people from an ethnic minority background, indicating a wider problem of the under-representation of ethnic minority people in decision-making roles in the sector.
- The BBC and Channel 4 (in 2018 and 2015 respectively) published new diversity charters with the main aim of reflecting the diversity of the workforce of each organisation.
- The discursive shift in how diversity is understood and approached in arts and media has led to a shift in cultural policy where funding bodies (such as Arts Council England) now require applicants to demonstrate their commitment to diversity in order to be funded.
- Cultural policy seems to focus exclusively on the demography and representation of ethnic minority people in the creative industries workforce with the assumption that more diversity in the workforce leads to more diversity in cultural production. However, the relationship between these areas is unclear.

Introduction

The growth of the cultural and creative industries (CCIs) in the past thirty years has coincided with an increase of research on inequality in the sector. This has included how ethnic minority people are involved in, represented by and experience the CCIs in Britain. The Warwick Commission (2015) found that the CCIs account for £77 billion in added value and this corresponds to 5% of the economy, with 1.7 million people employed in these industries. There are three main areas that we concentrate on in this chapter and these relate to the concepts of *cultural production*, *cultural consumption* and *cultural representation*, as well as policy responses to ethnic inequalities in the industry. These three areas are marked by several linked factors in relation to ethnic minority concerns, including ongoing problems with a lack of employment, differential audiences and problematic representations. While there are various problems with data in each of these three areas, such as research gaps, the inconsistency of terminology and variation of categories, this chapter will reference relevant data in what still remains a largely under-researched area, even in studies of racial inequality. This is of concern because of the significant role that the field of cultural production plays in shaping everyday society and culture, how ethnic minority people see themselves and are seen by others and in how the nation, literally, narrates itself. The field of cultural production and representation, therefore, has real social effects.

In the first section of this chapter, we consider matters of cultural production where we review what the census data tell us. We discuss sector specific figures on ethnic minority involvement in production as well as discussing the recently growing concern around privilege and inequality in the cultural sector, and how this links with issues of cultural production. In the next section, we consider cultural consumption. In this section, we discuss the audiences that cultural products and content attract, and question if this maintains and reproduces ethnic inequalities in this field. We then move on, in the third section, to consider cultural representation, exploring how media content provides a window into the way ethnic minority groups are constructed in wider British society. In order to consider the complex interplay between cultural production, consumption and representation, we use the final section to consider industry funding and policy responses. Here, we use a case study approach, looking at the BBC and Channel 4, to outline how cultural and creative policies in broadcasting, a highly influential and popular area of cultural production, have evolved and changed and

how this, in turn, affects ethnic minority groups in this prominent sector of the cultural industries.

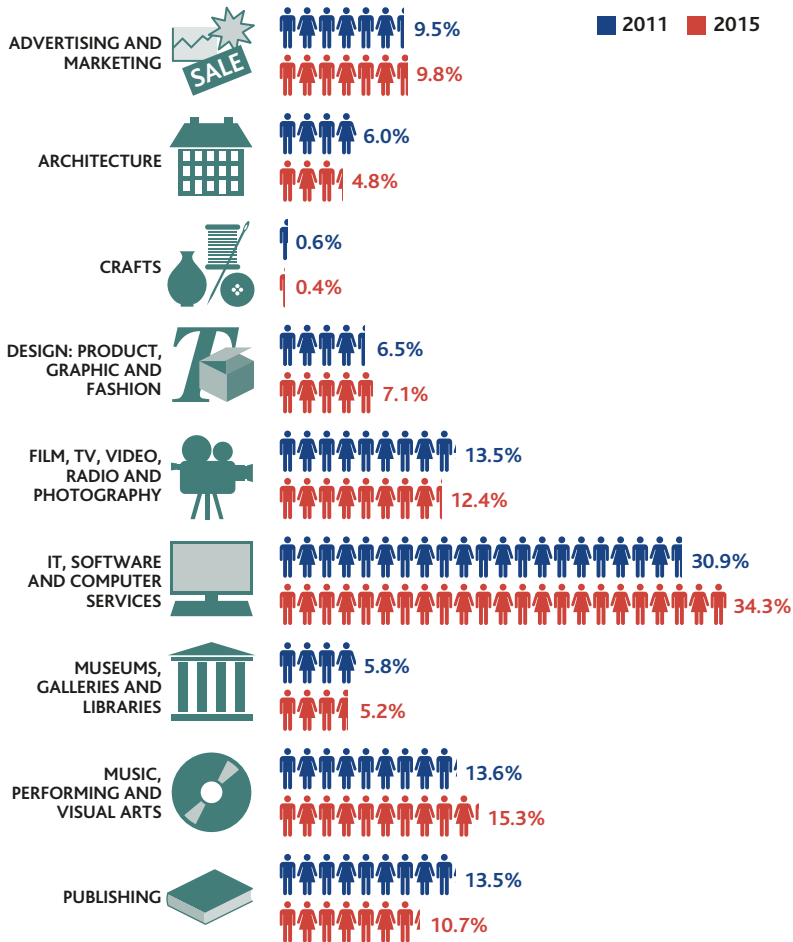
Cultural production: ethnic disparities in employment in the industry

In Chapter 6 on ethnic inequalities in the labour market, Clark and Shankley, highlight how data from 2017/18 show that ethnic minority people are under-represented across public sector institutions compared to the White British population, and with respect to their share of the broader population. A similar accusation has been levelled against the cultural industries and suggests that ethnic minority people are under-represented in sectors ranging from television to advertising. As with other sectors, there is a paucity of data, particularly recent data, to enable us to explore the extent of this inequality and its marked affect in specific sectors in finer detail.

Considering the cultural industries as a whole, data from CIC (2019) suggests that in 2017 the number of jobs in the UK creative industries overtook 2 million for the first time, and this had increased faster than the growth of the rest of the UK economy. If creative jobs outside the creative industries are taken into account, this represents 3,121,000, or a 2.8% rise year on year. According to Consilium (2013), ethnic minority workers in the creative industries in 2011/12 accounted for 7% of cultural industry jobs. Furthermore, Morris (2017) found that this had risen to 11% in 2016/17, representing a 4% increase over a four-year period. Of all jobs in the creative economy in 2016, ethnic minority workers filled 11%, a similar level to their representation in the labour market as a whole (11.3%) (Department of Culture Media and Sport, 2016). Moreover, since 2011 there has been a 38.2% increase in the number of ethnic minority jobs in the creative economy compared to an 18.5% increase in the jobs for white groups (Department of Culture Media and Sport, 2016). While it seems the creative economy and jobs for ethnic minority people in the creative industries are expanding, a specific look at individual sectors within the creative industries shows contradictions and tensions in the diversity across individual sectors.

Figure 8.1 shows that a large proportion of ethnic minority workers in the cultural sector work in IT, software and computing. This is also the area that has had the largest increase in ethnic minority workers between 2011 and 2015. In other areas, the numbers of ethnic minority workers have either remained static or decreased.

Figure 8.1: The proportion of ethnic minority workers in sectors in the creative industries over time, 2011–15



Source: Department of Culture, Media and Sport (2016).

Film and television

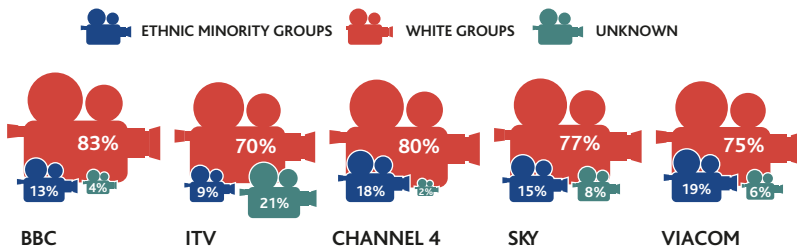
A recent BFI (2015: 5) report focusing on the representation of ethnic minority people in the film industry in Britain noted that the sector generated approximately £6 billion for the economy in 2013, which included a £1.5 billion investment overseas. Nonetheless, the film industry continues to under-represent ethnic minority people, women and people with disabilities within employment. A review by CAMEo (2018) showed that ethnic minority employment across the sector had steadily declined between 2006 and 2012, from 7.4% to 5.4%, with

different levels of ethnic minority workers in different sectors. For example, ethnic minority workers in the animation sector comprised only 3.5% of the workforce. As with other sectors, issues of access to information and social networks appear to be particularly important in the animation sector (Creative Skillset, 2014).

In television, the findings are slightly better and ethnic minority people account for 7.5% of the workforce, which is marginally higher than the industry average at 5.6%. Ofcom (2018) recently published a report that shows that across the five main broadcasters in the UK, Viacom (which owns Channel 5) has the highest proportion of ethnic minority people among its employees (19%) compared to ITV which has the lowest representation among its employees (9%) (Figure 8.2). However, the report publishes data on the protected characteristics of its workforce separately. This prohibits any examination of the intersectional characteristics of the workforce of the different broadcasters being available.

Specific data from the BBC (the UK’s main public broadcaster) show that 14.8% of its employees come from an ethnic minority background in 2018 (Ofcom, 2018). While the equitable representation of ethnic minority people extends across middle and junior management positions as well as non-management levels, it decreases significantly among employees in senior management roles (10.4%) (BBC, 2018a). In spite of the proportion of ethnic minority people in junior-level roles being slightly higher than their share of the UK working-age population (12%), Ofcom (2018) found that ethnic minority people continue to face a mean pay gap of 4% in 2018 compared to their white colleagues (Ofcom, 2018). While broadcasting represents a sector in the CCIs with a relatively good representation of ethnic minority people among its workforce

Figure 8.2: Employees across the five main broadcasters in the UK by ethnic group



Source: Ofcom (2018) on the period April 2017 to March 2018.

compared to other sectors, particularly at junior levels, more needs to be done to target the sector's working conditions to ensure pay parity extends evenly across all ethnic groups.

In the film sector, the percentage of ethnic minority workers employed (4.4%) fell short of the industry average of 5.6%. In director positions, for instance, ethnic minority people represent only 3.5% – suggesting a serious under-representation of ethnic minority people in senior leadership positions or opportunities (Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012). Meanwhile, in the video game sector, the proportion of ethnic minority people increased in 2012 to 4.7% – which again fell short of the industry average. Finally, there is a dearth of current data available on the representation of ethnic minority workers in the visual effects sectors, with raw figures, however, indicating that they only constitute 1% of employees (CAMEo, 2018).

The current data suggest that television has higher representation of ethnic minority people among its workforce, compared to employees in the film, video game and visual effects sectors. Yet, there is currently a lack of research to explain *why* television has moved at a faster pace than other sectors within the film and television industry. In the absence of UK-based research, the Hollywood Diversity Report (2019) suggests that broadcasting executives are aware that their audiences are declining and therefore prioritise the need to attract newer audiences (see discussion later in the chapter). This may affect their employment practices.

Journalism and publishing

In journalism, there is evidence that ethnic minority people face barriers to entry into the profession and face an ethnic penalty. A report published in 2016, for example, found that 94% of journalists were white compared to 91% of the total working-age population. This suggested that ethnic minority people continue to be under-represented among the workforce. Geographically, the under-representation of ethnic minority people in the newspaper and magazine sector is heightened by the majority of the sector being located in London, where only 60% of the population is white, suggesting that white employees are over-represented and disproportionately occupy jobs in the sector. Explanations for ethnic minority people's under-representation links to findings that black and Asian journalist students are particularly likely to face discrimination and racism that prevent them entering the profession compared to white graduates (Thurman,

2016) Meanwhile, black students only have an 8% chance of finding employment in the sector altogether. If magazines and newspapers are reluctant to employ minority journalists, this creates a vicious cycle in which ‘unreflective newsrooms continue to produce unreflective editorial and cover content, further alienating readers from different backgrounds’ (Hirsh, 2018).

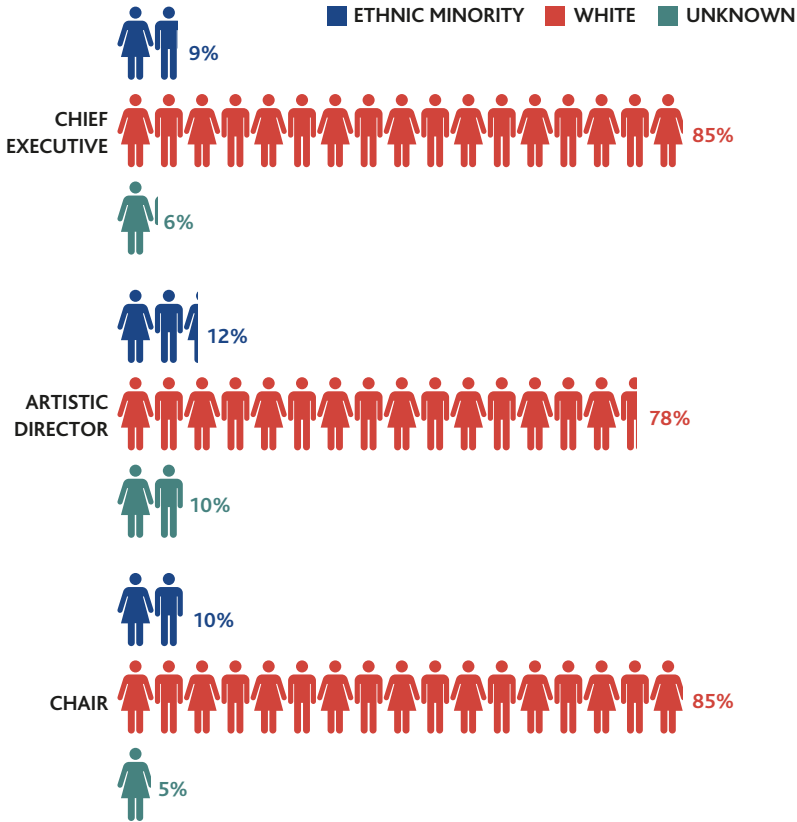
The wider publishing industry shows a similar lack of diversity. According to Shaffi (2016), of the thousands of titles published in 2016 in the UK, fewer than 100 were by British authors from a non-white background, although publishers do not keep data on the ethnic background of authors. Noting this deficit, the publisher Penguin Random House has set a company goal to hire and produce books that better reflect ‘social mobility, ethnicity, gender, disability, and sexuality’ (Akbar, 2017: 1705). The 100 top selling books of 2018 had only one British non-white author, although, interestingly, this was on the subject of race (Reni Eddo-Lodge’s *Why I’m No Longer Talking to White People about Race*). There is a particular lack of ethnic minority representation among senior publishing executives (Shaffi, 2016).

Leadership in the CIC

While recent statistics highlight that the lack of ethnic diversity is endemic across the cultural industries, a recent survey by Arts Council England (2019) examined the nature of diversity of decision makers and those in senior positions in the creative industries. These roles included the Chief Executives, Artistic Directors and Chairs of organisations. The Arts Council England (2019) report examined 663 arts organisations in its national portfolio, with Figure 8.3 showing only 9% of chief executives, 12% of artistic directors and 10% of chairs of organisations came from an ethnic minority background.

Some research considers why the lack of representation endures in the creative industries and some of the structural challenges inherent within these industries. Koza (2008) explored the way ethnic minority people are required to ‘act white’ – to behave in a certain manner to be included and accepted into certain cultural professions and the elite educational institutions in which practitioners are trained. For example, in opera, ballet and certain genres of music, cultural norms exist that restrict ethnic minority people’s entry. These predominantly white spaces inhibit ethnic minority people from participating, as they are often excluded from the knowledge and/or expected behaviours that are needed for entry (*The Stage*, 2017).

Figure 8.3: Ethnic diversity of leadership in arts organisations in England



Source: The ethnicity of workers in leadership positions at National Portfolio Organisations (NPOs) and Major Partner Museums (MPMs) taken from the *Equality, Diversity and the Creative Case: A Data Report, 2017–2018* (Arts Council England, 2019).

Arts teaching

This section examines the representation of ethnic minority people in arts teaching and studies. Art schools with ethnic minority teaching staff are important as those in senior positions, as well as those involved in admissions, can act as gatekeepers to the industry. According to Snow (2017), who used the workforce data from the UK’s 13 leading drama schools for 2015/16, only 6% of teachers come from an Asian, black or minority ethnic background. Act for Change found in the same year that ethnic minority graduates made up a total of 17.5% of total drama school leavers from 17 major drama schools (*The Stage*, 2017). Unpacking the challenges that ethnic minority staff and students continue to face in drama schools, *The Stage* magazine ran a collection

of interviews with minority students and found many experienced snobbishness, racism and practices of exclusion from the predominantly white teaching body. The experiences of some minority students suggest that a culture of exclusion runs the risk of alienating ethnic minority people from attending drama education and threatening those that do attend drama education in their successful transition into the CCI sectors of the labour market, reproducing the ethnic inequalities in the wider workforce.

Oakley and O'Brien (2016) discuss the possible links between higher education and inequalities in the creative industries. They argue that as increasing numbers of graduates are leaving university with a degree in media studies or related creative degrees, more people are attempting to enter into the creative industries, where ethnic minority people face particular barriers. Ashton and Noonan (2013) have shown how many graduates from arts degrees participate in an array of extracurricular activities to increase their employability. These pursuits are marked by class as well as ethnic inequalities. According to Lloyds (2006), the cultural industries have developed an internal industrial culture where creative workers, particularly those starting their careers, subsidise their creative work by working at other jobs. Others describe the blurring of the boundaries between work and life. For instance, this is present in the design of the offices of many creative industry professions, such as marketing and advertising, which infuse work life with social life (Nixon and Crewe, 2004). These aspects are particularly important in the creative industries where a lot of people work freelance and the social dimension is vital as it is where people find out about future possible employment and funding opportunities. This risks solidifying a culture where people have to perform being social in a specific way and can never truly switch off from work (Banks, 2007). Expecting workers to perform a specific type of social interaction is exclusionary, particularly for ethnic minority people, as it assumes that people have the same access to knowledge of the lay of the industry, as well as the time to work both in and out of work to build their industry profiles in order to maintain their careers in the creative industries. It also has clear gendered implications.

Eikhof and Warhurst (2013) also identify a collection of structural features that are significant to the exclusion of ethnic minority people in the creative industries. These included wage instability and the phenomenon of unpaid internships. Access to the creative sector in particular often requires following an unofficial route, which includes unpaid internships and utilising social networks to gain entry via

contacts already working in the sector. Current data from other chapters suggest that ethnic minority people are often more likely not to have the same financial capital as white groups to resource these routes (Friedman et al, 2017). Entrants to the creative industries are predominantly from middle- and upper-class privileged backgrounds and have access to the economic capital to be able to undertake internships and cope with fragmented employment and unstable wages (Friedman et al, 2017). Moreover, many ethnic minority people do not have the same social networks to draw upon. Consequently, many of the sectors exist as predominantly white spaces where exclusionary mechanisms inhibit ethnic minority entry. Research is lacking in this area but is greatly needed in order to move beyond the simple idea that a boost in diversity of the workforce demographic creates better diversity outcomes. As research indicates, internal industrial culture and patterns of exclusion persist, even for those working within the sector, suggesting that data also need to be compiled around attrition rates, retention and career progression.

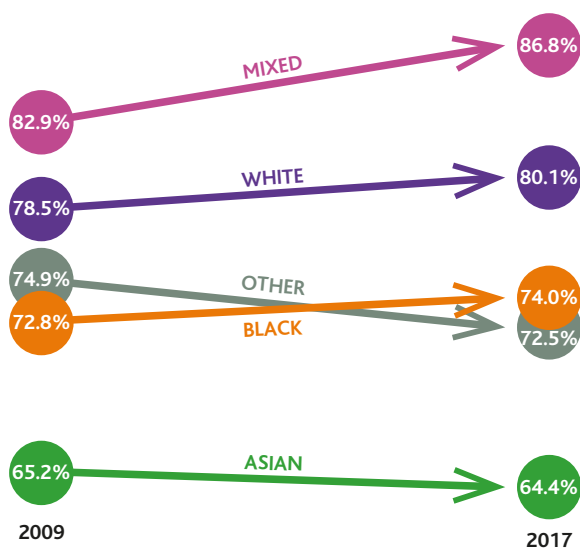
Cultural consumption: ethnic minority audiences

We can see from the previous section a variable picture has emerged with respect to how well ethnic minority people are represented in the different sectors within the cultural industries. Nonetheless, what is relatively unclear and under-researched is a focus on *who* consumes the different outputs from the creative industries and *how* ethnic minority people feature as consumers of cultural content.

Participation in the arts

A report by the Warwick Commission (2015) used the 'Taking Part' data to measure how many ethnic minority people took part in the creative industries. The findings showed that, in spite of an overall increase in the number of minority people taking part in the creative industries between 2005/06 and 2012/13, the gap between the majority White British and ethnic minority participation continued to widen. More recent data from the RDA suggests that in 2017/18, 78.9% of people aged 16 and over had taken part in the arts at least once in the past year (Gov.uk, 2018a). The levels of participation had remained relatively stable since the 2013/14 (Figure 8.4). The data also indicated that a higher percentage of those who fell into the 'mixed ethnic' category took part in the arts than people from all other ethnic groups (Figure 8.4). The data also showed that Asian people were

Figure 8.4: Percentage of people aged 16 years and over who took part in arts in the past year, by ethnicity over time (two specified years)



Source: DCMS (2019).

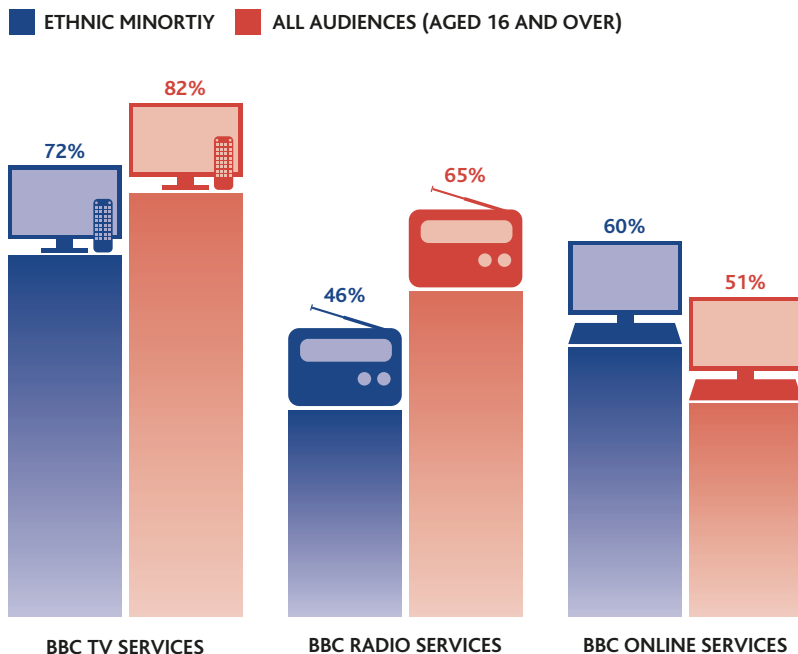
significantly less likely to take part in arts than white people (including white ethnic minority people and black people); across the two years. The findings supported the idea that ethnic minority people are relatively under-represented as consumers of the arts.

The reasons for the relative lack of consumption of and participation in the arts are likely to be complex and would include questions of representation (discussed in the following section); perceptions of *who* art is produced for as well as economic factors which prohibit participation in the arts. According to the Pulse survey (*Arts Professional*, 2018), an ongoing question relates to how to increase the diversity among those engaging with the arts and what strategy should be pursued by the wider creative industries? Collecting data from the 509-strong UK-based respondents who completed an *Arts Professional* Pulse survey (2018), respondents were asked how they would achieve diversity in their sector. The survey data suggested that those working in theatre and music were the most likely to see audience diversity as a priority. This seemed to be the result of respondents recognising the lack of diversity of their audiences and seeing that their existing audience were typically white and middle class and, on average, older than the population as a whole. The following section examines what is known about television audiences.

Television audiences

As we have established in other chapters, the ethnic minority population of Britain is growing and has a younger age profile than the White British population. In the creative industries, for organisations such as the BBC, the growth of the young ethnic minority audience has raised questions of diversity. Broadcasting organisations are worried their audience is declining because of an increase in choice and because their programmes fail to reflect the interests of newer audiences. This is reinforced by the BBC's own statement of purpose to 'reflect, represent and serve the diverse communities of the UK's home nations and regions' (BBC, 2017b: 8). In order to accommodate difference, the BBC needs to avoid ethnic tropes and negative stereotypes to better engage with ethnic minority audiences if they are to maintain and grow their audience base. However, the paucity of data in the UK on audience dynamics has resulted in little being known about the ethnic minority consumption of channels such as the BBC.

Recent data from the BBC's audience team suggests that ethnic minority people use BBC services significantly less than the national average (Figure 8.5), suggesting a need for the BBC to produce more programmes that better reflect ethnic minority audiences and their interests. A recent report by Kantar Media (2018: 11) found among audiences who took part in multiple focus groups that the BBC was seen as 'establishment, stiff, white, middle-class and politically correct' and did not represent ethnic minority people well or in a positive light. Other respondents suggested that alternative broadcasting outlets such as Netflix and Amazon Prime catered more to ethnic minority people's tastes and represented them better throughout their programming content (Kantar Media, 2018). As we will see later in this chapter, the newest BBC and Channel 4 diversity policies attempt to increase the ethnic diversity of their broadcasting with respect to the workforce but also the content of their programmes. However, while it seems apparent that ethnic minority audiences are key to the future strategy among mainstream broadcasters, the increasing selection of outlets, for example, digital and social media, Netflix and other digital streaming options, are also offering new opportunities for content and programming. These newer digital streaming services such as Netflix show more diverse programmes and therefore offer competition to mainstream broadcasting with respect to content that depicts ethnic minority characters (Kantar Media, 2018). Therefore, if broadcasters (public and private) want to retain and grow their audiences, it is imperative that they keep up with the diversity of the broader

Figure 8.5: Ethnic minority audience of the BBC, 2016–17

Source: Internal BBC data, 2016–17.

population. As Levin (2018) explains, ethnic minority audiences are more likely to watch television shows that depict ethnically diverse casts. The following section examines the question of cultural representation.

Cultural representation

As stated, cultural representations matter because they influence how we see and understand ourselves and the world, and how social understandings are formed. Cultural representation is, therefore, a powerful social force that shapes civil society, its politics and discourses. This is especially pertinent when it comes to race and ethnicity because of the history of cultural representations of racial and ethnic populations that have depended on racialised tropes and stereotypes. Thus, questions of cultural representation go beyond numbers and the proportion of ethnic minority people represented on-screen in film and TV or non-white characters in books for example. It is important to examine how ethnic minority characters are represented. The Riz Test (www.riztest.com), for example, is an intervention that seeks to dismantle well-rehearsed stereotypes and ideologies underpinning

Islamophobia, in order to broaden public perceptions of a much-vilified sector of UK society. Improving the cultural representation of ethnic minority people is important for building a more inclusive society, ascribing identities and a sense of place, as well as generating new forms of political participation in which more diverse forms of cultural and artistic content can be generated.

If existing quantitative data offer us some information about the inequalities that exist in relation to cultural production (employment) and cultural consumption, they have very little to demonstrate in the area of cultural representation. This is partly because it is challenging to quantify ethnic minority representation across different genres and cultural sectors. However, although there are methods available to enable this quantification, we still lack the studies and data to fully examine ethnic minority representation. Nonetheless, there have been some local, small-scale quantitative studies that take a particular cultural industry, such as publishing, and try to examine representation using different metrics.

The lack of ethnic minority authors in the publishing bestsellers chart was discussed in an earlier section. Data compiled by the Centre for Literacy in Primary Education (CLPE, 2018) titled *Reflecting Realities*, revealed the stark lack of diversity in children's books. The report examined 9,115 children's books published in the UK in 2017 and found only 391 of them featured a character with an ethnic minority background. This accounted for only 4% of children's books overall, with a further examination finding only 1% of these books featured the ethnic minority character as the main character. Thus, not only were ethnic minority characters under-represented they were marginalised in the different stories published for children. The CLPE's (2018) analysis of the specific genres where ethnic minority people featured prominently found that the majority of ethnic minority characters featured in 'contemporary realism' books or those set in a modern-day landscape. A further 10% of the characters featured in books labelled as 'social justice', with only one book defined as a 'comedy'. In terms of audience, the data revealed that 26% of the non-fiction books that contained an ethnic minority character were aimed at an early years audience, leaving older children even more under-served. The CLPE (2018) report sheds light on the missing narratives of different ethnic and migrant groups' experiences that were edited in a specific way to exclude accounts of suffering and trauma. Many topics that could enrich the children's books and pay particular attention to ethnic minority groups' experiences with respect to current affairs and themes of conflict and the refugee experience have been excluded. What is

needed are more books that embrace a range of topics to adequately represent the diversity of ethnic minority experience and the backing to promote them into the mainstream.

Similarly, a survey on the content of glossy magazines revealed that printed content was another area where ethnic minority people were under-represented (Hirsh, 2018). Recent statistics gathered by *The Guardian* newspaper suggest that of the 214 women's magazine covers by 19 of the bestselling glossy magazines in 2017, only 20 featured an ethnic minority person (Hirsh, 2018). This accounted for a meagre 9.3%, well below the 13.7% share of ethnic minority people in the broader population (ONS, 2016b). Comparing similar representation among children's magazines (where ethnic minority people comprise more than a quarter of school children in England), *The Guardian* found that representation was even more limited, with 95% of cover models being white. The same was true for men's magazines, where only *GQ* featured two black cover models and *Men's Health* only featured one. In addition, neither of the men's magazines featured cover models from any other ethnic minority background (Hirsh, 2018). Therefore, cumulatively across the spectrum of women, men and children's magazines, it is clear that ethnic minority people were poorly represented.

According to Hirsh (2018), the lack of representation that is endemic across the publishing sector is reinforced by the sector's unwillingness to change. This was most telling in a quote by Alexandra Shulman (former editor-in-chief of *British Vogue*), who stated in 2012 that 'in a society where the mass of the consumers are white and where, on the whole, mainstream ideas sell, it's unlikely there will be a huge rise in the number of leading black models'. Nevertheless, change has been afoot in *British Vogue* more recently, with the recruitment of its first black editor-in-chief, Edward Enninful, who launched his premier cover featuring the British Ghanaian model Adwoa Aboah and has included a recent edition featuring more non-white models, including Halim Aden, the first woman to wear a hijab on the magazine's cover. Enninful's hiring, and specific response to publishing's historic resistance to change, represents a small and important step that opens up a space for the sector to do more to increase the representation of ethnic minority people.

Finally, in broadcasting, Cumberbatch and colleagues (2018) analysed the on-screen presence of ethnic minority people across BBC One and BBC Two programming. Their study found that ethnic minority people made up 12.5% of both channel's television population (between 2016 and 2017), which is slightly lower than the ethnic minority share of the

British population (14%). They also found a slight difference in the on-screen presence of ethnic minority people between BBC One (13.8%) and BBC Two (10.9%). Further, by examining the on-screen presence of ethnic minority people by gender, they found that ethnic minority men (54%) were represented more than ethnic minority women (46%). While the results suggested a gender difference, in fact, ethnic minority women's on-screen representation is actually better than the national average of the representation of all women, where men outnumber them by a ratio of 2:1 (Cumberbatch et al, 2018). Moreover, examining the on-screen presence of ethnic minority people by age category, the results showed that ethnic minority people tended to be young, with nearly half (44%) being under the age of 35 compared to less than one third (31%) of the television population more broadly (Cumberbatch et al, 2018).

Funding and industry policy responses: a focus on diversity in public broadcasting

It is abundantly clear that descriptive representation of ethnic minority people is a problem among many of the creative industries, and there are calls for industry-wide cultural change and matters of diversity to be foregrounded. In broadcasting, Sharon White, a black British woman, was appointed as the new CEO of the broadcast regulator, Ofcom. White, who became one of the most influential decision makers in the CCIs (she left Ofcom in Autumn 2019), has pledged to make diversity a priority (Albury, 2016). The growth of the creative industries in the UK has expanded Ofcom's remit to regulate the entire broadcasting sector and as a result more businesses and organisations have encountered the regulators' commitment to diversity and inclusion. Previously Ofcom had done very little to support broader diversity and a particular problem with their lacklustre approach has centred on their reluctance to push for more data to be gathered to audit and monitor the representation of ethnic minority people and other protected characteristics in broadcasting (Albury, 2016). In a talk in January 2019 by Sharon White at the launch of the Ofcom Annual Plan 2019/20, she suggested the government's Department for Culture, Media and Sport had rejected the media regulator's request to have greater powers when collecting data on diversity in broadcasting (Ofcom, 2018). Without a collective will to address this disparity and a greater drive to collect more precise data on the representation of ethnic minority people in the industry, the ambition to target ethnic inequality as a whole could disappear. Karen Bradley, then Secretary of State, explained that the government's stalling on the issue was

partly due to the broader concern over the country's pathway through Brexit that had precluded a focus on many domestic issues. If Ofcom wants to see a significant improvement in terms of diversity, they should introduce a set of minimum standards with respect to diversity, increase their commitment to transparency and make diversity data freely available to monitor change within broadcasting.

Box 2: DIAMOND

One apparatus that shows broadcasters' (public and private) commitment to different types of diversity is the new DIAMOND monitoring system. DIAMOND is an initiative that seeks to capture diversity across the major TV channels. It aims to assess the diversity of those who create programmes (diversity in cultural production) and the representation of diversity within programmes. The BBC's specific involvement with DIAMOND has also come under scrutiny by BECTU, the union for creative industry workers in non-performance roles, and the Writers' Guild of Great Britain because both unions accused the corporation of not being transparent enough with respect to publishing data (for example, data on gender, on jobs and on the grades of staff working in the corporation) (*The Stage*, 2017). The BBC's response was that it could not publish certain demographic data because of data protection restrictions. The unions subsequently criticised this stance as being the main obstacle that has prevented increasing ethnic diversity. This is because, the unions argued, a few gatekeepers at DIAMOND tightly controlled the essential data necessary to audit the patterns of diversity across different broadcasters (*The Stage*, 2017). This restricted DIAMOND from being able to make any meaningful change, and its power and control over production and access to diversity data regulated the speed at which any progress was made in the sector (if at all). The unions called for DIAMOND to publish the quality monitoring data by production so that they could identify which production companies or broadcasters have the most diverse workforce and can learn what works and what does not, to improve them for ethnic minority workers. The unions subsequently argued that without this information new ethnic minority recruits would experience challenges in retaining their position in the sector. As Ofcom's Sharon White said to the Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Select Committee in May 2019, DIAMOND 'started with very, very good intentions and there have been challenges in terms of the reach and the quality and the depth of data' (DCMS, 2019). White went on to say that this is one reason why Ofcom have used their statutory powers to collect from diversity data across TV and radio but that even Ofcom has limits to accessing this.

Diversity policy in public broadcasting

As highlighted in the work of Herman Gray (2016: 242), public service television is ‘a key location where diversity is practiced materially and symbolically’. According to Malik (2018), something of a transformation has occurred within the cultural industries, which have seen issues of diversity change from being primarily a social concern to being considered a matter significant to businesses as a profit incentive. Under this new guise, corporate owners have come to view engaging with diversity issues as one way of diversifying the audiences they target. Corporate owners, for example, will often finance the production of output (programming, for example) that is not to their tastes in order to make a profit (Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013). The business case for diversity suggests that businesses benefit from the diverse skill set of their increasingly diverse employee base, which has come in particular use when they are targeting products at new markets (DBIS, 2013). While the business case helps explain why the private sector has so readily internalised diversity into their recruitment and content, change has also been evident in public funded arts and creative industries by steering public sector funding in a specific way to support diversity.

In the public sector, a later Arts Council England report, *Equality, Diversity and the Creative Case* (ACE, 2019) mentions how the call for diversity in the arts and media sector has directly affected how projects are funded. New applications made to Arts Council England (one of the four UK arts councils) have to ensure they support the council’s three interlocking themes (equality, recognition and new vision). The approach not only seeks to diversify the arts and media workforce but also change creative processes and working arrangements. Malik (2018) suggests that a problem with the prescribed framework for ‘creative diversity’ is that it produces and reproduces a specific type of diversity rhetoric and expectation. While the shift in the creative industries has raised awareness of the inequalities that exist in the industry and the steps that need to be taken, a substantial barrier is that the four different arts councils in the UK take different approaches to how diversity can be achieved in new funding applications. Creative Scotland, for example, requires organisations and individuals wishing to apply for funding to ensure that diversity is reflected across the application. This includes how the art is produced, the staff and working environments, and the audience and/or participants of the programme/project as well as the buildings and spaces used (Creative Scotland, 2018). By comparison,

the arts councils for Northern Ireland and for Wales support diversity in their future strategies but are less stringent in the precise ways that diversity needs to be included in arts funding applications. The different approaches and the lack of definition with respect to how diversity can be included in art projects can obfuscate how to ensure ensuring the profile of ethnic minority people is raised uniformly throughout different areas of the creative industries and in equal measure across the four nations.

Pressure to endorse ethnic diversity in the labour market from reports such as that of McGregor-Smith (2017) has seen a focus on ethnic diversity filter into the business structure and the framework of the content that these organisations produce. Focusing on the broadcasting sector, it is interesting to see how the broader shift in diversity policy has impacted on a specific sector, and, in turn, how the policies have endorsed addressing ethnic inequality in various forms in specific institutional policies. The newest manifestation of cultural policy towards ethnic diversity in broadcasting is now being framed as *creative diversity*. This has differed from previous cultural policies, which were targeted directly at ethnic minority issues. According to Malik (2013), we have seen a policy shift away from a focus on multiculturalism to creative diversity, losing a specific focus on ethnic inequalities and arguments around social justice. She argues that this is linked to the state rejection of multiculturalism, which has run parallel to the marketisation of the cultural industries.

An issue with the new approach related to how ‘creative diversity’ would be operationalised in public policy. Creative diversity, as a new approach to diversity in broadcasting, was charted as being composed of four principles: access, excellence, education and economic value (Garnham, 2005). The argument here is that this policy framing focuses on creativity rather than a concern for ensuring equity in the demography of the cultural industries and the representation of ethnic minority people in its content. It was in the early 2000s that both Channel 4 and the BBC put forward their diversity strategies, taking a much broader approach to diversity than had previously been applied in separate policy approaches to different social identities such as race and ethnicity, gender, sexuality and class. There also appeared to be a change in tone in media circles towards diversity and the new *cultural* and then *creative* diversity that placed significant emphasis on the idea of *widening access*.

Examining the existing work on diversity policy in the UK in a specific industry (public broadcasting) and how it responds to ethnic minority populations can thus tell us a lot about their position and status in the creative industries. Briefly looking at two examples in

broadcasting, we can see how influential changes to diversity policy have been for ethnic minority employment and representation. The first example is the *BBC Equality Information Report (2017b)* and the second example is Channel 4's 360° Equalities Strategy.

British Broadcasting Corporation

The BBC, as the largest public broadcasting channel in the UK, released its diversity policy titled the *BBC Equality Information Report 2016–17*. The report described the corporation's commitment to a 'Diversity and Inclusion Strategy'. The policy's aim was, first, to increase the representation of ethnic minority people, women, disability and LGBT employees across its workforce. Second, it aimed to include more diverse voices in its programming content. The *BBC Equality and Information Report (2017b)* highlighted the BBC's already diverse workforce compared to other broadcasting organisations in the UK; however, it also sheds light on areas the corporation could improve upon. The corporation commended itself in its report for several of its programmes already being dedicated to increasing the ethnic diversity in its broadcasting. For instance, shows such as *Damilola: Our Loved Boy (2016)*, *The People v. O.J. Simpson (2016)* and *Black is the New Black (2016)* demonstrate more diverse content. Additionally, it has developed a number of schemes to help increase the ethnic diversity of its employees in several areas, for example, a scheme to recruit more ethnic minority employees among the directors of its programmes, with the 2016 cohort admitting 5 out of 12 trainees from an ethnic minority background (BBC, 2017b).

A more recent report by the BBC in 2018 focused on the career progression and culture for staff from minority backgrounds at the corporation (BBC, 2018b). The report was compiled from the comments of many ethnic minority staff members (over 200 staff members) and made a number of recommendations. First, the BBC should increase the ethnic diversity of its leadership team and, second, it should build a solid and sustainable ethnic minority mid and senior leadership pipeline to get minority people channelled into higher positions. Third, the BBC should enhance accountability and trust and, fourth, it should develop a modern, agile and culturally intelligent workforce. Finally, the BBC should review areas with specific ethnic diversity issues. Examples of specific recommendations include the BBC introducing a policy to ensure that shortlists for all jobs include at least one ethnic minority candidate, to 'increase the [ethnic minority] representation across the interview panel backed by

performance monitoring’ and to ‘develop specific action plans based on further analysis of all divisions with less than 10% [ethnic minority] representation or below par employee survey results including radio, Newsroom, Newsgathering, English regions and the World Service’ (BBC, 2018b: 1). In 2019 it was announced that the BBC’s dedicated Head of Diversity role would be split into two jobs, the Director of Creative Diversity and the Head of Workforce Diversity and Inclusion, suggesting a separation between approaches to diversity into two distinct areas of content/output and workforce.

Channel 4

Channel 4 also launched its 360° equalities strategy in 2015 and the charter stated the organisation’s commitment to record and report diversity and remain transparent about its current levels of diversity among its workforce. Similar to the BBC’s strategy, the internal diversity policy sheds light on diversity for public service broadcasting. In the UK the BBC is publicly funded from the licence fee; meanwhile, Channel 4 is publicly owned but commercially funded. Channel 4’s current strategy celebrates a number of key diversity achievements. An audit of the channel’s workforce shows that the organisation is relatively ethnically diverse at junior levels compared to the BBC; however, there is work still to be done in terms of its senior positions. As a result, Channel 4’s strategy has been aimed at recruiting and training ethnic minority and other subgroups in progressing into senior leadership positions. Furthermore, a central strategy with regard to ethnic minority employment is to diversify new joiners by 50% by 2020. The policy is clear in stating it aims to increase the representation of ethnic minority people in its workforce. However, their diversity strategy is not limited to race and ethnicity, but also shows the organisation’s commitment to gender equality, disability visibility and inclusion, and regionality, suggesting an acknowledgement of the single legal framework of the Equality Act 2010. The diversity strategy goes further and recognises that it is necessary to foster diversity at all levels of the organisation, from commissioners to writers and those who are interns to the headhunters who search for talent. The strategy is also focused on increasing diversity in the content of programming and this will be achieved by a number of schemes and targets that Channel 4 is committed to (including a career development model that focuses on exposure, education and experience) focused on increasing the presence on screen of ethnic minority people, women, disabled people, voices from different regions and social mobility.

While it is clear that both channels have made positive moves towards increasing diversity among their respective workforces as well as diversity in their programmes, there are still questions about how suitable the one-size-fits-all *creative diversity* approach is in producing meaningful ethnic equality.

Conclusion

The cuts to the funding of public arts and creative sector industries as well as the uncertainty created by Brexit are impacting on the creative industries. It remains to be seen whether the emerging commitment the creative industries have shown towards increasing ethnic diversity intensifies or is thwarted by their focus moving elsewhere. As Nicholas Serota, CEO of Arts Council England stated in 2017, a major obstacle in tackling inequality in the cultural industries is that many arts and cultural organisations are failing to supply data about diversity and inclusion. There is deep variance across the CCIs, so that while there are signs of increasing ethnic minority representation in terms of leadership and content in theatre in London, for example, the wider picture shows a deep level of unevenness across different sectors within the CCIs and across the UK.

The chapter has particularly focused on public service broadcasting where there has been an acknowledgement of the marginalisation of ethnic minority people. This has led to a number of policy initiatives that have specifically focused on improving the numbers of ethnic minority people working in the industry (such as BBC's and Channel 4's diversity strategies). But more diverse ethnic minority representation with regard to content is not a proven outcome of more diverse representation in the workforce. The problem is that even though ethnic diversity in certain organisations increases, ethnic minority workers too can revert to modes of cultural production that depend on familiar, racialised representations, 'thereby reproducing stereotypical representations of race.' (Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013: 192). These strategies still revolve around the assumption that increasing the ethnic diversity of the workplace necessarily produces an increase in the ethnic diversity of the content produced. While channels may increase the diversity of their workforces, there is little evidence to show that those cultural workers have the will, power or persistence to implement change in the content of programmes or the audiences who watch or listen to content. More ethnic minority representation within sector employment does not guarantee more creative freedom.