

# **Barriers to Diversity in Film**

## **A Research Review**

**By**

**Dr Reena Bhavnani**

**Visiting Professor, City University**

**A report commissioned by the UK Film Council**

**August 2007**

## CONTENTS

<b>Executive summary</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>1 Introduction: aims and scope of the research</b>	<b>13</b>
1.1 Aims	13
1.2 Scope of the review	14
<b>2 Diversity in film: the industry, social and legal context</b>	<b>16</b>
2.1 The UK film sector context	16
2.2 Cinema audiences and film releases	18
2.3 Funding for film	19
2.3.1 Government support and other funding sources	19
2.3.2 UK Film Council Funding	19
2.4 The changing population	21
2.5 Diversity and equality of opportunity – the legal context	22
2.5.1 Equal opportunities policies	22
2.5.2 Disability discrimination laws	23
2.5.3 New legislation on gender, sexual orientation and age	23
2.5.4 Multiple identity and equality legislation	24
2.6 The case for diversity and progress to date	25
2.7 Diversity and the UK Film Council	28
2.8 Summary	29
<b>3: The film workforce</b>	<b>31</b>

3.1 Introduction and scope of chapter	31
3.2 Workforce data on under-represented groups	32
3.2.1 Key workforce data sources	32
3.2.2 Representation of groups in the film sector	32
3.2.3 Marital status and dependents	34
3.2.4 Disabled people	35
3.2.5 Minority ethnic groups	35
3.2.6 Occupational profiles by gender	36
3.2.7 Representation of women in screenwriting	37
3.2.8 Occupational profile by ethnic group	38
3.2.9 Representation as actors/performers	38
3.2.10 Pay	40
3.2.11 Access to funding streams	41
3.2.12 Diversity of applicants for awards in the regions	42
3.2.13 The location of the workforce and the influence of London and the South East	42
3.2.14 Conclusions on representation in the film sector	43
3.3 Barriers to accessing jobs in the sector	44
3.3.1 Recruitment	44
3.3.2 Freelancing	45
3.3.3 Later entry into the sector	45
3.3.4 Job insecurity and confidence levels	46
3.3.5 Working hours	46
3.3.6 Careers advice and training	46
3.3.7 Qualifications	47

3.4 Barriers to progression through the sector	48
3.4.1 Training	48
3.4.2 Networking among minority ethnic groups	49
3.4.3 Marginalisation of companies	49
3.4.4 Feeling discounted – the minority ethnic view	50
3.4.5 Attitudes towards women actors	51
3.4.6 Assumptions about minority ethnic groups’ and women’s competence	52
3.4.7 Progression by who you know	53
3.4.8 Pathways through television	53
3.4.9 Commissioning and ‘ghettoisation’	54
3.4.10 A Hollywood agent?	54
3.5 Examples of initiatives that tackle under-representation	55
3.6 Summary	57
<b>4 Audiences</b>	<b>61</b>
4.1 Background	61
4.2 Historical context	62
4.3 Who goes to the cinema?	62
4.3.1 Frequency of cinema visits	62
4.3.2 Gender and cinema attendances	62
4.3.3 The age of cinema-goers	63
4.3.4 Ethnicity and cinema attendance	64
4.3.5 Disabled people	66
4.3.6 How audiences select films	67

4.4 Audiences for film on television and DVD	68
4.5 Genre of film and audiences	68
4.6 Barriers to cinema attendance	73
4.7 Developing audiences: good practice examples	74
4.8 Summary	76
<b>5 Portrayal and diversity</b>	<b>79</b>
5.1 Scope of chapter	79
5.2 Why portrayal matters	79
5.3 Employment and portrayal	81
5.4 Genre of films	81
5.5 Stereotypes	82
5.5.1 Sexual orientation	83
5.5.2 Gender	86
5.5.3 Disability	88
5.5.4 Minority ethnic groups	92
5.5.5 Class	96
5.5.6 Age	97
5.6 Ghettoisation	98
5.7 National identity and film	99
5.8 Why stereotypes persist	100
5.9 Summary	101
<b>6: The social and business case for diversity in British film</b>	<b>105</b>
6.1 Introduction	105

6.2 The business context	106
6.3 The business case – an overview	107
6.3.1 Demographic change and the workplace	107
6.3.2 Demographic change and the consumer	109
6.3.3 Meeting the customers’ needs and aspirations	111
6.3.4 Diversity and business performance	113
6.3.5 Organisational effectiveness and maximising talent	113
6.3.6 Reputation/brand of companies	116
6.3.7 Legal compliance	117
6.4 Summary	117
<b>7: What do we need to address and how?</b>	<b>120</b>
7.1 The workforce	120
7.2 Audiences	121
7.3 Portrayal	122
7.4 The case for diversity	124
7.5 Research priorities for the future	125
7.5.1 Roles allocated to under–represented actors	125
7.5.2 Career pathways	126
7.5.3 Occupational data on disabled people, lesbians and gay men	126
7.5.4 Multiple identities	126
7.5.5 Agents	126
7.5.6 Monitoring	126
7.5.7 Decision makers’ attitudes	128

7.5.8 Audiences' views	128
7.5.9 Accessible cinema and developing audiences	129
7.6 Projects to encourage a more diverse film workforce	129
7.6.1 Recruitment	129
7.6.2 Mentoring	130
7.6.3 Performers	131
7.7 Recommendations on implementing diversity	132
7.7.1 Industry standards and supporting diversity	132
7.7.2 Positive action	133
7.7.3 Sensitising decision makers	135
7.7.4 Lesbians and gay men	135
7.7.5 People with disabilities	136
7.7.6 Staff networks	136
7.7.7 Education and careers advice	137
7.7.8 Widening access to the cinema	137
<b>References</b>	<b>138</b>



## Executive Summary

The review has indicated that under-represented groups in the film industry are not always equitably represented or treated, whether in the workforce, among audiences, or in portrayal. The sector is dominated in leadership positions by white, male middle-aged, able-bodied men. However there is a business case for greater diversity in the industry, as well as a legal and ethical case.

### The legal background

The law provides protection against discrimination in the workplace, covering women, minority ethnic and disabled people, gay men, lesbians and different age groups. This has implications for all employers. Public sector employers will also have a duty to promote 'race' gender and disability equality, whilst private sector employers are exempt from the duty to *promote* equality in these areas. Service providers such as cinemas must make 'reasonable adjustments' to provide access for disabled people.

### The film workforce

- Women, black and minority ethnic groups and people with disabilities are under-represented in the film sector, compared to their proportions in the UK workforce.

- Women and minority ethnic groups are bunched into certain lower level occupations in production and exhibition, and likely to be lower paid.
- Women are under-represented in screenwriting, in camera work and other 'technical' jobs.
- Actors are more equitably represented in film by under-represented group; however, there is no statistical information about leading roles or types of roles allocated.
- The film workforce has more people over 50 than the wider audio-visual sector, but younger people are increasing their representation in the sector.
- There is no information about lesbian and gay men in the workforce.
- Regional fund allocation is more equitable for under-represented groups than national allocations.
- The majority of film workers are recruited by *word of mouth* to film production, with half being approached by a producer or director.
- Minority ethnic led (MEL) companies feel the commissioning process lacks clarity and openness in decision making.
- Women and minority ethnic groups feel indirectly discriminated against in the film sector. Breaking out into the mainstream has been defined as a barrier for ethnic minority owned businesses and potential employees.

- Young people need advice on the kinds of courses they should take to gain practical experience to enter the film industry.

### **Audiences for film**

- People from minority ethnic backgrounds are over-represented in the cinema, DVD rental and the pay-per-view audience, but under-represented in the DVD retail audience.
- On average, minority ethnic people go to the cinema more often than the UK population average, which may reflect their younger age profile.
- Disabled people are under-represented in all film audiences except DVD retail.
- Overall audiences for film are equally balanced between women and men. Women aged 35 plus form a larger section of the audience than males aged 15–24.
- Initiatives to support disabled access to cinemas have been successful, but experience shows that interventions have to be carefully designed to meet disabled persons' needs.
- The audience for film on television is much larger (x20) than the cinema audience.
- The audience for film on television is skewed towards older age groups and people engaged in manual occupations.
- On a UK national/regional basis, the cinema audience is skewed towards London.

- There is no significant difference in the proportion of films gaining a theatrical release with a male or female screenwriter.

## Portrayal

- There have been a number of large-scale US studies of representation of sexual orientation, gender and ethnicity in film.
- After a history of being silenced and marginalised, lesbians and gay men began to be portrayed better in the 1990s, but most films are still designed to appeal to the majority audience and potential investors, making producers cautious about a focus on gay and lesbian characters.
- A US study of female scientists and engineers in popular films in the 1990s found that subtle stereotyping persisted.
- US studies have found that if women are involved in writing, production and directing, they create more female characters.
- Black-owned companies are more likely to invest in their communities and provide work to minority ethnic professionals.
- A Swedish study found that elderly people were under-represented in film and presented in stereotyped ways. They were either sexually inactive or their sexual activity was portrayed as comical or dangerous.
- A study of on-screen representation in film and television in Canada found that men were more likely than women to be shown 'on the job'. Female characters were more likely to be seen dating or talking about romance.

- Disabled people are under-represented as actors and filmmakers in the UK. There are few portrayals of disability as an ordinary everyday phenomenon. When they do appear, disabled people are often portrayed as asexual, criminals or freaks.
- People from minority ethnic groups in the UK feel they are both under-represented and negatively stereotyped in British films and wish to see films more closely related to their day-to-day lives.
- All groups do not want to be *solely* involved in making 'ghettoised' films.

### **The case for diversity in film**

- The Commission for Racial Equality estimates that in less than five years, only 20% of the workforce will be white, able-bodied, male and under 45. The drive to recruit from a broad range of talent remains critical for the future of the sector. A diverse workforce can increase organisational effectiveness and maximise use of talent.
- Educational attainment is not a major factor in discrepancies between groups recruited into the film sector.
- The size and spending power of the older, gay, disabled and minority ethnic population groups is very large but these markets are not always understood properly by mainstream providers.

- Films that get made may lack the female perspective, just as fewer minority ethnic or disabled staff in film making may result in a lack of their perspectives. British films may be less heterogeneous as a consequence.
- Since most business now is international, the industry needs skills in trading goods and services across borders and in multiple languages. A diverse workforce will aid negotiation and communication, and represent a progressive image to the rest of the world.
- Corporate reputation can be damaged by negative publicity or discrimination cases that reach the courts.

### **Priorities for action and research**

- All publicly-funded film bodies should consider mainstreaming diversity by setting industry standards on diversity.
- Carry out studies into actors and roles allocated by under-represented groups, whether they are cast in incidental or leading roles including types of roles portrayed.
- Industry decision makers need to be sensitised to the narrowness in which talent for the industry is recruited and be involved in a regular dialogue about next steps to recruiting talent that are right for them.
- Carry out a study into career pathways of under represented groups compared to white able-bodied middle-class men's pathways.

- Monitor sexual orientation, but first engage in dialogue with lesbians and gay men who work in film. The size and demographics of the gay film audience and the film preferences of differing perspectives within the wide-ranging views of gay and disabled audiences need to be prioritised in studies.
- A qualitative study of disabled employees is useful in understanding their experiences of the cultures of the sector. There is a need to engage in dialogue with disabled people.
- More detailed information about UK national/regional film audiences is needed.
- Explore whether the current design, programming and other characteristics of cinemas best meet diverse audience needs at the present time.
- More information is needed on the access of diverse audiences to film on the Internet, mobile platforms and video on demand.
- Update the studies into representation on film of women, types of masculinity, sexual orientation broadly, people from minority ethnic groups, people from different social classes and occupational groups, people from different nations/regions of the UK and people from different religious groups.
- Promote the involvement of people from diverse groups in script writing, film development, directing and production decision-making. Ensure that this happens in a non-ghettoised way.
- In response to the plateau in cinema attendance, certain audiences who are under-served could be specifically targeted.

- There is a lack of research on under-represented audiences, their film preferences, and their views on film performers and genres. There is also a lack of information on how different audiences view portrayal of under-represented groups in film.
- Carry out studies into recruiting diverse talent and its link to creativity in film.
- Carry out studies to find out whether successful films are linked to the involvement of diverse talent in the production, distribution and/or exhibition sectors.
- Further develop the business case for diversity in film to support the work of the UK Film Council and diversity champions throughout the UK film industry and UK film culture.



# 1 Introduction: aims and scope of the research

## 1.1 Aims

In 2007 the UK Film Council commissioned the author to write a brief research review on what is currently known about diversity in film. The three key areas to research were:

- the composition of the workforce in the film sector
- the audience – who goes to the cinema and what their preferences are, and
- the portrayal of diversity on screen.

The key groups to be covered included: ethnic minorities, women, lesbians and gay men, disabled people, religious minorities and those of varying ages.

The aims of the research review were to:

- summarise what is already known about diversity in UK film
- identify gaps in research knowledge and
- suggest recommendations on diversity for the UK Film Council.

Although this review is primarily about film, television research and information about the audio-visual sector have been included at specific points for a number of reasons. Television and the audio visual sector are increasingly being used by audiences to watch films. Additionally, television may be used by potential employees as a career pathway into the film sector.

The formal brief was as follows:

To summarise the existing UK research on diversity successes and barriers in film against the background of the general literature on diversity in employment, business opportunities, audiences and representation; to highlight areas that are insufficiently understood; and to identify strategies for change and priorities for future research.

- 1) Summarise the existing UK research on diversity successes and barriers in film, looking at all types of diversity (gender, ethnicity, disability, regionality, sexual orientation, class, age etc).
- 2) Selectively search and/or comment on the broader literature on diversity in order to contextualise the situation in film.
- 3) Look at diversity in on–screen representation and audience experience as well as in access to creative opportunities, employment and business opportunities.
- 4) Identify successful strategies for change (as already reflected in the UK and international literature).
- 5) Identify the key knowledge gaps.
- 6) Recommend priorities for future research.

## **1.2 Scope of the review**

This review brings together research on diversity in film so that gaps in current research can be identified. Chapter 2 highlights the context of British film, its funding, the culture of the sector and the diversity strategy so far. Chapter 3 examines the statistics about under-represented groups in the film workforce, access and progression issues, and explores the experiences of under-represented groups in tackling barriers. Chapter 4 reviews audience composition and the genre of films that remain popular with diverse audiences. Chapter 5 explores the debates on portrayal of under-represented groups; considers whether employment of certain groups changes the way characters are portrayed in film; and includes a discussion about complex debates on 'ghettoisation', films for the British nation, and stereotyping. Chapter 6 presents the case for diversity in film. It examines demographic change, spending power of groups, and studies which demonstrate that a diverse workforce and changes in on screen portrayal can benefit the industry. Chapter 7 concludes with recommendations for change, and identifies gaps in research priorities in diversity in film.

This research has implications for policy implementation on diversity, the next steps for the UK Film Council, and its strategic partnerships with others in the industry.

## **2: Diversity in film: the industry, social and legal context**

The British film industry has much to celebrate. It produces critically acclaimed, successful films which are watched by large audiences across a number of platforms. However, the industry that sustains this presents barriers to certain workers and some groups are under-represented in the cinema audience. This chapter explores the culture and structure of the film sector and discusses the concepts of equality and diversity, demographic change and the legal background on discrimination.

### **2.1 The UK film sector context**

British film has a long history and the UK continues to produce critically-acclaimed successful films. Public and industry support for film is good, especially for those which win awards or are box office successes (Rogers 2007).

This interest in film is sustained by an industry that is a disparate collection of small businesses involved in the development, production, distribution and exhibition of film. The UK production sector comprises several hundred small independent companies, which often rely on the support of US companies, British broadcasters and/or sources of private and public finance including European co-productions (BSAC 2001).

The Select Committee on Culture, Media and Sport's report on the state of the British film industry in 2003 identified three distinct areas of operation:

- *“The most lucrative being the provision of services for the major Hollywood studios – attracted by UK talent facilities and tax regimes – to make high budget and technically demanding motion pictures*
- *Secondly there are indigenous, usually distinctively British, films shot in the UK*
- *Thirdly there are films shot abroad, under co-production treaties. “*

*(Culture Media and Sport Committee, The British Film Industry, 2003)*

The film sector is a highly competitive industry with high unemployment levels (Skillset and UK Film Council 2005b; IES 2006). Demand to work in the sector outweighs the supply of jobs (IES 2006). While there has been a growth of film and video companies in recent years, these are mostly in the smaller companies, although there has also an increase in the biggest companies. Women, minority ethnic people, disabled people and the youngest and oldest workers find it difficult to break into the industry, which tends to be dominated by white, middle-aged men, especially in more senior roles. There is more about the workforce in Chapter 3.

Globalisation creates transnational links and fuels homogeneity in film types, but it also affects and strengthens regional products (Kim 2003). Regional funding for film has ensured the survival of more local or regional products. These regionally-made films may also appeal to an international audience, since the final product is particularly differentiated as British. Thus in the 1990s a 'culturally British' film genre appeared. The public/private alliance in the British film industry and the government's desire to stimulate film, together with private investors' desire for wide international recognition, has driven British film into the foreground (Kim 2003).

It is usually agreed that films which depict the British way of life (however defined) are desirable, and that British culture would be impoverished if all its screens were given over to American movies (Spicer 2005). A seminar to discuss the cultural value of British film in 2005 came to the conclusion that the government needs to revise what constitutes a British film and to adopt a more plural and culturally informed conception. One speaker at the seminar argued that *Shaun of the Dead*, *Enduring Love* and *Bullet Boy* (all 2004) were all culturally and geographically specific, but contested the usual marketable conceptions of Britishness represented by James Bond, Harry Potter or Tomb Raider (Spicer 2005). The concept of 'national culture' has now become increasingly contested both as the global film industry has developed and as notions of 'culture' have changed (Dickinson and Harvey 2005).

## 2.2 Cinema audiences and film releases

Cinema audiences have been declining in the last two years. In 2005, there were 169 million visits to the cinema, down 3.9% from 2004 (UK Film Council *Statistical Yearbook 2005–06*). This further decreased in 2006 to 157 million visits, down by 5% from 2005 (UK Film Council *Statistical Yearbook 2006–07*). However, admissions do fluctuate from year to year and this drop follows fifteen years of growth.

There is evidence that many groups who are under-represented in other situations do go to the cinema in greater proportions than might be expected. Audience data show that in 2006 the cinema audience was roughly balanced between women and men, and minority ethnic groups were either equally or over-represented. (UK Film Council *Statistical Yearbook 2006–07*) Among people over 55, however, one half never go to the cinema and disabled people are also under-represented. There appear to be gender differences in the genre of films which appeal to female and male audiences and certain films have generated larger than average audiences from particular ethnic groups. Chapter 4 on audiences provides more detail. However the portrayal of certain groups is still often based on narrow stereotyped representation of characters (Campion 2005). There is more about portrayal in Chapter 5.

Audience choice of films at the cinema has increased in recent years. In 2006 there were 505 film releases, 8% more than in 2005. These

included films in 30 different languages (UK Statistical Yearbook 2006–07). Hindi was the dominant foreign language in terms of numbers of releases though only 7% of screens were dedicated to ‘specialised’ programming, with 0.5% showing South Asian films. Policy interventions to increase screenings of foreign language films are discussed in Chapter 6 on recommendations.

## **2.3 Funding for film**

### **2.3.1 Government support and other funding sources**

The film industry remains a sector vulnerable to funding fluctuations. It is recognised that government intervention is important for sustaining production of ‘culturally British’ films and that the industry cannot be left to market forces alone (HM Treasury 2005). Government support for the British film industry was clarified in the 2005 Budget, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced tax incentives to promote the sustainable production of ‘culturally British’ films (HM Treasury 2005). The new tax relief is based on an enhanced deduction from taxable income for film production companies that can be converted into a payable tax credit. For UK films with production budgets up to £20 million, the value of the relief increases to a maximum of 20% of production costs where 80% or more of the budget is spent in the UK. For UK films with production budgets of £20 million and over, the maximum value is 16%. (UK Film Council *Statistical Yearbook, 2006–07*). At the same time, the UK has attempted to place film at the service of broader social objectives,



including tackling social exclusion as a feature of policy. Diversity in this context becomes more important – a core principle (Hill 2004).

There is an increasing tendency for BBC and Channel 4 to be major financiers of British film, although the flow of cash to the film industry is through public funding, regional broadcasters and international investors (Kim 2003).

### **2.3.2 UK Film Council Funding**

National lottery money is now a major source of funding for film and is distributed by the UK Film Council (Murphy 2000). The Council has three key funds to develop writing, directing and producing for film: the New Cinema fund, the Premiere Fund and the Development Fund. All of these funds are committed to increasing diversity and making the application processes more objective and transparent.

**The Development Fund** aims to raise the quality of UK screenplays through targeted development initiatives. The fund can support *single development projects*, *slate funding deals* with companies who have successfully responded to open tenders for business and creative proposals, and the *25 words or less* scheme, which offers 12 writers each year a fixed sum of £10,000 to develop a first draft script in a specific genre. The annual budget for the fund is £4 million.

**The New Cinema Fund** aims to finance films with passion and verve that connect with a broad range of audiences. The fund supports: feature films from script stage; pilots; shorts; feature-length documentaries; completion funds for feature films and Warp X, a low-budget feature film scheme.

**The Premiere Fund** plays a creative and business role in the production of feature film, from the development of projects to marketing and distribution across the world. The fund aims to invest in popular, commercially-viable feature films. It aims to play a key role in assisting the development of sustainable British film businesses capable of long-term growth. The fund is particularly committed to establishing strategic involvement in talent-driven projects from European producers.

Source: ([www.ukfilmcouncil.org.uk/filmmaking/funding](http://www.ukfilmcouncil.org.uk/filmmaking/funding))

The UK Film Council has the capacity to influence the progress of diversity in UK film by the way it dispenses its money.

## 2.4 The changing population

The UK's population is changing rapidly in terms of its age structure and ethnic mix. The population is 'greying' – one third of the population is now over 50 and this proportion will increase in the next decades. As the population ages, the proportion of people with disabilities will increase. The pool of younger people is shrinking and the proportion of ethnic minorities in the younger age groups is increasing. Britain's minorities are changing too, with new EU countries contributing to the immigration figures. Women now make up 46% of the workforce, the result of declining birth rates and changing expectations. All of these factors have major implications for the film industry as an employer.

The changes in wider society, with recognition of the need for 'excluded' groups in an expanding service sector, have also led to a change of discourse about needing people 'other' than white middle-class men in the labour market. The ageing population in Britain, the ethnic diversity of the younger age groups and more women in the labour market has led to a push towards a *business* case for the employment of women, minority ethnic groups, disabled and older workers. In other words, there is a need to use all sections of the labour market for competitive and business reasons, because there is going to be a shortage of white able-bodied men in the future labour market.

The changing population also has major implications for the film industry as a provider of films to increasingly diverse audiences. The perception that the biggest audience is made up of young men is increasingly out of date. Sustaining audiences means understanding who they are, what kinds of films really resonate with them and what attracts or deters them as cinema-goers. Further details of demographic changes are given in Chapter 6 on the case for diversity in UK film.

## 2.5 Diversity and equality of opportunity – the legal context

### 2.5.1 Equal opportunities policies

Equal opportunities policies (EOPs) were introduced in the 1980s, were voluntary and were adopted by organisations for a number of reasons. The concept of equal opportunity took ‘equal treatment’ further by arguing that this could not be achieved if groups had different starting points. An equal opportunities approach aimed *”to equalise the starting point by removing barriers at the point of selection for employment, education or other benefit”* (p.6 Fredman 2001). However, although access to opportunity can be created, this does not mean that those who are meant to benefit can take advantage of these opportunities. Barriers such as lack of child care, material deprivation, economic barriers to getting qualifications, or the effect of stereotyping certain groups are highly restricting for many people (Mirza 2003). Societal discrimination extends beyond the bounds of individual prejudice and should not be limited to compensating ‘victims’, rather to restructuring institutions (Fredman op.cit).

Where EOPs were introduced, the majority of the policies led to changes in tackling organisational bias in the recruitment and selection of employees, men and women, black and white, through the development of ‘fairer’ procedures. Some changes to employee relations practices were also put in place. These included extended leave, religious holidays’ observance, job share, movement between

full and part-time work and workplace nurseries (Cockburn 1991; Coyle 1995; Davidson and Burke 2000).

In the 1990s, discourse about 'equality of opportunity' shifted from recruitment. Policies were devised on career progression and promotion of minorities. There is now a greater use of 'competence' frameworks and systematic appraisals. The emphasis on 'competencies' does not necessarily mean a 'pure' objectivity has been created. A greater emphasis on self-motivation and self-development in careers may mask societal and organisational obstacles to access equal opportunity.

### **2.5.2 Disability discrimination laws**

The Disability Discrimination Act (DDA) 1995 aims to end the discrimination that many disabled people face. This Act gives disabled people rights in the areas of employment, education, access to goods, facilities and services , and buying or renting land or property. The Act also allows the government to set minimum standards so that disabled people can use public transport easily. Furthermore the new Disability Equality Duty (introduced in 2006) is designed to ensure that public bodies must pay 'due regard' when contemplating disabled people's position in the workplace, whether that be basic equality or consideration for promotion. It is argued that this disability duty will go further in that certain public bodies will be required to actively promote equality of opportunity for disabled individuals

([www.manches.com/text/news/news.php?id=154](http://www.manches.com/text/news/news.php?id=154)).

The Act also has implications for cinemas which must make 'reasonable adjustments' to give access to people with disabilities.

### **2.5.3 New legislation on gender, sexual orientation and age**

A new regulation on gender, which came into force in April 2007, requires public authorities to promote gender equality and eliminate sex discrimination. Instead of depending on individuals making complaints about sexual discrimination, the duty places legal responsibility on public authorities to treat women and men fairly. This legislation mimics the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000, which requires public authorities to do the same for minority ethnic groups.

The sexual orientation regulations which came into force at the end of April 2007, provide increased protection from discrimination for lesbian, gay and bisexual people in relation to goods and services. The regulations are applicable to a wide range of activities. For instance it would be unlawful to refuse admission to a bar or refuse membership of a sports club on the grounds of sexual orientation.

A new law – The Employment Equality (*Age*) Regulations 2006 – came into force in England, Wales and Scotland in October 2006 (similar legislation was in force in Northern Ireland from the same date). The regulations provide protection against age discrimination in employment, training and education, for people of all ages. This includes adult learning, further education, higher education such as

university courses, and other training which provides skills related to work. The new law makes it unlawful in most circumstances for an employer to treat people less favourably than younger colleagues on the grounds of age. But the new law provides limited protection for people over 65, particularly when it comes to recruitment and forced retirement.

#### **2.5.4 Multiple identity and equality legislation**

Official approaches to equality are seen to divide us up by 'race', ethnicity, gender, age, disability, religion and sexuality. Therefore people are treated within the system as black or gay or a woman, rather than as one person (Mirza and Sheridan 2003). The legal discourse on equalities arguably cuts across our natural multiple identities as experienced in daily life. In reality we experience our gendered, racial and other identities in a continuous flow of one through the other (Brah 1996; Mirza 1997; Mirza and Sheridan 2003).

This 'intersectionality' currently characterises our official equalities debate. 'Intersectionality' is the systematic rationale within the legal discourse that addresses the artificial separation of our combined racial, gendered and other identities (Crenshaw 1993; UN 2000).

Multiple identities are a lived reality and it is important that people are seen as 'holistic individuals' not be 'objectified' in terms of preconceived political and social categories (Mirza and Sheridan 2003).



A new inclusive equalities agenda that aims to bring together recent progressive European and UK anti-discrimination and equality legislation under the umbrella of a restructured single equality body is an attempt to rationalise the debate (DTI 2002; O'Connell 2002; Hepple et al 2000). In 2007 one overarching commission, the Commission for Equality and Human Rights will integrate the work of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), the Disability Rights Commission (DRC) and the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC).

## **2.6 The case for diversity and progress to date**

The pervasive discourse on equality and social inclusion is now through '*respecting diversity in order to achieve equality*'. The legal arguments for attracting and retaining a diverse workforce are difficult to challenge, since discrimination is against the law and this kind of stark exclusion demeans the human spirit. However, diversity also benefits industry. If the film sector increased the diversity of its workforce, a variety of perspectives would not only provide a wider range of culturally British films, but also attract new audiences. As the numbers of white able-bodied older men decline in the workforce, it becomes even more important to select employees from the widest range of talent available. Since most business now is international, skills needed include trading goods and services across borders and in

multiple languages. A diverse workforce will aid negotiation and communication.

Diversity is also about good public relations and 'inclusivity' is argued to be good for business. It is more about *'getting the right people for the job on merit'* and the *'business benefits of a more diverse workforce'* (Cabinet Office 2001). Diversity policies, which are couched in business terms, have to be underpinned by a set of more fundamental rights-based principles (Fredman 2002). Public changes on ethical and social responsibility have persuaded companies that a rights-based approach may also be good for business.

Equal opportunity policies led to disappointment with a failure to progress under-represented groups (Cockburn 1991) and, together with a backlash against such policies has been argued as a key reason for their demise (Faludi 1992). Diversity policies, which include policies on sex, 'race', religion, sexual orientation, disability and age have been introduced for several reasons and have had more success. Within the public sector, there have been gains in recruitment in the civil service, the police force and in the employment of teachers. Within the private sector, banks and retail organisations were some of the first private sector organisations to institute changes in employment, and these showed changes in composition of the workforce, by racial and ethnic origin (Business in the Community <http://www.bitc.org.uk/index.html>; Metcalf and Forth 2000). These gains in recruitment could be partly attributed to demographic,

sectoral and labour market change. There is more about the case for diversity in Chapter 6.

Seeing implementation through is vitally important because research shows diversity policies are generally abundant but implementation is poor. By the early 1990s, almost two decades since the key pieces of anti-discrimination legislation were passed, incorporation of their spirit into organisational practice was regarded as both tentative and marginal (Bhavnani 1994; Braham Rattansi and Skellington 1992; Cockburn 1991). Organisations introduced these policies in piecemeal terms and there were great discrepancies in the implementation of these policies by organisations. More recently, the report from the Office for the Deputy Prime Minister examining the effects of the Race Relations Act 2000 in the public sector, found that almost 30 years after the 1976 Act, local Councils remained unsure how to integrate equality and diversity into service delivery (ODPM 2003).

It appears as if organisations need to see clear reasons why they are being asked to implement diversity policies. They need committed leadership and active steps outlined for them to achieve their objectives on diversity, including an understanding of equality law, monitoring and consultation, planning a strategic approach and building a case for implementing diversity (Watson 2001).

Although an important step is taking action through positive action programmes, there is a danger in using positive actions alone, since this may create a parallel access to the industry, without effecting real changes in the core of the UK film industry. In other words, equality may be marginalised and initiatives aimed at under-represented groups will tend to be separated from 'mainstream' organisational culture. Companies based on different under-represented groups are likely to result. The argument that positive action schemes exist primarily to recruit 'black' individuals, rather than widening the variety of filmmakers or artists, encourages tokenism and a perception that 'special' funds or schemes are only there so that more black faces will be seen (Dyer 2007). On the other hand, mainstreaming may be a good idea, but in day-to-day practice there are many obstacles. For example perceptions of equality interventions vary between groups based on 'race' and gender (Creegan et al 2003). White men regard equality interventions as a 'big brother' approach, and effectively downgrade monitoring. Black minorities continue to feel racism is a problem which has not been tackled. Black staff in the public sector would like better grievance reporting and support mechanisms at work, whereas white staff would like more opportunities for career development and cross-cultural mixing (Creegan et al op.cit.).

Many of these 'ethnicised' employees are employed in 'equality' jobs, where they are pressing for change, despite top level resistance or apathy. White women, as recipients of equality policies, are more

critical of the failure of equality policies than their male counterparts. It is possible that as rhetoric about equality increases, coupled with poor implementation, these divisions may increase (Bhavnani, Mirza and Meeto 2005)

## 2.7 Diversity and the UK Film Council

The UK Film Council (UKFC) developed a diversity strategy in 2003, which contained the following aims:

- a more diverse workforce behind, and in front of the camera across the film sector value chain
- all groups within our society to participate in and enjoy film culture
- commitments are mainstreamed across core UKFC activities.

As a result, the Council partnered 21 film industry organisations in launching a Leadership in Diversity forum and created the first ever Equalities Charter for film, and subsequently the Equalities Charter for film Programme for Action. The Charter has pledged six clear aims including:

- identifying the barriers to the industry
- encouraging communities to enjoy film culture
- welcoming employment from all communities
- encouraging all to remain in the industry

- developing and adopting equality and diversity policies and
- taking steps to increase on-screen diversity.

A shared website now exists [<http://www.diversitytoolkit.org.uk/>]. There is an Equalities Charter tracker on progress, a leadership on diversity innovation fund and diversity consultancy support for organisations. These are important initiatives, but they require excellent follow through and implementation, including good monitoring, a setting of clear standards, and increasing awareness among decision makers.

## 2.8 Summary

- There is a healthy market for film but the film sector is highly competitive, dominated by micro-businesses, and with high unemployment levels. Demand to work in the sector outweighs the supply of jobs and certain groups – women, minority ethnic people and disabled workers, find it difficult to break into the industry. The industry tends to be dominated by white, middle-aged men.
- Cinema audiences have a widening choice of films but some groups are under-represented in the audience.

- If the film sector increased the diversity of its workforce, a variety of perspectives would not only provide a wider range of ‘culturally British’ films and attract new audiences, but also select a workforce from the widest range of talent available.
- The industry receives funding from government through tax relief and a share of the Lottery.
- The UK population is changing rapidly and, in terms of the workforce, there will be fewer white, able-bodied men in the next decades.
- The law provides protection against discrimination in the workplace, covering women, minority ethnic and disabled people, gay men, lesbians and different age groups. This has implications for all employers, while service providers such as cinemas must make ‘reasonable adjustments’ to provide access for disabled people.
- A new inclusive equalities agenda aims to bring together recent progressive European and UK anti-discrimination and equality legislation under the umbrella of a restructured single equality body. This is an attempt to deal with the issues of multiple identities, that is the intersection of gender and race, disability and age, and so on.
- The UK Film Council developed a diversity strategy in 2003. Implementation of diversity strategies is poor across several sectors in the UK. It appears as if organisations need to see clear reasons why they are participating in the implementation of

diversity initiatives. The business case for diversity has become compelling.



## 3: The film workforce

Getting the right workforce is key to sustaining and developing any industry. Yet analysis shows that the film industry does not fully represent the UK workforce and takes a narrow view of where talent may be found. Recruitment practices lie at the heart of this issue, making it difficult for certain groups to gain an entry to the business. This may limit the kinds of films we make and the relationship with diverse audiences.

### 3. 1 Introduction and scope of chapter

This chapter documents data and research studies on the film workforce. Key questions considered are:

- What proportions of under-represented groups work in the film sector, including production, distribution and exhibition?
- Are those who work in the sector evenly distributed across occupations or is there evidence of occupational segregation?
- How do employees progress in the sector?
- What barriers in workforce structures and cultures block access and progression through the sector?
- Are some groups more likely to be funded than others through regional and national funding streams?

The chapter is in three parts. **Section 3.2** describes the representation of diverse groups in the film sector, including occupational profiles, pay levels and access to funding streams. **Section 3.3** explores access to employment in the film sector and reviews diverse groups' experiences of the barriers. **Part 3.4** considers the barriers to progression and describes existing interventions to tackle under-representation of certain groups.

## 3.2 Workforce data on under-represented groups

### 3.2.1 Key workforce data sources

Skillset, the sector skills council for the audio-visual industries, undertakes biennial surveys of those working in the audio-visual sector<sup>1</sup>, in feature film production<sup>2</sup> and a census of employers (see below) who manage the audio-visual industry workforce on a specific day. All three surveys cover skills development issues. Performers in the audio-visual industries were added to Skillset's data in 2004, and a survey of employees and freelancers in the performing arts was undertaken in partnership with Equity in 2005 (Skillset and Equity 2005). Some of the data are broken down by gender and 'race', but information about disability is poor; there is nothing on religion or sexual orientation. There are some data on the intersection of ethnicity and age, gender and age, and ethnicity and gender but none on socio-economic status or class. This chapter will concentrate primarily on film sector data, and include other information as necessary.

#### 3.2.2 Representation of groups in the film sector

There were 42,230 workers in film and video production, exhibition and distribution in 2006 (UK Film Council Statistical Yearbook 2000–

---

<sup>1</sup> The audio visual industries are divided into ten sectors: animation, commercials, computer games, corporate production, facilities, film, interactive media, photo imaging, radio and television. [www.skillset.org/skillset/article\\_2643\\_1.asp](http://www.skillset.org/skillset/article_2643_1.asp)

<sup>2</sup> The film production sector survey surveys individuals working on productions which run for over 80 minutes in duration, have a minimum budget of £500,000, involve UK crew and are produced for theatrical release.

07). The Labour Force Survey (LFS) from which these data are taken does not separate video production and distribution from film production and distribution. The numbers are shown in Table 3.1.

**Table 3.1 Film and video industry workforce 2006**

<b>Sector</b>	<b>No. in employment</b>
Film and video production	24,213
Film and video distribution	2,816
Film exhibition	15,201
<b>Total</b>	<b>42,230</b>

*Source: UK Film Council Statistical Yearbook 2006–07:168*

The percentages of various groups who work in the sector are given in Table 3.2. This information is based on the *Feature Film Production Surveys* (Skillset and UK Film Council) for 2002 and 2006. The data show an under-representation of women, black and minority ethnic groups, people with disabilities and young people aged 16–24 relative to their participation in the wider UK workforce. Over the four years from 2002 to 2006 there was a slight increase in the proportion of women and people with disabilities in the sector, and a 5% increase in those aged 16–24. The numbers of older people aged 50 or over dropped to 17% in 2006 from 21% in 2002 though the sector had more people in their middle years (aged 35–49) than the rest of the UK workforce.

The sector is skewed towards the employment of older, white men in professional roles, though there is evidence that younger people have recently entered the industry (Skillset and UK Film Council 2005b and Skillset and UK Film Council Project Update 2007).

**Table 3.2 Representation of groups in film sector 2002 and 2006**

	2006 %	2002 %	All UK workforce
Men	61	67	54
Women	39	33	46 (LFS 2006)
Black and minority ethnic groups	5	5	7 (LFS 2004)
Disabled	3	2	13 (LFS 2005)
Age 16–24 years	8	3	16 (LFS2005)
Age 25–34	34	31	22 (LFS2005)
Age 35–49	42	45	37 (LFS2005)
Age 50 or over	17	21	25 (LFS2005)
Sexual orientation	Not known	Not known	–
Religion	Not known	Not known	–

*Sources: UK Film Council Statistical Yearbook 2005–6; Skillset and UK Film Council – Project Update 2007; Skillset and UK Film Council (LFS=Labour Force Survey)*

*Note: The reference year for most questions in the 2005 Skillset film production workforce survey was 2002.*

The UK Film Council statistics for their own workforce in 2006 indicate minority ethnic employees comprised 15% of the total, with over 10% being minority ethnic women and over 4% being men. There are no

data in these statistics on gender as a whole, age, sexual orientation or religion.

### **3.2.3 Marital status and dependents**

27% of respondents in the 2006 feature film production survey reported they had at least one dependent child, a slight drop from 2002 (Skillset and UK Film Council – Project Update 2007). As in 2002 the proportion of men living with dependent children was considerably greater than the proportion of women (36% compared to 14%) (Skillset and UK Film Council – Project Update 2007).

The Head of the Birds Eye Women’s Film Festival argues the under-representation is related to the clash between raising children and the culture of film, entailing long hours, being on location a great deal, and the insecurity of the job itself (Kellaway 2007).

### 3.2.4 Disabled people

In 2002, the 2% of people with disabilities in the film workforce comprised 21 people, 14 of whom had disabilities such as diabetes, epilepsy, arthritis, asthma, facial disfigurements or speech impairments. The rest were deaf, visually impaired, having muscular-skeletal disabilities or had a learning disability. In 2006, more respondents who considered themselves to be disabled reported a learning disability (19%) than any other disability type (Skillset and UK Film Council –Project Update March 2007).

### 3.2.5 Minority ethnic groups

The film workforce is highly concentrated in and around London. A separate analysis reveals that slightly more black and minority ethnic staff are in London (7% compared to 5% across the UK) and this has slightly increased from 2002 (see Table 3.3). There is clear evidence of under-representation of black and minority ethnic groups in the film sector in London however with only 7% compared to the London economy as whole with 24% (Skillset and UK Film Council –Project Update March 2007).

**Table 3.3 Ethnic background of workforce across the UK and in London**

	Film survey respondent s based in	All film survey respondent	Film survey respondent s based in	All London workforc	All UK workforc e



	London 2006	s 2006	London 2002	e (LFS)	(LFS 2004)
	%	%	%	%	%
White	93	95	94	76	93
Mixed	2	2	3	1	1
Asian or Asian British	1	1	1	11	3
Black or Black British	1	1	1	8	2
Chinese	1	*	*	1	0
Other ethnic group	2	1	1	3	1
All non- white	7	5	6	24	7
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100
Base	954	1,112	507	-	-

Source : 2006 Film sector survey- Project Update March 2007 Skillset: 4.

### 3.2.6 Occupational profiles by gender

There is also evidence from the data that women and black and minority ethnic groups are not equitably represented across the range of occupations in the sector.

While there were very few women in the camera, sound, electrical and construction departments in 2006, they were the majority working in make-up, hairdressing and costume (see Table 3.4).

**Table 3.4 Gender profile of production jobs 2006**

*n= 1115 film survey respondents*

	Male %	Female %
Production/script development	36	64
Assistant directors	62	38
Art/set decorating/props	55	45
Camera	85	15
Sound /electrical	96	4
Costume	20	80
Make-up and hair	15	85
Editing, post-production, visual effects	74	26
Construction	97	3
Locations	78	23

Other	65	35
<b>All</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>39</b>

*Source : 2006 Film sector survey– Project Update March 2007 Skillset: 3*

There were more women than men working in production and script development at 64%, but they might have been working as production assistants rather than as assistant directors, where 62 % were men. Comparing the 2006 feature film production survey with 2002, more *assistant* directors were female (38% in 2006 compared with 26% ), fewer women were working in editing, post–production and visual effects occupations, and 4% of respondents in sound/lighting were female, an increase from none in 2002 (Skillset and UK Film Council– Project Update March 2007). Women also made up 77% of cinema cleaners and 18% of box office attendants (Hill 2004).

### **3.2.7 Representation of women in screenwriting**

Women scriptwriters were involved in writing and directing in films from the 1920s in Hollywood and were seen as pioneers. Seventy years ago, 50% of Hollywood screenwriters were women (IES 2006:2). However, since then screenwriting as an occupation for women has been in decline. In the USA in 2001, women accounted for 10% of writers working on the top 250 films (IES 2006). In a more recent UK study, (Rogers 2007) only seven out of 40 films randomly selected for a survey into how screenwriters were recruited had female screenwriters. This survey also showed that the majority of

screenwriters were over the age of 45. Screenwriters' careers may not peak till their middle years.

Other recent UK studies have shown that women screen writers:

- comprised only 26% of those writing for film compared with 53% of those whose main occupation was writing generally;.
- were credited on fewer than 15% of UK films made from 1999–2003;
- represented less than one in ten BAFTA nominees for best original or adapted screenplay between 1990 and 2005, and represented even fewer winners, just three out of 43, none of whom were British (IES 2006).

Of the 12 films in the 1990s which were penned or directed by black people, only two were made by women (Alexander 2000).

### **3.2.8 Occupational profile by ethnic group**

There is no information about occupational profiles for minority ethnic groups in film production but in the audio–visual sector data show that these minorities have the highest representation in processing laboratory staff (19%) with cinema cleaners (17%) and other roles in cinema exhibition also being high. Studio operations (16%) and transmission (12%) have also seen an increase since 2004 (Skillset Employment Census 2006). Nearly all screenwriters selected at random in a UK survey (Rogers 2007) were white. This finding is not surprising

because film professionals from minority ethnic groups have reported that decision makers do not understand black and Asian scripts, and are not in a position to assess a film's potential impact (BFI 2000).

There is no occupational profile information for people with disabilities or by sexual orientation.

### 3.2.9 Representation as actors/performers

Actors are not mentioned in the *Skillset Feature Film Production Survey* but instead are covered in the *Skillset 2005 Performing Arts industry Survey*. This survey covers all who were in the performing arts industries, including actors, theatre directors, variety acts, singers, entertainers, musicians and so on, who were members of Equity at the time. There is little disaggregated information on film performers in this report, but a further report commissioned by the UK Film Council breaks out the data on film performers. These are shown in Table 3.5:

**Table 3.5 Analysis of film performers 2005**

**All working in film is past year %  
(n=1230)**

Men	54 %
Women	46 %
Age 16–24	9 %
Age 25–34	29 %
Age 35–49	32 %

Age 50 +	30 %
Ethnic minority	9 %
Disabled	8 %
Based in England	92 %

Source: *Skillset Bespoke Report for UK Film Council 2006*

- Men were more likely to have worked as performers in film than women and minority ethnic performers were slightly over-represented, compared to their proportions in the population.
- The vast majority of film performers were based in England (Skillset- Bespoke report for UK Film Council 2006).

Despite the fact that 16–24 year olds make up 23% of the minority ethnic population compared with 13% the white population (ONS), one survey found proportionately fewer minority ethnic film performers in this age group (5%) than white performers<sup>3</sup> (9%) (ONS) (UK Film Council undated).

### 3.2.10 Pay

In the feature film sector, by far the most common range of income reported was less than £20,000, and this was the experience of almost half the respondents in 2006. (UK Film Council and Skillset Project Update 2007). In 2003, responses were more evenly distributed across the income range, where a fifth earned less than £20,000. One fifth of

<sup>3</sup> 16-24 year olds represent only 5% of BME film performers, compared with 9% of white film performers (ONS).

male respondents earned £50,000 or more, compared to 14% of women. On the whole, however, the income differences by gender appear to have reduced since 2004 (see Table 3.6).

**Table 3.6 Gross income from feature film work during previous twelve months**

	Film survey respondents 2006		Film survey respondents 2003	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	%	%	%	%
None	2	2	8	14
£1–19,999	45	50	31	45
£20,000–29,000	13	14	15	11
£30,000–39,000	12	14	15	10
£40,000–49,000	9	6	11	8
£50,000–74,999	11	7	11	10
£75,000 or more	9	7	9	3
Base	624	417	532	260

*Source Skillset and UK Film Council 2006 Project Update :11*

*Note: The reference years for the income question in the film production workforce surveys were 2006 and 2003.*

### 3.2.11 Access to funding streams

Access to funding may be improving regarding ethnicity and gender. In the survey on women screenwriters (IES 2006) respondents said they were receiving more scripts from women than previously. The three funds from the UK Film Council have been monitored on diversity (gender, ethnic minority, disability) since 2001–2 and the results are shown in Table 3.7.

**Table 3.7 Allocation of UK Film Council funds by gender, ethnicity, disability**

	No. of awards	% Minority ethnic groups	% Women	% Disability
New Cinema Fund	106	4 %	26 %	0 %
Premiere Fund	99	3 %	27 %	0 %
Development Fund	409	8 %	30%	7%

*Source: UK Film Council data, 2007.*



Of 106 applications to the New Cinema Fund, the response rate to monitoring of ethnicity was only 38% so the data suggest a trend, but not hard evidence, of who got funding. Only 4% of awards went to minority ethnic applicants, 26% to women (27% response rate) and none to those with a disability (8% response rate).

The Premiere Fund's 99 awards comprised 3 % to ethnic minority applicants (response rate 58%), 27% to women (36% response rate), and none to disabled applicants (response rate 16%).

Minority ethnic applicants received 8% of the 409 awards from the Development Fund's (response rate 60%), women took 30% (response rate 50%) and people with disabilities 7 % (response rate 15.6%). The Development Fund thus shows a more equitable allocation of funds than the other two funds, but women and people with disabilities were still under-represented.

### **3.2.12 Diversity of applicants for awards in the regions**

The monitoring of RIFE (Regional Investment for England) funds by ethnicity, gender and disability for 2006 shows a better allocation of awards to under-represented groups than at a national level. 74% of the people involved in awards were white compared with 71% in applications, while 26% of people involved in awards were from a minority ethnic group compared with 30% in applications. Women were

involved in 47% of awards and disabled people in 27% of awards. (UK Film Council)

### 3.2.13 The location of the workforce and the influence of London and the South East

In the film production survey (2006) respondents had to indicate in which region they lived and worked (see Table 3.8).

**Table 3.8 Nation and English region of film survey respondents 2006**

	Region/nation in which respondents live (%)	Region/nation in which respondents work (%)
Wales	2	14
Scotland	6	16
Northern Ireland	3	7
London	58	87
South East	17	39
West Midlands	1	9
East Midlands	1	8
North East	*	10
Yorkshire and Humber	1	9
East	1	8
North West	3	14

South West	6	23
------------	---	----

*Source: Skillset and UK Film Council 2007 Project Update*

The majority lived in England (88%) with London (at 58%) and the South East (17%) being the most popular. 6% of respondents lived in the South West of England, with 1–3% or fewer in the rest of the English regions (Skillset and UK Film Council Project Update 2007) and 6% in Scotland. However 87% of respondents worked in London at some point and 39% in the South East. More respondents worked than lived in each of the UK nations and English regions indicating the extraordinary mobility of the film workforce.

These data do not break the workforce down by under-represented groups. However there are some interesting patterns in travelling to work and living outside London may be a barrier for women who have caring responsibilities and for people with disabilities.

### **3.2 14 Conclusions on representation in the film sector**

White able-bodied men dominate the leadership and key professional positions in the film sector. The evidence we currently have suggests that women, black and minority ethnic groups and people with disabilities are under-represented in the film sector, compared to their proportions in the UK workforce. Women and minority ethnic groups are bunched into certain occupations in production and exhibition, are at the lower levels within the sector, and therefore likely to be lower

paid. Women are under-represented in screenwriting, but we have no information about other under-represented groups in producing, writing or directing. Actors are more equitably represented in film; however, there is no information about leading roles or types of roles allocated.

Two of the UK Film Council's national funds allocated for film production and writing show under-representation by minority ethnic groups, women and people with disabilities. Regional fund allocation is more equitable. The erratic hours and the fact that the sector is primarily based in London and the South East suggest travel barriers for women in the regions who have caring responsibilities and for disabled people.

### **3.3 Barriers to accessing jobs in the sector**

How do potential employees then access employment in the sector? A brief summary of barriers within workplace cultures and structures is useful to understand the experiences of under-represented groups. These include structural and cultural barriers: freelancing, word of mouth recruitment, recruiters operating through known networks and high periods of unemployment for film sector employees.

#### **3.3.1 Recruitment**

Most employees are recruited informally, notably by word of mouth, or contacting known individuals to write, produce or direct. In film production 81% of employees were recruited by word of mouth, with half being approached by a producer or director (Skillset and UK Film Council 2005, IES 2006). The sector is also risk-averse, producing films that are similar to the last ones which were successful at the box office, so known people are recruited and newcomers find it hard to break in.

Good contacts, the 'old boy network', thus remain an important way to secure a job (Holgate 2006). Many people take on internships or unpaid work to develop their contacts and secure work. In the 1980s, only 5% of the total workforce had done unpaid work in the industry, compared to almost half in 2000. A report on ethnicity indicates that 47% of minority ethnic people had undertaken voluntary work to secure a job. Clearly people from lower income backgrounds are disadvantaged as a result of this practice. During qualification courses, over half of white students had work experience in the sector, compared to 28% of minority ethnic students. In research into minority ethnic groups' independent production companies, one third of the organisations had used unpaid workers, this being more common among minority ethnic employees (IES 2004).

Recruitment practices are a deeply entrenched part of the film industry's culture and changing them is key to moving the diversity agenda forward.

### **3.3.2 Freelancing**

The film industry is dominated by independent production companies, mostly micro businesses and many are set up to make a single feature film. Almost half of the film and video production workforce was freelance in 2006 (ONS, Labour Force Survey). Nearly half of all freelancers in the audio-visual sector had only ever worked on a freelance basis (Skillset 2005). Freelancing is more common among older men, being high in commercials, corporate production and animation. Freelancing may legitimate informal methods of recruitment.

The problem of an increase in freelancers and a rapid advance in technology means there is less take-up of training, since freelance workers find it difficult to take time out of work and lose income (Holgate 2006).

### **3.3.3 Later entry into the sector**

Two-fifths of respondents from a black or minority ethnic origin began working in the industry after 1999, compared with just over a quarter (28%) of white respondents. This is probably related to black

and minority ethnic people tending to be younger than white respondents (Skillset 2005).

### **3.3.4 Job insecurity and confidence levels**

The film sector is also risk-averse and there is much job insecurity. Rates of unemployment are high. The film production survey indicated that 71% of the workforce had been unemployed in the previous year and more than a third had spent 10 or more weeks of the year unemployed (Skillset and UK Film Council 2005). More than half of the respondents had spent fewer than 30 weeks in feature film productions in 2006 (61%) (Skillset and UK Film Council Project Update 2007).

Women screenwriters feel that intrinsic features of the job are barriers, namely that the sector is unstable, involves erratic working patterns, and they cannot afford to take time off or lose money to work in this area. It is argued that women screenwriters may also be less confident and tenacious about redrafting their work and having it criticised (IES 2006).

### **3.3.5 Working hours**

Working hours are long, with 70% of employees working 11 hours or more a day, six days a week (Skillset and UK Film Council 2005). This greatly disadvantages people with caring responsibilities and those with certain disabilities.

### 3.3.6 Careers advice and training

The **kinds** of courses people take are seen to be important for accessing the production sector by both employers and minority ethnic students. Both employers and minority ethnic prospective employees felt that many students did not have the right qualifications to enter the industry. For example 30% of minority students on media-related courses felt they did not have the right practical qualifications. 53% did not feel they had the experience to begin a career in the audio-visual sector, and 60% felt they had not been given an interview or a job because they lacked the necessary experience. One-third of employers in this London-based study thought students were not prepared by their institutions for the audio-visual sector and 20% thought media courses were not practical enough (Holgate 2006). One study argues that teachers in the UK have encouraged students to enter higher education to study popular film, since this is viewed as more likely to attract students otherwise reluctant to enter higher education (Richards 2005).

These issues have implications for the careers advice offered and ties in with the UK film skills strategy (*A Bigger Future*, UK Film Council and Skillset, 2003), to create a one-stop careers shop in the next few years.



### 3.3.7 Qualifications

The 2005 *Feature Film Production Survey* indicated that the workforce as a whole was highly qualified, with almost half having graduate level qualifications (46%) compared to 19% of the workforce as a whole. In 2006 graduate-level employees increased to 58% (Skillset and UK Film Council –Project Update 2007).

Interestingly women are more likely to be qualified to graduate level in the audio-visual sector (78% compared to 63% for men). 82% of ethnic minorities held higher level qualifications in the *film* sector. Women outnumber men in general creative courses on media, English and drama in higher education, but are outnumbered by men in postgraduate screenwriting skills courses (IES 2006).

A research study by the National Council of Drama Training (NCDT) (UK Film Council summary, undated) found that after taking into account the different age profiles of the two groups, there was no statistical difference between white and minority ethnic respondents in terms of formal academic qualifications. Of those who had actually performed in film in the past year, 54% of white film performers had a qualification from an institution that offered NCDT-accredited courses, compared to 37% of minority ethnic film performers. These findings suggest that a larger proportion of minority ethnic film performers had fewer vocational industry qualifications; and (possibly) that those who

attended courses at NCDT-accredited institutions, were less successful at securing film work.

These studies suggest that under-represented groups do not necessarily have lower levels of education or qualifications and that this is not a significant barrier to accessing the film sector.

### **3.4 Barriers to progression through the sector**

The under-representation of people with disabilities , minority ethnic individuals and women in the film sector could be tackled through a variety of interventions, including positive action, targeted careers advice, encouraging deliberate networking and raising awareness of decision makers.

But once employees have been recruited how do under-represented groups negotiate career pathways through the sector? What are their experiences as they strive to change occupation or move up the career ladder? The next section outlines the barriers, both in the USA and the UK.

#### **3.4.1 Training**

One way for individuals to get on is to develop their skills. However finance may be a barrier or people may be unsure how to assess the quality of training. In the feature film production sector (Skillset 2005):

- very small numbers reported going on training in the previous year, and relied on self-tuition;
- over half those surveyed wanted more training, particularly in business and finance, as well as to keep up with changing technologies;
- 60% reported difficulties in accessing training because of fear of losing work and taking time out;
- 20% thought training was high risk and fees were too high;
- 42% emphasised the competitiveness of the sector and stated there were too many people in the field.

There is no breakdown of which groups access training and the kind of courses they are looking for.

### **3.4.2 Networking among minority ethnic groups**

It should come as no surprise that some groups use their own networks to progress in the sector. In a London-based survey, more minority ethnic workers had used friends and word of mouth than white workers (35% compared with 28%) in finding their current jobs (Holgate 2006: 2). The author argues that because this is such an important way to secure employment, minority ethnic workers are *“More reliant on people they have worked with previously in order to find their next job than white workers because previous colleagues are aware of their skills and experience.”* Almost two thirds of minority ethnic respondents in the IES study on minority-led companies (MEL) felt that a lack of junior positions offering a first rung in the ladder

was not a barrier for their careers. However, over half saw the *lack of permanent positions* as a barrier, more than their white peers (IES 2004 with Pact and the UK Film Council).

### 3.4.3 Marginalisation of companies

One report argues that within television in the 1990s there was a decline in the numbers of black people employed in influential positions; a decline in the numbers of programmes targeting black viewers and a decline in the numbers of black-owned production companies commissioned by broadcasters (Watson 2001). The author argues there has been a lack of government support that benefits other vulnerable companies, for example, those based in the regions. Although the government has funded schemes to increase the support for small and medium enterprises (SMEs), these companies rarely consider cultural diversity as part of their remit. Instead there is a 'special' approach of creating separate committees and initiatives, which tends to marginalise black companies (Watson op.cit.).

Monitoring in this area does not exist. Despite the launch of the Cultural Diversity Network, it is BECTU and PACT that have made recommendations for change such as contract compliance, ethnic minority supplier targets, ring-fenced resources for multi-cultural programming and publicly available monitoring (Watson 2001).

Comparing self-reported performance measures against similar small companies, MEL companies are more pessimistic about their success; they achieved smaller financial rewards and had greater uncertainty

over their future finances. They also felt ghettoised. MEL companies form 10% of the independent sector (IES 2004).

#### **3.4.4 Feeling discounted – the minority ethnic view**

A study of minority ethnic film professionals' views (BFI 2000) showed there was considerable discontent about the film establishment of the UK. Respondents felt the British Film Institute (BFI) was dominated by white middle-class men, who were seen to have a limited understanding of minority groups and their needs. They also believed there to be a lack of investment and staff involvement in black and Asian affairs in the BFI.

The BFI however has taken steps in the last few years to set up film festivals on African film or black film and has tried to develop its diversity strategy in education and exhibition, both for disabled people and minority ethnic groups. There have been lesbian and gay film festivals and Turkish film festivals. The BFI also produces reports, books and educational materials on diversity in film.

### 3.4.5 Attitudes towards women actors

A study in the US found that, in outstanding feature films, exceptional women's performances are less likely to be noted than men's, when films are subject to both quantitative and qualitative analysis (Simonton 2004). It is argued that the impact of male actors is about twice that of women and women actors playing leading roles have less impact than men playing supporting roles. This discrepancy is not declining, perhaps due to sexist attitudes or to the presence of stronger male roles derived from the central male character of successful novels, who is more conspicuous than women (Simonton op.cit.).

A further study in the US, carried out by the Screen Actors Guild (quoted in Lincoln and Allen 2004) found women appear as lead actors in fewer films than men and earn half as much as their male counterparts. Another study in 2005 (Lauzen and Dozier) examined 100 of the top grossing films and found that male characters outnumbered female characters, with the majority of men being in their 30s and 40s and women likely to be in their 20s and 30s. Both women and men who were elderly were under-represented compared to their proportion in the US population.

Lincoln and Allen (2004) posit that the intersection of **gender and age** creates a 'double jeopardy' for women actors. They argue that television actors have grown younger in the last 20 years, and that

women experience ageing differently. For example women over 40 received only 24% of all women's acting roles, compared to men aged over 40 who received 37% of all acting roles. The term 'older', they argue, applies to women over 30 and men over 40. This discrimination in acting roles and age also extends to screenwriters.

Reasons for this age and gender discrepancy include the film producers' preferences and the fact that they are acting out of beliefs about audience preferences, including the attractiveness of women. For example, one quarter of previous actresses had been models (Lincoln and Allen 2004). Men's perceived attractiveness remains unaffected by age, whereas women's perceived attractiveness decreases with age. These practices have serious implications for cultural role models, whereby the film tells the audience men are more important and produces idealised images of them, whereas women are culturally devalued (Lincoln and Allen op. cit.). There do not appear to be any research studies in the UK of this kind.

#### **3.4.6 Assumptions about minority ethnic groups' and women's competence**

Some interviewees in screenwriting feel that working relationships between people were affected by gender for women in power-based roles, such as director or producer roles. The authors quote a screenwriter who expressed the challenges as:

*"I think people find a female producer shouting at people less palatable than if it's a man doing it. A woman doing it is a bitch."*

(IES 2006:57).

Some women in this study spoke about wanting to work more with other women. One described going to meet a production company where "You could smell the testosterone" and how this put her off working with them. Women were seen as less threatening as work partners. However gender relationships may or may not be an issue between writer and producer, and this made one respondent say these relationships were tricky for women. Another woman felt women were too nurturing, and the authors point out that the polarisation of women as nurturers and men as creators is still held out in the film sector today (IES 2006). The insecurity in the industry made women feel they could not do the job if they had children.

In another study on minority ethnic workers in London, 50% of respondents reported they had equal opportunity policies in the workplace, but 76% of them still reported feeling discriminated against compared to 54% of white workers. 40% of respondents felt discriminated against regarding access to jobs because of their ethnicity, compared to 16% of white workers. Respondents reported that indirect discrimination was not uncommon, and they felt culturally misrepresented overall. Minority ethnic workers felt they were



stereotyped as working class, even when they came with a good education and middle class background (Holgate 2006).

#### **3.4.7 Progression by who you know**

A recent study shows that women who worked as screenwriters had more difficulty securing work than their male counterparts (IES 2006). The authors argue that even though the study was based on very small samples, there were indications that indirect discrimination may be operating. Screenwriting has been described as fluid, informal and unstructured, where the career pathways are not at all formalised. For screenwriting generally, prospective employees may be contacted by producers, or they may send a script in, or present themselves through agents. Sometimes screenwriters may be pitching against each other, but their invitation to an interview was still through personal contact. Women respondents felt it was important to be known among networks to get work. However, the authors argue that women may be less inclined to capitalise on networks and may feel less comfortable about selling their work.

#### **3.4.8 Pathways through television**

Most film screenwriters had previous experience in writing for television series according to a recent study (Rogers 2007). Women may try their hand at screenwriting, but it has been argued that they then tend to go into television, because TV provides more job

opportunities, work may be more regular, and the writer has more status and control over their work (IES 2006).

### **3.4.9 Commissioning and 'ghettoisation'**

A big barrier in the film sector concerns the decision-making process in funding or in providing finance for aspects of filmmaking. The commissioning process is criticised as being slow, conservative and closed (IES 2004). Funders and commissioners are risk-averse regarding new talent and are culturally bound as to what may be a commercial product. Certainly MEL companies felt there was a lack of clarity and openness in decision-making, with respondents identifying a lack of dialogue about their projects and the inaccessibility of decision makers (IES 2004). Respondents felt pigeon-holed into making films for minority ethnic audiences involving minority writers and actors, so that they felt ghettoised. They felt the sector and the market were dominated by well-known big companies. MEL companies felt excluded from networks and suffered from a lack of contacts.

However, respondents also said that commissioners were averse to taking risks with new writers. Commissioners' perceptions may also ghettoise women, with respondents reporting that commissioners believe that women do not write stories that sell, making women feel disadvantaged (IES 2006).

### **3.4.10 A Hollywood agent?**

Writers are attracted to Hollywood because of the availability of work and more realistic fees, and many have a Hollywood agent. A survey into how screenwriters were hired for jobs in the years 2004 and 2005

used 40 randomly-selected films from all British productions and co-productions with a theatrical release (Rogers 2007). Of 63 screenwriters who were identified only 37% responded to the survey so the findings cannot be regarded as conclusive but they do show consistency in responses.

It was easier to contact writers through agents, lawyers or managers. 57% of writers *only* listed a contact via a Hollywood agent or manager and 19% listed a London-based agent or manager. Twenty respondents believed they were hired because of their work being known as a result of the recommendation made by the agent. Only three writers reported they felt unfairly treated, even though they had written several drafts, but they did not complain (Rogers 2007).

Obtaining and accessing an agent may be difficult for under-represented groups, who will probably be outside established networks. If women and minority writers were few in this survey, it is important to research what the agent/writer relationship is, and whether agents are less likely to take on women, for example, who have less likelihood of being hired than their male counterparts.

### **3.5 Examples of initiatives that tackle under-representation**

#### ***Guilds, trades unions and trade associations***

Over half the film workforce (57%) belongs to a trade organisation or association such as guilds and unions, with members of BECTU being

older than the rest of the workforce (Skillset and UK Film Council 2005). These guilds, unions and trade associations provide opportunities for getting on, as well as accessing the sector. BECTU, for example, has been running the *Moving on Up* scheme since 2003, which has arranged for minority ethnic professionals to meet and be coached by senior executives in the audio-visual sector (BECTU, personal contact). In a survey after the first event in 2003, it was found that 10% of those taking part in the scheme had secured employment.

Employees can also access skills and experience through organisations such as the Producers Guild. However, producers need to have a range of credits before they can take advantage of membership, which excludes many people. These criteria could be widened by the Guild to encourage more junior members to join. The Producers Guild has however set up a training programme for production accountants, setting aside half the places for women and one-third for ethnic minorities (see Equalities Charter for Film –Programme for Action [www.diversityinfilm.org.uk/caseStudies/casestudy.cfm?casestudy\\_id=21](http://www.diversityinfilm.org.uk/caseStudies/casestudy.cfm?casestudy_id=21)).

### ***Awareness raising among young people and the public***

Enabling young people and members of the public to become more film literate may make them more aware of careers in film. This is particularly timely for young people since there are indications that the media sector generally is becoming an increasingly attractive

employment option. Culture, media and sport are most popular with African Caribbean boys and girls at 16, compared to other minority groups, although Pakistani girls are also expressing interest, along with white girls. The finding that well over one-third or two-fifths of African Caribbean girls and boys respectively would love to enter this sector is interesting (Bhavnani 2006). These young women also show they have high ambitions to succeed; more Bangladeshi girls attain 5 or more A\*-C grades at GCSE level than white boys (DFES 2007). Black Caribbean girls are more likely to work full time (Platt 2005) and three minority groups (Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Caribbean) in work are more likely to be graduates than white workers. (EOC 2007).

### *First Light*

First Light is a project funded by the UK Film Council that provides funding for young people aged 5-18 years old to make short films. Its budget is £1 million a year and, since it started in 2001, more than 500 films have been made by 7,500 young people, according to a recent evaluation (Annabel Jackson Associates 2004). The young people reported they had learned technical expertise and had gained an insight into the complex, multifaceted approach to filmmaking. The projects often had experienced filmmakers working with the young people, who also mentored them. Filmmakers reported that they benefited from the projects too, because it gave them an opportunity to experiment.

Social benefits from the projects were mentioned by young people more than other benefits. These included gaining increased confidence, becoming more expressive, and not feeling socially excluded. Disruptive behaviour decreased and the inclusion of some disabled youngsters as well as some who had been in trouble with the law were tangible benefits too. In terms of careers, these projects fostered a new interest in films, led to media literacy and enabled young people to view film as a career option. It can also be argued that the project helps to build audiences for the future, with respondents being more open to watching more 'different' films, not just Hollywood blockbusters.

### *Identities*

The UK Film Council with many partner organisations has set up a national programme entitled 'Identities', developed in the regions, which gives voice to diverse communities, across the generations. The aim is to create screen-based material generated with and by them, focusing on identity and memory in birth, childhood and adolescence, adulthood, future vision and aspiration. The material will be disseminated through an online identities gallery and showcase, as well as travelling exhibitions chosen by a National Steering group (UK Film Council and Era Ltd 2006–7).

### **3.6 Summary**

### What we do know ....

- White, able-bodied men dominate the leadership and key professional positions in the film sector.
- Women, black and minority ethnic groups and people with disabilities are under represented in the film sector, compared to their proportions in the UK workforce.
- Women and minority ethnic groups are bunched into certain occupations in production and exhibition, which are at the lower levels within the sector, and therefore likely to be lower paid than higher executive positions.
- Men earn more than women and white people earn more than minority ethnic groups.
- Women are under-represented in screenwriting.
- Actors are more equitably represented in film by under-represented group; however, there is no information about leading roles or types of roles allocated.
- Two of the three national funds allocated for film production and writing administered by the UK Film Council show an under-representation by minority ethnic groups, women and people with disabilities.
- Regional fund allocation is more equitable for under-represented groups.
- The erratic hours and the fact the sector is primarily based in London and the South East suggests travel barriers, particularly



for women who have caring responsibilities and for disabled people.

- In film production, 81% of staff were recruited by word of mouth with half being approached by a producer or director.
- Almost half of the film and video workforce is freelance, which may legitimise informal methods of recruitment. There is much job insecurity.
- Black and minority ethnic employees were more likely to do unpaid work in the sector than their white counterparts
- Both employers and minority ethnic perspective employees felt that many students did not have the right qualifications to enter the industry, and that media studies courses may not teach the practical skills necessary to enter the industry.
- Minority Ethnic led (MEL) companies feel that in the commissioning process, there is a lack of clarity and openness in decision making, with respondents identifying a lack of dialogue about their projects and the inaccessibility of decision makers
- Women and minority ethnic groups feel indirectly discriminated against in the film sector. Breaking out into the mainstream has been defined as a barrier for ethnic minority owned businesses.

**What we don't know.....**

- There is little research in the UK on under-represented actors and their representation, that is numbers in films as well as types of roles allocated.
- There is no information on career pathways of under-represented groups, when compared to white, able-bodied men's pathways.
- There is very little information about disabled professionals and gay men and lesbians in the film sector, particularly their career pathways and the types of jobs they occupy.
- There is a lack of information about who has agents in the film sector and whether certain groups are under-represented in agents' books.
- There is no consistent monitoring of groups in the film sector across the country and within regions.
- There is a lack of information about the range of decision makers' attitudes to and implementation of diversity strategies.
- There is no information on religious affiliation and the impact on the employment of under-represented groups.

### **Priorities for action**

- Carry out studies into actors and roles allocated by under-represented groups, whether they are cast in incidental or leading roles and the types of roles they portray.
- Industry decision makers need to be sensitised to the narrowness in which talent for the industry is recruited and be

involved in a regular dialogue about next steps to recruiting talent that are right for them.

- Carry out a study into career pathways of under-represented groups compared to white able-bodied men's pathways.
  - Monitor and engage in dialogue with lesbians and gay men who work in film.
  - A qualitative study of disabled employees would be useful in understanding their experiences of the cultures of the sector.
- There is a need to engage in dialogue with disabled people.

## 4 Audiences

Who goes to the cinema? What is the case for widening access? And can new audiences be encouraged? How important is film genre in attracting particular kinds of audiences? And who are the leaders in the industry who are bringing new audiences to the cinema?

### 4.1 Background

Audiences are critical to the film industry for obvious commercial reasons and because engaging with them stimulates UK filmmakers. For example, one author argues that speaking of and representing the 'other' ensures community cohesion at a national level; and that it is important to have a 'national conversation' about these areas since this involves everyone (Campion 2005). Other authors argue that talking about film, as they did with their focus groups, is a vital component of everyday discourse across a range of social and cultural issues. This gives film and media an important and distinctive place in contemporary debates (Bennett et al 2005).

Engagement with potential cinema audiences is important since they do have income to spend on leisure (for details of spending power of diverse groups see 6.3.2). On the face of it, audiences have a wide choice of cinemas and programmes. The UK had 3,440 screens in 2006 in 697 cinemas. There were 5.8 screens per 100,000 of the

population, though the regional distribution is skewed towards London and urban dwellers have greater access than the rural population. Films in 30 different languages were released in the UK in 2006 with Hindi being the dominant foreign language in terms of numbers of releases (UK Film Council 2006–07 Yearbook). The distribution of foreign films, including Bollywood films, may be very important for those audiences that are under-served at a local level. For example, foreign language films averaged 17 sites at their widest point of release, compared to 162 for English language films. It may be worth exploring interventions which make these films accessible for local audiences at certain times.

#### **4.2 Historical context**

Up to the 1950s, cinema was the main audio-visual medium, audiences were huge (1.6 billion in 1946) and the demographic profile was different from today. In 1943, for example, women went to the cinema more than men and manual workers and the lower middle classes went more frequently than the professional /managerial classes (Hill op.cit.) After the arrival of TV, cinema audiences declined but television itself provided a new means of watching film and in the 1980s video made its appearance. With the multiplex revolution, cinema audiences increased again, from 53 million in 1984 to 171 million in 2002 (BFI *Film and Television Handbook 1994*; UK Film Council *Statistical Yearbook 2006–07*)

## **4.3 Who goes to the cinema?**

### **4.3.1 Frequency of cinema visits**

In 2006, 60% of the population said they went to the cinema at least once a year and 18% said they went at least once a month (UK Film Council Statistical Year book 2006–07). A recent survey (Bennett et al 2005) found a strong relationship between cinema audiences and social class, with 41% in manual occupations saying they never went, compared to 7% of the managerial and professional class. 50% of over 55s never went to the cinema, compared to 7% of the younger groups.

### **4.3.2 Gender and cinema attendances**

Overall audiences for film are equally balanced between women and men, as Table 4.1 shows, and there was an even split in the cinema audience of the top 20 films in 2006 (UK Film Council 2006–07 Yearbook).

**Table 4.1 Cinema audience by gender**

	Male %	Female %
See at least one film per year	60	60
Go to the cinema at least once a month	20	16
(proportion of the population)		
Top 20 films (proportion of audience)	50	50
Top UK films	55	45
<b>Total survey population 7+</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>51</b>

*Source : UK Film Council Statistical Year book 2006-7*

#### 4.3.3 The age and social class of cinema-goers

The cinema audience for the top 20 films is relatively youthful (65% are under the age of 35 though they make up only 40% of the population) and skewed towards the AB and C1 social groups (UK Film Council Yearbook 2006-7). The older part of the cinema audience has grown substantially over the last decade – from 19 million to 38 million and from 14% to 24% of the total cinema audience (UK Film Council *Statistical Yearbook 2006-07:2*)

Looking at age and gender together, it is interesting to note that, contrary to myth, women aged over 35 now form a larger part of the cinema audience than males aged 15-24 (Tables 4.2 and 4.3):

**Table 4.2 Cinema audience by gender and age 2005**

	7-14	15-24	25-34	35 and over

Male	11	12	12	15
Female	12	11	9	18
Total	23	23	21	33

*Source : IES 2006:48*



**Table 4.3 Cinema audience by gender and age 2006**

	7-14	15-24	25-34	35 and over
Male	9	18	10	16
Female	7	13	8	19
Total	16	31	18	35

*Source : UK Film Council Yearbook 2006-7*

#### 4.3.4 Ethnicity and cinema attendance

In 1999, more than a quarter of African Caribbeans and South Asians went to the cinema two to three times a month or more compared with 10% of the population as a whole. There was also a correlation between going to the cinema and affluence, as found in other studies. 20% of all ethnic groups went no more than once a year, and a further 20% never went to the cinema at all (BFI 2000). The figures in Table 4.4 were collected by different means and with different sample sizes; however, the table does indicate the higher level of cinema attendance among minority ethnic groups.

**Table 4.4 Frequency of visiting cinema by ethnicity**

	General population (16+ ) - 1999	African Caribbeans & South Asians (16+) - 2000
	%	%
Once a week or more	2	8
2/3 times a month	8	19

Once a month	13	15
Once every 2/3 months	14	12
2/3 times a year	14	14
Once a year	10	9
Less than once a year	12	7
Never	25	15

*Source: (BFI 2000:9)*

In 2006, minority ethnic groups were once more over-represented as cinema goers, for rental films and pay-per-view (PPV) though under-represented as buyers of DVD/video.

**Table 4.5 Ethnicity of audiences aged 12–74 for cinema, rental and retail DVD/video 2006**

	Black, Asian, Chinese, mixed and other %	White %
Population aged 12–74	8.7	91.3
Buyers of cinema, rental retail and PPV film	8.4	91.6
Film renters	11.2	88.8
Retail DVD/video buyers	7.6	92.3

Cinema goers	13.1	86.9
PPV buyers	15.8	84.2

*Source : UK Film Council Statistical Yearbook 2006–07*

It may be that higher cinema attendances by minority ethnic groups can be explained by their younger age structure compared to the rest of the population, as younger age groups are more likely to visit the cinema frequently than older people. Access to Bollywood films may be relevant in explaining the higher cinema attendance of South Asian groups: 50% of South Asians reported they went more than once a month compared to 38% of African Caribbeans (BFI 2000). In 2005, minority ethnic groups were over-represented among buyers of cinema tickets and rental films, and under represented in pay-per-view and retail DVD. The figures for 2006 shows that buyers of pay-per-view almost doubled since 2005. It is the second and third generations of minority ethnic groups who go to the cinema frequently; 30% of those born overseas never go to the cinema, compared to 4% of those born in the UK (Bennett et al 2005).

#### **4.3.5 Disabled people**

As in previous years, disabled people were significantly under-represented among those who paid to go to the cinema in 2006 (UK Film Council Yearbook 2006–7). Retail DVD/Video was the only market segment in which disabled purchasers matched the overall population percentage.

**Table 4.6 Disabled audiences aged 12–74 for cinema, rental and retail DVD/video and pay-per-view, 2006**

	Disabled %	Not disabled %
Population aged 12–74	14.9	85.0
Buyers of cinema, rental, retail and PPV film	12.0	88.0
Film renters	6.0	94.1
Cinema goers	6.0	93.9
PPV buyers	2.5	97.5
Retail video/DVD buyers	15.3	84.6

*Source: UK Film Council Statistical Yearbook 2006–07*

The under-representation of disabled people as cinema goers and slight over-representation as buyers of retail DVD/video suggests physical barriers of access to the cinema as well as finance. A recent study found that only 27% of the deaf community attend the cinema once a year, with frequent attendees (once a month) at only 6% of the deaf community (Brandon et al 2007). For partially sighted and blind people, this figure was 29% who attend once a year and frequent attendees at only 12% of this group. The authors argue that if blind and partially sighted people attended the cinema as much as the

general population (perhaps excluding over 75s) this still equates to £2 million at the box office. If the deaf and hard of hearing population attended as frequently as the rest of the population, this would equate to 6.4 million more annual admissions or about £19 million at the box office. There are 9 million deaf and hard of hearing people in the UK and 2 million blind or partially sighted people, so significant numbers of these communities are under-served and improving access represents a good market opportunity.

#### **4.3.6 How audiences select films**

Manual workers see film as entertainment, compared to higher occupational groups who expect more cerebral stimulus from art house films and want to support independent companies. Film generally is consumed largely through broadcast media, such as television, DVD and videos (Bennett et al 2005). The role of the critic can make a big difference. Many people report that they receive their information about film through television and radio reviews (BFI 2000). Choice of film was also influenced by a good story line, followed by who stars in films.

Most films are usually assigned an identity of being either major or independent (Zuckerman and Kim 2003). These authors carried out an analysis of 396 feature films released in 1997 which showed films attracted a larger audience when critics specialising in major releases reviewed the film and categorised it for the mass market. These films

then find it difficult to penetrate the art house category for distribution.

There is some evidence (limited to top box office titles) that different films appeal more strongly in some UK nations/regions than others. In 2006, eight titles had unusually high audience shares in particular regions. *The History Boys*, *Mission Impossible 3* and *X-Men 3* were popular in London; *Alien Autopsy* and *V for Vendetta* attracted audiences in the South/South East, *Happy Feet* in South West/Wales, *Night at the Museum* in Tyne Tees/Yorkshire and *The Break up* and *Happy Feet* in Scotland (UK Film Council *Statistical Yearbook 2006-7*).

#### 4.4 Audiences for film on television and DVD

Film is now watched on television/video more than going to the cinema – the television audience is about 20 times greater than the cinema audience. Audiences have a wide choice of films on terrestrial television – over 2,000 in 2006, more than five a day. Audiences for film on television are different from those who attend the cinema. The film on television audience is much older (39% over the age of 55) and skewed towards the DE social group, though men and women watch film equally.

Film on television and DVD gives all sections of the community the opportunity to access film (UK Film Council *Statistical Yearbook 2006/07*) though there are still barriers for people with sensory impairments who complain there are too few subtitled/audio-described films.

#### 4.5 Genre of film and audiences

The generally-recognised list of genres includes horror, science fiction, romance, comedy, action, adventure, biopic, animated, music/dance, thriller, war, documentary, fantasy, family and drama. A complete list of genres and percentages of box office receipts from 2003–2006 is given below.

#### Table 4.7 Films on release in the UK and Republic of Ireland by genre and year

Genre	2003 % Release	2003 % Box office	2004 % Release	2004 % Box office	2005 % Release	2005 % Box office	2006 % Release	2006 % Box office
Action	10.9	16.8	7.1	14.6	6.7	9.1	2.8	40.9
Adventure	2.1	8.3	1.3	1.7	1.1	2.8	0.9	0.2
Animated	3.3	9	1.3	14	4.5	18.4	1.9	7.0
Biopic	0.2	0.1	1.6	2.2	1.1	<0.1	0.9	<0.1
Comedy	25.3	30.5	23.5	27.2	18.0	6.2	21.5	10.5
Crime	5.4	1.7	0.7	0.6	5.6	2.3	0.9	<0.1
Documentary	5	0.7	7.1	1.2	2.2	<0.1	9.3	0.1
Drama	31.7	10	39.5	10.6	40.4	7.7	39.3	15.7
Family	-	-	1.1	3.6	3.4	6.5	0.9	0.1
Fantasy	1.2	7.3	1.1	6.1	3.4	31.8	0.9	<0.1
Horror	5.2	4.8	3.8	3.4	6.7	4.0	5.6	0.4
Music/dance	0.5	2	0.9	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.9	<0.1
Romance	3.8	0.2	2.4	1.4	2.2	5.2	3.7	0.5



Science fiction	1.7	7.1	1.8	7	1.1	3.8	Not given	Not given
Thriller	3.3	1.6	6.7	4.7	2.2	2.2	9.3	24.5
War	0.5	0	0.2	0	1.1	<0.1	Not given	Not given
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: IES 2006:21 and UK Film Council Statistical yearbooks 2005, 2006

UK film Council data shows comedy is the most successful genre, which over the past three years has consistently accounted for around a quarter of releases and over a quarter of takings at the box office. Action films also do well at the box office. In 2003 they accounted for 17% of the takings and a huge 41% of takings in 2006. Other successful genres are animation, having grown in recent years, and making up 14% of box office in 2004, 18% in 2005 and 7% in 2006. While dramas make up the largest genre of films made, they accounted for only 15% of takings in 2006, with less in previous years.

Although the overall cinema audience for film is equally divided between women and men, some films attract more of one gender than the other. In 2006, men preferred action led films, including dramas (*United 93, Match Point*) action (*V for Vendetta, X-men 3, Superman Returns, Stormbreaker, Mission Impossible 3, Casino Royale*) and

certain comedy films (*Borat*). Comedy (*The Holiday*) and drama films with females in leading roles were high on the list of films with large female audience shares (*The Devil Wears Prada*, *The Queen*, *The Break up*) together with romantic drama (*Brokeback Mountain*) and animation (*Chicken Little* and *Happy Feet*). In 2006, the younger age groups preferred action, animation and comedy films while drama appealed more to the over 35s. These findings were consistent with previous years (UK Film Council *Statistical Yearbook 2006/07*).

The UK Film Council carried out some focus groups on audiences and genre in 2006. They found that admiration for British films was more marked among film enthusiasts than other people. A higher proportion of respondents in Manchester than in London said they enjoyed British films, reflecting the regional nature of Britishness in films. The respondents in this survey classified films along four genres:

- War films (different from American war movies it was thought)
- Versions of classics such as *Pride and Prejudice*
- Romantic comedies (often starring Hugh Grant, in which archetypal Englishness was crucial to the humour)
- Stories of pluck and determination (*Kes*, *Billy Elliott*, *The Full Monty*) set in regional /social situations and often representing the working class. These films were not regarded as formulaic,

they were charming and displayed a kind of grittiness in the characters.

*(UK Film Council)*

Another way to group films was demonstrated in Bennett et al (2005), who grouped films into six categories of film genre: mainstream; 'women's' cinema; older popular cinema; 'respectable' cinema; younger popular cinema; and finally art house films. <sup>4</sup>

According to their survey of over 1500 respondents, summarised in Table 4.8, mainstream cinema accounted for 43% of audience preferences. The genre recruited its support from action, thriller, adventure and comedy. This audience was fairly evenly split between women and men, and included people at all levels of education. However age makes a difference; this genre was popular with younger and middle-aged people, but less popular among the over-55s.

**Table 4.8 Categories of film genres and audience preferences**

Category of films identified	% of audience	Numbers of respondents citing the genre as their preference
------------------------------	---------------	---

<sup>4</sup> These categories have been derived through examining survey results of respondents' first preferences of genre and film directors with their specific social position, based on age, education/class, gender and ethnicity. These relations were then plotted along axes using multivariate correspondence analysis. The vertical axis is of age and the horizontal axis related to levels of education and class positions. They thus identify six sets of genres

Mainstream cinema	43.5	681
Mainly 'women's cinema'	12.3	192
Older popular cinema	12.5	231
'Respectable' cinema	14.8	231
Younger popular cinema	12.6	197
Arts cinema	2.4	37
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>98.1</b>	<b>1569</b>

*Source: Bennett et al (2005)*

The category they title 'women's cinema' attracted 12% of the audience encompassing cartoons, romance, crime and Bollywood. Women were five times more likely to enjoy these genres, with women in this category more likely to be housewives, middle-aged and from all classes. For non-whites, the highest rate of preference was for Bollywood films, particularly enjoyed by Indian and Pakistani women.

'Older popular' cinema attracted 12% of the audience and includes war films, musicals and westerns. These films attracted people with lower levels of education, at a ratio of 4:1, and men were more likely to enjoy these genres as well as older people. The category 'white other' were particularly interested in these films.

'Respectable cinema' including documentaries, costume dramas and literary adaptations, drew an audience of 15%. Women were one-third more likely to appreciate these genres and over-55s were twice as likely to be in the audience as younger people. These genres attracted the higher occupational classes, with 17% of managerial and professional classes, compared to 10% who work in manual occupations. These genres also represent strong aspects of British culture, and constitute a kind of national cinema.

Younger popular cinema, which interested 13% of the audience, includes horror, science-fiction and fantasy. The young were twice as likely as older people to enjoy these genres. Younger men were more likely to enjoy these genres, apart from horror, which was equally liked by women. There were no differences around ethnicity.

The arts cinema, with just over 2% of the audience, was more likely to be attended by younger and middle-aged men, and a high concentration of higher occupational classes.

Within minority ethnic groups, women liked Bollywood films more than men, although Bollywood also recruits Pakistani and Indian men, compared to other genres for men as a whole (Bennett et al 2005). The strongest disconnection of black and Asian audiences is from 'respectable' film. These films, along with war, westerns and musicals from the category older popular films, have strong associations with

national identity. 34% of black and Asian members had not heard of certain films in the 'respectable' category, compared to 4% of white English, who had heard of them.

Minority ethnic groups had a high degree of familiarity with domestic TV technologies and high levels of satellite television ownership among South Asian groups gave them the opportunity to watch many Bollywood films. These films connect with national cultures and reinforce South Asian identities. However younger people from these groups were less engaged with Bollywood, saying these films lacked reality and had naive plots.

Film genres may be influenced by the gender, social class and ethnicity of the scriptwriters. Women write a variety of genres and an equal percentage of women and men (at just over 30%) write comedies, the most financially successful films at the UK box office (IES 2006:24). Fewer women write horror films. Some directors argue that the type of horror films women tend to like are more psychological, emotionally-driven or character-driven films which have less violence and more suspense (Everything but the Ghoul in *The Guardian Film and Music*, 6 April 2007). A low-budget film studio, WARP X, is running *Darklight*, an initiative to encourage female horror directors. At least two films will be made and the company is quoted as saying that a female perspective on horror will be interesting and the films will also have female lead characters (*The Guardian Film and Music op.cit.*)

#### 4.6 Barriers to cinema attendance

Barriers to going to the cinema include finance (when it may be cheaper to rent a DVD), travel, child care, physical access to the cinema, and a perception that certain films are not 'for us'. An urban location increases attendance. A BFI study showed that some minority ethnic groups feel ticket prices are too high (BFI 2000). People of mixed ethnicity and Chinese and other origin groups were most likely to regard the cost of attending cultural events as a barrier (Bridgwood et al 2003). Black Africans and people of Bangladeshi and Pakistani origin were the most likely to say that concerns about feeling uncomfortable or out of place prevented them attending cultural events (Bridgwood et al, *op. cit.*).

The industry has done much to encourage disabled people to visit the cinema. The issue of ticket prices for disabled people has been given priority by the Cinema Exhibitors Association (CEA), with help from the UK Film Council. The CEA now offers discounted prices, with two tickets for the price of one, enabling a disabled person to be accompanied by a carer. Many cinemas, with help from the UK Film Council, have installed subtitling and audio-description to meet the needs of blind, partially sighted and deaf people. One third of cinemas now have this equipment and most mainstream films are subtitled or audio described, though much of this equipment is underutilised (Brandon et al 2007). Significantly more people with sensory

impairments are now going to the cinema. However, a number of users cite the lack of screenings at particular times or lack of local provision as main barriers to attendance, as well as staff awareness to some extent.

The low levels of cinema-going among the over 55s are striking since these are the people with most time on their hands and, increasingly, money to spend. We do not know what the barriers are – the films available, the cinema experience, the challenge of getting to a cinema or the idea that cinema-going is not ‘age-appropriate’? This sector of the population is so enormous that we need to know the answers.

#### **4.7 Developing audiences: good practice examples**

A study into audience development for the Arts Council about all branches of the arts, indicated that Black and Asian work need not equate with a Black and Asian audience. Research in Yorkshire showed that at high-profile Black and Asian events, half of the audience was white and this also applied to theatre. Artists do not wish their work to be labelled as ‘ethnic’ and, as audiences’ responses indicate, they do not want to be defined in this way (J Wilson Associates 2003).

Certainly there are under-represented groups who are potential cinema audiences, such as women with small children, disabled and older people, plus some minority ethnic groups, and who can be encouraged to attend the cinema more often . The UK Film Council has



launched an online Diversity Toolkit, (<http://www.diversitytoolkit.org.uk/>) which contains tips and good practice in diversity in the workforce, attracting audiences and on-screen representation. Some of these good practice examples are well worth quoting since they indicate how the industry can develop audiences. However it has been argued that extending social access to a wider range of films will not of its own deliver a wider audience. This will depend more on extending 'cultural competences' to the public, including children at school, to develop understanding and appreciation of diverse films (Hill 2004).

### *Vue*

Vue, one of the largest cinema chains, with 191 venues, set out to embed diversity culture and introduced several key changes. They enhanced their interiors to offer wheelchair users choices on best seating; improved access by installing automatic doors to the entrance area; and installed lower box office counters. They also increased screenings with audio description and acquired subtitling equipment. The installation of assisted hearing technology helps people with hearing aids.

### *Derby Metro*

Metro Cinema in Derby offers screenings for particular groups such as deaf people, families with autistic children, South Asian women and

carers with babies. The cinema also runs film projects in association with young minority ethnic groups.

### *Peckham, London*

The Peckham multiplex wanted to cater for all sections of the community and recognised the large Nigerian population locally. They approached the community about Nigerian films and asked their distributor to source these films. The cinema increased its partnerships and networks and took part in African film festivals. By widening the choice of films, and offering a lower entrance fee, the cinema has doubled its audience in two years and the multiplex now attracts 400,000 people a year, making it the best attended independent cinema in London.

## **4.8 Summary**

### **What we know...**

- Cinema-going is a popular form of entertainment with more than 60% of the UK population going at least once a year and 18% once a month (in 2006).
- The size and spending power of the older, disabled and minority ethnic population groups is very large but these markets are not always understood properly by mainstream providers.
- Although the majority of the cinema audience is young, on average it is getting older. The older audience is growing while the younger audience has reached a plateau.

- Half of people over 55 never go to the cinema.
- The cinema audience is skewed towards people in professional and semi-professional occupations.
- The film audience is evenly split between male and female.
- The female 35+ cinema audience is larger than the male 15–24 cinema audience..
- On average, minority ethnic people go to the cinema more often than the UK population overall. This may reflect their younger age profile. They are also over-represented in the DVD rental and the pay-per-view audience, but under-represented in the DVD retail audience.
- For some people (of all ethnic groups) cost is a barrier to cinema attendance.
- Disabled people are under-represented in all film audiences except DVD retail.
- The audience for film on television is much larger (x20) than the cinema audience and is skewed towards older age groups and people engaged in manual occupations.
- There are significant differences in audience demographics depending on the genre of the film.
- Neither white audiences nor minority ethnic people want minority ethnic work to be 'ghettoised'.
- Initiatives to support disabled access to cinemas have been successful, but experience shows that interventions have to be carefully designed to meet disabled persons' needs.

### What we don't know...

- Whether the current design, programming and other characteristics of cinemas best meet diverse audience needs at the present time.
- What deters older people (55 plus) from visiting the cinema and how their interest in film can be re-ignited.
- The size and demographics of the gay/lesbian film audience and their film preferences
- The film preferences of minority ethnic people (other than a small amount of information about the most popular films).
- The demographics of small and medium-sized audience films (in cinema, DVD, television and the Internet).
- The demographics of the DVD audience.
- The access of diverse audiences to archive films.
- Whether the audience for film is differentiated on religious lines.
- Detailed information about UK national/regional film audiences.
- The size and demographics of the Internet/mobile audience for film and how this affects traditional methods of viewing film.

### Priorities for action...

- Improve the matching of diverse demand (especially for British films) with film product, for example by:

- initiatives to improve the distribution and promotion of films of interest to diverse communities
- enabling people to find films of their choice in more innovative ways
- ensuring that films appealing to diverse audiences – particularly ‘British’ films – are being made.
- Ensure that members of diverse communities can see themselves on screen (especially in British films).
- Promote the involvement of gay/lesbian, disabled and minority ethnic people in UK film in a non-ghettoised way.
- Carry out audience studies of medium to small audience films so as to better understand diverse demand in the ‘long tail’.
- Carry out studies of the UK national/regional film audience to find out whether there are niche national/regional audiences whose needs could be better met.
- Study the audiences of archive films and promote access to film archives.

## 5 Portrayal and diversity

The portrayal of individuals and groups on screen is an important issue for diversity. Some groups are missing or misrepresented on film, it is argued. This should matter to the industry for two reasons. First, there may be a link between portrayal and audiences – are some potential cinema-goers deterred because they don't see themselves on screen or are badly portrayed? Second, film should reflect society but at the same time it actively creates it. Film has the capacity to challenge stereotypes, but it can also perpetuate social prejudice and inequality.

### 5.1 Scope of chapter

This chapter considers the debates on portrayal of on-screen diversity in the structured way in which research literature in this area is discussed. The debate is a complex one, encompassing several interlocking strands. The issues concern:

- employment and its relationship to portrayal
- genre of films, who makes them and who watches them
- whether portrayal uses exaggerated and negative stereotypes
- 'ghettoisation' within film, whereby groups make films related to 'their issues'
- whether films which express national identity exclude certain under-represented groups.

All these debates are considered below.

## 5.2 Why portrayal matters

There has been very little research on film portrayal in the UK (IES 2006). More has been carried out in the television sector, and there is research literature from the USA. There is also evidence from cultural studies and the academic domain. Film, it can be argued, should depict the real world as it is, as far as is possible, and be unafraid of representing that reality even if it is perceived by some as offensive. It has been argued that a film whose primary function is to entertain will not set priorities in the way it represents reality and truth. If the motivation behind a film is to make money, then the way in which issues are represented may be manipulated to gloss over reality (Cassey 2005).

Film also does not just reflect society, but actively creates it and may affect groups in everyday life (England 2004). If UK screens under-represent and stereotype certain groups who face discrimination, this has implications for a number of policy and cultural issues. Films could unwittingly entrench exclusion and discrimination. One author argues that speaking of and representing the 'other' ensures community cohesion at a national level and that it is important to have a national conversation about these areas since it involves everyone (Campion 2005). Other authors argue that talking about film, as they did with their focus groups, is a vital component of everyday discourse

across a range of social and cultural positions. This gives film and media an important and distinctive place in contemporary debates (Bennett et al 2005).

Frequently, academic articles concentrate on one or two films to analyse content and portrayal of characters. These analyses will be included in this chapter with the following proviso. A concentration on specific films may illuminate stereotypical portrayal, but one film cannot be judged on its own without a wider, cumulative study of portrayal in a number of films. Certainly analysis of one film cannot represent a critical view of all under-represented groups. It is the cumulative effects of stereotyping, perhaps as a result of unconscious biases through decades of filmmaking, which this chapter will discuss wherever possible. Since analyses of some of these single or paired films come to rather surprising conclusions, arguments for or against this approach will be made in the discussion of these studies.



### **5.3 Employment and portrayal**

Does employment of under-represented groups in the film industry increase their numbers and the quality of on-screen portrayal?

Research in the USA shows that if women are employed in screenwriting, they are more likely to recruit women for film production/performing roles. Lauzen highlighted that when women work behind the camera in the US, whether in writing, editing, producing or directing roles, the number and importance of female characters is significantly greater than when men hold these roles (2002, quoted in IES 2006). In the UK, black-owned companies are more likely to invest in their own communities and to provide valuable work experience and employment to ethnic minority professionals (Watson 2001). There is no information on the link between portrayal and employment in the areas of disability, class, sexual orientation or religion.

### **5.4 Genre of films**

Genre categories have been defined by past usage, sometimes making it difficult for under-represented groups to begin to redefine these categories or attempt to fit existing ones.

Genre and portrayal are linked, allowing myths to develop about what the public wants to see. For example, commissioners' perceptions of the types of stories women write and audience preferences for certain films, may lead them to believe that women's stories will not sell,

which means women are disadvantaged (IES 2006). Minority ethnic groups have difficulties in accessing funds for film development and production. Criticism has been levelled at the 'white' gatekeepers who approve or commission projects. These commissioners can legitimate exclusion based on stereotypes. It has been argued that these attitudes suggest black and Asian filmmakers can only produce films that are 'ethnically driven' (BSAC 2001:13).

## 5.5 Stereotypes

The stereotypical portrayal of minorities and women in film and television, whereby these are the only images represented on screen, remains contentious. When there is a wider range of portrayals of under-represented groups, the debate becomes muddled by arguing there is dangerous stereotypical portrayal in some, or that these portrayals are open to various interpretations. Kohli argues that some stereotypes become stereotypical because there is truth in them. He gives as an example the fact that large numbers of small shop keepers in certain areas are of Asian origin. His taking on the acting role of an Asian shopkeeper was therefore valid and the role did not feed into stereotypes, since it was realistic (Kohli 2007). In essence the content of the role is perhaps more critical, but the arguments on stereotyping remain contested. If the role is not realistic, stereotypes can reduce differences in people to simplistic categorisations and may perpetuate social prejudice and inequality.

If only a few characters from diverse groups are represented on screen this may reinforce stereotypes. It has been argued that groups are not yet seen in their variety on television, for example Chinese and disabled people are virtually absent. Minorities usually become 'bad news', with television portrayal emphasising their strangeness.

Disabled and ethnic minority roles are discarded easily and characters from ethnic minorities are often mistakenly identified, in relation to their ethnic origin, religion and so on. For example, an Asian family in

*East Enders* was not well portrayed, confusingly being categorised as Muslim *and* Hindu (Campion 2005).

Representation on screen of under-represented groups is poor and portrayal does not always deal with all groups equitably (Murphy 2000). At an event organised by the Cultural Diversity Network in 2005 the audience argued with executives that black filmmakers were neglected in television, since executives tended to reproduce themselves when making programming and employment decisions (Small 2005). According to Brunsdon, women are sometimes represented as 'having it all' as a post-feminist response and lesbians are often portrayed as criminals (Brunsdon 2000). In any case sexuality is more often portrayed in art house films, and disability is invisible (Murphy 2000).

### 5.5.1 Sexual orientation

Analysis of portrayals of lesbians and gay men in film have focused on how such depictions marginalise and silence them ([http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/issues/stereotyping/gays\\_and\\_lesbians/index.cfm](http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/issues/stereotyping/gays_and_lesbians/index.cfm)). Organisations in the US, such as the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD), argue such films as *Basic Instinct* (1992) and *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991) demonise gay men and lesbians by portraying them as psychopaths.

Russo analysed representation of gay men and lesbians in Hollywood films from the 1890s to the 1980s and argues that these show a history of homophobia. These characters are often defined by their sexual orientation and lack complex character development. From the 1890s to the 1930s homosexuality was presented as an issue of ridicule and laughter. From the 1930s to 1950s religious and women's groups criticised Hollywood for encouraging immorality, so gay and lesbian characters could not be featured overtly. Even though the 1960s and 1970s represented a historic moment in gay rights, gay characters were shown to be dangerous, violent and murderous (Russo 1987). Since the 1990s, portrayal has improved, but most films are still designed to appeal to large portions of the audience and to potential investors, making producers cautious about a focus on gay and lesbian characters.

A study on lesbian and gay portrayal on the BBC analysed 168 hours of programming over eight weeks. It concluded that gay lives were presented positively for just *six* minutes out of a total of 38 minutes of representation, both positive and negative. Gay men and lesbians were five times more likely to be described or portrayed in negative terms than in positive ones, with these references most likely to be in entertainment programmes. Over half of all such references were designed for comic effect, most revolving around stereotypes of sexually predatory or camp and effeminate gay men, with lesbians being invisible. Issues of homosexuality were rarely tackled in factual

programmes, and straight and gay people in the study's focus groups singled out the BBC as being least successful in capturing the realities of gay life (Cowan and Valentine 2006).

In the late 1980s and early 90s in the US, a new name was given to homosexuality on screen, by coining the *New Queer Cinema* (NQC). These films are unapologetic about characters' faults, they eschew positive imagery and defy sanctity of a homophobic past by showing homosexual content which has been overlooked (Cover 2000). (Films in this last category include *Edward II*, *The Hours and Times* and *Swoon*.) Authors argue that there is a non-fixity of gender expression and oppose gay culture that is *part* of mainstream homophobic society (Aaron 2004; Cover 2000).

These campaigns have had an effect on Hollywood and thus there are films such as *My Best Friend's Wedding* (1997) and *In and Out* (1997), which centrally portray issues of sexuality. Cover argues that a recent proliferation of Hollywood films with gay and lesbian characters portrays homosexuals in a negative light, and that the very nature of sexual identity and its categorisation into homosexuality and heterosexuality is flawed. This binary is not evident in real life and crossing the binary of these identities is very important for suggesting the instability of these identities. The author cites a recent study into young African American adolescents who were non-heterosexual, where slightly more than half considered themselves bisexual rather

than homosexual (Cover op.cit.). However, arguments still rage about the very few realistic and positive portrayals of sexual orientation in film. This is all the more worrying since negative depictions have implications for the many adolescents watching them. Young people are at crucial stages of identity formation and may lack access to reliable information about adolescent homosexual feelings and behaviours (Cover 2000).

On the other hand, gay men and lesbians (as identities) are still invisible in many films, even where they played a part. For example, it has been argued that in *Billy Elliott* (1998), the welcome given to gay supporters in the miners' strike (and the women's role) has been obliterated (Sinfield 2006). However, in an article examining the films *Basic Instinct* (1992), *Disclosure* (1994) and *Body of Evidence* (1993), it is argued that the films do not portray women with a normative understanding of feminised heterosexual roles; it is only when sexual activities are depicted that stronger heterosexual identities are (re-)formed (Finlay and Fenton 2005).

There is also an absence of black gay men and lesbians in film and television. A handful of black gay men surfaced in television at the end of the 1970s, but were portrayed as objects of white gay sexual desire (Bourne 2001). It was rare to see black women on television in the 1970s and early 1980s, and when they did appear, it was as nurses, prisoners or dope addicts with insatiable sexual appetites. *Mona Lisa*

(1986) depicted two lesbians as lovers, and although the film was praised and given awards, Cathy Tyson's role as a 'hard' black woman 'whose hatred of men manifests itself in lesbianism' is criticised as being one-dimensional. The director, Neil Jordan, defended the film as essentially about George, Bob Hoskins' character, and not an exploration of the relationship between Cathy and her lover (Bourne 2001).

Two films in the late 1980s and the early 90s are cited by Bourne as being important in positive portrayal: *The Fruit Machine* (1988) written by Frank Clarke, a Liverpool working-class gay man, and *Young Soul Rebels* (1991), the first British film made by an openly-gay black film director. Isaac Julien argued that the film was made to explore black masculinity and to look behind the mask at men's vulnerability, to depict them "as being characters in their own right rather than characters that represent different political points of view" (Bourne 2001:163). Since *Young Soul Rebels*, Bourne argues that black gay and lesbian characters have all but vanished from mainstream film and television, apart from an occasional appearance in *Ab Fab* and *East Enders*.

An article on *Notes on a Scandal* (2006) argues that we are used to stereotypes of lesbian characters on film, and Judi Dench as a stalking character in the film is represented as a flawed human being, not



because she is lesbian specifically (*The Guardian*, 29.1.07). Progress is thus being made; however this opinion remains contentious.

### 5.5.2 Gender

A teachers' pack on media representations classifies stereotypes of women as femme fatale, super mom, sex kitten and nasty corporate climber ([http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/issues/stereotyping/women\\_and\\_girls/index.cfm](http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/issues/stereotyping/women_and_girls/index.cfm)). The introduction argues:

*"Whatever the role, television, film and popular magazines are full of images of women and girls who are typically white, desperately thin, and made up to the hilt—even after slaying a gang of vampires or dressing down a Greek legion."*

Professor Nancy Signorielli reports that men are more likely than women to be shown "on the job" in movies and television shows in Canada. Female characters, on the other hand, are more likely to be seen dating or talking about romance. ([http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/issues/stereotyping/women\\_and\\_girls/womensex.cfm](http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/issues/stereotyping/women_and_girls/womensex.cfm))

A study in the USA analysed cultural representations of gender, conveyed through images of female scientists and engineers in popular films from 1991–2001. Many of the features emphasised

women's appearance and their romances, but most also depicted women in professional positions of high status, so the situation in the US is changing. At the same time, subtle stereotyping was still prevalent. For example, most women represented were either single or married later and few had children. The scarcity of women successfully balancing work and family needs to be examined in further detail, the authors suggest. Women in this study were also more likely to be challenged by their male colleagues, were often criticised for their lack of credibility and professional experience, experienced loss of funding when males questioned their research, and were ridiculed and dismissed when they took an unconventional approach to science. They were also often subject to sexual harassment. The authors feel particularly worried about the effects on adolescent girls growing up with images that reinforce notions of traditional femininity. In this transitional phase girls become preoccupied with being popular and fitting in, looking thin and attractive and interested in romance. Acting feminine is a way of increasing popularity. But the author also cites research which shows that these films can have positive effects, such that girls from lower socio-economic backgrounds chose less traditional occupations after exposure to films of women in these occupations and rated these occupations more favourably (Steinke 2005).

Like the general analysis of women in film as being portrayed as interested in romance, a study into gendered conflict in popular film

analyses 150 films and concludes that sexual/romantic conflict are an important part of interpersonal interaction. The presence of conflict defines it as normal, valuable and expected. The conflict is normally initiated by relatively powerless and 'immoral' women, but outcomes are often contingent on choices made by good, powerful men. These men are portrayed as choosing their relationships. In both men- and women-centred three person conflicts, the man is in control in the former **and** the latter triangulations, if he remains morally upright (Hedley 2002).

In *Billy Elliott* (1998), one author argues that ballet is portrayed as essentially feminine, not a normal 'male' activity (Sinfield 2006). However, it can also be argued that the main message of the film was to challenge the stereotype that ballet dancing is an activity solely for women. Sinfield argues that in *Kes* (1969) the activity of training a hawk (feminine and masculine?) is presented as compatible with sensitivity and independence, whereas in *Billy Elliott*, dancing is overwhelmingly coded as feminine. Unlike *Kes* where no one wants to leave Barnsley and there is a promise of social change, *Billy Elliott* represents wider disputes within a fantasy of *personal* escape. Realistically, not many boys get to be teachers, let alone stars of stage and screen (Sinfield 2006). On the other hand, the film does deal with an alternative to Billy's father's no-nonsense masculinity as represented by Billy, his dance teacher and the wider school's support for ballet and dance for men. It also supports the expression of

emotion. More interestingly, after the film was released, there was an increase in boys applying to ballet schools, suggesting that film can encourage different perspectives of masculinity and femininity and has the power to influence real-life decisions.

### 5.5.3 Disability

A study carried out for the British Film Institute indicated that disabled people have questioned many aspects of their representation and participation in film (BFI: 2003). The central issue is the lack of disabled people as actors or filmmakers. Another, later study argues that disabled representation is at its lowest since 1998, with no evidence of improvement in recent years. It found the highest representation of disabled people in film was 1.8%, but only one UK production appeared in this sample, *Live and let Die* (1973). The paucity of disabled characters is notable and the majority of films cluster them in incidental roles, so that only the more identifiable disabilities are noted in their brief appearances. Where disabled people are significant characters, disability is presented as a defining attribute and overwhelmingly treated in a negative manner. Disabled people are likely to be associated with criminality and as being older. There is a notable lack of portrayals where disability is an ordinary, everyday phenomenon, similar to the way that can be achieved by colour-blind casting of minority ethnic groups (Cumberbatch and Gauntlett 2006).

The reasons for this under-representation are said to include: scripts often need actors to be normal **and** disabled; audiences will not accept a truly disabled actor; insurance issues; a lack of training (BFI 2003). However history shows that actors and directors with disabilities have been on both sides of the camera in Hollywood and in the UK since the 1920s and 30s, but journalists and writers have been unable to deal with or speak about such issues.

In fact disability is present in most genres, the BFI argues, and disabled people appear in more films than other marginalised groups. The BFI report makes several points about disability stereotyping in film. Firstly, it argues that films usually show disability as a medical issue rather than a social one. Extreme impairment also plays a fundamental role in films that exploit 'body horror', going back to films made in 1932, such as *Freaks* and a later film *The Elephant Man* (1980). Freak shows generally were outlawed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, as being of bad taste and against the public interest. Freaks as images in film are usually stories of abnormality, used to reinforce ideologies of normality, such as motherhood, morality and individualism. These ideas are also supported in another study by Darke (1994a), who argues that *The Elephant Man* reinforces the notion of normality as 'common sense' and abnormality as inhuman and unbearable. The 'freakness' of Merrick in the film is 'carnavalesque' and he is portrayed as more to be pitied than treated as an equal. At the same time, one could also argue that the film encourages an understanding of how

others perceive severe impairment and as such, the film makes a contribution to exposing their attitudes.

Terms used about disability are also problematic. For example, words such as 'cripple', 'loony' and 'retard' are not acceptable to those who are so labelled. The BFI study also argues that the slightest degree of eccentricity is classed as mental illness. There is particular resentment of the image of people with learning difficulties, who appear to have a genre all to themselves – the 'idiot comedy'. The genre is traced to Charlie Chaplin, Laurel and Hardy, and Harold Lloyd, through to the 70s with BBC series such as *Some Mothers do 'ave them*, right up to *Dumb and Dumber* (1994), *Kingpin* (1996) and *There's something about Mary* (1998) (BFI 2003). Another study argues that the newspapers are guilty of perpetuating negative stereotypes, with the use of emotive words such as 'psycho', 'nutter' and 'lunatic', language that is used to demonise people. The author cites a study which indicated that audiences saw a strong link between violence and mental health, and had derived most of their attitudes from the media (Cassey 2005).

A recent study analysing the representation of mentally ill people argues that their portrayal falls into one of two extremes: violent sociopath or quaint and down-at-heel. The characters are typically depicted with a violent angle, their motivations are not deeply understood and they therefore behave in totally unpredictable ways.

Reasons behind the illnesses and the characters themselves are negatively stereotyped. The author says she is interested in whether audiences respond with empathy, distaste or anger. However the author does consider less stereotyped films such as *The Madness of King George* (1994), a film which explores the compatibility between madness and power, that is a proud ruler reduced to a helpless patient. The audience is positioned to feel enormous sympathy with him and share his humiliation at his illness. *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975) is viewed by the author as a satire and an anti-psychiatry film, which shows that the inmates are voluntary patients and no more insane than the employees of the mental institution. In contrast, the film *A Beautiful Mind* (2001) has a subject matter which producers thought would not appeal to a mass audience and the storyline was adapted accordingly. The life of a man who suffered delusional traumas and was a paranoid schizophrenic was turned into an uplifting tale of true grit and a woman's love conquering adversity, while ignoring Nash's homosexuality (Cassey 2005).

The portrayal of wheelchair users also comes in for criticism.

Characters reflect 'crass' stereotypes to support weak scripts, often with a closing revelation that s(he) is a fake paraplegic or a 'magic' cure is found for the impairment. Many actors have won Oscars for playing a disabled role, which shows acting prowess. Furthermore, through the history of film, there appear to be fewer roles for women as disabled characters, with women playing victims, represented as

being ill and dependent. Films are also often sentimentalised. Disabled people are often seen as asexual or excessively sexual and impairment is often portrayed as a result of previous moral deviance. Disabled people, it is argued, suffer principally from their objectification, not their impairment (BFI 2003).

Another author argues that disabled people are portrayed as asexual, due to weakness, and are often seen as children. He cites several films such as *Duet for One* (1987), *The Elephant Man* (1980) and *Coming Home* (1978) which portray disabled people's sexuality as non-existent, pre-sexual or deviant. Disabled people are never portrayed as parents (Darke 1994b).

In 1994, the Arts Council for England set up a national film and video project, with an annual budget of £60,000, to fund innovative shorts by disabled people. The BFI argue that if disabled people were to receive their share of lottery film funding, from the UK Film Council alone, based on the fact that 10% of the population is disabled, then there would be over £10 million (sic) available every year for disabled people's involvement not just in film but in wider British film culture, for production, distribution, exhibition, education, research and preservation. As they rightly point out, there are no *national* disability-specific initiatives (BFI 2003).

## 5.5 4 Minority ethnic groups



In a major report on the black and Asian experience, many minority ethnic groups said that they felt under-represented in British films and wanted to see films more closely related to the day-to-day lives of ordinary African Caribbeans and South Asians in Britain (BFI 2000). The same report criticises *East is East* (1999), as does another author (Aftab 2004). The move of this story from theatre saw white characters added to the film, and a bad guy was built up to vilify (Aftab 2004). The Asian father is represented as a brutal hypocrite, who insists his children must respect his cultural beliefs (compare the 'cricket test' by Norman Tebbit <sup>5</sup>). This film was clearly an attempt at gaining a white audience, but *Monsoon Wedding* (2001) did not add white characters in this way and still attracted a large audience (Aftab 2004).

Even in the USA, where there are strong black and other actors from minority groups, the number of films on racial and ethnic issues is limited (Robson 2002). In Britain it is even more restricted, notwithstanding the growth of the UK-born minority ethnic group population (for example, 90% of under 14s from minority ethnic groups have been born in the UK.)

A study on minority-led companies found that minority ethnic groups argued negative stereotypes were often discernible in film (IES 2004).

---

<sup>5</sup> Norman Tebbit asked South Asian and Caribbean-origin people to seriously consider who they supported in national cricket teams. He argued that the 'cricket test' could be applied to determine allegiance to England. By this he meant that people could not support England *and* the West Indies. People had to support England to be truly English (Brah 1992).

A study on television portrayal in the UK argues that broadcasters view cultural diversity as representing terrorism, violence, conflict and carnival (Campion 2005). A study by BFI about reactions of minority ethnic audiences to film showed that African Caribbeans were extremely concerned about Tarzan films up to the present day, which they described as demeaning and offensive. In a 2000 study, film professionals from minority ethnic groups felt that films and television programmes did not reflect UK society as it was. They criticised *East Enders*, *Shakespeare in Love* (1998) and *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (1994) in this light. Generally these film professionals argued that portrayal either missed out minority ethnic characters, or they were under-represented, misrepresented or cast in stereotypical roles. Adrian Lester was quoted as saying he had learned “*To turn down lucrative work in TV series such as The Bill because they always wanted him to play the mugger*” (*The Guardian/G2 Arts Theatre* 24 May 2000).

Robson (2002) classifies films which have examined racial issues in three ways:

- The confident imperialist/funny foreigners. This has examples such as *Sanders of the River* (1935) where a district officer restores “peace amongst child-like natives” and *Song of Freedom* (1936) where African tribal life is seen as superstitious and ignorant. The period of the 1940s to 1970s is full of

national stereotyping such as funny foreigners and crazy blacks, such as in *What a Crazy World* (1963). The crude stereotyping of this period included images of the feckless Irish, the canny Scots, the devious Welsh, amusing servile Indians, or onion-toting Frenchmen.

- Integration and blending in phase. These portrayals were more ambiguous. For example, *Flame in the Streets* (1961) showed liberal equal treatment in the workplace, but not socially, whereby the marriage of a white daughter to a black teacher is not condoned. In *Saturday Night Sunday Morning* (1960) minority ethnic issues are invisible, despite these themes being part of the book.
- Ethnic self-examination/self-confidence. This phase represents a more critical and affirmative view of the Asian experience, for example *My Beautiful Launderette* (1985) and *Sammy and Rosie get laid* (1987). The white world is portrayed as marginal in films such as *Bhaji on the Beach*, and romance between Asian and black people is portrayed in *Mississippi Masala*. The marginalisation of white culture is also shown in films such as *Young Soul Rebels* (2002) and *Babymother* (1995). How to live in a predominantly white culture was portrayed in *Bend it Like Beckham* (2002).

In another study, Smelik argued that *A Taste of Honey* (1961) was admired for its treatment of homosexuality and later attacked for

avoiding more discussion of racism. The author argues that the over-sexualised black woman was avoided and the film deconstructs the black male as not being over-sexualised. Where multiculturalism is embraced by filmmakers, the issues are framed within an inter-ethnic love relationship, which mostly deal with a racialised sexuality, where black women are portrayed as *objects* of desire. However, in British films there is also a tendency to be critical of the position and experience of black women in a white society as well as their experiences within their communities (Smelik 2003).

A recent report by the Islamic Human Rights Commission argues that popular films depict "crude and exaggerated stereotypes of Muslims" and legitimate Islamophobia. The authors argue that Hollywood has a critical role to play in influencing how the public view Muslims. The survey showed that Muslims in Britain felt negative images of their faith on the big and small screen had consequences in their daily lives, with their lived social experiences of discrimination, violence and exclusion. The problem with the portrayal of Muslims is that it is all negative, and the issue becomes important when seen against the fact that eight out of ten people lack close contact with Muslims, making the media their primary source of information. The authors give examples of films which perpetuate these stereotypes, including *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981), *The Siege* (1998), *Aladdin* (1992), *East is East* (1999) and *Executive Decision* (1996). They argue that relating prayer in a mosque with scenes of exploding bombs and

indiscriminate killing implies that terrorist acts are intrinsic to Islamic beliefs and practices (Ameli , Marandi, Ahmed, Kara and Merali 2007).

Stadler analyses *Lagaan* (2005), a film about cricket and a match between Indians and British colonials. The author argues that although the film celebrates the peasants' heroism, it shows the subaltern (Indian) women as being confined to a domestic space, quintessentially loyal to their community, compared to the white woman, Elizabeth. On the other hand, it can be argued that the Indian women are depicted showing unity with men against the British colonials, and that their lives do depict them as they are, rather than as the film critic would like them to be. The release of the film to wide audiences also shows that *Lagaan* is not just an 'art house' film, but that the impact of globalisation coupled with Indian popular culture has helped to widen distribution of such films. (Stadler 2005)

In an analysis of *Independence Day* (1996) and *Three Kings* (1999), Davies argues that both films make ethnic and racial difference central to their stories. In *Independence Day*, Jewishness is associated with intelligence (Davies 2005) and blackness associated with 'verbal smarts' and strength. The President in the film announces the dissolution of ethnic differences, echoing the right-wing attack on multiculturalism as the politicisation of identity, responsible for the fragmentation of the nation. The only identifiable gay character is killed off early on, and the alien invaders are depicted in terms that are

about homophobic constructions of male sexuality. Women are represented as being re-domesticated. The USA, it is argued, brings together these qualities of difference to legitimate global primacy and reinforces a particular discourse around nationhood, re-creating a united nation of 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1983).

Although *Three Kings* is highly critical of US multi-lateral adventures in the Persian Gulf in 1991, the author argues that even this film depicts the USA as a privileged place for the integration of ethnic differences. Students in a discussion group on the film bemoaned particularly the oppressed Iraqi women against the image of the liberated assertive American women (Davies op.cit.).

The second biggest market for Bollywood films is in Britain, with ticket sales of £30 million last year and multiplexes in specific areas showing them alongside Hollywood films. Certainly white Britons are happy to watch certain spoken English films, as the success of *Monsoon Wedding* (2001) or *Bend it like Beckham* (2002) showed, whereas South Asian British audiences continue to watch films made in Hindi and set in far off places. The Indians who left India many years ago have also helped to revitalise the Bollywood industry, so that films now include dance numbers, mini skirts, and the cosmetic surgery industry. These films, on the other hand, still serve to legitimate the sanctity of the family. They are also more popular with the non-resident Indian audience than with native Indians, perhaps because Indian-origin

people who live abroad like to hang on to their roots and cultural identities in a country where they are under-represented or stereotyped in film (Aftab 2002).

### 5.5.5 Class

The analysis discussed below is of class portrayal, but the studies referred to depict class intersecting with gendered, racial, age (see below) and other identities.

The focus on heritage in film, very popular in the 1980s, virtually excluded portrayal of working class life as central, and excluded other under-represented groups. Minority groups in this country think this category of film, often based on literary adaptations, represents a nostalgic view and does not reflect British society as it was. (Murphy 2000).

The 1980s were dominated by portrayals of educated, middle-class, southern gentlemen. It is argued these were transferred to more contemporary settings in the 1990s in *Four Weddings and a Funeral* and *Notting Hill*. The other 1990s representations of masculinity and class were encapsulated in films which explored 'alternative' types defined as 'criminals', 'rebels' or 'damaged' men with films such as *Riff Raff (1991)*, *Raining Stones (1993)*, *The Full Monty (1997)*, *Trainspotting (1996)* and *Lock, Stock and Two Smoking Barrels (1998)*.

These 1990s films were concerned about the crisis in working class

masculinity, because of a collapse in industrial employment and the emergence of a degraded under-class. Films such as *The Full Monty*, *Trainspotting* and *Lock, Stock and Two Smoking Barrels* (1998) put an end to a masculinity represented by a white, middle-class heterosexual man with 'all manners' and an 'unthreatening' body (Fouz Hernandez 2005).

Farrell examines *The Full Monty* (1997), which depicts the decay of working-class masculinity and men undergoing crises with the loss of manufacturing industries. Regional working-class identity is viewed as relatively stable and this makes it easier to export the British image abroad. Working class women are mostly spectators and black women don't speak, but just shout and exclaim. This successful film however has to be admired for portraying working class men as questioning the way they conceive of their masculinity. Hill argued that three films, *Brassed off* (1996), *The Full Monty* and *Up 'n' and Under* (1998) gravitate towards optimistic conclusions, with all three showing that support and self-respect in a group are more important than more work or more money (Hill 2000).

### 5.5.6 Age

There do not appear to be any studies in the UK on the way age is portrayed on screen. Clearly, film employs younger women in acting roles than men (see Chapter 3) which says something about the absence of older women on screen.



However, a study in Sweden analysed film portrayal of elderly people. Only nine films out of a total sample of 200 films produced between 1990–1995 cast elderly people as leading characters. The proportion of elderly people in relation to other population groups on television was much smaller than in society as a whole. Not surprisingly elderly men were more likely to appear on television than elderly women and older people were likely to be portrayed as healthy and rich – the idealised elderly. In film, sex was either a taboo in the portrayal of elderly people, or depicted as comical or dangerous. If this is the case, the authors argue, and elderly people are not shown to feel desire nor to have a sexual life, people may be less likely to remain sexually active when they grow older or feel ashamed of their sexual life. In all the films studied, the focus was on the emotional side of relationships, with sex as an aside. Furthermore, if elderly people were sexually active on film, then they would be portrayed as very well-preserved and looking young! Women were portrayed as less sexually active than men and were often single. Elderly people were also portrayed as very lively, a trait associated with eccentric, stubborn and wilful men (Bildtdgard 2000).

## **5.6 Ghettoisation**

There is little work on ghettoisation, the process whereby women make films that are perceived to be attractive to other women, and minority ethnic groups, disabled people and lesbians and gay men

make films about 'their issues'. The debate is perceived as an 'either-or' situation, that is making 'ghetto' films or entering the mainstream. Recent research in television suggests that the impact on the mainstream is minimal if only 'ghettoised' programmes are funded (Campion 2005).

At the same time, the BFI report (2003) argues that films made by disabled people are different from those made by non-disabled people, since the most obvious fault in so-called 'mainstream' films is that they explore disability through a medical rather than a social perspective, making the final product voyeuristic and medical. Disability also seems to be more present in the horror genre (see stereotypes above). It is important for these films which are ghettoised to lie side-by-side with mainstream films which feature non-stereotyped, under-represented groups.

### **5.7 National identity and film**

There is an issue about making films which reinforce national identity. Films may exclude under-represented groups, giving an impression that some groups within the public are invisible. On the other hand, some films may challenge traditional notions of Britishness.

British film has often drawn on images of Britain as a country concerned with heritage and tranquillity, such that many black British films have not been funded (Murphy 2000). However, one author sees

the ways these film types have developed as representing progress. Films such as *My Beautiful Launderette* (1985) and *Sammy and Rosie get laid* (1987) offer a plural and hybrid identity for audiences and are seen to be more representative of Britain than hitherto (Hill 2006). However, there are fewer current films which offer a portrayal of everyday life and hybridity in Britain. It has also been argued, however, that the most significant films directed and written by women in the 1990s are Sally Potter's *Orlando* (1992) and Gurinder Chadha's *Bhaji on the Beach* (1993) which contest traditional British heritage film. In *Orlando*, English heritage (the Elizabethan Age, the country house, the Empire, Queen Victoria) is depicted in a way that renders it strange. This interrogation of heritage film re-stages English heritage as a drama of gendered performance, in which Orlando, crossing sexes, loses his property but greets the future having produced a daughter and a novel (Brunsdon 2000).

Another strand of British heritage is addressed in *Bhaji on the Beach*, namely the Ealing comedies for which Britain is famous. The 'Ealingness' of an Asian women's trip to Blackpool (where, as in other Ealing comedies, different individuals come to slightly different understandings of their situation) shows the multiplicity of female Asian identities and explores female destiny and identity in a hybrid post-colonial Britain. This latter point is embodied in "one of the film's finest moments, through the Punjabi rendering of the Cliff Richard 1960s hit 'Summer Holiday', as the day trippers set off". Other films

such as *Stella Does Tricks* (1996) and *Under the Skin* (1996) place female lead heroines in a provincial setting in England and contest the dominant traditions of British filmmaking, not only because they are female leads, but because they come to represent female dilemmas and choices. These women however, may be 'representative' ("local, awkward and complex within the nation") rather than a representation of the nation, whereby the nation identifies itself as a unity. These latter representations of a nation are embodied in *The Full Monty* and *Trainspotting*, still self-consciously stories about boys (Brunsdon 2000).

### 5.8 Why stereotypes persist

Campion 2005, writing about television representation, argues that the situation in broadcasting does not change for several reasons. Minority groups are still seen as a 'bolt on'; the representation debate is focused on individuals and not the infrastructure in which people work; there is no motivation for the powerful to change; and numbers of people representing a group are counted, instead of examining a more qualitative approach to stereotyping (Campion 2005). These arguments may also apply to film.

Currently the film industry has no industry standards on monitoring, either of employment or portrayal. Ethnic minorities are presented in terms of large major groupings, rather than their specificity of region

and ethnicity, and in any case, monitoring only focuses on visible minorities. Since the industry is resistant to change, the representation of certain minority ethnic groups means these representations are likely to compete with each other. For example, a black director was forced to give up one of his television programmes in a series to ensure good representation of ethnicity, whereas the white directors were not. Broadcasters also cannot imagine a diverse audience when they make programmes. The author of this study cites the example of telling jokes, where:

*“A lot of comedy sends up the idea of political correctness, still making jokes about race, disability or sexuality, but in a knowing ‘We can all take it now’ way. Sometimes the justification is that the target is actually the person uttering the racist or homophobic lines. .... No one I interviewed was in favour of censorship, but there was a widespread feeling that race or disability-related humour was still often crude and unfunny as well as pointlessly hurtful. It was also thought to add fuel to the sort of playground and workplace barbs that many people from minorities still experience.”*

(Campion 2005)

## 5.9 Summary

### What we know.....

- There have been a number of large-scale US studies of on-screen representation of sexual orientation, gender and ethnicity in film. These show stereotyping to be a significant issue.
- In the UK, the British Film Institute and some individual authors have published studies of on-film portrayal of disabled people and people from minority ethnic groups, though most studies relate to films released in the twentieth century. There are a number of studies of individual UK films on various issues but some have a tendency to be idiosyncratic.
- Studies of UK television have found that many groups are under-represented, the way they are represented is poor and certain groups are not dealt with equitably. Disabled and ethnic minority characters are discarded easily and characters from ethnic minorities are often mistakenly identified.
- After a history of being silenced and marginalised, lesbians and gay men began to be portrayed better in the 1990s, but most films are still designed to appeal to the majority audience and potential investors, making producers cautious. Some authors have argued that recent Hollywood films portray homosexuals in a negative light and that categorising sexual identity is a flawed concept, since these identities are not fixed.
- Stereotypes of women include femme fatale, super mom, sex kitten and nasty corporate climber. A US study of female scientists and engineers in popular films in the 1990s found that subtle stereotyping persisted.

- A study of on–screen representation in Canada found that men were more likely than women to be shown ‘on the job’ while female characters were more likely to be seen dating or talking about romance.
- US studies have found that if women are involved in writing, production and directing, they create more female characters.
- People from minority ethnic groups feel they are both under–represented and negatively stereotyped in British films and wish to see films more closely related to the day–to–day lives of ordinary African Caribbeans and South Asians.
- Muslims are often stereotyped and many feel this has repercussions in their daily lives.
- Black–owned companies are more likely to invest in their communities and provide work to minority ethnic professionals.
- A Swedish study found that elderly people were under–represented in film and presented in stereotyped ways. They were shown to be healthy, rich, lively and either sexually inactive or inept.
- Disabled people are under–represented as actors or filmmakers in the UK and there are few portrayals of disability as an ordinary, everyday phenomenon. When they do appear, disabled people are often portrayed as criminals or freaks. They are also generally shown as asexual, while mentally ill people are often portrayed as violent.

- Recent research in television suggests that the impact on the mainstream is minimal if only 'ghettoised' programmes, or programmes about groups' 'own issues' are the only ones funded.

### **What we don't know...**

- With the exception of studies on disability and Muslims, there have been few recent (post-2000) studies of representation in UK film. As a result we do not know in a systematic way whether the on-screen representation of diverse groups in the UK has changed in the 2000s.
- There do not appear to be any UK studies of the way age is portrayed on screen.
- We do not know to what extent there is a relationship in the UK between the involvement of diverse groups in the film industry (particularly in decision-making roles) and their on-screen representation.

### **Priorities for action....**

- Update the studies into representation on film of women, men, gay men and lesbians (and sexuality more broadly), people from minority ethnic groups, people from different social classes and



occupational groups, people from different UK nations/regions and people from different religious groups in the UK.

- Study the relationship between the involvement of diverse groups (or lack of it) in the film industry and on-screen representation of those groups.
- Promote the involvement of people from diverse groups in script writing, film development, directing and production decision-making.
- Ensure that this involvement happens in a non-ghettoised way.
- Study the audience tastes of people from diverse groups.
- Study the attitudes of diverse groups to their on-screen representation in recent UK films and recent international releases.
- Encourage the funding of films that seek out and serve diverse audiences in a commercially viable way.

## **6: The social and business case for diversity in British film**

The ethical case for tackling inequality in the film workforce and on screen remains important but there are also sound business reasons for embracing the diversity agenda. Companies and organisations that have led the way on diversity have secured market advantages and boosted their reputations.

### **6.1 Introduction**

Film is a shaper of reality in our society and has direct consequences for individuals in their attitudes to life, whether through conversation exchanges or in affecting behaviours in the workplace, the playground and in the street. In a world of constant technological, social and political change, film and television assume a more important role, not only in either legitimising or challenging 'common sense' attitudes among the public, but also in projecting an image of a country to the world, informing other powerful decision makers within and across borders and other nation states.

It was argued in Chapter 2 that films which depict the British way of life (however defined) are desirable, and that British culture would be impoverished if all its screens were given over to American or other movies. However in making films which depict 'Britishness' we have to constantly reflect the current changing nature of society and the country.

Our society has changed dramatically due to 20<sup>th</sup> century immigration of a range of people representing different cultures; gender attitudes to equality in the home and the workplace are rapidly changing; citizens who feel excluded such as disabled and older people, and lesbians and gay men are developing stronger campaigning voices and are influencing brand reputations. At the same time, since the media *bridge* cultural changes in society, they can also affirm equality and cultural diversity (Cottle 2000). The media have an important influence in informing the public about ethnicity and 'race', disability and sexual orientation since large sections of the public may have few or no alternative sources of information on these issues. As a recent study on inter-racial friendships shows, many white people have little or highly superficial everyday contact with 'ethnic' minorities (Commission for Racial Equality 2004; van Dijk 1993). Similarly a Danish study showed that, given that 85% of Danes had no contact with minorities, it was not surprising that 83% of them confessed to having low to high racist attitudes (Hussain 2000). Hussain argues that the media in Denmark exert a very important influence on the perception of minorities, particularly of Muslims.

The case for change is not simply a moral one however. There are sound business arguments for change, as forward-looking practitioners have realised. The rest of this chapter sets out the case.

## 6.2 The business context

Recent interest in the business benefits of pursuing proactive initiatives on diversity has gathered momentum in the private and public sectors. The Government, the London Development Agency (LDA) and the European Commission have all produced arguments on the business case for diversity ([www.dti.gov.uk](http://www.dti.gov.uk); [www.lda.gov.uk/server/show/nav00100200300f004](http://www.lda.gov.uk/server/show/nav00100200300f004); European Commission 2005). Various financial institutions such as Lloyds TSB and HSBC have formulated arguments for the business case. For example, HSBC's advertising about valuing other cultures and thus designing their banking services accordingly is a visible indication of their position. Research into how best to market banking services to minority ethnic groups has also been done. Using specific cultural understandings to market financial services will increase market share. These business arguments are based on changes in global demography, on changing patterns and spending powers of consumers and arguments about the contribution of diversity to organisational effectiveness and financial performance.

### 6.3 The business case – an overview

There are several strands to the business case:

- demographic change is a reality and will force us sooner or later to review our notions of who should work in the industry;
- consumers have changing expectations and considerable buying power – they are critical to our industry's success;
- there are links between diversity in the workplace and business performance – in particular companies need to consider how to maximise the use of talent;
- companies' reputations can be damaged by failure to address diversity issues;
- companies have obligations to meet new legal requirements on employment and failure to do so can be very costly.

These issues are considered below.

#### 6.3.1 Demographic change and the workplace

Chapter 2 highlighted the move from equal opportunities to diversity and the demographic changes which will compel us to change our behaviours in recruiting talent for our labour market. The changes in wider society, with recognition of the need for 'excluded' groups in an expanding service sector have led to a change of discourse about needing those 'other' than white middle-class men in the labour market. Demographic changes have led to a push towards a *business*

case to use all sections of the labour market for competitive and business reasons, because there is going to be a shortage of white able-bodied men in the future labour market.

Table 6.1 shows the projected increase in our population by ethnic group up to 2020; black and minority ethnic groups are expected to increase significantly more than white groups.

**Table 6.1 Projected changes of ethnic groups 2001–2020**

	UK Population Census 2001 (000s)	% change 2001– 2010	% change 2010– 2020
White	54,118	+2	+2
Mixed	674	+41	+30
Asian	2,336	+25	+19
Black	1,148	+22	+14
Chinese and other	471	+68	+28
Sum of groups	58,747	+4	+4

*Source: Rees 2007*

According to another study, 50% of the population growth between 1999 and 2009 will come from ethnic minority groups (CRE 2007). Between 2001 and 2020 ethnic minority workers are predicted to account for 70% of the growth in the UK population aged 16–59 (EOC

2007). The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) estimates that in less than five years, only 20% of the workforce will be white able-bodied, male and under 45 (CRE 2007).

People over 45 currently comprise 47% of the adult population. Over the next 30 years, their numbers will expand dramatically, and by the year 2031 60 % of adults will be over 45 years of age.

More women with very young children are entering /re-entering the labour market and attitudes towards work and roles within families are changing. Forecasts suggest that over 1.3 million new jobs will be created in the next decade and 12 million jobs will become available as workers leave the workplace. A lot of these jobs in professional management and service roles will be taken by women (Women and Work Commission 2006).

Government figures put the numbers of gay people in the UK at more than 3 million (Stonewall estimates are even higher – see below). Over half of gays and lesbians conceal their sexual orientation at work, may feel stressed as a result, yet ‘out’ employees in safe environments earn 50% more than their closeted peers (Stonewall 2006).

Leaders are under current pressure to encourage ‘diversity’ in the workforce because of demographic change (see DTI 2004 p13–16).

### 6.3.2 Demographic change and the consumer

The above data on population change should also challenge the industry to consider the audiences for film. Young males are a declining portion of the audience for film and they will dwindle further as the population ages in coming decades. Minority ethnic group audiences will increase significantly. Changing demographics have implications for both filmmakers and exhibitors.

The spending power of the 'new' consumer (ethnic minorities, women, older people, etc) has increased. They have a greater political voice and a clearer identity and organisations that target under-served consumers can gain a competitive advantage. Rising incomes among minority ethnic groups, women, the disabled and older workers for example, will stimulate their desire for greater choice in all their spending. Some consumers will switch brands because of their support for social justice issues, which is why a company's reputation matters (Corporate Intelligence in Retailing 1998) These consumers will go to the cinema if it offers films they want to see, in surroundings that offer the levels of comfort and convenience they expect.

The film industry needs to be aware of the spending power of many marginalised groups. The annual income of the over 50s currently exceeds £160 billion; they have an 85% share of the UK'S private wealth (Zadek and Scott Parker 2001). Recent research on the business case suggests that disabled people make distinct and positive contributions to business success, by virtue of their experience of



being disabled. The importance of the 'disability pound' holds true for designers, manufacturers and suppliers of consumer products and related industries, such as advertising and communications (Zadek and Scott Parker 2001). Although the value of the 'disability pound' is difficult to estimate, the Institute of Employment Studies gives a figure of £45–£50 billion per annum or 10% of the UK's total annual domestic consumption. This market will grow as the population 'greys'. Other studies place the disabled market as worth £33 billion a year (Lloyds TSB advert 27.6.01 *The Guardian*). It is argued that anyone targeting the needs of consumers who are older/disabled could be on the threshold of an enormous opportunity, though accessing this market requires knowledge and skills.

The 'pink pound' is now estimated by Stonewall to be worth £70 billion (Stonewall 2006) per annum. Stonewall estimate there are 3.6 million gay people in the UK, with 1.7 million who are in the workforce. Gay men in full time jobs earn on average £34,200 per year, compared with the national average for men of £24,800. Lesbians earn £6,000 more than the national average for women. Gay men and women in the UK spend more than £800 million on CDs, even more on DVDs and as much again on books and magazines (Curtis 2006).

Black and ethnic minority consumers spend over £12 billion on goods and services in Britain each year. Official figures suggest that within the next fifty years this market will double (Marketing and

Communications [www.focus-consultancy.co.uk](http://www.focus-consultancy.co.uk) September 2003). A study by the London Research Centre shows that the annual income after tax of minority communities was £13.4 billion in 1997. On a household-to-household basis, Indians, Chinese and African (such as Ugandan) Asians all had average incomes higher than the white population. Caribbean origin, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin peoples all had lower household incomes than whites. (Gidoomal 1999).

There is also a high degree of engagement and support for the arts and cultural activities amongst minority ethnic groups (Bridgwood et al 2003). The most widespread activity found in this latter survey was going to the cinema, with minority ethnic respondents indicating annual cinema attendance rates of 60–82% for various groups including mixed heritage, Asian Black British and Chinese and other ethnic groups, compared to 56% for white groups (Bridgwood et al 2003).

### **6.3.3 Meeting the customers' needs and aspirations**

Studying changing consumer demographics is important but, as many companies have discovered, building new markets and developing relationships with the consumer relies heavily on an understanding of their individual needs and methods of access. For example, ignoring or misunderstanding the needs of ethnic minority consumers can be very costly. A study of ethnic groups and the British travel industry showed that people of South Asian origin in Bradford were interested

in Western style holidays, but UK travel businesses were not using appropriate channels and promotional methods to reach this community. The Asian community (20% of the population in Bradford) chose not to use mainstream travel businesses (Klemm and Kelsey 2004).

The disabled market is not always understood properly by mainstream providers. For example, disabled people are under-represented in all film audiences except DVD retail. Access to the cinema may be a barrier and initiatives to support disabled access to cinemas have been successful where interventions have been carefully designed to meet disabled persons' needs. To tackle the problems of access to the cinema for people with disabilities, the cinema industry with help from the UK Film Council, has installed subtitling and audio description to meet the needs of deaf, blind and partially sighted people (Brandon et al 2007). Significantly more people with sensory impairments are now going to the cinema. This example illustrates that audiences can be increased, but they require nurturing and resourcing, thinking carefully about specific needs and consulting widely.

The potential older audience is growing while the younger audience has reached a plateau. Few in the industry appear to have considered how to attract this sizeable chunk of the population into the cinema. Screenings of differing films at different times of the day can increase this audience but possibly cinemas need to be more sophisticated than

this. The first step is to find out why older people are reluctant cinema-goers.

The film audience is also evenly split between male and female, and the female audience share is often higher for UK films. This interest in film going needs to be capitalised upon to attract more women to the industry and thus better reflect a customer base. This is particularly important since the female 35+ cinema audience is larger than the male 15–24 cinema audience. Further targeting of very specific audiences in regions may increase cinema attendance overall. For example, by widening the choice of films and offering a lower entrance fee, a Peckham cinema doubled its audience in two years and the multiplex now attracts 400,000 people a year, making it the best-attended independent cinema in London (see section 4.7).

Increasing the audience for film is not just an issue that exhibitors need to consider however. For example, would more older and disabled people watch film if they saw themselves in film content and more sensitive portrayal? Filmmakers should drive the push for better data about audiences to support their understanding of the marketplace.

We do not also know enough about who accesses films via other methods, such as mobile or PC downloads and in cable and satellite television. There may be a chance here to capitalise on understanding

this specific audience and making a wider range of films available for them.

#### **6.3.4 Diversity and business performance**

There is little research on the effects of diversity on company financial performance. The research at best shows associations between diversity and company performance, but does not show causality. In the USA, Catalyst carried out a study to explore the link between gender diversity in management teams and the financial performance of Fortune 500 companies. The companies with the highest representation of women on their top management teams experienced better financial performance for both return on equity and return to shareholders. However although gender diversity and financial performance were linked, the study concluded that gender diversity did not cause good financial performance, suggesting that diversity was only one of a number of factors which contributed towards high performance (Catalyst 2004).

However it may be worthwhile developing the financial case for diversity in film. A recent study showed that although the budgets for films with women directors were lower than for those with male directors, relative box office returns were higher. Return for films with a female screenwriter were \$1.25 per £1 budget, more than for those films with no female screenwriters (\$1.16) (IES 2006). Analysis of film data also revealed no significant difference in the proportion of films gaining a theatrical release with a male or female screenwriter (IES

2006). More research on the link between diversity and financial performance needs to be undertaken, for example, the diversity of actors and production teams to box office returns. However, these studies are never conclusive as suggested above, since a range of factors may contribute to better financial performance and it is difficult to argue that diversity alone causes an increase or decrease.

### **6.3.5 Organisational effectiveness and maximising talent**

The demographic changes outlined above provide the most pressing reasons to change recruitment and retention practices. The need to grow talent from all possible avenues within an organisation has never been so essential. Companies that do not maximise the potential from everyone will increasingly run the risk of underperforming. The development of under-represented groups of staff and managers will cut costs on recruitment. Staff turnover can be expensive for organisations.

Some research studies support good retention practices. Good people management that is fair leads to greater productivity and greater employee commitment (Patterson, West Lawthorn and Nickell 1997). Social inclusion increases profitability and leads to financial savings (Patterson, West Lawthorn and Nickell 1997). Heterogeneous top teams (age, function, education) showed greater innovation and were more receptive to diversity of ideas and using diverse information sources. They also showed better sales performance (Iles and Havers).

Positive actions on race equality increase calibre of applicants overall (Metcalf and Forth 2000).

A Commission for Racial Equality study reported that 'race' equality actions had been very successful in many businesses:

- 80% of large businesses saw benefits in human resourcing, such as higher calibre of staff (47%), broader-based skills and experience (40%) and availability of skilled staff (40%);
- 25% of companies had improved morale and 9% lower staff turnover;
- 43% of companies encountered increased good will;
- 18% also mentioned more ethnic minority customers (CRE 1995).

In another study, four in ten companies experienced unexpected benefits – an improvement in company image, raised morale and a more positive attitude (Goldstone and Levy 1996).

*Access to widest talent pool* – The film workforce is more concentrated in the middle age groups than the rest of the UK workforce. Replacing talent will require shifts in attitudes as the white male able-bodied labour force decreases. The report *A Bigger Future* (Skillset 2003) outlines the problems facing a film sector which needs to update skills due to technological changes, as well as deliver the right education and training to equip people to work in the sector in the future. There is a clear perception across the film industry that only a few education courses deliver the right mix of vocational skills which equip students

to enter the industry. Not only is it essential to get careers advice right, but also build stronger relationships between the industry and education providers. Nurturing and developing talent is also related to attracting more people to consider the possibility of working in the industry.

Large numbers of those working part time would like to work full time; many of those who are voluntarily working part time say it is heavily determined by child care responsibilities (Punch and Pearce 2000; Women and Work Commission 2006). Helping with childcare costs may encourage more women to stay in the sector and contribute to the film workforce.

*Reduced costs* – Employee turnover may be reduced by successful diversity initiatives and this will lead to cost savings in time taken to fill posts. The Hay Group says employee turnover could cost companies up to 40% of their annual profits (Hay Group 2001).

Investing in programmes which develop people (making training and mentoring more specific, for example) and encourage networking by under-represented groups with senior executives will allow decision makers to recognise the talent out there.

*Improved creativity, innovation and problem solving* – Under-represented groups can contribute a wide range of perspectives in companies and provide ‘different’ voices.



For example, women's presence in the boardroom is said to lead to more civilised behaviour and sensitivity to other perspectives, as well as a more interactive management style (Singh 2002). Companies can also increase morale, commitment and motivation if an inclusive working environment is created where all people feel valued and rewarded. Team working with diverse employees will aid creative solutions to problems.

A lack of female directors, producers and writers leads to different portrayals of women on screen, and provides fewer role models for women to aspire to than men (IES 2006). Films may lack the female perspective, just as fewer minority ethnic or disabled staff may lead to a lack of those particular perspectives, thus not reflecting the heterogeneity of voices for film. If under-represented groups' perspectives are not shown on screen, groups will not feel attracted to working in film (IES 2006).

*Global marketplace* – Film increasingly depends on partnerships and co-productions with those overseas. Employing a wider range of people with differing perspectives presents a creative and progressive image to those outside the UK. Organisations and their clients are increasingly global players drawing their workforce from all corners of the world. The industry needs skills such as trading goods and services across borders and in multiple languages. A diverse workforce will aid negotiation and communication. Organisations which

understand the value that diversity brings will be able to address and react more swiftly to the global needs of the market place and global needs of their clients.

### **6.3.6 Reputation/brand of companies**

Diversity may be necessary to understand the needs and demands of specific market segments, increase the chance of reflecting the diversity of the market place, particularly in the light of growing demands from different consumers. In the US research shows that customers are demanding a visible diversity strategy (DTI 2005).

A report by the Independent Television Commission found that many viewers think the use of stereotypes in advertising is offensive and patronizing ([www.mediaguardian.co.uk](http://www.mediaguardian.co.uk) 18 June 2003). Consumer resistance to stereotypical images in marketing and advertising a brand can lead to damage for companies.

The 2007 controversy over Channel 4's show *Big Brother*, where racist comments elicited thousands of complaints against Channel 4 but no action was taken, may well have caused audiences to trust Channel 4 less and thus damaged its reputation.

A discrimination case that goes to the courts can damage a corporate reputation.

### 6.3.7 Legal compliance

Companies have clear legal obligations to treat staff fairly and equitably as Chapter 2 indicated. New legislation to *promote* gender and race equality in the public sector and an absence of a ceiling in payouts in discrimination cases means companies have to comply with equality legislation to avoid expensive settlements.

## 6.4 Summary

### What we know...

- Film is a critical shaper of reality in our society and influences attitudes and behaviours of the public.
- The business case for diversity is gathering momentum as more companies, government bodies in the UK and in Europe, and public authorities develop their policies and study the outcomes.
- Demographic changes are key to the business case. Britain's ageing population, more women in the labour market, growing proportions of young minority ethnic groups and a shrinking pool of white, able-bodied men, require businesses to use all sections of the labour market for competitive and business reasons.
- These same demographic changes also have implications for future film audiences. The size and spending power of under-served groups such as older, gay and disabled people, and

certain minority ethnic groups is very large. These groups can be targeted to increase audiences for film.

- A diverse workforce can increase organisational effectiveness and maximise use of talent. Companies that do not maximise the potential from every group increasingly run the risk of underperforming.
- Nurturing and developing talent will attract more people to consider the possibility of working in the industry.
- Employee turnover may be reduced because of diversity initiatives and this will lead to cost savings.
- Since the film business now is international, skills needed include trading goods and services across borders and in multiple languages. A diverse workforce will aid negotiation and communication, and represent a progressive image to the rest of the world.
- As employers, companies have clear legal obligations to treat staff fairly and equitably.
- Corporate reputations can be damaged by adverse publicity or discrimination cases that reach the courts.

### **What we don't know**

- The link between diversity and financial performance is unknown, and although studies show a link between gender diversity and higher returns on equity, it is difficult to establish causality.

- Studies on the business case in film are few, and arguments need to be brought together on returns on films which use diverse screenwriters, actors and production teams.

### **Priorities for action**

- Carry out studies into recruiting diverse talent and its link to creativity in film.
- Study whether the success of films is linked to the involvement of diverse talent in the production, distribution and/or exhibition sectors.
- Carry out studies into diverse audiences and their views on film content, portrayal and performers, and their views of cinema-going.
- Further develop the business case for diversity in film to support the work of the UK Film Council and diversity champions throughout the UK film industry and UK film culture.

## 7: What do we need to address and how?

The review has indicated that under-represented groups in the film industry are not always equitably represented or treated, whether in the workforce, among audiences or in portrayal. This chapter summarises the main findings, describes some recent initiatives and sets out priorities for research and implementation. The film industry urgently needs to adopt a raft of forward-looking measures to ensure it can meet the challenges in a changing marketplace.

### 7.1 The workforce

The workforce data in the UK indicate that women, minority ethnic groups, older people, women, and disabled people are under-represented in the film sector. There is no information on sexual orientation, religion or class. There is evidence that when women are present in the workforce, they are likely to be segregated into certain 'feminised' occupations, are under-represented as directors and screenwriters, in production jobs, and in leadership positions. There is little or no data on occupational segregation in the film sector of disabled people, minority ethnic groups, older people, lesbians and gay men. Minority ethnic-led companies account for 10% of the independent sector. Women and minority ethnic groups experience a pay gap with white men. There is little information about pay of other under-represented groups.

Access to employment in the sector is complicated by the unique nature of the film industry, which is based on hundreds of small independent companies. The industry relies on casualised labour, is unstable for employment and recruits primarily by word of mouth networks and social contacts. Recruitment is often undertaken by someone in the production team. This culture of recruitment excludes most under-represented groups. The film industry is focused on London where the majority of film projects are negotiated and where the majority of the film workforce works and lives. The sector is dominated in leadership positions by white, male, middle-class, able-bodied men.

Career progression in the industry suggests that this also works on the basis of who knows whom. Writers and directors are more likely to be approached directly through agents, managers, or film producers, than to approach certain individuals themselves. An exploration of agents and their relationships with under-represented groups may be important for future research. People may enter the sector after working for television. In fact, research indicates that opportunities in the wider audio-visual sector play an important part in career development. Initiatives taken by guilds and trades unions and associations will be important for changing the composition of the film sector. There is no research on career pathways through the sector by minority ethnic groups, disabled and older workers and lesbians and

gay men. The Performing Arts Survey provides information across the audio-visual sector on performers disaggregated by 'race', ethnicity and disability, but currently there is no research on the numbers and kinds of roles differing groups take in UK films, no research on minority ethnic, disabled or homosexual screenwriters.

## 7.2 Audiences

Film is talked about in a variety of contexts by different audiences which gives film an important and distinctive place in contemporary debates. Engagement with under-represented groups who are potential cinema audiences is important since they do have income to spend on leisure.

Women and men are equally represented in film audiences and, contrary to myth, the female 35+ audience group is larger than the male 15-24 audience group. Some minority ethnic groups attend the cinema more frequently than the rest of the population. This may be because Bollywood films attract significant Asian audiences, but also because minority ethnic groups have a much younger age structure and film audiences are predominantly young people. Half of the over 55s never go the cinema.

Data on film genre preferences show that women enjoy family films, romantic comedies, crime and Bollywood, while men prefer action-led films. Minority ethnic groups are over-represented among buyers of



cinema tickets and rental films, and more recently, slightly over-represented in pay-per-view, and under-represented in retail DVD. They are not likely to see literary adaptations of 'heritage' novels. At the same time, there are specific groups of under-served minority ethnic people who may attend a cinema which shows films in their languages and about their lives. Disabled people are under-represented in the film audience, except for retail video and DVD, and interventions to tackle access to the cinema for disabled people will be important in addressing the under-serving of certain audiences. There is no information on audiences based on sexual orientation and religion.

In terms of exhibition, the sector is dominated by strong US companies who show films primarily from Hollywood. This has implications for the distribution of independent film and foreign language films (Aylett 2005). Recent mergers of cinema exhibitors may ensure that mainstream cinema thrives, while independent and foreign cinema require special strategies to build an audience, and may require policy interventions. The Independent Cinema Office emerged in 2003 to fill the vacuum left by the closure of the BFI Regional Programme unit (Aylett 2005). The UK Film Council has developed an initiative to install 250 digital projectors in cinemas across the exhibition circuit, involving both the independent and multiplex sectors. This initiative creates an opportunity to show more foreign language, independent and other specialised films (UK Film Council).

### 7.3 Portrayal

There is very little research on portrayal in the UK and many studies cited in this report are from the USA. According to research in the US, if women and minority ethnic groups are employed in production roles in the film industry, they are more likely to recruit women and minority ethnic groups for film roles.

Groups are not yet seen in their variety on television. Disabled and ethnic minority characters are discarded easily in roles on television and characters from ethnic minorities are often mistakenly identified.

Since the 1990s, portrayal of lesbians and gay men has improved, given a history of being silenced and marginalised, but most films are still designed to appeal to the mainstream audience and to potential investors, making producers cautious. On the other hand, it is also argued that a recent proliferation of Hollywood films with gay and lesbian characters portray them in a negative light.

Stereotypes of women include *femme fatale*, *super mom*, *sex kitten* and *nasty corporate climber* according to a teachers' pack on media representations. Men are more likely than women to be shown 'on the job' in Canadian films and television, while female characters are more likely to be seen dating, or talking about romance. Most women represented in scientific roles are either single or married later and few

have children. Women scientists are also more likely than men to be ridiculed, criticised and challenged by their male colleagues, according to this study, .

A central issue in portrayal of disability is the lack of 'real' disabled people as actors or filmmakers. In the US, disabled actors find it difficult to get work because it is harder for them to find an agent and get auditions. A 2006 study argues that disabled representation is at its lowest since 1998, with no evidence of improvement in recent years. Most portrayals of disabled people present disability as a defining attribute and overwhelmingly treat it in a negative manner. Disabled people are more likely to be associated with criminality, as being older, shown as 'freaks' and defined because of their medical history, rather than being seen from a social perspective. Mentally ill people are frequently portrayed as violent.

Many minority ethnic groups feel under-represented in British films and want films to be more closely related to their day-to-day lives. Film professionals from minority ethnic groups feel that films and television programmes do not reflect current UK society and criticise films for being caricatures. Popular films depict 'crude and exaggerated' stereotypes of Muslims and legitimate Islamophobia, according to one study. Minority groups are still seen as a 'bolt on', the representation debate is focused on individuals and not the infrastructure in which people work and there is no motivation for

powerful decision makers to change. One of the difficulties of research on portrayal is that it may involve simply counting people representing different groups when they appear in films. As well as exploring numbers of appearances, it is important to carry out qualitative research on portrayal to illuminate the cumulative effects of stereotyping.

There do not appear to be any studies in the UK on the way age is portrayed on screen. A study in Sweden on age in films indicates that elderly people are portrayed as eccentric, sexually inactive or inept, lively and 'well preserved'!

Recent research in television suggests that the impact on the mainstream is minimal if only 'ghettoised' programmes, or programmes about groups' 'own issues' are the only ones funded.

#### **7.4 The case for diversity**

The Commission for Racial Equality estimates that in less than five years, only 20% of the workforce will be white, able-bodied, male and under 45. The drive to recruit from a broad range of talent remains critical for the future of the film sector, with potential skills shortages in the future.

A diverse workforce can increase organisational effectiveness and maximise use of talent. There is evidence that heterogeneous top

teams encourage creativity. Recruiting and developing the widest range of talent can reduce recruitment costs. Since most business is now international, the industry needs skills in trading goods and services across borders and in multiple languages. A diverse workforce will aid negotiation and communication, and represent a progressive image to the rest of the world. Corporate reputation can be damaged by adverse publicity and discrimination cases that come to court.

Under-served audiences can be targeted more specifically to attend cinemas. This will become even more important if cinema audiences continue to decline, as they have in the last two years. The size and spending power of the older, gay, disabled and minority ethnic population groups is very large but these markets are not always understood properly by mainstream providers.

If the sector does not comprise a more diverse workforce, films that get made may lack the perspectives of under-represented groups. British films may be less heterogeneous as a consequence.

## **7.5 Research priorities for the future**

As this report has indicated there are significant information gaps in relation to diversity in film. This section summarises the key ones.

### **7.5.1 Roles allocated to under-represented actors**

There is little research in the UK on actors from under-represented groups and whom they portray on screen, that is, numbers in films as

well as types of roles allocated. A qualitative and quantitative study of recent British films (for example, the top 40, or the top 100) and an exploration of the casting of under-represented groups would be a good starting point to analyse types of roles, whether incidental or not, and whether they contribute to the cumulative effects of stereotyping.

### **7.5.2 Career pathways**

There is no information on career pathways of under-represented groups, when compared to white, able-bodied, middle-class men's pathways. However, there are some indications of how people access the film sector and some evidence of moving up through the sector, but this is based on small-scale case studies. There is no research on how and why certain directors, producers and writers from under-represented groups have been successful.

### **7.5.3 Occupational data on disabled people, lesbians and gay men**

More information is needed about disabled professionals and gay men and lesbians in the film sector, particularly their career pathways and the types of jobs they occupy..

### **7.5.4 Multiple identities**

People have multiple identities based on the intersections of, for example, gender and age, class and race, gender and ethnicity, age and disability. We do not, for example, have information about

minority ethnic women writers or producers, and whether their career pathways have subjected them to double jeopardy. Monitoring needs to take account of such intersectionality.

#### **7.5.5 Agents**

There is a lack of information about who has agents in the film sector and whether certain groups are under represented in agents' books.

#### **7.5.6 Monitoring**

Groups in the film sector are not consistently monitored across the country and within regions. Equality legislation stresses that organisations should positively promote racial and gender equality. Thus ethnic monitoring as part of benchmarking and impact assessments has become integral to delivery of equality in public sector organisations. However 'monitoring' is not new. For example, it has been suggested as a basis for tackling 'race' and gender inequality for at least the last 20 years yet many organisations have failed to take monitoring on board. It may be because it stresses measuring outcomes and fails to aid thinking about the means.

An Audit Commission report found black and ethnic minority staff in the public sector felt 'ethnic monitoring' was a tick-box exercise and were suspicious of it (Audit Commission, 2003). This is singularly depressing when the very people whom policies are designed to help do not wholly accept this idea as a key tactic in change. Given many decision makers'

different perceptions of inequality and discrimination, the chances of wide-ranging acceptance of monitoring by white professionals and managers charged with carrying this out must remain highly questionable.

Furthermore the conceptual basis of monitoring is flawed. As I have argued elsewhere (Bhavnani 2001) critics suggest that the concept of ethnic monitoring does not allow for comparisons across class and 'race' or across 'race' and gender, to allow for an understanding of comparative performance of outcomes. This leads to poor conceptual clarity underlying the efforts to change outcomes, particularly since 'race' is seen to be an independent variable separated from other structural inequalities in society.

Monitoring is used within organisations as record keeping, without taking action on what these statistics might mean for action. Why should we decide that ethnicity or disability, for example, is a singular identity, which is important in all situations? Most importantly we should not carry out monitoring as a matter of habit, without understanding *why* we are doing it. What is the issue we are trying to tackle? Should we count? How? Who should we count and why? The purpose of monitoring should be thought through carefully.



### **7.5.7 Decision makers' attitudes**

There is a lack of information about the range of decision makers' attitudes to and implementation of diversity strategies. The obvious solution for organisations is to introduce training programmes. However training for managers in diversity and equality, separated from interventions which embed organisational change, have not proved to be successful or otherwise (Bhavnani 2001). It may be more useful to run some workshops/or individual interviews at a range of existing events, with results from this research to assess attitudes, with a view to persuading decision makers to implement diversity strategies.

Skillset's approach on portrayal of black and minority ethnic groups, which is part of the UK Film Council's Leadership on Diversity Forum's projects on diversity, will be illuminating in this context. One of three projects supported by the Forum is on portrayal (see 7.6.3 below) and seeks to engage decision makers in debates about on-screen content. Discussion groups with key people will be arranged at existing events, such as the Cannes Film Festival.

### **7.5.8 Audiences' views**

We know little about whether the current design, programming and other characteristics of cinemas best meet diverse audience needs at the present time.

We need more information about under-represented groups' opinions on genres and whether these are useful categories. Likewise we know little about how these audiences view portrayal of under-represented groups in film. There are no studies of the relationship between employment in the industry and a less stereotypical portrayal of specific groups in question.

There is a need for better data about the age of cinema audiences. Grouping cinema-goers as 'over 35' is not helpful when this comprises the bulk of the population. We also need a better understanding of what deters some groups from visiting the cinema; is it the films on offer or cinemas themselves? More information is needed on the access of diverse audiences to film on the Internet, mobile platforms and video on demand.

#### **7.5.9 Accessible cinema and developing audiences**

More good practice examples of developing audiences are essential. These should include not only making the cinema accessible in many ways to specific under-represented groups, but also involving them in critical discussions of film. Section 4.7 gives some good practice examples of how cinemas have created better access for certain specific groups whose attendance has increased. Engaging audiences should also involve researching their opinions on whether under-represented groups such as women screenwriters, minority ethnic actors or disabled directors affect their decisions.

There is also a need for policy interventions to widen access to foreign and independent film at particular times and in specific cinemas. Such screenings should be monitored.

## **7.6 Projects to encourage a more diverse film workforce**

### **7.6.1 Recruitment**

An initiative on behalf of the Leadership on Diversity Forum of the UK Film Council (supported by BAFTA, Production Guild, New Producer's Alliance, British Screen Advisory Council and BECTU) aims to widen the production base by encouraging and advising on the hiring of a more diverse range of crew members and behind-the-camera talent such as writers. The proposal is for a Production Equality Adviser to advise on concrete solutions for a more diverse workforce (Leadership on Diversity Forum 2007b).

Evidence from other organisations suggests that more objective and transparent recruitment procedures are effective in broadening the workforce (see 2.6). The nature of the film industry with small micro businesses and word of mouth recruitment suggests that encouraging the drawing up of recruitment procedures and running programmes on advertising and recruitment for production and performance jobs may not be enough to change the culture of the sector. A more proactive approach to involve decision makers in action research in recruitment may be needed.

### 7.6.2 Mentoring

Another project (sponsored by BECTU, British Society of Cinematographers, PACT, Production Guild, Production Managers Association and the Writers' Guild) seeks to improve progression in the sector for minority ethnic groups by setting up a film industry mentoring scheme. This follows BECTU'S successful *Moving on Up* project (see 3.5) which aimed to facilitate one-to-one meetings between minority ethnic professionals and industry executives. The long-term aim of these meetings was for these professionals to be employed or contracted for commissions. Over the two events run in 2006, more than 1,000 new contacts were set up between nearly 300 minority ethnic professionals and 150 executives. Feedback from this initiative was positive with participants suggesting more events such as *Move on Up* and more mentoring schemes. The new mentoring project will run for 12 months with 25 minority ethnic mentees and 25 mentors (Leadership on Diversity Forum 2007c).

Mentoring is about self-empowerment. In the UK, the mentoring of black young people by older, white and black adults began as a community-sourced initiative (Appiah 2001). Lessons from the USA indicated mentoring was successful in building confidence, encouraging a more proactive desire for improvement and job development and was important under the right conditions for tackling internalised racism within organisations. Mentoring as an intervention

has rarely been evaluated for its long-term effects, but the literature on short-term effects shows that those black people who have been mentored do increase their promotion rates and become more optimistic about their jobs and careers (Bhavnani et al 2003). In the USA where a white mentor mentored a black mentee and the conditions were right, mentors reported gains in the understanding of 'race' and diversity through mentoring relationships. This aspect of positive action where there is mutual benefit may be an effective intervention in tackling racism, since *both* sides participate in change.

While mentoring can build confidence, it also can build powerful social networks which many under-represented groups are not tapped into. As a mechanism for change it understands the importance of the persistence of 'who you know' in getting a good job. John Hopkins University looked at the 'strength of weak ties' in getting a job or university place – if you shared a connection, or an 'old school tie' you were more likely to be appointed because of 'familiarity' (Mirza 1992). Similarly graduates from separate African American colleges in the USA were often discriminated against when they went for appointments in influential corporations, as they did not have a connection with the white employer. While networking is problematic as it reproduces inequality through exclusivity, it is also pragmatic in appreciating the mechanisms of disadvantage and can open up new worlds of opportunity for young people. At the same time, networks of under-represented staff may close down opportunities for mixing with

influential people. Mentoring as an intervention needs to be experimented with, though the aims have to be clear and evaluation needs to be built into projects from the beginning.

### **7.6.3 Performers**

A project from some of the partners in the Leadership on Diversity Forum concerns on-screen portrayal of black and minority ethnic actors. Partners involved with the UK Film Council include BAFTA, Equity and Skillset. Their aims are to engage the film industry and wider community in a debate about on-screen representation of black British talent by initiating discussions at particular events, such as the Cannes Film Festival, Cheltenham Writers' Festival, London Film Festival and such events. The team want to lay the foundations for policy changes and highlight the gaps in monitoring. The UK Film Council commissioned photographer Don McCullin to produce a series of portraits of black British actors, and these were unveiled at Cannes in 2007. The team are also planning 'power lunches', and a focused weekend of events showcasing the world of black talent (Leadership on Diversity Forum (2007a)).

## **7.7 Recommendations on implementing diversity**

### **7.7.1 Industry standards and supporting diversity**

The Leadership on Diversity Forum, set up with 21 organisations, has begun to design action plans to improve diversity. Three of these projects are described above, and will need to be evaluated.

The UK Film Council and the range of partnership organisations, such as professional guilds and trade associations, should consider mainstreaming diversity in all publicly-funded film organisations and projects by setting up **industry standards** on diversity. All publicly-funded organisations and projects in film should be required as part of a voluntary code of conduct to:

- provide an annual or end-of-project audit of employment across diverse groups at all levels of their organisations;
- ensure that all development projects and productions in receipt of public monies provide statistics in the employment of diverse groups wherever possible;
- make compliance with diversity targets a requirement for projects receiving such funding. All organisations should make access, training and career development for diverse groups criteria for the allocation of funds to subsidiary organisations and client bodies. The Norwegian Ministry of Culture has recently proposed a target of at least 40% of both genders in key positions in shorts, documentaries and feature films in Norway

by 2010 and recommended that a minimum 40% quota be imposed if the target is not met. Additionally projects are awarded bonus points if several women in key positions are connected with a project (Government of Norway White Paper Chapter 9);

- allocate responsibility to a senior executive for raising awareness within the company in order to meet targets;
- Skillset and the UK Film Council could conduct a biennial research survey into numbers of under-represented groups in the previous two years' 100 successful films, whether they are cast in incidental or leading roles and the types of roles they portray. This regular monitoring would indicate where best to sensitise the industry.

### **7.7.2 Positive action**

The Leadership on Diversity Forum is supporting positive action projects on portrayal and mentoring this coming year. Positive action is an important policy intervention in legislation but it can create resistance from both under-represented groups and other staff and fail to challenge organisational culture, if it is viewed as separate provision. Hierarchies of marginalised groups can be inadvertently legitimated. If first-time initiatives are focused on one group, envy might set in. Furthermore, concentrating on positive action schemes



as the key intervention in diversity emphasises the 'colour' of individuals, for example, and does not see them as filmmakers who happen to be black. It encourages ghettoisation. The diversity schemes introduced by visual arts organisations come to be viewed as 'second rate' and separate, and do not help minority ethnic people to enter the mainstream as equals but instead keep them at the margins (Dyer 2007).

Key arguments need to be set out as to why an initiative is critical and involving all staff in the organisation/s involved will be important for its success. There may be important decisions to be made in widening access to certain initiatives for all staff, but maintaining a 'quota' of participants from under-represented groups. There may also be a need to launch initiatives for all differing groups simultaneously, depending on the best strategic plan for their needs.

In the USA, four positive action initiatives aimed at black and minority Americans were discussed in a recent article. The National Black Programming Consortium (NBPC) was set up in 1979 in response to a lack of black programming in public service broadcasting and is funded by the Corporation of Public Broadcasting. The Consortium funds 80% documentaries and 20% narrative films, though the latter are unfortunately not always aired. Several films have been shown at festivals and won prizes. The NBPC has been criticised for funding experienced producers, but NBPC says it is willing to take chances on

emerging filmmakers. The Sundance initiative for funding independent film also funds and supports *Native American film*. Films made by Native Americans are shown at the Sundance festival and the Producers' Guild of America recently honoured the initiative at its annual celebration of diversity. The third project is the *Tribeca All Access Programme* which selects ten documentaries and ten narratives produced by minority ethnic people. The filmmaking team from each selected project is given meetings with representatives and development executives from production companies, agents and equity financiers. At the end of the programme, one documentary and one narrative project is selected to win an award. The fourth project, entitled *Los Angeles Project Involve*, is designed to promote cultural diversity in the industry through one-to-one mentoring and film workshops. The author of this article concludes that positive action programmes started by those respected in the film industry have a good chance of success and are steps in the right direction, whether it is about giving of funds or career development and support (Tucker 2004).

Where positive action has been introduced in the UK, such as targeting groups for a training course, studies found raised confidence among the attendees though organisational cultures remained untouched (Bhavnani and Coyle 2000). Similarly research examining positive action in training in the housing sector found that, of 1,000 trainees over the last 15 years, 80% obtained jobs they were trained for in

housing management. Trainees felt confident about personal and career development. But the report argued that racial stereotyping and direct racism in the organisational cultures in which they worked had not changed and the recruits felt isolated, with promotion blocked by a 'glass ceiling' (Julienne 2001).

### **7.7.3 Sensitising decision makers**

Changing the culture of the sector will involve sensitising industry decision makers to the narrowness in which talent for the industry is recruited. They need to be involved in a regular dialogue about next steps to recruiting talent that are right for them.

### **7.7.4 Lesbians and gay men**

There is a lack of information about lesbians and gay men in the workforce and it is not easy to address this. There is a need to engage in dialogue with homosexuals who work in film, perhaps as a starter, before introducing monitoring. Stonewall (2006a) counsels against monitoring as a first step if organisations have not previously engaged with lesbian and gay staff or developed initiatives to eradicate homophobia in the workplace. Over half of gay men and lesbians conceal their sexual orientation at work. If an atmosphere is created where it is acceptable for lesbians and gay staff to 'come out' at work, there would be a better insight into their needs, such as barriers to the sector or bullying in the workplace. One initiative might be the setting up of a lesbians and gay group in the film sector. In the

process of dialogue it would then be possible to establish first steps in research and implementation of equality for lesbians and gay staff.

#### **7.7.5 People with disabilities**

The employment of disabled people in the film sector needs urgent further investigation. A study exploring the kinds of jobs people with disabilities are employed in and their experiences in the film sector would be a valuable first start. A qualitative study of those disabled employees identified in the Feature Film Production Survey would be useful in understanding their experiences of the cultures of the sector. The setting up of a disabled employees group in the sector could be important in making progress in this area.

#### **7.7.6 Staff networks**

One of the more successful interventions does not concern employers' initiatives but the organisation of workplace staff groups. In several sectors, including the Civil Service, some local authorities, banks, education, the police and social services, for example, black and minority groups have got together to form networks or associations to push for internal change and provide a support system for those who feel marginalised and disregarded by the organisation. A good example of this is the National Union of Teachers' Black Teachers Network. In an information-rich society, these organisations are fundamental to providing collective knowledge and experience and supporting 'other ways of knowing' – thus empowering and giving

voice to otherwise marginalised and isolated employees. Some of these networks or associations are stronger than others. Some have been directly sponsored by the management of the organisation, others have formed as a result of participating in a training programme, through a union or in response to a discrimination case.

### **7.7.7 Education and careers advice**

There is a need for career advisers involved with Skillset to take on board the findings of this research review and counsel students about taking the right courses to gain practical skills for entry into the film sector. Stimulating younger audiences about film is also important. There are some interesting UK Film Council initiatives such as *First Light* (see 3.5) and the encouragement of film clubs after school but better education about film (not just discussion about mainstream American films) will be important in building film culture and helping to create a more film-literate population.

### **7.7.8 Widening access to the cinema**

Certain audiences are under-served when it comes to cinema-going, for example, people with disabilities, mothers with babies and some specific origin minority ethnic groups. These groups can be encouraged to attend the cinema, for example by screening films based on the local minority groups' languages and cultures. Cinemas need to know their own catchment areas and consult local people, particularly disabled users about access, including people with the widest range of disabilities. See 3.5 for good practice examples of widening access.

The Arts Council set up a 'New Audiences' programme to widen participation in and access to arts events. These new audiences were defined by ethnicity, class, income and age. The Arts Council also

targeted funding for black and minority ethnic capital projects. They made appointments of minority ethnic people at a senior level who were then sent as ambassadors to represent a new face of Britons overseas. The various initiatives involved allocation of resources and a determination to work in partnership with groups. The importance of re-interpreting British heritage led to new funding schemes and we have seen the development of the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum in Bristol and the Museum of Immigration and Diversity in the East End of London (Khan 2002).

## References

- Aaron M (2004) "New Queer Cinema: an introduction" in Aaron M (ed) *New Queer Cinema A critical Reader* Edinburgh University Press
- Aftab K (2002) "Brown: the new black! Bollywood in Britain" *Critical Quarterly* Vol 44 No 3 pp 88–98
- Alexander K (2000) "Black British Cinema in the 90s: Going Going Gone" in Murphy R (ed.) (2000) *British Cinema of the 90s* bfi publishing: London
- Ameli S Marandi S Ahmed S Kara S Merlai A (2007) "The British Media and Muslim Representation" London: Islamic Human Rights Commission 16 February
- Appiah L /Runnymede Trust (2001) *Mentoring: Business and Schools Working Together* London: Runnymede Trust
- Aslama M (accessed 27.07 2005) "Screening Gender Means Good Business Fair Gender Portrayal as an added value and competitive advantage for European Public Broadcasting" Finnish Broadcasting Company (YLE) [www.yle.fi/gender/imart.html](http://www.yle.fi/gender/imart.html)
- Audit Commission (2003) *Journey To Race Equality* London.
- Aylett H (2005) "Reflections on the Cultural Value of Film" in *Journal of British Cinema and Television The British Cinema Going Experience* edited by Conrich I and Hammerton J Vol 2.2 pp 343–351
- Banerjee M (2003) 'Travelling Barbies and Rolling Blackouts: Images of Mobility in Mira Nair's Monsoon Wedding' *Comparative American Studies* 1; 448 Sage: London and USA
- Bennett T Savage M Silva E Warde A Gayo-Cal M and Wright D (2006) *The Social Organisation of Media Practices in Contemporary Britain* A report for the British Film
- Bhavnani R [with PTI] (2006) *Ahead of the Game: The changing aspirations of young ethnic minority women* Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission



- Bhavnani R (1994) *Black Women in the Labour Market: a Research Review* Manchester: EOC
- Bhavnani R Mirza H and Meeto V (2005) *Tackling the Roots of Racism: Lessons for Success* Bristol: Policy Press
- Bhavnani R, Arya A, Ashton C and Meeto V (2003) *Project Domino: Promoting race equality through leadership: Promoting Minority Ethnic Managers* London: Centre for High Performance Development
- Bhavnani R and Coyle A (2000) "Black and minority ethnic women managers in the UK: continuity or change?" in Davidson MJ and Burke J (eds) *Women in Management: Current Research Issues* Volume II, London: Sage
- Bildtgard T (2000) "The Sexuality of Elderly People on Film: Visual Limitations" *Journal of Ageing and Identity* Vol 5 No 3 pp 169–183
- Bourne S (2001) *Black in the British Frame: The Black Experience in British Film and Television* London and New York: Continuum
- Brah A (1992) 'Difference, Diversity and Differentiation' in Donald James and Rattansi A (eds.) *'Race', Culture and Difference*. London: Sage Publications
- Brah A (1996) *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* London: Routledge
- Braham P, Rattansi A & Skellington R (1992) (eds) *Racism and Ant-Racism: Inequalities, Opportunities and Policies* London: Sage
- Brandon D Callow L Callow N Cochrane B Hargreaves J Kneeshaw S Voss J and Wilkins T (2007) "A study of cinema access and film consumption for audiences with sensory impairments" Report to the UK Film Council March : London
- Bridgwood A Fenn C Dust K Hutton L Skelton A and Skinner M (2003) *Focus on Cultural Diversity: the arts in England: attendance, participation, attitudes* Arts Council England
- British Film Institute (2000) *Black and Asian Film Research* July Prepared for BFI by Surrey Social and Market Research Ltd

British Film Institute (2003) "White Sticks, wheels and Crutches : Disability and the Moving Image" March London: bfi

British Screen Advisory Council (BSAC 2001) "Achieving Diversity in the Film Industry" BSAC: London

Brunsdon C (2000) "Not having it all Women and Film in the 1990s" in Murphy R (ed.) (2000) *British Cinema of the 90s* bfi publishing: London

Cabinet Office (2001) *Towards Equality and Diversity: implementing the employment and race directives* London: Cabinet Office

Campion M J (2005) *Look who's talking : Cultural Diversity, Public Service Broadcasting and the National Conversation* Nuffield College: Oxford October

Cassey J (2005) "Mental Illness" in Helsby W Ashbury R Cassey J Ramey M and Turner P *Understanding Representation* London : bfi publishing

Catalyst (2004) The Bottom Line : Connecting corporate performance and gender diversity [www.catalystwomen.org/publications/executive-\\_summaries/fpexec.pdf](http://www.catalystwomen.org/publications/executive-_summaries/fpexec.pdf)

Cockburn, C (1991) *In the Way of Women* Basingstoke: Macmillan

Commission for Racial Equality (2007) "The Economic Case for Race Equality" [www.cre.gov.uk/gdpract/wwb-economiccase.html](http://www.cre.gov.uk/gdpract/wwb-economiccase.html)

Commission for Racial Equality (2004) "CRE survey shows little integration among UK's white majority community with ethnic minorities" 19<sup>th</sup> July [www.cre.gov.uk/media/nr\\_arch/2004/nr010719.html](http://www.cre.gov.uk/media/nr_arch/2004/nr010719.html)

Commission for Racial Equality *Large Companies and Racial Equality* 1995: London: CRE

Corporate Intelligence on Retailing (1998) "Consumer Spending Forecasts for Western Europe" 1998–2005 London: Corporate Intelligence on Retailing

Cover R (2000) "First Contact: Queer Theory, Sexual Identity, and "Mainstream" film" *International Journal of Sexuality and Gender Studies* Vol 5 No 1 pp71–89

Cowan K and Valentine G (2006) "Tuned out: The BBC's portrayal of lesbian and gay people" London : Stonewall

Cowan K (2005) "Network Groups :setting up networks for lesbian gay and bisexual employees" London : Stonewall

Cowan K (2006) "Monitoring: How to monitor sexual orientation in the workplace" London : Stonewall

Coyle A (1995) *Learning from Experience: the Equal opportunities Challenge for the 1990s – The Seven Million pounds project working paper 5*, London: DEMOS

Creegan C, Colgan F, Charlesworth R and Robinson G (2003) "Race equality policies at work: employee perceptions of the 'implementation gap' in a UK local authority" in *Work, Employment and Society* vol. 17(4) pp617–640

Crenshaw K (1993) "Whose story is it anyway? Feminist and anti-racist appropriations of Anita Hill" in Morrison T (ed) *Race-ing, justice en-gendering power* London: Chatto and Windus

Cumberbatch G and Gauntlett S (2006) "On screen representations of Disability" Report prepared for Broadcasting and Creative Industries Disability Network Birmingham: the communications research group

Curtis P (2006) "Gay men earn £10k more than national average" The Guardian January 23 2006

Darke P (1994a) "*The Elephant Man* (David Lynch EMI Films, 1980): an analysis from a disabled perspective" *Disability and Society* Vol 9 No 3 pp 327–342

Darke P (1994b) "Mothered but never mothers: An Exploration of Disability Sexuality on Film" *Dam* Vol 4 no 4 Winter

Davidson M and Burke R (eds) (2000) *Women in Management Current Research Issues Vol 2* London: Sage

Davies J (2005) 'Diversity. America. Leadership. Good over Evil.' Hollywood Multiculturalism and American imperialism in Independence Day and Three Kings

*Patterns of Prejudice* Vol 39 No 4

Dean D and Jones C (2003) "If Women actors were working..." in *Media Culture and Society* Vol 25 pp 527-541

Department of Trade and Industry DTI (2004) *Fairness for All: a New Commission for Equality and Human Rights* White Paper May London: HMSO

Department for Education and Science DfES (2007) National Curriculum Assessment GCSE and equivalent attainment and post-16 attainment by pupil characteristics in England 2005/6 (revised) London:DfES

Department of Trade and Industry DTI (2005) "Women in the IT Industry : Towards a business case for diversity" Interim Report London: dti

Department of Trade and Industry DTI (2002) *Equality and Diversity: the way ahead* London: HMSO

Department of Trade and Industry (2000) *The Age Shift - Priorities for Action;* Ageing Population Panel December

Dickinson M and Harvey S (2005) "Film Policy in the United Kingdom: New Labour at the Movies" in *Political Quarterly Publishing Co Ltd* Oxford: Blackwell

Dyer S (2007) "Boxed in: How cultural diversity policies constrict black artists" Manifesto club [www.manifestclub.com/hubs/artistic-autonomy](http://www.manifestclub.com/hubs/artistic-autonomy)

Dyja E (ed.) (2004) *BFI Television and Film Handbook: 2005* bfi publishing: London

England J (2004) "Disciplining Subjectivity and Space: Representation, Film and its material effects" *Antipode*, Massachusetts: Blackwell

Equal Opportunities Commission EOC (2007) *Moving on Up? The Way Forward* Manchester:EOC

European Commission (2005) "The Business Case for Diversity: Good Practices in the Workplace" Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

Faludi, S (1992). *Backlash: the undeclared war against women*. New York: Anchor Books/Doubleday

Farrell K (2003) 'Naked Nation: The Full Monty, Working Class Masculinity and the British Image' *Men and Masculinities* 6; 119 Sage: London and USA

Finlay S J and Fenton n (2005) "If you've got a vagina and an Attitude, that;s a deadly combination: Sex and Heterosexuality in Basic Instinct, Body of Evidence and Disclosure *Sexualities* vol 8 (1) pp 49–74

Fouz–Hernandez S (2005) 'Phallic Matters?: Ewan Macgregor and the Representation of the Male Body in Peter Greenaway's The Pillow Book' (1996) *Men and Masculinities* 8; 133 Sage: London

Fredman S (2001) "Combating racism with human rights: the right to equality in Fredman S (ed) *Discrimination and Human Rights: the Case of Racism* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Fredman S (2002) *The Future of Equality in Britain* Working paper series no. 5 Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission

Gidoomal R (1999) 'Benefiting from Business Diversity' 8 July 1999 – speech at the Commonwealth Institute, London.

Goldstein BP (2002) "Catch 22 – black workers' role in equal opportunities for black service users" in *British Journal of Social Work* 32 765–778

Goldstone C and Levy Y (1996) *Evaluation of Equal Opportunities Publications* Report prepared for the DfEE.

The Guardian (2001) 'Marketing to Multicultural Britain' Media.guardian.co.uk 26 June 2001

Hay Group (2001) *The Retention Dilemma*

Hedley M (2002) "The Geometry of Gendered Conflict in Popular Film: 1986–2000" *Sex Roles*, Vol 47, Nos5/6 pp 201–217

Hepple B, Coussey M and Choudhury T (2000) *Equality and new framework: report of the independent review of Enforcement of UK anti-discrimination legislation* Oxford: Hart Publishing

Hill Jeffrey (2005) 'Sport Stripped Bare: Deconstructing working class masculinity in "This Sporting Life" *Men and masculinities* 7; 405

Hill J (2000) "Failure and Utopian: Representations of the Working Class in British Cinema of the 1990s" in Murphy R (ed.) (2000) *British Cinema of the 90s* bfi publishing: London

Hill J (2002) "British Cinema as National Cinema" in Turner G (ed) *The Film Cultures Reader* London and New York: Routledge

Hill J (2004) "UK Film Policy, Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion" *Cultural Trends*, Vol 13 (2) no 50 June pp 29-39

Hill John (2006) 'British Cinema as National Cinema' in Vitali V and Willeman P *Theorising National Cinema* bfi London

HM Treasury (2005) "Reform of film tax incentives: Promoting the sustainable product of culturally British films" July HM Treasury Crown Copyright

Holgate J (2006) "Black and Minority Ethnic Workers in London's audio-visual industries" *Key Findings* London Metropolitan University Working Lives Research Institute

Holgate J and Mackay S (2007) "Institutional Barriers to recruitment and employment in the audio visual industries: The effect on Black and minority ethnic workers" January Working Lives Research Institute: London Metropolitan University

Hussain M (2000) "Islam Media and Minorities in Denmark" in *Current Sociology* October Vol. 48 (4) 95-116

Iles P and Hayers P (1997) "Managing Diversity in Transnational Project Teams" *Journal of Managerial Psychology* 12 (2) pp 95-117

Institute for Employment Studies [IES] (2006) "Scoping Study into the Lack of Women Screenwriters in the UK" report for UK Film Council IES:Sussex

Institute for Employment Studies [IES] (2004) "Researching the Independent Production Sector: a focus on minority ethnic led companies" Report for PACT and the UK Film Council IES: Sussex

Jackson A Associates (2004) "Impact Analysis of First Light" Report to First Light and the UK Film Council November Annabel Jackson Associates: Bath Somerset

Julienne L (2001) "The Root to my tree: examining the experience of positive action training in housing" in *Findings* March, York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Kellaway K (2007) "Celluloid Ceiling? Ask the experts" *The Observer* March 4

Khan N (2002) *Towards a greater diversity: results and legacy of the Arts Council of England's cultural diversity action plan* London: Arts Council of England

Kim J (2003) "The Funding and Distribution Structure of the British Film Industry in the 1990s: Localisation and the Commercialisation of British Cinema towards a global audience" *Media Culture and Society* Vol 25 pp 405–413

Klemm M and Kelsey S (2004) "Ethnic Groups and the British Travel Industry: Servicing a Minority?" *The Services Industry Journal* 24 (4)

Kohli S (2007) "Making Race positive" *Broadcast* 2 March p.20

Lauzen M (2005) *The Celluloid Ceiling: Behind the Scenes Employment of Women in the top 250 films of 2004* San Diego University: USA  
[www.moviesbywomen.com/marthalauzenphd/stats2004.html](http://www.moviesbywomen.com/marthalauzenphd/stats2004.html)

Lauzen M and Dozier D (2005) "Maintaining the Double Standard: Portrayals of Age and Gender in Popular Films" *Sex Roles*, Vol 52, Nos7/8 pp 437–446

Leadership and Diversity Forum (2007a) 'Pledge 6: Representation of On screen Diversity Project Aims': UK Film Council: London

Leadership and Diversity Forum (2007b) "Proposal for Production Equality Advisor and appointment launch" UK Film Council: London

Leadership and Diversity Forum (2007c) "Film Industry Mentoring Scheme: Move on Up Plus" UK Film Council: London

Lincoln A (2007) "Cultural Honours and Career promotions: Reconceptualising Prizes in the Field of Cultural Production" *Cultural Trends*, Vol 16 No 1 March pp 3– 15

Lincoln A and Allen M (2004) "Double Jeopardy in Hollywood: Age and Gender in the Careers of Film Actors, 1926–1999" *Sociological Forum* Vol 19 No 4 December pp 611–631

London Skills Forecasting Unit, London TEC Council (2001) 'Strength through Diversity: Ethnic Minorities in London's economy' [www.skills-unit.com/news/news\\_rel\\_diversity.htm](http://www.skills-unit.com/news/news_rel_diversity.htm).

Lloyds TSB (2001) 'Diversity in the Workplace' Lloyds TSB advert 27.6.01 The Guardian

Metcalf H and Forth J (2000) *Business Benefits of Race Equality at Work* DfEE London

Middlesex University Business School (2003) *Play it Right: Asian Creative Industries in London* London :Greater London Authority February

The Millenium Papers (1999) *Future Work and Lifestyles* Age Concern.: London

Mirza HS (2003) "'All the women are white, all the blacks are men – but some of us are brave': mapping the consequences of invisibility for black and minority ethnic women in Britain" in Mason D (ed) *Explaining ethnic differences: changing patterns of disadvantage in Britain* Bristol: Policy Press

Mirza HS (1997) *Black British Feminism* London: Routledge

Mirza HS (1992) *Young, Female and Black* London: Routledge

Mirza HS and Sheridan AM (2003) *Multiple identity and access to health – The experience of black and minority ethnic women* Working Paper Series no. 10 Manchester: EOC



- Murphy R (ed.) (2000) *British Cinema of the 90s* bfi publishing: London
- O’Cinneide C (2002) *A single equality body: lessons from abroad* Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission
- ODPM – Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2003) “Equality and Diversity in Local Government” July London: ODPM
- Ogborn K (2000) “Pathways into the Industry” in Murphy R (ed.) (2000) *British Cinema of the 90s* bfi publishing: London
- Patterson M M West R Lawthorn and S Nickell IPD (1997) *The Impact of People Management Practices on Business Performance* London: Chartered Institute for Personnel Development
- Platt L (2005) “The Intergenerational Social Mobility of Minority Ethnic Groups” *Sociology* Vol 39 (3), pp445–461
- Punch A and Pearce A (2001) *Europe’s Population and labour market beyond 2000* Council of Europe: Strasbourg
- Putnam R (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* New York : Touchstone
- Pollard E Shepherd E Tamkin P and Barkworth R (2004) *Researching the Independent Production Sector: a focus on minority led companies* Institute for Employment Studies : Brighton Pact and UK Film Council copyright: London
- Punch A and Pearce A (2001) *Europe’s Population and labour market beyond 2000* Council of Europe: Strasbourg
- Rattansi A and Skellington R (1992) *Racism and Anti Racism: Inequalities, Opportunities and Policies* London/Milton Keynes: Sage and Open University
- Rees P (2007) “Ethnic Population Projections: Review and Illustration of Issues” Paper presented at the Workshop on Monitoring Population Change with and Ethnic group dimension Cathie Marsh Centre for Census and Survey Research, University of Manchester May 18.

Rees P and Parsons J (2006) *Socio-demographic scenarios for children to 2020* Joseph Rowntree Foundation: York

Richards C (2005) 'Translations: Encounters with Popular film and academic discourse' *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 8; 23 Sage: London and USA

Robson P (2002) 'Fade to Grey: portraying the ethnic minority experience in British film' *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 30, 235–257

Rogers S (2007) "Writing British Films – who writes British films and how they are recruited" Report for UK Film Council : University of London: Royal Holloway College

The Royal Norwegian Ministry for Cultural and Church Affairs (2007) 'Parliamentary Report [White Paper] Report to Parliament on future government film policy and programmes' Report No 22 : The Pathfinder: Norway

Russo V (1987) *The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality at the Movies* New York: Harper and Row

Saner E (2007) "Everything but the Ghoul" *The Guardian Film and Music* 6.4.07

Simonton D K (2004) 'The "Best Actress" Paradox: Outstanding Feature films versus Exceptional Women's Performances' **Sex Roles** Vol 50 Nos 11/12 June

Sinfield A (2006) "Boys, Class and Gender: from Billy Caspar to Billy Elliott" *History Workshop Journal* Issue 62 pp 166–171

Singh V (2002) "Managing Diversity for Strategic Advantage" Centre for Developing Women Business Leaders Cranfield School of Management

Skillset (2006) "Analysis of Film Performers" Bespoke Report for UK Film Council

Skillset (2005) *Survey of the Audio Visual Industries' Workforce* London: Skillset

Skillset (2004) *Employers Census of 2004* Skillset London

Skillset and Equity (2006) "Analysis of Film Performers" Bespoke report for UK Film Council from *Performance Arts Industry Survey* Skillset: London

Skillset and Equity (2005) *Performing Arts Industry Survey* Skillset: London

Skillset and UK Film Council (2007) "Film Sector Survey 2006– Project Update" March Skillset: London

Skillset and UK Film Council (2005) *Feature Film Production Workforce Survey 2005* Skillset: London

Skillset and UK Film Council (2004) *Feature Film Production Workforce Survey 2004* Skillset: London

Skillset and UK Film Council (2003) *A Bigger Future* The UK Film Skills Strategy London: Skillset

Small G (2005) "Is this really me?" in *Black filmmaker* January/February 2005 Vol 7 No28

Smallbone D Bertotti M and Ekanem I (2005) "Diversification in ethnic minority business: the case of Asians in London's creative industries" *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, Vol 12 No 1 pp 41– 56

Smelik A (2003) ' 'For Venus smiles not in a house of tears' Interethnic Relations in European Cinema' *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 6; 55 Sage : London USA

Sparrow F (2004) "A Free State?" in *Black filmmaker* may/June Vol 6 No 24

Spicer A (2005) "Debate: The Cultural Value of UK Film" Report of a seminar held at Senate House, University of London 3 May 2005 in *Journal of British Cinema and Television The British Cinema Going Experience* edited by Conrich I and Hammerton J Vol 2.2 pp 340–343

Stadtler F (2005) 'Cultural Connections: *Lagaan* and its audience responses' *Third World Quarterly* Vol 26, No 3, pp 517–524

Stafford R (2004) "Diversity Reports and policies: what's goin' on?" in [www.itpmag.demon.co.uk](http://www.itpmag.demon.co.uk) June ;media education magazine

Steele D (2004) "Developing the Evidence base for UK Film Strategy: The Research Process at the UK Film Council" *Cultural Trends* Vol 13 (4) no 52, December pp 5–21

Steinke J (2005) 'Cultural Representations of Gender and Science: Portrayals of Female Scientists and Engineers in Popular Films' *Science Communication* 27; 27  
Sage: London and USA

Stonewall (2006) "Gay people your business" London: Stonewall

Strategic Market Assessment for the Professional (1998) 'The Pink Pound 1998' from Stonewall: London

Thornham S (2003) 'A Good Body': The case of /for feminist studies' *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 6; 75 Sage: London and USA

Tucker A (2004) "Diversity Initiatives Are they really making a difference?" *The Independent Film and Video Monthly* April pp 43–45

UK Film Council (2004–5) *Statistical Yearbook Annual Review* London : UK Film Council

UK Film Council (2005–6) *Statistical Yearbook Annual Review* London : UK Film Council

UK Film Council (2006–7) *Statistical Yearbook*, London : UK Film Council

UK Film Council (accessed 2007) Diversity  
[www.ukfilmcouncil.org.uk/information/aboutus/diversity](http://www.ukfilmcouncil.org.uk/information/aboutus/diversity)

UK Film Council (2006) "Employment Statistics" *Group and Lottery Annual Report and Financial Statements 2005–6* UK Film Council: London

UK Film Council and Era Ltd (2006–7) "Identities" Brochure produced by UK Film Council and others London: Identities Partnership

UK Film Council and National Council for Drama Training (undated) "Minority Ethnic Actors– Summary of Research Findings" London: UK Film Council

UN (2000) "Gender and Racial Discrimination" Report of the Expert Group Meeting *UN Division for the Advancement of Women* 21–24 November Zagreb, Croatia (Submission by K Crenshaw)

van Dijk T (1993) *Elite Discourse and Racism* London: Sage

Watson P (2001) *Pitch Black: From the margin to the mainstream* National Film and Television School

Wax R G (2000) "Lights, Camera, Access!" in *Emmy* June pp 106–116

White A and Rughani P (2003) "Imagine Asian Evaluation Report" London : bfi publishing

Wilson J Associates (2003) 'Cultural Diversity and Audience Development : A report summarizing learning points and case studies from Arts Council England's New Audiences Programme' Bradford, W. Yorks : J Wilson Associates

Wilson EM and Iles PA (1999) "Managing Diversity: an employment and service delivery challenge" in *International Journal of Public Sector Management* Vol. 12 (1) pp27–48

Women and Work Commission (2006) *Shaping a Fairer Future* dti: London February Crown Copyright

Zadek S and Scott Parker S (2001) *Unlocking the evidence :The New Disability Business Case* Employers Forum on Disability: London

Zuckerman E W and Kim T Y 'The Critical Trade off: identity assignment and box office success in the feature film industry' *Industrial and Corporate Change* Vol 12 , No 1 pp 27–67