

BEYOND BLACK TO FRONT

Assessing Channel 4's Black To Front Project and New Diversity and Inclusion Challenges

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INTRODUCTION

Channel 4's Black To Front Project was a day of programming broadcast on Friday 10th September 2021 with 100% on-screen Black representation and attempting to maximize Black representation behind the camera (aiming at 100%). The network's schedule started with *The Big Breakfast* hosted by Mo Gilligan at 8.00am, and finished with *Unapologetic*, hosted by Yinka Bokinni and Zeze Millz, at 23.35pm. It included a mixture of new commissions (*Unapologetic*), relaunches/reimaginings of old formats (*Celebrity Gogglebox*) and recasting of existing returning series (*Countdown*).

The purpose of the initiative was to increase diversity and inclusion of Black talent both in front and behind the camera at Channel 4 specifically, and the UK broadcasting industry more generally. It was widely accepted before the day of programming that the day could be perceived as 'tokenistic' if it did not provide long term change to working practices within Channel 4 and its suppliers.

It was also recognised by Channel 4 that it would be vital to capture any lessons learnt in implementing the day of programming and for an independent party to assess the impact of the day. This included not just the day of broadcast itself, but the processes leading up to it.

The purpose of this report is for the Sir Lenny Henry Centre for Media Diversity (LHC) to be that independent assessor. This report evaluates the impact of the initiative and captures lessons - both negative and positive that Channel 4 can learn from to increase diversity and inclusion. Channel 4 also asked the LHC to specifically explore two related issues that arose in its delivery of the Black To Front Project: analysing the workforce capacity outside of London along racial and ethnic lines and measuring intersectionality of its workforce.¹

(While the LHC has obtained legal advice on all relevant parts of the report we would recommend Channel 4 seek independent legal advice on implementation of any specific policies)

¹It should be noted that it is not in the remit of the report to evaluate the editorial content, audience reception or commercial success of the initiative.

INTRODUCTION

This report is divided into three broad sections:

The industry impact and lessons learned from the Black To Front Project

This is based on survey results of people involved in Black to Front as well as other industry stakeholders connected to the process. We also conducted interviews with selected participants in the Black To Front Project and industry stakeholders.

2. Ethnicity of workforce capacity outside of London

During the process of delivering the Black To Front Project, Channel 4 recognised that there were perceived concerns associated with the hiring of Black and global majority employees for productions outside of London. This report examines methods by which Channel 4 can assess workforce capacity outside of London, as analysed by ethnicity.

3. New industry targets and metrics for intersectionality

Channel 4 recognised that there was a need to measure and evaluate intersectionality in the process of working on the Black To Front Project. In this report we propose methods which Channel 4 may use if they choose to set targets and metrics for intersectionality based on a combination of an academic literature review and interviews with industry experts and diversity and inclusion experts.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

'Who was it who said 'it's too early to judge' the impact of the French Revolution?'

- Ian Katz, Chief Content Officer Channel 4.

In this quote from an interview we conducted with Ian Katz about the Black To Front Project, Katz is referring to Mao Zedong's infamous response when asked about how to evaluate history in 1968. Although this quote is widely thought to be apocryphal, this report wholeheartedly agrees with the sentiment being expressed.

Any evaluation of the Black To Front Project less than six months after the day of broadcast will, at best, be preliminary and far from definitive. However, the LHC also believes that regular evaluation of impact, and capturing lessons learned, is essential to achieve the long term aims of increasing diversity, inclusion and equality for Black talent both in front and behind the camera at Channel 4 and its suppliers, as well as within the industry more broadly.

To this end we see this report as a necessary first step in capturing lessons from Black to Front, building on positive developments and ensuring that negative processes are not repeated. It is also essential that other assessments are conducted at regular intervals to ensure the Black To Front Project is optimised and not seen as a one-off event with limited meaningful impact beyond the day itself.

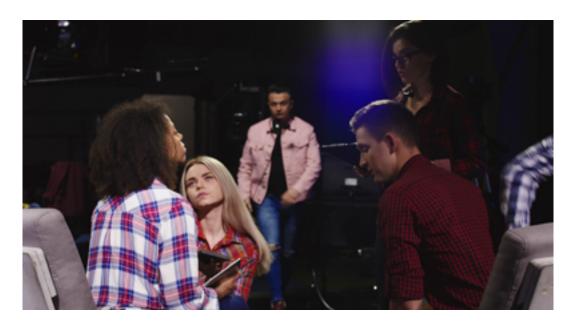
The LHC also noted that Channel 4 has made several key announcements following the day of broadcasts as part of the Black to Front Project including, although limited to; the ringfencing of £22m for commissions from ethnically-diverse indies by the end of 2023, and a continued committed to ensuring 20% of commissioning staff are "diverse". Our understanding is that the details on how some of these policies and commitments will be implemented are still being worked out at the time of writing and therefore is beyond the scope of this particular report to properly analyse at this time.

The LHC concluded that the majority of the people directly and indirectly involved in Black to Front were broadly positive about it. The most positive supporters of the initiative tended to be Black talent in front of the camera and White staff working at Channel 4 and for third party suppliers. The most critical voices tended to come from Black talent behind the camera in general, and people working for Black-led indies in particular. However, it should be noted that for the most part even these critical voices were relatively muted about their criticism of the day, but they were highly sceptical that it would lead to long-term systemic change at Channel 4 or in broader industry practices.

The LHC believe that both the positive and negative reactions to the initiative were rational reactions to the day and hold valuable lessons for Channel 4. The LHC believes that it is vital for Channel 4 to continue to engage with both the praise and constructive criticism it has received. The LHC has so far observed Channel 4 engaging with all its stakeholders and believes that this will be the only way in which the broadcaster will truly be able to build on the initiative.

The LHC also believes that it is important for Channel 4 to continue to proactively identify specific challenges in achieving diversity, inclusion and equality in both its own workforce and that of its suppliers. To that end we see the need to assess Black, Asian and minority ethnic (B.A.M.E.) workforce capacity outside of London as playing a critical role in building on any lessons from Black to Front as the broadcaster increases productions in the Nations and Regions.

We also see the ability of Channel 4 to measure and evaluate the intersectionality of its workforce as another step in finding new ways to push the diversity, inclusion and equality agenda forward.



Nine Key Findings and Recommendations

The report found nine key findings that we believe Channel 4 can build upon:

- 1. Explicit Expectations by the Broadcaster Are Vital to Change Behaviour Direct instructions and clear messaging in discussions around the need to increase Black representation were essential to achieve progress in diversity, inclusion and equality. When diversity and inclusion is set as a non-negotiable priority by the broadcaster, as it was for the Black To Front Project, suppliers are generally able to meet the requirements. Previously, Channel 4 employees, and third party suppliers, have found that when such priorities were not viewed as intrinsic to the editorial proposition of the production, or a prerequisite to essential delivery of the programme, or without consistent conversations about it, it was harder for third party suppliers to increase their diversity.
- 2. Directly "seeing" the level of both on-screen and behind the camera diversity as opposed to just reading statistics is key to motivating behaviours

The simple fact that on-screen talent is, by definition, visible, while behind the camera talent is not, was cited as a major reason why diversity in front of the camera has progressed at a faster pace than diversity behind the camera. Crew pictures of the various productions which were part of the Black To Front Project were cited as a tangible measure of success that connects with executives in a way that statistics do not. To this end we recommend that crew pictures should be taken of every Channel 4 production followed by conversations between the production and commissioning editor about them.

3. Critical mass at Channel 4 in commissioning roles

The importance of achieving a 'critical mass' of Black commissioners and commissioners of colour was also illustrated by the origins of the Black To Front Project. Interviewees believed it is highly doubtful the day would have come to fruition without the work of two commissioners of colour, Vivienne Molokwu and Shaminder Nahal. Several interviewees believed it would have been impossible to push through the idea in its initial stages without two commissioners of colour supporting each other.

4. Building better relationships with diverse-led production companies When LHC spoke to diverse-led indies for this report, there was widespread scepticism as to whether the Black To Front Project prioritised and understood the essential role of Black-led indies. There was also general disappointment within Channel 4 with what they perceived to be the 'quality' of the pitches the broadcaster received from Black-led production companies.

As 'quality' is often subjective and based more around a broadcaster's expressed needs both points would seem to be indicative of the need to build better relationships between the broadcaster and Blackled indies. Better communication and relationships would address the scepticism and ensure that Black-led indies can understand the needs of the broadcaster and pitch ideas that Channel 4 perceive as better 'quality'.

- 5. Need to re-evaluate talent suitability for Channel 4 productions

 The Black To Front Project identified several ways in which previous methods to evaluate the suitability of talent for key roles behind the camera often served to entrench non-diverse working practices, such as a requirement that personnel would have worked for Channel 4 previously, or be a good 'cultural fit' for Channel 4 (with unspecified criteria). It also revealed that for on-screen talent there was an 'over-reliance' on 'legacy talent', with new talent being just as suitable if the format was strong enough.
- 6. Different approaches in increasing diversity in new and returning series Different approaches in increasing diversity in new and returning series Channel 4 may want to revisit its existing targets and levels need to be set in what can be realistically achieved for increasing diversity in new commissions and returning series. Channel 4 should have clear metrics of staff turnover in returning series and how the diversity of new staff on returning series is increased. Channel 4 must also guard against entrenched and unquestioned patterns of behaviour between the broadcaster and long-term third-party suppliers.



7. Financial support to increase diversity

It was noted by several productions that they needed specific financial support from Channel 4 to achieve the diversity goals set by the broadcaster. Alternatively, some larger production companies had to find the finances to meet Channel 4's diversity goals set out in the Black To Front Project. The LHC believes that explicit conversations around the extra costs that can be incurred in achieving a diverse accurately representational workforce need to be had between Channel 4 and its suppliers as part of the commissioning process. This is not to recommend that all extra costs should be met by the broadcaster, but transparency around the process is vital.

8. Recruiting Black talent for 'Out of London' productions perceived to be a problem

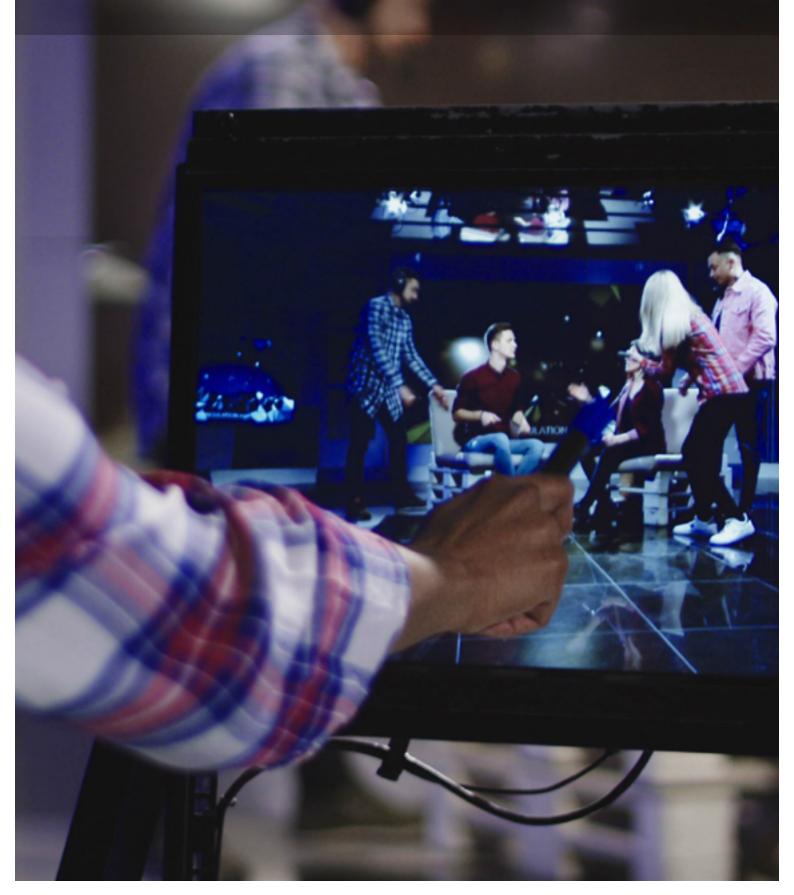
The ability to identify and recruit Black talent is perceived to be a serious problem outside of London. This perception was not met by the actual experience of many out-of-London productions when clear and explicit diversity goals were set and prioritized. However, to address these concerns we encourage Channel 4 to continue the work set out in this report to objectively evaluate the diversity of the out-of-London workforce to ensure meaningful and constructive dialogue with all its suppliers.

Specificity around what an accurately representational workforce is, is essential - Intersectionality is the next step in the process of achieving this

Identifying the specific need to focus on Black talent for the Black To Front Project was essential to measure progress and identify specific issues, as opposed to having broad 'B.A.M.E. targets'. The LHC believes that this can be extended to looking at intersectionality more broadly to ensure that there is better representation of all different types of people for Channel 4 both in front and behind the camera.



PART 1: INDUSTRY IMPACT OF BLACK TO FRONT PROJECT



Part 1: Industry Impact of Black To Front Project

The stated aims of Channel 4's Black To Front Project were to 'improve Black representation on and off screen and drive long-term change', as well finding ways to 'amplify Black talent, stories, and voices by bringing them to the forefront on screen and off screen.'

To achieve this, Channel 4 commissioned the Sir Lenny Henry Centre for Media Diversity (LHC) to complete the 'Setting the standards for success: interrogating the evidence to ensure lasting change through 'Channel 4 represents Black to Front' report in June 2021.

This report² had four broad recommendations for Channel 4 ahead of the day:

1. Bigger than one day

Employment opportunities for Black people at independent production companies and at Channel 4 must be implemented before the day in question and carried on beyond the day.

2. Recognising the Need for Black Representation Behind the Camera Inside and Outside of Channel 4.

It is important to recognise the specific importance of Black representation behind the camera as opposed to representation of people of colour (PoC) in general. And recognising the value of Black representation in editorial roles (behind the camera but especially commissioners) and the impact this will have on delivering more meaningful representation across the board.

3. A Tailored Approach for New and Ongoing Commissions

Recognising the different challenges facing new and ongoing commissions to maximise Black representation behind the camera. The former should be used to identify skill shortages with the aspiration of achieving 100% Black representation behind the camera. The aspiration to achieve 100% representation should lead to identifying where suitable Black talent exists and where there are gaps.

4. Creating Baseline Data to Track Success

The need to be able to communicate credibly the impact of the 'Black to Front' day. Currently there are no industry-wide trusted statistics for the ethnic diversity of those making any of the broadcasters' programmes. Channel 4 needs to take the Black to Front opportunity to explore and test new ways to work with independent production companies to collect and publish data.

In this report we aim to investigate ways Channel 4 was able to achieve its stated aims and meet the recommendations of the previous LHC report. We also seek to capture new lessons and experiences that Channel 4 can build upon through the process of undertaking the Black To Front Project.

² Marcus Ryder, Stevie Marsden, Carlene Marshall-King, 'Setting the standards for success: interrogating the evidence to ensure lasting change through 'Channel 4 represents Black to Front'', Birmingham City University, June 2021.

Methodology

In order to examine the above, we conducted a series of online surveys with participants and industry stakeholders involved (both directly and indirectly) in Black to Front. We also conducted in-depth interviews with people involved in the initiative (both directly and indirectly). This included employees of Channel 4, production companies that made programmes for the day, on-screen and behind the camera talent involved in the day and Black industry stakeholders who did not work on any productions but who, in theory, would benefit from a more diverse and inclusive media environment.

Online Surveys

Three³ interrelated but separate online surveys were conducted of three core groups:

- 1. Direct Channel 4 employees
- 2. Production companies producing content for Black to Front
- 3. Employees / Talent of third-party production companies producing content for Black to Front

LHC received 11 respondents for the direct Channel 4 employees survey; 8 respondents for the production company survey; and 17 respondents for the employees/talent of third-party production companies.

The surveys were self-selecting and therefore prone to possible selection bias and are therefore not necessarily representative of the experience of the industry as a whole. However, LHC attempted to address this issue through selected follow up interviews.

In-Depth Interviews

The LHC conducted 15 in-depth interviews aimed to directly complement the surveys, allowing for follow up questions and a more focused approach to hopefully address any selection bias present in the survey responses.

The interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour and included a range of participants including: on-screen and behind-the-camera talent from the day, senior Black television executives, and Channel 4 staff including; commissioners, talent managers, diversity leads and the chief content officer.

³ A fourth survey, an impact assessment for production companies more generally, was designed and disseminated, however LHC found that this survey was interpreted as "overlapping" with the survey for production companies producing content for the Black To Front Project and so the survey did not receive any responses.

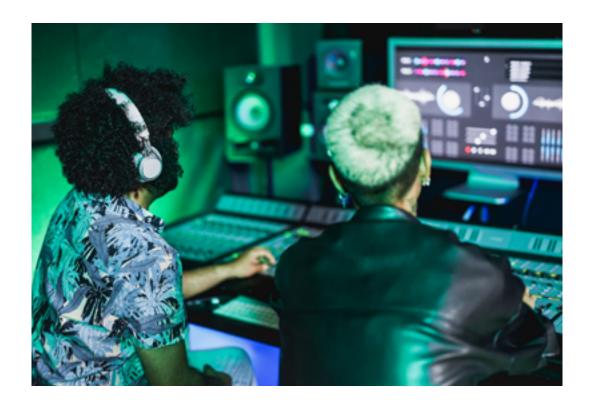
Although LHC considered these methodologies to be the best approach for attaining an insight into both the direct experiences of working on the Black To Front Project and/or perceptions of its impact from key stakeholders, the use of surveys and interviews for this report relied on the relatively small pool of employees, production companies and stakeholders who could respond directly to the initiative. As a result, this report will not provide any 'raw' data in order to maintain the anonymity of participants.

General Conclusions from Surveys and Interviews

The majority of interviewees and survey respondents were positive about the Black To Front Project, believing that it had so far had a beneficial impact in increasing diversity, inclusion and equality in the industry. The most positive supporters tended to be Black talent in front of the camera and White staff working at Channel 4 and for third party suppliers.

The most critical voices tended to come from Black talent behind the camera and people working for Black-led indies. Older Black talent with over twenty years' experience seemed more cautious in welcoming the initiative, and viewed it as less novel and 'ground-breaking' than younger talent.

However, it should be noted that for the most part even these critical voices were relatively muted about their criticism of the day although they remained sceptical that it would lead to long-term systemic change at Channel 4 or in broader industry practices.



Evaluating Black To Front Project Against LHC Recommendations

1. Bigger than one day

It was evident in survey responses and interviews that respondents felt Channel 4 has set out a clear ambition for the initiative to be broader than just one day and that the broadcaster wanted to build on lessons learned from the process.

On-Screen Talent

The clearest example of this is the continued employment of on-screen Black talent; most notably Anne-Marie Imafidon covering maternity leave on *Countdown*, Tayo Oguntonade on the *Great House Giveaway*, and brother and sister team Scarlette and Stuart Douglas on *Love it Or List It*.

However, the LHC would caution against attributing the continued success of the on-screen talent solely due to their appearance on Black to Front, as several had either secured presenting jobs ahead of Black to Front and some had filmed episodes that were yet to be aired. Notwithstanding the complexity of contract negotiations and the exact causality of contracts, all the on-screen talent interviewed expressed that Black to Front had been beneficial to their careers and raised their profiles enabling them to further their careers.

LHC Recommendations

• The LHC would recommend that Channel 4 continues to recognize the strength of the format and editorial proposition which contributes to the success of a production. On-screen talent is obviously a key component of any series but their importance, and especially the reliance on 'legacy talent' needs to be constantly interrogated.

Behind Camera Talent

Throughout the survey responses and interviews, there were several examples of Black talent working in roles, genres, and/or at levels they had not previously worked on before. Importantly, the Black talent received credits for their new roles, which many believed would benefit them in securing future work and aid them in career progression. Long term career progression for behind the camera roles can be harder to assess in the short-term and so, while the LHC are optimistic about these developments, it may be too early to determine the long-term effects of the day.

LHC Recommendations

 The LHC would advise Channel 4 to conduct an exercise of systematically tracking the careers of some of the Black talent behind the camera who took part in the Black To Front Project combined with a control group of both Black and White employees who did not, in order to assess the impact of the day.

New series

Two of the most tangible examples of Black to Front being bigger than one day are the ongoing series of *Unapologetic* and *Highlife*.

In our interviews there seemed to be the general understanding that *Unapologetic* would not have been commissioned without Black to Front and, therefore, commissioning it for a series following the day showed the initiative was bigger than 24 hours.

Attributing the continued success of Highlife to Black to Front, however, is slightly more complicated. Several interviewees believed that the series, and the production company behind it, Optomen, was in many ways the catalyst for the Black To Front Project.

While this is disputed by senior executives at Channel 4 close to the matter, this obviously points to the importance of the creative relationships that commissioners have with their suppliers, including but not limited to Optomen, in building the most exciting and diverse slate.

It is also rare for any production and commissioning decisions to be a clear linear process and not be part of wider ongoing conversations with third party suppliers. Therefore the LHC feels it would be wrong to not in part credit the Highlife series as an attempt for the Black To Front Project to be larger than one day, but also acknowledge that conversations around commissioning black subject matter programmes were obviously occurring before Black to Front.

At the time of writing it is unclear if The Big Breakfast will be brought back. There are ongoing negotiations with regards to the possible return of the comedy pilot Big Age.

Internal Channel 4 Processes

Black to Front created a 'new normal' for the level of Black talent it is possible to achieve on a production. This point came across in many of the interviews and survey responses. However, it should be noted that while this 'new normal' was almost universally acknowledged, some of the interviewees expressed frustration that this had not been recognised previously.

This may point to a breakdown in trust or communication between people responsible for employing staff and other groups advising on available talent. While the LHC takes the acceptance of this 'new normal' as an unequivocal good, we are concerned that people who held this view prior to the Black To Front Project may not have been properly listened to.

The other clear message that came across in both the interviews and survey results is that Black to Front changed both the tone and content of conversations around race and ethnicity at Channel 4 and most notably around the issue of employment.

However, central to this change in conversation about employment levels behind the camera was that it was linked to an editorial proposition of Black talent on-screen. In other words the conversations revolved around how to staff 'Black specific programmes'. It is unclear if and how these conversations will continue in the absence of such a clear editorial proposition championing and highlighting Black on-screen talent. It is necessary for Channel 4 to see how it can achieve this level of explicit discussions around Black representation behind the camera for 'mainstream' subject matter programmes. Channel 4 may want to pilot certain 'non-Black' subject programmes to see if this is possible.

The Black To Front Project also seemed to accelerate growing awareness that some of the informal processes of assessing whether someone was suitable and qualified to work on Channel 4 productions may have worked against the goal of increasing diversity and inclusion. Several interviewees expressed the frustration that, previously, people were often only thought to be suitable for a Channel 4 production in certain key positions (director, script writer, etc) if they already had Channel 4 credits.

This is obviously a Catch-22 for many people from underrepresented groups struggling to get their first credits in a key role. It also points to the unequal application of this informal rule since, logically, everyone in a key role must get their first Channel 4 credit in a key role at some point. This issue has been highlighted previously by several industry bodies, including Directors UK and Ofcom, and points to possible problems of both nepotism and biases in key employment decisions.

Relatedly, there was also the recognition in several interviews that conventional staffing structures can work against broadening the talent pool. To this end, it is important to explore how other staffing structures on productions may enable more diverse talent to be considered to work on productions.

LHC Recommendations

- The LHC would advise Channel 4 to interrogate its internal communications, and communications with external partners, to ensure that it does not require an intervention such as the Black To Front Project for people to listen to staff who were advocating for the acceptance of the 'new normal' before the day took place.
- The LHC would advise Channel 4 to explore ways in which the new level
 of conversations around race are not predicated on a specific editorial
 proposition about race. This could be achieved by internally targeting
 productions which do not have an overt 'Black subject matter' and see if it
 is possible to achieve the same levels seen on Black to Front productions.
- The LHC would advise Channel 4 to explore ways in which the new level
 of conversations around race are not predicated on a specific editorial
 proposition about race. This could be achieved by internally identifying
 productions which don't have an overt 'Black subject matter' and see if it is
 possible to achieve the same levels seen on Black to Front productions.



2. Recognising the Need for Black Representation Behind the Camera Inside and Outside of Channel 4

Throughout the interviews conducted by the LHC for this report there was a clear understanding that it is important not to view people of colour in one amorphous mass, and that it is crucial to see the different challenges faced by different ethnic and racial groups.

This understanding seems to have also been reinforced through conversations around the use of the term B.A.M.E. (Black Asian and Minority Ethnic) happening concurrently as the Black To Front Project.

During the course of the interviews there were a few linguistic 'slips of the tongue' where an interviewee clearly meant to say 'Black' and instead used another collective term meaning 'non-White' in general, but it would probably be wrong to characterise these as anything more than 'slips of the tongue'. The overall understanding that Black is not the same as people of colour or B.A.M.E. seems to be culturally entrenched in Channel 4 staff and third-party suppliers.

The importance of specific Black representation, and not just general B.A.M.E. representation, seems to have been grasped and can hopefully be carried forward into the future. It should be noted that for many interviewees the importance of looking at specific racial groups and not just a generic 'people of colour' group was also captured in how they spoke about South Asian, East Asian and other racial and ethnic groups.

The LHC observed, however, that Channel 4's response to the Black To Front Project seems to have primarily been a focus on Black representation within its third-party suppliers with less tangible movement on Black representation among its commissioners - as recommended in the original LHC report.

Several interviewees, both within Channel 4 and externally, expressed concerns that Channel 4 did not place greater emphasis on representation of its commissioners. Two Black executives independently expressed the view that until Channel 4 is able to increase its internal representation of commissioners, there will be limited long term benefits associated with the Black To Front Project and the relationship between the broadcaster and its third-party suppliers. There was also the concern expressed that the Black commissioners and commissioners of colour that were involved in the initiative did not have sufficient editorial power to decide the final commissioning and editorial decisions associated with the programmes on the day, and that these decisions were all ultimately made by White people. It

should be stressed that these criticisms were predominantly voiced by people who do not work for Channel 4 and so might not be fully privy to the internal decision making of the channel, but it would be important for Channel 4 to address this external perception at the very least.

The importance of achieving a 'critical mass' of Black commissioners and commissioners of colour was also illustrated by the origins of the Black To Front Project. Interviewees believed it is highly doubtful the day would have come to fruition without the work of two commissioners of colour, Vivienne Molokwu and Shaminder Nahal. Several interviewees believed it would have been impossible to push through the idea in its initial stages without two commissioners of colour supporting each other.

LHC Recommendations

- The LHC would advise Channel 4 to ensure that the cultural shift
 of recognising the importance of Black representation behind the
 camera (as well as other specific racial groups), as opposed to more
 generic B.A.M.E. representation, be reinforced through its literature
 around representation and in discussions around diversity. There
 seems to be considerable evidence that this is happening already.
- The LHC would advise Channel 4 to find methods to increase Black representation in commissioning as a matter of urgency and find ways to aid the career progression of Black commissioners and commissioners of colour. Coupled with this is the need to address the impression that the existing Black commissioners are in relatively junior positions. Until this is corrected Channel 4 will lose confidence and trust of a large section of its Black third-party suppliers.
- The LHC would advise Channel 4 to look at specific issues of critical mass of Black representation, both in terms of its commissioning staff and on productions by third party suppliers. We would suggest that it is only through achieving critical mass in key areas that behaviours can change and people feel empowered to increase 'diversity of thought'.

3. A Tailored Approach for New and Ongoing Commissions

There were clear differences in the experiences of people working on new commissions versus ongoing commissions. The interviewees with the most positive experiences of Black to Front were all associated with working on new commissions. Conversely, the interviewees with the most negative experiences were predominately associated with ongoing commissions.

This was also reflected in the ability of new commissions to have considerably higher Black representation versus ongoing commissions.

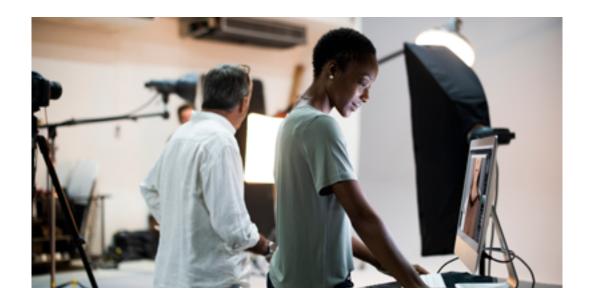
While this, in itself, should not be surprising - it is obviously harder to change the diversity of a production with existing staff, and it is often 'difficult to walk into an existing production as a new member of talent - this indicates that it will be easier to achieve culture change and representation in new commissions, rather than ongoing commissions.

Interviewees all seemed to acknowledge Channel 4 took a proactive and tailored approach to increasing diversity on different types of productions. This tailored approach also seemed to be beneficial when thinking of how to staff different types of genres. While this tailored approach is welcomed by the LHC and directly speaks to our earlier report's recommendations, there is the danger of the process of increasing diversity being more embedded in new commissions only. It is necessary for Channel 4 to have what might be perceived as difficult conversations with ongoing commissions. Indeed, the ability to change behavioural patterns and ways of working which might have existed for decades will always be more challenging.

There will always be the temptation for Channel 4 employees to concentrate on the 'low hanging fruit' of increasing diversity of new commissions and focus less on ongoing commissions, this temptation should be guarded against as the majority of production employees making content for Channel 4 still work in ongoing commissions

LHC Recommendations

 The LHC advises that Channel 4 should ask ongoing commissions for their annual 'staff churn' and from that number explore clear ways to achieve a more accurately representational workforce. This would recognise the difficulty of easily changing diversity numbers in ongoing commissions but would focus on where there is the potential for real change.



4. Creating Baseline Data to Track Success

Channel 4 monitored the Black representation of its third-party suppliers through continued conversations and meetings to gauge successes and challenges. Interviewees also expressed the willingness of all parties to engage in open and constructive dialogue in how to increase ethnic diversity and source Black talent.

There was also a willingness by most interviewees and survey respondents to explore other metrics for measuring diversity and representation - including percentage of salary spend as well as the more conventional percentage of staff headcount and representation in key roles.

Through the interviews LHC conducted for this report, it became clear that central to the openness of all parties involved in the Black To Front Project was the removal of 'blame' in achieving greater diversity. Instead, there seemed to be greater constructive engagement in discussions and work on how to increase Black representation with the clear understanding that it was not just the responsibility of the production companies to achieve this, but the responsibility lay jointly with the broadcaster.

Most production companies interviewed did not believe that they would have been able to achieve the level of diversity they did without the active support of Channel 4 staff. Similarly, several Channel 4 commissions recognised that they played a far more active role in looking at the overall diversity of a production's diversity of a production than they would normally.

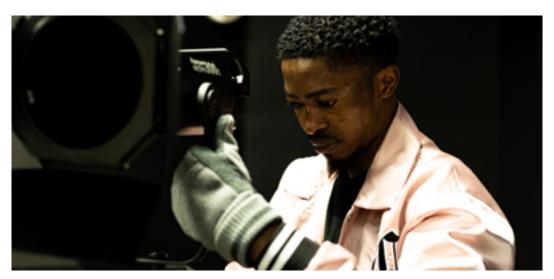
It was noted that the ability to achieve increases in Black representation was often predicated on a longer time to staff productions and/or dedicating financial resources to achieve this goal.

LHC Recommendations

- The LHC advises that Channel 4 should continue to explore different metrics for measuring diversity and representation. This includes the percentage of salary spend but should also include new methods of looking at intersectionality (see Part 3 of this report).
- It is vital Channel 4 is seen as an active partner in production companies achieving a more accurately representational workforce. This positive engagement may be difficult to achieve without production companies worrying that their staffing decisions are being micromanaged but the experience of Black to Front shows that this can be handled sensitively and successfully.
- Financial resources need to be dedicated to achieving better diversity representation. This may require explicit conversations between production companies and Channel 4 as to who should bear the share of these costs going forward.
- Channel 4 must recognise the direct relationship between the time production companies are given to staff up productions and the ability to source Black talent and talent from other under-represented groups and set the expectations accordingly.

New Lessons and Recommendations originating from the Black To Front Project (not originally outlined in previous LHC report)

As the LHC expected, the experience of undertaking the Black To Front Project illuminated important issues that the original report by the LHC and Channel 4 did not predict. These offer invaluable lessons Channel 4 can build upon as a result of Black to Front.



Channel 4's relationship with Black-led Indies

The largest criticism of the Black To Front Project that came across in the interviews conducted by the LHC was the lack of commissions by Blackled indies on the day. This criticism came not only from Black-led indies and Black executives, but was also mirrored in the frustration articulated by some Channel 4 executives of the quality of pitches they received from Black-led indies.

This may have been exacerbated by a mis-match between the messaging around Black to Front from Channel 4 to the industry and the number of commissions available. As one Channel 4 executive expressed, the total number of possible commissions for original new commissions on the day was incredibly low after the day was actually announced.

The interviews, pointed to what would seem to be indicative of the necessity to build better relationships between the broadcaster and Black-led indies. There is a need to address scepticism that many Black executives have around the broadcaster and their stated aim to increase diversity and what this specifically means for Black-led indies. The expressed frustration of Channel 4 commissioners not receiving the quality of pitches they need from experienced, Black-led indies would also seem to be indicative of a lack of communication and understanding by Black-led indies of the broadcaster's needs.

LHC Recommendations

- Channel 4 must actively work with Black-led indies if they feel they
 are not receiving the quality of ideas that they are expecting from
 these indies. The subjective 'quality' of pitches commissioners receive
 is a two-way process and if an entire section of the industry is not
 pitching ideas the commissioners like (or that they think are 'low
 quality') then it is incumbent on Channel 4 to understand why and
 actively address this.
- The small number of possible new commissions that were available to Black-led indies on the day should be openly acknowledged. Failure to do so can give the impression that Black-led indies are less capable than their White counterparts and are effectively to blame for their lack of success.
- The idea of ring-fenced commissions for Black-led indies should be explored.



The importance of visual representation of behind the camera diversity

At an Ofcom sponsored event on 7th October 2020, a year before Channel 4's Black To Front Project, the BBC Director General, Tim Davie, expressed the importance of seeing the lack of diversity in 'end of production' crew pictures as a major motivator for pushing through diversity policies. This is despite the considerable statistics that the BBC collects around diversity.

In a similar vein, many of the interviewees for this report expressed the view that one of the reasons that increases in diversity in front of the camera has happened at a faster pace than behind the camera is because one is more visible than the other. Many interviewees expressed the emotional impact seeing majority Black crews on Black to Front productions had on them.

The different ways in which people process diversity (and lack thereof) should not be underestimated. It is important that Channel 4 finds a way to increase the awareness of the level of diversity on productions that go beyond simple statistics and spreadsheets.

LHC Recommendations

• The LHC would advise Channel 4 to insist that all its productions take end of production photographs of the complete crew and send these to commissioning editors. We believe these photographs, accompanied by more conventional statistics will help executives to viscerally grasp the problem at hand, help with diversity awareness and motivate policies. (Consent would need to be sorted for all participants, where consent is not given pixilation of individuals would be appropriate). This should be combined with commissioners being encouraged to make on site visits at various stages of a production to see the diversity of the people actually making the programmes they have commissioned first-hand.

⁴ Marcus Ryder, 2020, 'Why We Need To Know The Diversity Of The Individual Programmes We Watch', Black on White TV. Available at: https://blackonwhitetv.blogspot.com/2020/10/why-we-need-to-know-diversity-of.html.

PART 2: WORKFORCE CAPACITY



Introduction

Organisations that are formulating diversity targets⁵ need two vital pieces of information:

- 1. The population demographics for the area(s) in which they are based.
- 2. The demographics of the current workforce for their specific industry (in this case television).

These two sets of demographic data are needed to estimate the ethnic minority workforce capacity because the UK's racial diversity is not evenly spread across the country, and the television industry remains underrepresentative of ethnic minority groups.

According to the 2011 census the UK has an approximate average racial breakdown of 13 % being Black, Asian or minority ethnic (B.A.M.E.). This is only approximate because the census in Scotland, Northern Ireland and England & Wales all ask slightly different questions around race. However, when these different regional numbers are taken into account, this 13% figure breaks down into: 4% for Scotland, 1.8% for Northern Ireland and 14% for England and Wales.⁶ http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/globalassets/documents/raise/publications/2013/general/13813.pdf (table 2.1)

However, while that may be the long-term goal, we also believe that it is vital that realistic diversity targets are set – in accordance with the Equality Act 2010 - in the immediate present.

What also complicates an estimate of the potential ethnic minority workforce is the fact that the UK's cities have significantly more concentrated proportions of B.A.M.E. populations. For example, 42% of London's population is B.A.M.E., Birmingham is 44%, Manchester is 34% and Glasgow is 12%.

For large organisations, with multiple bases spread across the UK, such as Channel 4, it is reasonable to assume that a truly representative workforce should be the same as the general demographic in the UK, or at least the regions in which they are based. The LHC believes that the long-term aspirational aim of Channel 4 should be for its national workforce, of direct and indirect employees, to reflect the UK population demographic in general, and specifically for its regional hubs to reflect the demographics of those areas in which they are based.

However, while that may be the long-term goal, we also believe that it is vital that realistic diversity targets are set in the immediate present. By necessity these will be heavily influenced by the current demographic of the existing workforce, not the demographic of the population as a whole.

 $^{^{5}}$ All targets must be set and implemented in accordance with the Equality Act 2010

⁶ Office for National Statistics, 2011 Census. Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/census/2011census.

In this section we attempt to detail what a truly representational workforce should look like in the long term. The LHC investigated different approaches taken in conducting recent research into the composition of the workforce. Informal background interviews were also carried out to provide better understanding of the effectiveness of those methods. We begin this section with a synopsis of some of the most relevant examples. We then provide suggestions of a framework that will enable Channel 4 to assess the current demographics of regional workforce capacity. This will allow Channel 4, if it so chooses, to set immediate and specific workforce targets in accordance with the Equality Act 2010, relevant to the organisation both nationally and for the regions that serve as its 'outside of London' hubs.

Training & Skills and Equal Opportunities Report, Broadcast Equality and Training Regulator (2010)

Although one of the older reports we discuss here, the Broadcast Equality and Training Regulator's *Training & Skills and Equal Opportunities Report* offers one of the most important lessons of best practice we found for assessing workforce capacity.

Workforce data for the report was compiled by the distribution of a self-evaluation census form, which was sent to broadcasters and suppliers with over 20 employees who were regulated by the Broadcast Equality and Training Regulator (BETR). Ofcom required the broadcasters and suppliers it regulated to report workforce and training data to BETR, which was key to the compilation of employment demographics through this census. The 100% return rate (a much higher response rate than achieved by most surveys) for companies who were not exempt from the survey is likely the result of the regulatory power BETR had in terms of Equal Opportunities.

BETR's survey found that 93.2% of the total workforce surveyed were employed in television and the remaining in radio. BETR also found that 8.6% of the total workforce surveyed were contract and freelance staff (2010: 29). It is worth noting that 26% of the minority ethnic workforce were on fixed-term or freelance contracts, indicating high levels of precarity for ethnic minority workers (BETR, 2010: 33).

The majority of those employed on fixed-term or freelance contracts (76%) worked in what was termed by BETR as 'output activities' in broadcast and production and 24% were in 'shared services activities', such as Human Resources, Finance and IT (BETR, 2010: 29). Ethnic minority representation was shown as 10.4% of the workforce (BETR, 2010: 6).

⁷ Broadcast Equality & Training Regulator, 2010, Training & Skills and Equal Opportunities Report 2010, p. 29.

Another key finding of the BETR report was that only 5% of ethnic minority broadcast industry workers were promoted up corporate hierarchies to executive level (2010: 6). Between the lack of career progression and the high level of precarity for ethnic minority workers, the BETR report contains an early indication of the persistent lack of career progression for ethnic minorities within television and radio production.

One key recommendation of the BETR report was that broadcasters monitor their suppliers, including workforce data, as part of their relationships with the production companies providing content to the broadcasters (2010: 17).

The comprehensive nature of the BETR report, combined with the compulsion of all companies regulated by Ofcom with over 20 employees to report their data makes this one of the best examples of data collection in the UK broadcast sector.

Employment Census of the Creative Media Industries, Creative Skillset (2012)

The methodology of Creative Skillset's 2012 Employment Census of the Creative Media Industries was the collection of workforce data through an online census form, distributed to the creative media industry companies of which Creative Skillset was aware. 832 major employers and small companies returned the census form, which had an overall completion rate of 57%. The sectors of the creative media industries surveyed included: animation, commercials, computer games, corporate production, facilities, interactive media, libraries and archives, radio, television, VFX, and film (Creative Skillset, 2012: 4).8

Creative Skillset found that the ethnic minority workforce had declined to 5.4% of the total workforce in 2012 from 7.4% in 2006 and 6.7% in 2009 (2012: 17). This was despite the growth of total employment by 2% across the creative industries (Creative Skillset, 2010: 4). Minority ethnic representation was found to be highest in London and the East Midlands; Northeast England and Wales had the lowest (Creative Skillset, 2010: 5). The majority of the television workforce was based in London (57%), followed by Wales (12%), North West of England (10%) and Scotland (6%). Within London, 66% were found in West London, 30% in Central London, 3% in East London and 1% in South London (Creative Skillset, 2010: 22). The Creative Skillset report also contained a useful breakdown of representation across occupational groups, a granular level of data that was not included in most similar studies of diversity in the industry.

⁸ Creative Skillset, 2012, Employment Census of the Creative Media Industries. Available at: https://www.screenskills.com/media/1552/2012_employment_census_of_the_creative_media_industries.pdf

Creative Skillset found ethnic minority representation to be 7.5% across all occupational groups with the exception of the following: strategic management (5%), make-up and hairdressing (5%), audio/sound/music (5%), editing (5%), creative development (4%), camera/photography (3%), servicing (3%), lighting (2%) (2010: 26). Higher than average representation was found in business development (13%), legal (12%), libraries (12%), distribution, sales and marketing (11%), engineering and transmission (10%), editorial, journalism and sport (10%) (Creative Skillset, 2010: 26).

The Creative Skillset report also contained location-based data, including figures on the film sector. The majority of the film production and distribution workforce was based in London (85%) and Scotland (13%). 80% of the film production workforce is based in Central London, along with 68% of the film distribution workforce (Creative Skillset, 2010: 29). Film production was found to be under-representative of workers from ethnic minority backgrounds, with 5.3% of the workforce in film production and 3.4% of the workforce in film distribution being from minority ethnic backgrounds (Creative Skillset, 2010: 17).

Due to the self-assessment nature of those who responded to the Creative Skillset census, along with the lack of weighting of the results, there would have likely been some selection bias in the respondents and, therefore, the final conclusions. However, it served as a useful mapping exercise in terms of where productions were based. The Creative Skillset census also provided an indication of the racial make-up of the people working in each region.

In the course of our research, we discussed with Creative Skillset their previous work on mapping the demographics of the industry. We were informed that the organisation has considerable raw data about industry personnel, but it is yet to be analysed. We would recommend working with Creative Skillset in order to mine this information, as part of any data collection activities Channel 4 undertakes in the future.



Adjusting the Colour Balance, Directors UK (2015 and 2018)

Directors UK concentrated on a portion of the ethnic minority workforce – directors – in its 2015 report *Adjusting the Colour Balance*. This work used a hybrid quantitative and qualitative methodology. The quantitative portion was based on a survey of 55,675 individual episodes of 546 programmes, which included programmes broadcast on BBC and ITV and programmes produced by independent television companies in the UK. This was accompanied by qualitative research into the industry through interviews with directors of colour (Directors UK: 2015, 21).

Directors UK found severe under-representation of ethnic minorities in directorial jobs. In their sample, only 1.5% of programmes were made by a director of colour, with the most representative genres identified as drama and factual programming, in which 2.42% and 2.46% of programmes were, respectively, directed by a person of colour (Directors UK: 2015, 2). The report also found that in the following sub-genres 0% of programmes were directed by minority ethnic directors: Period Drama, Chat/Talk Show, Game Show, Performance, Reality, Panel Show, Sketch Show, Children's Comedy, Children's Entertainment, Children's Game Show (Directors UK: 2015, 2). The sub-genres of Single Drama and Police/Detective had the highest representation of directors from minority ethnic backgrounds. However, all of the episodes in the single drama genre directed by an ethnic minority director were accounted for by a single programme strand, Channel 4's Coming Up (Directors UK: 2015, 7-8).

As with the BETR report, Director UK also highlighted the lack of career progression by directors of colour. The 2015 *Adjusting the Colour Balance report* also found that 'Few directors arrive in the television industry as fully formed directors, having all the necessary skills and experience to progress in place from day one' (Directors UK: 2015, 5). The inability to gain skills on the job contributes to the profession being unsustainable for B.A.M.E. directors and, as the report says, 'It also explains why few BAME role models emerge' (Directors UK: 2015, 5).

Directors UK followed up Adjusting the Colour Balance with a second report, published in 2018. Its methodology was the collection of data from programme credits for UK-commissioned television programmes broadcast across the BBC, ITV, Channel 4 and Channel 5, from 2013 through 2016. The survey included 47,444 episodes from 4,262 programmes and 4,388 directors (Directors UK: 2018, 4).

⁹ Directors UK, 2015, UK Television: Adjusting the Colour Balance, p. 18. Available at: https://directors.uk.com/news/uk-television-adjusting-the-colour-balance.

¹⁰ Directors UK, 2018, Adjusting the Colour Balance: Black, Asian and minority ethnic representation among screen directors working in UK television. Available at: https://directors.uk.com/news/adjusting-the-colour-balance.

Directors UK found that there continued to be severe under-representation of directors of colour in the television industry. They found a slight increase in the percentage of television episodes directed by directors from ethnic minority backgrounds, from 2.2% in 2013 to 2.31% in 2016 (Directors UK: 2018, 5). Little or no improvement was found in Multicamera & Entertainment and Children's programmes. Factual declined by 0.3% (Directors UK: 2018, 3). Notably, the improvement within the Continuing Drama (soaps) subgenre from 2.7% to 5.7% of episodes directed by a director from minority ethnic background was in part due to interventions made by broadcaster/production companies designed to provide opportunities for under-represented groups (Directors UK: 2018, 3). The report also noted that some of the most popular drama, comedy and entertainment programmes had never been directed by a director from a minority ethnic background (Directors UK: 2018, 2).

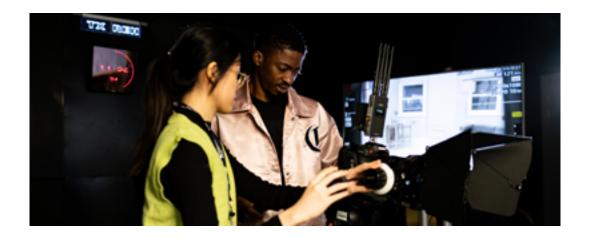
Although the 2018 Directors UK report did not explicitly look at regional representation, valuable information could be implied. For example, it published programme specific data for the continuing dramas Doctors (filmed in Birmingham), Eastenders (filmed in London), and Coronation Street (filmed in Manchester) (Directors UK, 2018: 12-13).

The report also provided invaluable genre specific data, acknowledging the very different skill requirements of the individual genres. The Directors UK reports, however, focus exclusively on directors and, therefore, give no indication of workforce capacity in other production roles.

Diversity in Broadcast Peak Scripted Television, Equity (2020)

Equity's Race Equality Committee published *Diversity in Broadcast Peak Scripted Television* in 2020. Its methodology was a survey of on-screen performers in scripted television drama and comedy programming, broadcast during peak hours in the calendar year from January to December 2018.¹¹ This research found a genre bias in casting with performers of colour more often cast in the Contemporary Drama and Mystery genres. By contrast, Period Drama, Comedy and Continuing Dramas had the least diverse casts (Rogers, 2020: 5).

¹¹ Jami Rogers, 2020, Diversity in Broadcast Peak Scripted Television, 2018: A report commissioned by Equity's Race Equality Committee, p. 3. Available at: https://www.equity.org.uk/media/4062/equity_diversity_guide_2020-v3-sp.pdf.



The report also found high levels of segregation within peak scripted programming, as productions with a majority minority cast continue to 'other' British-born actors of African-Caribbean, south Asian and east Asian heritage and cast British actors from minority heritages as foreigners (Rogers, 2020: 9). This report also looked at the representation across leading roles in the relevant programming, concluding that only 8% of leading roles cast people from African-Caribbean, south Asian, east Asian or MENA (Middle Eastern and North African) backgrounds (Rogers, 2020: 3). The report also found stereotyping was prevalent in the characters played by performers of colour in the programmes included in the study (Rogers, 2020: 3).

Project Diamond

Project Diamond collects diversity data directly from individuals involved in the production of television programmes broadcast by five UK broadcasters: BBC, ITV, Channel 4, C5/ViacomCBS and Sky. Diamond uses a self-reporting methodology, which means that individuals are provided with a standard form to submit when working on these broadcasters' productions. However, Diamond does not reveal which programmes the respondees have worked on.

The overall completion rate for the most recent report (The Fifth Cut, 2020-21) was 31.6%, significantly lower than either BETR and Creative Skillset reports discussed above. However, the report had a relatively high number of completed forms for 2020 – 21 at 41,851 and total number of programme contributions at 859,603.

The Diamond five years' data also shows a consistently greater representation on-screen than off-screen across all Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic groups. It suggests that off-screen contributions increased from 9.7% in year 1 (16-17) to 12.9% in year 5 (20-21). However, on-screen representation was much stronger at 20.9% in year 5.

Nevertheless, the responses suggest that these figures are significantly lower than the larger Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic population in London (40%) where the majority of television is produced.

However, there are three reasons why the Diamond methodology suggests significant caution in making any inferences about the state of the UK industry.

These are: 1) the low completion rate, 2) the lack of transparency regarding the source of data, and 3) the self-selection of who does and does not complete the surveys (likely to lead to 'positive' bias).

More specifically, the Diamond data is likely highly skewed. For instance, Diamond data in 2019 suggested that 'Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic' people make up 8.4% of directors and 13.1% of Producer/Directors. On the other hand, Directors UK puts the number of television episodes directed by 'B.A.M.E.' directors at 2.31% in 2016.

It is possible that Diamond data could be over-estimating Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic participation in the television industry by a factor of between 300% - 560%. Therefore, LHC judges that using the data to draw further 'insights' could be misleading.

The LHC understands that the participating broadcasters may have access to more private information generated by Diamond. This private information may be useful in certain circumstances in trying to assess B.A.M.E. workforce capacity, but not in terms of the size of the B.A.M.E. workforce relative to the industry as a whole. For these reasons, we have not included Project Diamond in this analysis.

Separate to this report we would recommend that broadcasters and the Creative Diversity Network explores how it analyses and publishes Diamond data because there is incredibly useful information being collected but it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw any conclusion from the data in the aggregate as it is currently published.

Reality Versus Potential Capacity

In surveying this body of research, the LHC found that the work pertaining to the demographic composition of the television industry concentrated on small segments of the current workforce. The work of other organizations provides little indication as to the potential workforce capacity, either on a national or regional level. Additionally, governmental population data is often incomplete when it comes to demographics that include ethnicity, which complicates the collation of information regarding the potential television workforce using ONS census data.

The 2011 ONS Census, the most recent available, shows the population of England and Wales was primarily White British (80.5%).¹³ The information on ethnic minority groups in the 2011 Census is broadly broken down by ethnicity, but the categories used by the ONS are too broad and lack nuance. For example, 'Black African', 'Black Caribbean' and 'Black Other' are the only descriptions used in the census for the Black population of the UK. What the 2011 census shows are rough percentages that fold multiple heritages into one or two categories. The 2011 Census figures for overall population in England and Wales are: Asian (7.5%), Other White (4.4%), Black (3.3%), Mixed (2.2%) and Other (1%) (ONS, 2011).

The 2011 Census also contains a rough breakdown of ethnicity in the regions of England and Wales. The table below records the highest levels of ethnic minority population in the regions, split into broad ethnicity categories. There is no granular level data from which nuanced demographics can be obtained, but the indications are that London remains the region with the largest percentage of ethnic minority groups, followed by the West Midlands, East Midlands and Yorkshire and Humberside.

Table 1: Regions of England and Wales by ethnicity, 2011 (ONS, 2011)

Region	Asian	Black	Mixed	White British	White other	Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%
East	4.8	2.0	1.9	85.3	5.5	0.5
East Midlands	6.5	1.8	1.9	85.4	3.9	0.6
London	18.5	13.3	5.0	44.9	14.9	3.4
North East	2.9	0.5	0.9	93.6	1.7	0.4
North West	6.2	1.4	1.6	87.1	3.1	0.6
South East	5.2	1.6	1.9	85.2	5.4	0.6
South West	2.0	0.9	1.4	91.8	3.6	0.3
Wales	2.3	0.6	1.0	93.2	2.4	0.5
West Midlands	10.8	3.3	2.4	79.2	3.6	0.9
Yorkshire and The Humber	7.3	1.5	1.6	85.8	3.0	0.8

¹³ Note: initial 2021 census data is due to be released in spring 2022.

Workforce data by ethnicity and occupation exists, but the most recent information found was published in 2018 and pertained to the period between 2014 and 2016. The most relevant category for our purposes is, as with ethnicity data, broadly defined into a large 'Art, Entertainment and Recreation' grouping, which does not break down the data by occupational group. The snapshot provided by this poorly-defined sector shows the workforce to be predominantly White (93%) and the B.A.M.E. workforce made up the remaining 7% (ONS, 2011). The latter figure appears to be the amalgamation of a broad breakdown of all ethnic minority personnel, rather than a separate B.A.M.E. category. This more granular, but still too broadly defined categorisations was broken down into the following ethnic minority groups: Asian (2.8%), Black (1.8%), Mixed (1.3%) and Other (1.1%) (ONS, 2011).

The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) also tracks employment in the various creative industries, but their statistics also tend to break occupations down into broad categories. The parse their employment data into one large category that combines motion pictures, video and television programme production, sound recording and music publishing. As with other population data sources, they also report ethnic minority data by mixing several groups into large categories: White, Mixed, Asian, Black and Other. There is also a composite category, B.A.M.E, which appears to place all people of colour workers into a single catch-all category.¹⁴

One of the major difficulties in determining the workforce capacity, both nationally and in the regions, is a lack of current population data. There are major gaps in demographic information and an over-reliance on a census that is now out-of-date. There are, therefore, major gaps in demographic information, in the ways in which data is collected and published, which includes an over-reliance on a census that is now out-of-date. Even with the population demographics broken down by ethnicity, this means that workforce figures are too unreliable to use at present as a base line for estimating the workforce capacity of the television industry both nationally and regionally.

What Channel 4 has requested is essentially a new field of enquiry, as no organisation has tracked potential workforce capacity. What follows are recommendations for the establishment of a bespoke methodology in order to collect the workforce data. We have included recommendations for overcoming issues of training and career progression, which are important factors in the expansion of workforce capacity in the film and television industry.

¹⁴ LHC has discussed the fundamental issues with such homogenising approaches to language and data in the report 'BAME: A report on the use of the term and responses to it: Terminology Review for the BBC and Creative Industries' published in 2021 (available at: https://bcuassets.blob.core.windows.net/docs/csu2021325-lhc-report-bbc highres231121-1-132828299798280213.pdf).

2b Determining workforce capacity

According to DCMS figures from June 2020 to June 2021, 232,000 people were employed in the sectors categorized as 'Film, TV, video, radio and music'. Of those, 167,000 were classified as employed and 64,000 were self-employed, the latter category presumably refers to the freelance workforce.¹⁵

The DCMS also breaks down these statistics by region, so it is possible to estimate the total workforce accordingly. Using these estimates, the workforce capacity in the areas of the United Kingdom in which Channel 4 is based have the following estimates:

London:	112,000
North West:	20,000
Scotland:	13,000
South West:	12,000
Yorkshire and the Humber:	8,000

These totals do not provide a nuanced picture of the workforce as they are raw number estimates at regional level. What these numbers provide is an indication of the total workforce capacity across the combined sectors of 'Film, TV, video, radio and music', rather than providing information on the television industry itself. Crucially, these raw totals also do not provide information on the demographics of the television production workforce alone, nor do they include a breakdown of the protected characteristics of those employed in the DCMS' broad categorization of the sector.

Ultimately, if Channel 4 is to expand the diversity of the workforce producing its content, the organization needs to be able to identify potential employees at a granular level. Both Channel 4 and its suppliers are in a position to collect granular data on their respective workforces, including demographic information that would help to identify ethnic minority personnel.

In understanding the potential ethnic minority workforce in the regions, additional steps will also be necessary, including contacting relevant industry organizations, creating a directory of relevant personnel and using industry publications to gather additional data about the workforce. This exercise should be comprised of four component steps, as laid out below

¹⁵ DCMS, 2021, DCMS sector economic estimates 2021: employment 2019 to June 2021. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/dcms-sector-economic-estimates-2021-employment-2019-to-june-2021.

1. Survey of Channel 4 and suppliers

The BETR and Creative Skillset reports provide the best models for mapping workforce demographics of the industry. Collectively they provide a methodological template that would allow Channel 4 to map the current workforce. BETR and Creative Skillset both based their surveys on a census form, asking respondents for the demographics of their respective workforces. This allowed for the anonymisation of individual data, but provided a nuanced picture of the workforce in terms of regional location and protected characteristics.

Crucially, BETR's methods provide a window into the ways in which production companies can be compelled to report the ethnicity and gender composition of their workforces. As a regulator, BETR required companies who had more than 20 employees to complete and return the census. While Channel 4 does not have the statutory powers BETR had, it does have economic power over its suppliers. Channel 4 would, therefore, be in a position to require these companies to provide it with census information that would assist in the collection of workforce demographic data.

2. Use of industry organizations

According to the most recent DCMS data, the freelance workforce is just over 25% of the total workforce in the combined 'Film, TV, video, radio and music' sectors. One of the difficulties that both BETR and Creative Skillset encountered in their efforts to map the composition of the creative industry workforce was an ability to include the large freelance community in its data. While BETR asked respondents to provide information on the freelancers each organization employed, Creative Skillset excluded freelancers from its calculations.

Any workforce census should make every attempt to include freelancers in its calculations. This includes adopting BETR's approach and asking census respondents to include their freelance personnel working on Channel 4 content.

In seeking to map the potential workforce in the regions, Channel 4 should also approach industry organizations directly about freelancers working in the industry. This would include BECTU, Equity, Writer's Guild, Production Manager's Association, High End TV and PACT. Efforts should be made to ensure that ethnic minority freelancers are not counted twice in any overall census, as they may be a member of one or more of these organisations and, at the same time, may be working freelance for Channel 4 or its suppliers.

3. Personnel database

The advocacy organisation for people of Middle Eastern North African heritages, MENA Arts, has an open access digital resource that could provide a model for a more granular understanding of the current workforce. MENA Arts has created a Directory¹⁶ that lists MENA talent within all sectors of the industry, including performers, writers, assistant directors, directors, composers, camera operators, movement directors, production managers and production co-ordinators. MENA Arts built this directory as a way of guiding content producers to be more inclusive of MENA personnel and talent.

A similar tool modelled on the MENA Arts Directory would enable Channel 4 and its suppliers to identify and grow its ethnic minority workforce.

4. Advertising of the census

Creative Skillset used an advertising campaign to raise awareness within the industry of its 2012 census. As Channel 4 is attempting to map the potential workforce, a similar advertising campaign would enable it to reach out to production companies and individual freelancers, working outside of Channel 4 or its production partners. This would also assist in the crafting of a database directory of relevant personnel and could potentially expand Channel 4's ethnic minority workforce.



¹⁶ MENA Arts UK, Our Directory: List View. Available at: https://www.menaarts.uk/listview.

2c. Training and career progression

Ofcom's Five Year Review: Diversity and equal opportunities in UK broadcasting, published in September 2021, contains the following linked findings¹⁷:

- 1. There is a woeful lack of diversity within senior positions and key decision makers.
- 2. Broadcasters appear to have focused on entry-level recruitment at the expense of retaining diverse staff and enabling them to progress.
- 3. Across some underrepresented groups, retaining staff would have a bigger effect on future diversity than increasing recruitment alone. (2021: 3-4)

Ofcom's conclusions also contain this relevant statement: 'We want to see a broadcasting sector which not only recruits diverse staff but retains them and enables them to progress to senior levels' (2021: 4).

Staff retention and the lack of diverse personnel in senior positions are likely to be, at least in part, cause and effect. An industry unable to retain the diverse members of its workforce is also unlikely to have been actively promoting diverse staff up its corporate ladder.

A director is a high-level management job, which makes Directors UK's analysis of their sector relevant to this issue of lack of progression. Directors UK's second *Adjusting the Colour Balance* report (2018) posits several reasons for the lack of ethnic minority directors in charge of television productions, which are worth noting (Ofcom, 2018, 20):

- 1. Unconscious bias
- 2. There is a belief that B.A.M.E. directors are few in number
- 3. Hiring practices
- 4. Small-scale diversity initiatives cannot create systemic change

As with Ofcom's analysis of the industry as a whole, these issues are linked, and each plays its part in the persistent lack of directors of colour at the helm of television productions.

Unconscious bias and the idea that there are few directors ffrom ethnic minority backgrounds are both connected to the wider social issues of prejudice that pervade contemporary society. These issues must be addressed at all levels of the film and television industry in order to combat these biases. The perception that few directors of colour are in the industry is similar to the reasons given by MENA Arts for the creation of its Directory. As they note on their website, 'for too long people have said: 'If only we could find a (fill in the blank) from the MENA region.' We are here and it's time to be seen.' The perception of absence is often not based in reality.

¹⁷ Ofcom, 2021, Five-year review: Diversity and equal opportunities in UK broadcasting report reference. Available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/tv-radio-and-on-demand/information-for-industry/guidance/diversity/diversity-equal-opportunities-tv-and-radio.

Directors UK's identification of hiring practices is another key finding with implications for Channel 4. The report also highlights aspects of the recruitment practices relevant to issues of career progression (2018: 20):

Where freelance recruitment processes are largely informal, most work is secured by personal referral so opportunities often stay within a closed network. Even if jobs are advertised, hiring decisions may be based on a familiarity with a director's credits and not on their actual skills. Working on a well-known programme becomes an influential stepping stone rather than contributing to a lesser known but more technically challenging show. To compound the problem references are usually made verbally. They are not recorded or archived, so cannot be checked or queried, and the discussions often cover perceived personality rather than skills. As Directors UK's previous CEO Andrew Chowns highlighted in an article in Broadcast in April 2018, this informal system uses an employer's own network which makes it closed to external opinions and is likely to result in a lack of hiring diversity.

This explanation of the hiring process is not isolated to Directors UK's findings. In *Culture is Bad For You*, Orian Brook, Dave O'Brien and Mark Taylor interviewed 237 workers in the creative industries about their experiences, which were transcribed using pseudonyms to protect the interviewees' careers from repercussions. One director, pseudonym 'Henna', concurred with the Directors UK assessment: 'Who you know and who you work with' are how the labour market in film functions'.¹⁸

With over a quarter of the workforce in the sector freelancers, informal hiring practices compound the industry's diversity issues. Both Directors UK's original 2015 report and Jami Rogers' 2020 report for Equity's Race Equality Committee found issues of segregation within the work available to people of colour/. Both studies found that people of colour were working within specific genres, while work in certain genres was restricted. For example, both studies found that Continuing Dramas were underrepresentative in terms of both directors of colour and performers of colour. This compounds the issue highlighted in the citation from the Directors UK report above, which notes that working on particular projects increases visibility for their respective directors. This becomes difficult with directors of colour segregated into specific genres, away from projects perceived as more prestigious, such as adaptations of classic literature (period drama).

This also has implications for career progression in television. Diversity initiatives frequently focus on entry-level positions, but there has been little progress in developing the careers of the ethnic minority workforce, as few attain high level positions. The LHC recommends that, as Channel 4 works on expanding its diverse workforce, they implement mechanisms that allow for career progression and advancement. This is as necessary at Channel 4 and its suppliers as it is within the freelance workforce, who should also be allowed access to the mechanisms by which career progression is achieved.

¹⁸ Orian Brook, Dave O'Brien and Mark Taylor, Culture is Bad For You. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020, p. 4.

A Five Step Model to Assess B.A.M.E. Regional Workforce Capacity

While the LHC believes that Channel 4 can use the methods outlined above, using best practice of organisations such as BETR and Creative Skillset to assess granular diversity data region by region, we also recognise that developing these surveys can take time and require financing. We would therefore suggest that Channel 4 adopts the following framework to calculate B.A.M.E. regional workforce capacity using a five-step process:

STEP 1 - Combining DCMS and ONS Data

- 1. DCMS data provides the workforce in the creative workforce in each sector however this does not break it down by ethnicity.
- 2. The ONS workforce data provides a snapshot of the general workforce in each region by race.

Channel 4 can combine these two figures to provide a rough estimate of the size of the B.A.M.E. workforce in television in each region.

STEP 2 - Randomised Survey to Weight the Data

The approach in Step 1 makes the very large assumption that the ethnic makeup of the creative workforce is identical to the ethnic makeup of the general workforce in the region. There are very good reasons to believe that there might be flaws in this assumption, not least of which is that in the current situation of limited job opportunities for B.A.M.E. creatives in certain regions. For example, there is every likelihood that people would migrate to centres (such as London) where there might be more opportunities. Also, people from B.A.M.E. backgrounds growing up in regions where the television industry is smaller may be less attracted, and/or have fewer opportunities, to train in these sectors.

We would therefore suggest Channel 4 complements the ONS and DCMS data with a randomised survey of people classed as working in the creative sector in each region in order to appropriately weight the ONS and DCMS data, and adjust the overall assumption accordingly. This weighting, although relatively straight-forward, would need to be carried out by polling experts such as Ipsos Mori or Gallup, with the support of an industry partner, such as LHC or ScreenSkills.

This survey must be randomised to avoid selection bias. It also needs to be a survey of people who class themselves as potentially working in the sector, rather than a survey of people who are currently working in the sector, in order to assess the potential workforce, not just the current workforce which may be subject to racial inequalities in employment practices.

STEP 3 – Adjusting for Labour Mobility

It should be noted that steps 1 and 2 only give a snapshot of who is currently living and working in each region. Labour is obviously mobile (to an extent) and therefore when Channel 4 is attempting to assess ethnic diversity workforce capacity it should attempt to assess the workforce that the region can call upon.

In discussions with ScreenSkills, the LHC became aware that ScreenSkills is currently in possession of a wealth of unexamined raw data from over 140,000 respondents working in television – broken down along ethnicity lines – of not only where people currently live and work but also where they are prepared to move to for work. Using this data, Channel 4 would be able to further weight the results of the survey in order to assess the total B.A.M.E. workforce that is prepared to work in each region.

STEP 4 - Qualitative Survey and Duration of Contracts

Finally, the duration of a contract and whether it is a staff job or freelance job will heavily influence people's ability and willingness to move from one region to another for work, especially for employees with families. However, since the BBC started to substantially move productions and jobs from London to the regions, experiences have differed for people who have moved from one region to another.

The LHC would suggest Channel 4 conduct qualitative surveys specifically of production talent who have moved from one region to another to assess how the duration of contract and type of job impacted their ability and decision to move. It should also be noted that some companies may be willing to offer packages which would also alter the ability of potential employees to relocate.

STEP 5 - Producing Three B.A.M.E. Capacity Data Points

The above method would enable Channel 4 to produce three data points for workforce capacity in each region:

- 1. The overall potential B.A.M.E. workforce capacity in each region.
- 2. The specific potential B.A.M.E. workforce capacity for short-term contracts.
- 3. The specific potential B.A.M.E. workforce capacity for long- term contracts / staff jobs.

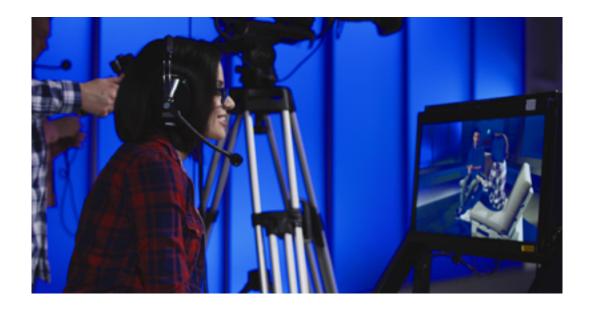
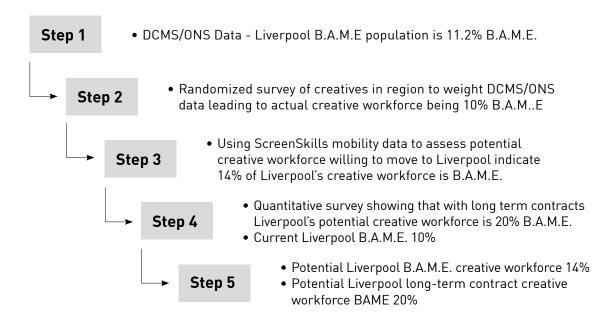


Figure 1: Using Liverpool to illustrate how 5 step model would work in practice:



Genre Specific and Role Specific Modelling

Steps 1 - 5 give Channel 4 B.A.M.E. regional capacity data figures for the overall production workforce. We would suggest that Channel 4 should repeat the process for specific key roles. It would be able to do this by replacing the weighting of the general data sets in step 2 with a weighting based on genre and role data in existing talent databases such as Talent Manager, the Writers Guild and possibly Directors UK. Channel 4 would then be able to complement this dataset through qualitative surveys and interviews with production companies (regarding their ability to attract/find B.A.M.E. talent in specific regions) in step 4.

LHC Recommendations

Production companies and Channel 4 must raise expectations of what can be achieved

One of the most important lessons of Black to Front is that the ability of different regions to attract Black talent varies from region to region. Black to Front also provided invaluable qualitative results of how different productions in different parts of the UK can attract diverse talent, and how this varies from role to role and depends on different genres. However, possibly the most important lesson in this regard from the Black to Front project is that productions across the UK can attract more diverse talent than production companies originally thought - especially with support.

Address concerns using five step model

Using the 5 step process outlined above Channel 4 would be able to assess potential B.A.M.E. workforce capacity in different regions and then set realistic targets - in accordance with the Equality Act 2010 - that it would be able to assist production companies to achieve. Key to the 5 step process working is the ability to work with existing data (from ScreenSkills, for example) and organisations such as the Writers Guild. It is also imperative that Channel 4 recognises the flaws in taking raw survey results and that weighting of all data, based on randomised surveys and qualitative interviews, is essential.

More rigorous data collection needed

Finally, while the 5 step process gives Channel 4 good information in any targets it chooses to set in accordance with the Equality Act 2010, we believe that it would be in the public interest of all UK broadcasters to conduct more rigorous data collection based on previous Broadcast Training Equality Regulator report methodologies. This may require Channel 4 working with other broadcasters to manage costs.





What is 'intersectionality'?

Intersectionality is 'a theoretical framework rooted in the premise that human experience is jointly shaped by multiple social positions (e.g. race, gender), and cannot be adequately understood by considering social positions independently'. 19 The term itself is attributed to the Black American civil rights advocate, lawyer and scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw.²⁰ In her 1989 article 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics' Crenshaw posits that a 'single-axis framework', which centres one form of discrimination or marginalised characteristic, dominates in law (Crenshaw's area of expertise), feminist theory and antiracist politics.²¹ What this leads to is a form of 'privileging' of marginalised characteristics or identifications over others. For example, according to the single-axis framework, the discrimination a Black woman might experience will be understood either in terms of her gender identity or her ethnicity. And, if the discrimination is considered as pertaining specifically to gender, it will most likely be understood in terms of feminist theorising which has historically centred the experiences of White women and therefore presents understandings of gender-based discrimination through this whiteness.²² As Crenshaw explains:

Black women are sometimes excluded from feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse because both are predicated on a discrete set of experiences that often does not accurately reflect the interaction of race and gender. (Crenshaw, 1989: 140)

For Crenshaw, 'the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism' and 'any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which Black women are subordinated.' (Crenshaw, 1989: 140).

¹⁹ Greta R. Bauer, Siobhan M. Churchill, Mayuri Mahendran, Chantel Walwyn, Daniel Lizotte, Alma Angelica Villa-Rueda, 2021, 'Intersectionality in quantitative research: A systematic review of its emergence and applications of theory and methods', SSM - Population Health, 14, (pp. 1-11), p. 1.

²⁰ It is worth noting that while Crenshaw is credited with the term 'intersectionality', Julia S. Jordan-Zachery argues that theoretical underpinning of the concept has been prevalent since the 19th century (see Jordan-Zachery, 2007).

²¹ Kimberlé Crenshaw, 1989, 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics', The University of Chicago Legal Forum, 140, (pp. 139–167), p. 139.

²² For more, see: Koa Beck, 2021, White Feminism (London: Simon & Schuster).

Recognising the origins of intersectionality is key to understanding the concept and its application to socio-political and cultural analysis today. There have been increasing calls for there to be an intersectional approach to the collection and analysis of data (see DataAssist, Equality Challenge Unit and Business for Social Responsibility (BSR) for more). For example, when reflecting on the 'disparate impacts of the COVID-19 crisis' in 2020, UN Women argued that intersectional feminism matters today for three key reasons:

- 1. The impact of crises are not uniform
- 2. Injustices must not go unnamed or unchallenged
- 3. A new 'normal' must be fair for all²³

Such principles align with the Inclusive Data Charter developed by the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development Data (GPSDD). The Inclusive Data Charter (IDC) was launched in 2018 and aims to respond to the fact that 'too many people are invisible in data and too little data is routinely disaggregated'.²⁴ The charter argues that 'Intersectional approaches [need to] center the voices of marginalized people and include them in decision-making across the data value chain' and highlights three key reasons for adopting an intersectional approach to data:

- 1. Adhering to the 'Leave No One Behind' (LNOB) principle of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) means addressing individual needs and structural change.
- 2. Inclusive insights require consideration of all dimensions of personal identity.
- 3. The benefits and risks of data collection must be balanced for people whose lives are compromised by intersecting inequalities.²⁵

While both UN Women and the GPSDD have particular contexts and policy determinations for their work, their approach and understanding of the need for disaggregated and intersectional data is a useful demonstration of how organisations are aiming to embed intersectionality into their work. Some of these approaches will be discussed and considered as exemplars later in this report. However, before moving onto how Channel 4 might build intersectionality into the channels' current targets and guidelines, and how that might increase ethnic diversity going forward, it is important to consider the broader contexts and implications of understanding intersectionality.

²³ Adapted from UN Women, 'Intersectional feminism: What is means and why it matters right now', July 2020. Available at: https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/6/explainer-intersectional-feminism-what-it-means-and-why-it-matters.

²⁴ Inclusive Data Charter. Available at: <u>https://www.data4sdgs.org/inclusivedatacharter.</u>

²⁵ Inclusive Data Chart and Global Partnership for Sustainable Development Data, 2021, 'Unpacking intersectional approaches to data', p. 4.

Understanding intersectionality in practice

It is well documented that there are significant inequities in the UK Creative Industries workforce and data is most commonly collated and measured in terms of the 2010 Equality Act which identifies nine characteristics (Age, Disability, Gender Reassignment, Marriage and Civil Partnership, Pregnancy and Maternity, Race, Religion or Belief, Sex and Sexual Orientation) that are legally protected against discrimination (socioeconomic background, class and regionality are often included in addition to these, although they are not legally protected under the Equality Act).26 Industry reports, including those from Channel 4, will usually provide evidence to demonstrate the under-representation of individuals in terms of protected characteristics, but categories will be considered as discrete and individual, as opposed to interconnected (for example, Creative Diversity's Diamond reports²⁷, Channel 4's 'Fourteen Insights into Inclusion and Diversity'28 and Ofcom's recent 'Five-year review: Diversity and equal opportunities in UK broadcasting', published in September 2021²⁹). However, paring data back in this way not only hides those individuals within intersecting identity groups, but it also strips the data of social, political and cultural contexts which may provide more insight into the experiences of individuals. Intersectionality, on the other hand, can provide a means by which we can study how:

[R]ace, gender, disability, sexuality, class, and other social categories are mutually shaped and interrelated with broader historical and global forces such as colonialism, neoliberalism, geopolitics, and cultural configurations to produce shifting relations of power and oppression.³⁰

Indeed, various studies have demonstrated the impact of intersecting points of discrimination. Research evidences a form of 'cumulative disadvantage' for individuals who belong to marginalised groups. For example, poor immigrant ethnic minority women encounter greater levels of hardship when it comes to domestic labour³¹; women experience more sexual harassment than man and 'minority women experienc[e] more

²⁶ Equality and Human Rights Commission|Protected characteristics. Available at: https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/equality-act/protected-characteristics.

²⁷ Creative Diversity Network|Diamond Reports. Available at: https://creativediversitynetwork.com/diamond/diamond-reports/.

²⁸ Channel 4, 2019, 'Fourteen insights into Inclusion & Diversity'. Available at: https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/c4-cp-assets/corporate-assets/2019-10/Channel%204%20-%20Inclusion%20%26%20Diversity%20Insights%20-%20October%202019.pdf.

²⁹ Ofcom, 2021, 'Five-year review: Diversity and equal opportunities in UK broadcasting'. Available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0029/225992/dib-five-years-2021.pdf.

³⁰ Carla Rice, Elisabeth Harrison, and May Friedman, 2019 'Doing Justice to Intersectionality in Research', Cultural Studies 🗆 Critical Methodologies, 19(6), pp. 409–420, (p. 409).

³¹ Deborah K. King, 1988, 'Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology', Signs, 14(1), pp. 42–72.

frequent and severe harassment overall than White males, minority males and White females'32; and, when 'interviewed about stressors associated with their triple subordinate identity status [Black lesbians] claimed that racism, sexism and heterosexism were significant sources of stress in their lives' (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008: 378). More recently still and within the context of the coronavirus pandemic, Berghs & Dyson have questioned 'Where are all the Black disabled people?', detailing how Black disabled people are often missing from literature exploring disabled people's experiences in employment.³³

However, it is important that intersectionality is not merely viewed as a hierarchy of discrimination, the equivalent of concentric circles within a Venn diagram. In this simplistic approach, women in general are perceived as being discriminated against, a woman of colour is viewed as receiving more discrimination than a White women, a disabled woman of colour is perceived as experiencing more discrimination than a non-disabled woman of colour, an LGBTQ disabled woman of colour is thought to receive more discrimination than a straight disabled woman of colour, and so on. As Katherine Breward has argued, this kind of 'additive' approach to multiple characteristics contributing to discrimination is fundamentally flawed 'since it consider[s] each identity marker as a distinct unit' which 'is problematic because it leads to the creation of artificial hierarchies'.³⁴

Intersectional analysis is not just about looking at people with multiple protected characteristics, it is about better understanding the unique experience of people, including those with only one under-represented characteristic. For example, a non-intersectional analysis would lump all working-class people together. Although an intersectional approach would recognise the unique challenges and experiences of both White working-class women and white working-class men, but only white working-class women have two protected characteristics and are traditionally seen as having an 'intersectional identity'.

The fact is all our identities can be viewed through an intersectional lens irrespective of how many protected characteristics we possess, and specific policies should be developed for each group accordingly. The practical implication of this is how we use an intersectional approach in devising policies that address discrimination and under-representation of different groups, and while it is important to realise that White working-class male identity can be viewed through an intersectional lens, it should also be acknowledged that policy solutions that do not use an intersectional framework often favour people with only one protected characteristic by default.

³² Valerie Purdie-Vaughns, and Richard P. Eibach, 2008, 'Intersectional Invisibility: The Distinctive Advantages and Disadvantages of Multiple Subordinate-Group Identities', Sex Roles, 59(5), pp. 377–391, (p. 379).

³³ Maria Berghs and Simon M. Dyson, 2020, 'Intersectionality and employment in the United Kingdom: Where are all the Black disabled people?', Disability & Society, pp. 1–24.

³⁴ Katherine Breward, 2020, 'Privileges and Prejudices: Intersectionality and Disability Accommodation', in Fielden, S.L., Moore, M.E., and Bend, G.L. (eds) The Palgrave Handbook of Disability at Work. (Cham: Springer International Publishing), pp. 417–432, (p. 417).

Another illustration of how an intersectional lens should be applied to think of people's unique identities may include race and disability. For example, stereotypes and tropes exist around the sexualisation of Black non-disabled women compared to the stereotypes and tropes that exist around Black disabled women. It is not useful to think that the sexualisation of the first group is less harmful because they only have two protected characteristics compared to the latter group with three protected. Instead, it is far better to devise policies that address the unique experiences of each group and how their protected identities intersect.

The point of an intersectional approach, therefore, is to recognise the unique experience(s) of people with different characteristics. In this sense, intersectionality can be viewed as eliciting 'different' types of discrimination (or experiences) that may require different policy solutions. As an example, when discussing the lack of people of colour in senior and executive roles in television, the Director of The TV Collective, Simone Pennant, wrote 'There's a real issue around black men in the industry that no one wants to address. The vast majority of men of colour are self-employed, and I think that's very telling. Black women are seen as less intimidating.' Pennant's quote illustrates that it is important to look at the unique experiences and challenges of people with different combinations of protected characteristics rather than just simply seeing them as 'layers of oppression' that build upon each other.

While we may feel we know or understand that intersections of discrimination and disadvantage exist and impact the lived experiences of many, actually capturing this knowledge in a formal and empirical way can be difficult. Although intersectionality has been a common thread within qualitative studies for some time, it is a fairly new approach in more quantitative analyses. What's more, intersectionality appears to be most commonly considered or applied in more scientific fields. In an analysis of 707 English-language academic studies applying or using intersectional methods, Bauer et al found that the '[m]ost common journal disciplines [using intersectional methods] included psychology, sociology, medical and life sciences, other social sciences, and gender and sexuality; of applied papers, 40.8% studied a health-related outcome and 21.9% focused on children or youth.' (Bauer et al, 2021: 3). Sex/gender, race/ ethnicity, income/education and sexual orientation were, respectively, the most examined social positions/identities used in the quantitative studies reviewed by Bauer et al (2021: 7).

³⁵ Simone Pennant, 2022, 'Features: Black male execs need nurturing', Broadcast. Available at: https://www.broadcastnow.co.uk/broadcast-magazine/simone-pennant-black-male-execs-need-nurturing/5167037.article.

Bauer et al's analysis also found that, in these studies, '[e]ngagement with intersectionality's core tenets was often superficial, as evidenced by a lack of any definition (26.9% of papers), noncitation of foundational authors (32.0%) or of any intersectionality methods papers (47.0%), and use of 'intersectional' categories not explicitly tied to social power (17.5%)' (Bauer et al, 2021: 5). This may suggest a form of 'concept trendiness' (Bauer et al, 2021: 5) as explored by Kathy Davis in her 2008 article 'Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful'. Despite its status as a hugely influential conceptual development in Black feminist thought, intersectionality, Davis argues, is 'ambiguous and open-ended' making it both unwieldy and a site of opportunity.³⁶

Such conceptual and methodological unwieldiness means that there is not, as yet, one ideal or agreed upon means by which data can be systematically analysed in an intersectional way. There are two leading reasons for this. Firstly, in order for data to be analysed and presented in a thoroughly intersectional way, intersectionality needs to be 'embedded throughout the life of the journey of the data, from its collection to its use for action'. Secondly, data can never tell the 'full story' of underrepresentation and how individuals may experience discrimination. These issues are considered in more detail below.

Collecting Data

Data can only ever tell part of a story. As Kevin Guyan notes in Queer Data: Using Gender, Sex and Sexuality Data for Action: '[quantitative] data alone does not explain why a difference might exist between LGBT people and the general population' (Guyan, 2022: 15). This, of course, can be applied to data related to sexual orientation, gender, race and ethnicity, age etc. Guyan rightly notes that qualitative data is usually needed to provide further support, context or background for a quantitative figure. However, even before this it is important to think about the data value chain and how data is collected in the first place. The data value chain is 'the evolution of data from collection to analysis, dissemination, and the final impact of data on decision making'.38 Methods of collecting and analysing data are rarely, if ever, removed from either wider socio-political context or (policy-led) motivations. Therefore, from the moment data collection is being considered as a methodological approach, decisions are being made on what that data might look like and, because data is 'not reality' but a 'record of the social world mediated through decisions made about what or whom to include or exclude' (Guyan, 2022: 20), it can never be fully representative. Indeed, data is a 'simplification' of more complex factors.³⁹

³⁶ Kathy Davis, 2008, 'Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful', Feminist Theory, 9(1), pp. 67–85, (p. 77).

³⁷ Kevin Guyan, 2022, Queer Data. (London: Bloomsbury), p. 18.

³⁸ Open Watch Data, 2018 'The Data Value Chain: Moving from Production to Impact'. Data2X. Available at: https://data2x.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Data_Value_Chain.pdf, (p. 1).

³⁹ Cathy O'Neil, 2016, Weapons of Math Destruction. (London: Penguin Books), p. 20.

In her examination of how an overreliance on 'big data' can increase inequality, Cathy O'Neil argues that mathematical models – and, therefore, data – are 'by their very nature, simplifications' and that '[n]o [mathematical] model can include all of the real world's complexity or the nuance of human communication. Inevitably, some important information gets left out.' (O'Neil, 2016: 20). This, as already discussed, is one of the reasons why quantitative intersectional data collection and analysis can be so difficult, because the methods commonly used for gathering large amounts of data (such as check box surveys/monitoring forms), which enable detailed analysis of large groups (e.g., a company's workforce) require a pre-determined selection of choices to be presented to the group being surveyed. As a result, the nuances of intersecting identity characteristics can be lost at the point of data collection.

Data as Storyteller

Identity is not static, it is dynamic, changeable and context-dependent. If we are to effectively collect and analyse data in an intersectional way, it is important to understand and recognise how quantifying identity is complicated by this. It has been argued that there can be a difference between how people self-identify or describe their identity, depending on the categorisations or understandings of categories in a given situation. As Kinket and Verkuyten have suggested:

[S]ocial categories influence behaviour when individuals define themselves in terms of those categories because self-definition in collective terms involves self-stereotyping in terms of how one's category is defined in relation to other categories.⁴⁰

Kinket and Verkuyten continue arguing that: 'Defining oneself as a member of an ethnic category [...] does not necessarily imply that one identifies with this category. A person may recognise and accept an ethnic group as self-defining, but does not have to consider this definition as personally important.' (1997: 339). In other words, a person's self-identification on a survey may be based more on the options they have been provided with, or how they believe they are perceived, rather than on how they actually identify outside of given categorisations.

In addition to this, there is also the issue of the fluidity of identity and how this can be captured. Over time, an individual's circumstances and self-identification can change. The potential impact of this is particularly important when considering gathering data in an intersectional way, since a change to an individual's self-identification over time would need to be captured as a quantifiable difference.

⁴⁰ Barbara Kinket, and Maykel Verkuyten, 1997, 'Levels of ethnic self-identification and social context', Social Psychology Quarterly, 60(4), pp. 338–354, (p. 339).

Intersectionality in Employment Practices

When it comes to exploring how intersectionality is treated and managed in workplaces, it is important to analyse two related (and overlapping) questions:

- 1. How is intersectionality addressed in practice?
- 2. How is intersectionality measured?

As demonstrated in previous sections, we are yet to find a 'one-size-fits-all' methodological application of intersectional methods to employment practices. As Eikhof & Warhurst have evidenced, employment and business practice models within the creative industries in the UK are intrinsically prohibitive and this can 'entrench discrimination based on sex, race and class'. Likewise, in their analysis of people with disabilities working in UK film and television, Randle & Hardy argue that those with 'impairments' are 'doubly-disabled' due to both the processes of project-based film and television work and their disability:

'Double disability' occurs as a function of two sites of disablement. The first is the labour market for project work, where entry and exit is frequent and where, it is maintained, a 'dark side' of social capital (Antcliff et al., 2007) or 'catnets' (Rydgren, 2004) may operate to disable workers with impairments. These features of UKF&TV are widely accepted to also exclude on the basis of gender, race and class. The second site is the labour process itself which, in contrast to the labour market, has been more marginal in understandings of the persistence of inequalities in UKF&TV [UK Film and Television]. A focus on this is important as it affects impaired workers in specific ways.⁴²

Randle & Hardy highlight the fact that such inequalities 'are not experienced uniformly and are mediated by different production processes and organizational settings (e.g., commercial or public service television), different types of impairment and by other intersecting social relations including gender, race and class.' (Randle & Hardy, 2017: 448). Indeed, this has been evidenced by Simonetta Longhi in the Equality and Human Rights Commission's report on the disability pay gap. In their analysis, Longhi notes how: 'ethnic minority disabled people tend to face the combined disadvantage of both ethnicity and disability. Disabled Bangladeshi and Pakistani men experience particularly large pay gaps.'43 Accordingly, intersectionality should not only be considered in terms of employment practices and workforce representation, but also in terms of workplace contexts and prospects.

⁴¹ Doris Ruth Eikhof and Chris Warhurst, 2013, 'The promised land? Why social inequalities are systemic in the creative industries', Employee Relations, 35(5), pp. 495–508, (p. 495).

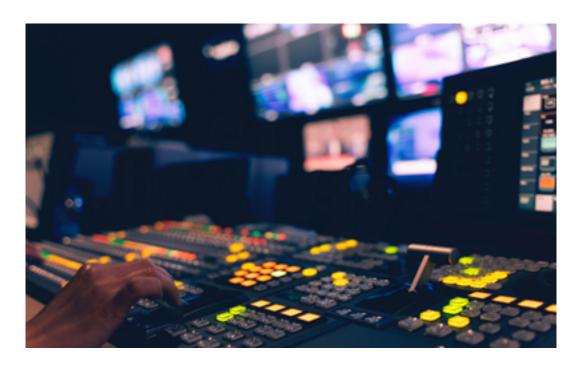
 $^{^{42}}$ Keith Randle and Kate Hardy, 2017, 'Macho, mobile and resilient? How workers with impairments are doubly disabled in project-based film and television work', Work, Employment and Society, 31(3), pp. 447–464, (p. 448).

⁴³ Simonetta Longhi, 2017, 'The disability pay gap'. Equality and Human Rights Commission. Available at: https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/sites/default/files/research-report-107-the-disability-pay-gap.pdf, (p. 45).

In terms of how intersectionality is addressed in employment practices, discussions LHC had with section executives in a range of industries, including executives and commissioners in British broadcasting, reveal that diversity in general is often framed through the prism of 'risk': employing people from under-represented 'diverse' groups is perceived to be more of a risk. This perception shapes senior executives' and employment behaviours, and can have a particular impact on intersectionality.

Specifically, if employing someone with one protected characteristic is perceived as riskier, then employing someone with two protected characteristics is often seen as 'double the risk', returning to the sense of 'double disability' discussed above. This perspective has two negative consequences. First, it works against intersectionality and employing people with multiple characteristics. Second, in an attempt to 'mitigate' the risk of employing someone with one protected characteristic, the employer might then lean even more towards ensuring the person has other characteristics which are seen as 'safe'.

While no data exists on this phenomenon, anecdotally several senior executives speaking to the LHC have described how, when trying to actively employ more people of colour, they might 'lean' towards and tend to employ more people of colour from a higher socio-economic group or who went to Oxbridge/Russell Group universities when compared to their White counterparts. The overall outcome of this is that increasing one diverse characteristic can work against increasing other diverse characteristics, or that an employer is drawing from a very small and specific group of people from each protected characteristic. Again, this has clear policy implications in monitoring and setting any possible targets in accordance with the Equality Act 2010.



Challenges of measuring Intersectionality

When it comes to how intersectionality is measured, a key point to note is that we have not found one case in any industry in which it is actively measured. Furthermore, measurement has theoretical and practical challenges.

First, any possible lawful targets an organisation may choose to set can become too diffuse and effectively meaningless. Under the UK Equality Act 2010 for instance, there are 9 protected characteristics specified in law: Age, Sex, Disability, Ethnicity, Gender Reassignment, Religion/Belief, Sexual Orientation, Marriage/Civil Partnership, and Pregnancy/Maternity. It should also be noted that in discussions around diversity, socio-economic disadvantage and regionality are often thought of as being among under-represented groups although they are not defined as such within UK law.

This means that, in theory, there are over 512 possible combinations of protected characteristics and so it is unrealistic for any employer to represent every possible intersectional possibility within its work force.

Second, there is also the risk of employers focusing on 'low hanging fruit' (consciously or unconsciously) of protected characteristic combinations which are easier to fulfil. For example, it might be easier (relatively speaking) to employ Asian-LGBTQ-women versus Asian-Muslim-women-or vice versa, although both people have three intersectional protected characteristics.

These are the challenges faced in general human resources and employment practice when it comes to intersectionality. But do they also apply to the broadcasting industry specifically?

Intersectionality in the Broadcasting Industry

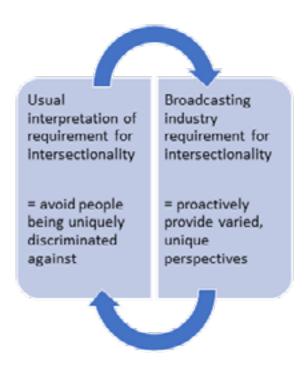
When addressing intersectionality in the creative industries in general, and broadcasting in particular, there are unique factors that should be considered. Central is the question of 'why are we considering intersectionality?' or 'why does intersectionality matter' in the broadcasting industry?

The vast majority of academic literature on intersectionality has explored the concept of intersectionality through the prism of discrimination, as illustrated by the earlier quote by the originator of the term, Kimberlé Crenshaw, 'the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism' (Crenshaw, 1989: 140).

While addressing discrimination is obviously important when it comes to the creative industries, it is also possible to consider intersectionality less in terms of the 'disadvantage' and more in terms of the unique lived and creative experience each intersectional group brings to producing a programme or piece of art. For instance, Michaela Coel, as a member of an intersectional group of Black women, brings a unique perspective to the art she creates - which is qualitatively different from the experiences of White women groups or Black men groups. In the UK, a member of an intersectional group of Black Muslim men, will have different experiences to a group of non-Black Muslim men, and so on.

It is likely to be in the economic interests of most publishers to capture these varied unique perspectives in the art it commissions and publishes, especially to reach and maintain new audiences. Furthermore, it is crucial to do so for a Public Service Broadcaster which is mandated to reach the breadth of the British population as a public good, and within which these intersectional groups exist.

The LHC suggests this could be seen as the 'unique artistic representation' model of intersectionality, as opposed to the 'unique discrimination' model of intersectionality.



Policies addressing the 'unique artistic representation' model of intersectionality and those looking at intersectionality through the issue of discrimination are not mutually exclusive - but they may well require a different way of measuring success and setting any targets in accordance with the Equality Act 2010.

Meeting the challenge of Intersectionality

The Global Partnership for Sustainable Development Data's (GPSDD) Inclusive Data Charter (IDC) is the only information we have come across that provides some practical guidance on intersectionality for employers. They view an organisation's commitment to increasing intersectionality being mainly implemented through data collection and specific diversity initiatives. They provide practical suggestions such as the following:

- Clarify intent. Clarifying intent is about deciding on the aims and objectives for your intersectional approach to data, and what areas of policy or practice you will focus on.
- Engage stakeholders. Intersectional approaches to data almost always involve collaboration: engaging directly with groups that are being marginalized is critical.
- Advocate for time and budget. A good first step when planning an intersectional approach to data is to perform a data gap analysis in order to determine what data is available and what data is needed.
- Establish roles and responsibilities. When starting out, broad base capacity building across organizations can bring staff up to speed on intersectionality and, in turn, intersectional approaches to data. A working group or community of practice tasked with developing organizational capacity may be useful.
- Develop action plans. Action plans solidify commitment and organizational accountability for intersectional approaches to data.⁴⁴

While this is helpful as a general guide, based on our analysis above, such a simplistic approach would not work, including specifically for the broadcasting industry.

First, this simplistic approach does not recognise the challenges of 'risk' and the complexities of measurement if intersectionality is not seen as linear - as we have described; and second, it does not recognise the additional element of proactively seeking intersectionality in order to achieve organisational goals. It implies a focus on avoiding discrimination, which is necessary but not sufficient.

The recommendations below are therefore provided with these complexities and additional requirements in mind.

⁴⁴ Inclusive Data Chart and Global Partnership for Sustainable Development Data, 2021, Unpacking intersectional approaches to data, p. 4.

1. Collection of data

Primary to any policies to address intersectionality, data on protected characteristics must be collected in a way to ensure that intersectionality can be measured. Currently data collected from diversity monitoring forms is often disaggregated. This means, for example, that while data is collected on gender and race it is possible for an employer to say how many of its employees are B.A.M.E. and how many of its employers are women, but it is impossible to know how many of the women are B.A.M.E. The disaggregation of data creates a major obstacle to making effective policies and measurements addressing intersectionality.

2. Setting intersectional targets* – addressing discrimination

While we believe it is not useful to think of intersectionality solely in terms of 'layers of discrimination', we do believe that as part of a range of policies this approach can play a useful role. It can ensure a reduction in the 'risk mitigation' phenomenon, as described earlier, that leads to employers actively only employing people with as few protected characteristics as possible, or actively seeking out other forms of 'privilege', such as class or education, when employing someone from an under-represented group.

Therefore, we would recommend that the sector starts to explore ways to actively measure and publish how many of its employees represent a combination of protected characteristics. This means measuring how many employees exhibit one protected characteristic, how many exhibit two, three, and so on.

While it should not be seen as an 'unconditional good' to employ people with more protected characteristics versus someone with less, (see earlier quote from Simone Pennant on Black men), the LHC suggests it would be a strong indicator of how seriously employers are addressing discrimination. The same would apply to ensuring that having multiple protected characteristics was not detrimental to a person's career trajectory.

Setting specific targets for intersectionality is particularly problematic primarily due to the issue of gender. It should be noted that women make up approximately 50% of the workforce (compared to 15% B.A.M.E., 20% disabled persons, 10% LGBTQ+) therefore the inclusion of women in any general targets can skew impressions of 'success' or 'failure' (this issue will be addressed in the next section).

*all target setting must comply with the Equality Act 2010

The setting of intersectional targets to address discrimination may look like the following:

- More than 70% of the workforce have at least one protected characteristic (or more) A long term accurate representational workforce might be 70% which is the percentage of the UK population which is women, disabled, B.A.M.E., LGBTQ+. https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/
 adhocs/11398protectedcharacteristicspopulationsuk2018
- More than 20% of the workforce has two protected characteristics (or more) - An accurate representational workforce might be 20% which is approximately the percentage of the UK population which has two of the following protected characteristics: women, disabled, B.A.M.E., LGBTQ+.
- 5% of the workforce has three protected characteristics (or more) An accurate representational workforce might be 4% which is approximately the percentage of the UK population which has three of the following protected characteristics: women, disabled, B.A.M.E., LGBTQ+.
- 1% of the workforce has four protected characteristics (or more) An accurate representational workforce might be 1% which is approximately the percentage of the UK population which has four of the following protected characteristics: women, disabled, B.A.M.E., LGBTQ+.

While this is a useful metric in measuring and addressing discrimination faced by people of multiple protected characteristics it is not a useful metric in helping the sector to address the specific issues faced by particular combinations of protected characteristics. The other problem of this metric is that it frames intersectionality purely in terms of discrimination and, as stated earlier, employers in the creative arts should also see intersectionality in terms of representation and enriching the different perspectives of its output).



3. Setting intersectional targets* - addressing representation

There are over 512 different possible combinations of protected characteristics (not including socio-economic diversity). It is therefore impossible for an employer to try and be representative of every possible combination of protected characteristics in the UK. For this reason, the LHC believes that each employer should choose four under-represented characteristics that they want to focus on and explore how they interact and monitor the representation of the intersectionality of these characteristics with the aim of possibly setting targets in accordance with the Equality Act 2010 and devising policies to address combinations which are particularly low in their representation. It would also be important for the employer to be able to explain the criteria for the four characteristics chosen.

New model

The LHC has devised a new method of visualising intersectionality of four under-represented characteristics that we would recommend to creative industry employers to adopt when undertaking this work.

Each of the below graphics takes one protected characteristic and then shows the diversity intersectionality within it.

In the Black Asian and Minority Ethnic graphic (Figure 1), for example, we have three axes originating from the centre. Each axis represents two forms of intersectionality: B.A.M.E. + Gender, B.A.M.E. + Class, B.A.M.E. + Disability.

Along these axes are the points of what a "truly representational" workforce would look like; 45% of B.A.M.E. workforce should be "working class" for example. The axis also shows how far away the employer is from reaching the 45% (in this example we are showing that 25% of the B.A.M.E. workforce is working-class).

The triangular shaded area between two axes shows three forms of intersectionality: B.A.M.E. + Class + Gender, B.A.M.E. + Disability + Gender, B.A.M.E. + Class + Disability. The grey shaded area represents what a truly representational workforce should be.

In this example using purely illustrative numbers a truly representational B.A.M.E workforce should be 22.5% working class and female, while Channel 4's workforce is only 10% (NB we are using imagined the employer workforce numbers in lieu of actual figures)

*all target setting must comply with the Equality Act 2010

Figure 1: Black Asian and Minority Ethnic Graph with illustrative numbers for a fictional employer

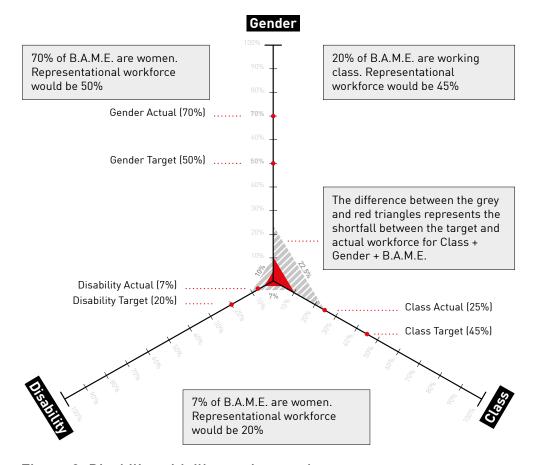


Figure 2: Disability with illustrative numbers

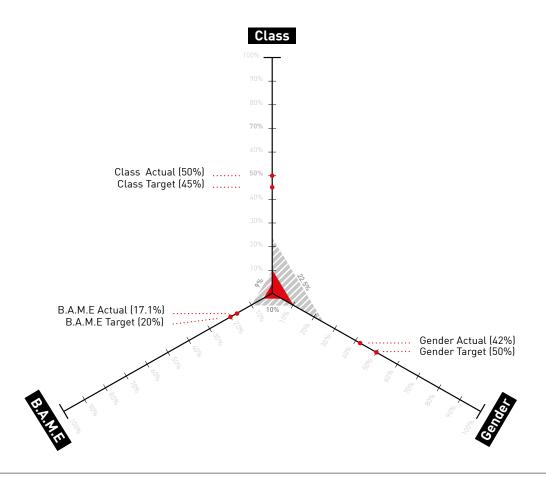


Figure 3: Gender with illustrative numbers

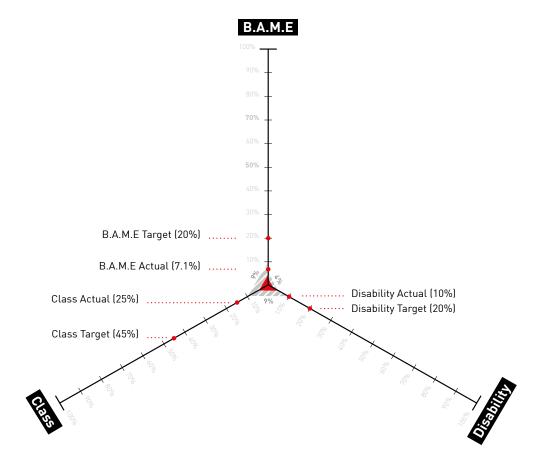
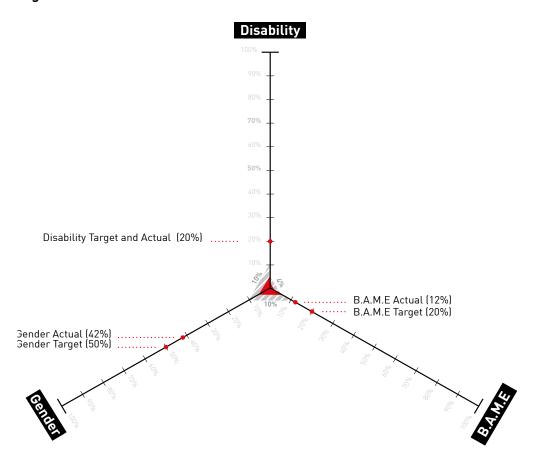


Figure 4: Class with illustrative numbers



Focusing specifically on Figure 1 (B.A.M.E.), the graphic shows how much the employer is failing to reach a representational workforce in terms of two combinations of intersectionality (B.A.M.E. + Class and B.A.M.E. + Disability, while over indexing on B.A.M.E. + women). At the same time, it is falling short on all forms of three combinations of intersectional characteristics: B.A.M.E. + Class + Gender, B.A.M.E. + Disability + Gender, B.A.M.E. + Class + Disability.

While Figure 1 concentrates on intersectionality using B.A.M.E. as the base, Figures 2, 3, and 4 repeat the process using Disability, Gender and Class respectively.

These graphics would clearly and easily show how close the employer is to meeting true workforce representation of single under-represented characteristics, the combination of two intersectional characteristics, and three intersectional characteristics. This would enable the employer to measure and set targets for specific representational targets of different combinations of intersections including combinations that might at first appear 'low' on intersectionality but particularly difficult to address – such as the issue of Black men – which objectively only has one protected characteristic.

Importantly the graphics do not show White, non-disabled, non-working-class, men. The protected characteristics are shown in relationship to one another and their intersections. This would be an important development in how organisations conceptualise diversity which directly or indirectly is usually thought of in relation to the "non-diverse" group.

It should also be noted that while the graphs show the intersectional targets within under-represented groups, this is separate from whether the employer are meeting their targets for each individual under-represented group. (For example, the number of B.A.M.E. + women might be over-indexing within the number of the employer's B.A.M.E. employees, but this does not mean the employer has reached its target for B.A.M.E. employees in total)

Rather than seeing this as a negative the LHC believes that this would be the first diversity measurement of its kind that does not centre White non-disabled men as the normative standard and instead focuses on the

representation of people from underrepresented backgrounds.

LHC Recommendations

Intersectionality should be viewed broadly through two overlapping frameworks: one of systems of discrimination, the other of workforce representation. While no metric or tool can perfectly capture either issue, the LHC believes that taken together they can help an organisation better evaluate their workforce and help address both issues.

LHC would advise contractors of third party suppliers - such as Channel
4 - to encourage its third party suppliers to annually publish how much
of its respective third party workforces meet one, two, three, four, five or
more under-represented groups. We would also encourage any contractor
of third party services seeking to make employers to do this to lead by
example by doing the same, when it comes to its own workforce.

This would be a broad measure of intersectionality and how employers are actively trying to address intersectionality seen through the lens of discrimination. This obviously runs the risk of seeing intersectionality purely in terms of an "additive" model layering one protected characteristic on each other. Which is why the second model is also needed.

 LHC would advise employers to pick four unrepresented groups and see how they interact (as described in the graphics earlier). The broadcaster should then use this model to analyse specific intersectional areas that they need to focus on to achieve a more representative work force. We would recommend that this is also published annually with policy measurements announced on how it plans to address these issues.



CONCLUSION

The LHC believes the Black To Front Project was an important intervention by Channel 4 to increase diversity, inclusion and equity in Channel 4 productions specifically, and within the UK media industry more generally. It provided numerous and varied lessons that Channel 4 can build upon to inform its policies around diversity and inclusion, as well as its understanding of the issues and challenges in this space.

We do not believe that the success of the day should be viewed through the prism of whether or not the specific commissions on the day are recommissioned, or the career progression of the talent working on productions on the day; the number of talent and commissions that can be associated with just one day of broadcast is relatively small. Indeed, while it is important to track and explore what happened to all individuals associated with the day, this should only be seen as indicative of the wider experience of Black people's relationship with the channel and the television industry in general.

The true measure of success must be whether Channel 4 is able to use the initiative to create new policies that create a more diverse, inclusive and equitable work environment. Ultimately success would be Channel 4 not needing to do similar interventions because it is viewed, both internally and externally, as a truly representative workplace, both as an employer and as a commissioning body.

The LHC believes that Channel 4 is seeking to do that by commissioning this research on "Out of London" workforce capacity, and intersectionality.

Work around the Black To Front Project should also be used, where possible, to provide transferable lessons for other forms of under representation, while at the same time recognising the unique issues associated with every type of under representation and discrimination.

There is no doubt that there are numerous positives to be taken from Black to Front and there is already some evidence of embedded culture change. However, it should be noted that the LHC found particular issues, such as Channel 4's relationship with its Black-led suppliers, that need to be addressed, as well as addressing Black representation in positions of editorial control within the organisation.

Finally, Channel 4 should ensure that all lessons learnt from the day are clearly documented to avoid institutional memory being lost through staff departure. We believe that at this stage of the process the Black To Front Project should broadly be seen as a success, but we also agree with the Chief Content Officer, Ian Katz, that it is still too early to make a definitive judgment.

In the publication of any data which might identify individuals and contravene possible GDPR requirements we recommend that Channel 4 first approaches individuals and seek their explicit consent for the data to be published before resorting to asterisks indicating that numbers are too low to publish, a common industry practice.

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APPENDIX

Ethnic Diversity in the UK - Population and Workforce

The population of the UK continues to grow, rising to 67.1 million according to the mid-2020 estimate compiled by the ONS. This is the most recent estimate, as the 2021 figures will be based on the 2021 Census and are still being analysed. The mid-2020 estimate showed that all four UK nations witnessed slight increases to their population growth rates, more so in Wales (0.53%) and England (0.47%) than in Northern Ireland (0.10%) and Scotland (0.05%). England's population was estimated at 56.5 million (84.3% of the UK population); Wales, 3.1 million (4.73%); Scotland, 5.47 million (8.15%); and Northern Ireland, 1.9 million (2.8%).

Net internal migration figures suggest that more people are moving out of Northern Ireland and Scotland, potentially relocating to England or Wales. In the period from mid-2019 to mid-2020, Northern Ireland saw a decrease in net internal migration from 0.6 to -0.8 per 1000 people, one of the largest decreases in the UK, while Scotland's figure fell from 1.8 to 1.6 per 1000 people. By contrast, Wales had an increase from 2.8 to 4.1 per 1000 people.

The internal migration picture is mixed for England, where London, East Midlands, West Midlands, Yorkshire and the Humber, and the North-West had decreases in net internal migration, while the East of England, the South-East, the North-East, and the South-West had increases. According to the ONS, the internal migration trends in South-East England is one of people moving out of London (-10.6 in mid-2019 to -11.3 in mid-2020) into the East (2.1 to 2.8) and the South-East (1.1 to 1.9). Things are not as clear cut in London, however, where the highest rates of population growth between 2019 and 2020 in the UK were recorded in the region. The City of London had the highest growth rate of 12.5%, followed by Camden at 3.5% and Westminster at 3.3%.

In terms of age, the average median age in the UK in 2020 was 40.4 years. The highest median age was in the South-West (44.1), Wales (42.4), and Scotland (42.1), while the lowest was in London (35.8), Northern Ireland (39.2), and the West Midlands (39.6). In the North-East and Wales, there was a fall in the median age between 2019 and 2020 (41.8 to 41.7 in the North and 42.5 to 42.4 in Wales), driven by an increase in deaths and increase in international and internal migration. Overall, in 2020, 62.4% of the UK population (that is, 41,845,027 people) were between the ages of 16 to 64 (the working age).

For the major cities being considered in this report: London had a population of 9 million people and 67.2% of them were between the ages of 16 to 64. Birmingham had 1.14 million people in total, and 64.4% of them were between 16 to 64. Leeds had a population of 798,786 people, and 65.2% of them were between 16 and 64 years. Glasgow had a population of 635,640 people, and 70.7% of them were between 16 and 64 years.

However, as comprehensive as the mid-year estimate of the ONS was, it did not provide estimates of the ethnic make-up of the UK. To arrive at this, we have to rely on the 2011 Census. For that census, 18 ethnic groups were listed. These are categorised into White, Mixed, Asian, Black, and Other ethnic group (such as Arabs). The Asian category includes Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese, and any other Asian. The Black category includes African, Caribbean, and any other Black background. The Northern Ireland 2011 census, recorded by the Northern Island Statistics and Research Agency, recognised 11 different ethnic groups, including Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean, Black African, Black Other, and Mixed. The Scotland census, compiled by the National Records of Scotland, recognised 19 different ethnic groups, largely similar to the UKwide census categorisation for ethnicity. The Scottish categorisation includes White; Mixed or Multiple; Asian, Asian Scottish, or Asian British; African; Caribbean or Black; and Other.

Table 1 contains information from the 2011 ONS Census, which showed that the population of England and Wales was mainly White (80.5%), followed by Asian ethnic groups (7.5%), Other White (4.4%), Black ethnic groups (3.3%), Mixed (2.2%), and Other (1%). From 2001 to 2011, the White population decreased from 87.4% to 80.5%, while the percentage of Black Africans increased from 0.9% in 2001 to 1.8% in 2011. In total, all White ethnic groups comprised 86% of the population. For the Asian ethnic groups, 0.8% were Bangladeshi, 0.7% Chinese, 2.5% Indian, 2% Pakistani, and 1.5% Asian other. For Black ethnic groups, 1.8% were Black African, 1.1% Black Caribbean, and 0.5% Black other.

Table 1: Employment by ethnicity for 16-64-year-olds in England and Wales, 2011 Census

Ethnicity	% Of total population	% Of those aged 16- to 64-years-old	% Of total workforce	% Of workforce as a proportion of 16-64-year-olds
White: Total	86	85.61	87.96	72.93
White British	80.5	79.21	81.15	72.72
White Irish	0.9	0.93	0.95	72.83
White Gypsy/ Traveller	0.1	0.10	0.06	40
White Other	4.4	5.37	5.8	76.62
Mixed: Total	2.2	1.76	1.48	59.75
Mixed White/ Black Caribbean	0.8	0.62	0.49	56.29
Mixed White/ Black African	0.3	0.22	0.19	59.47
Mixed White/ Asian	0.6	0.47	0.41	61.57
Mixed Other	0.5	0.44	0.39	62.81
Asian: Total	7.5	8.10	6.8	59.60
Indian	2.5	2.83	2.79	70
Pakistani	2	1.94	1.35	49.47
Bangladeshi	0.8	0.76	0.52	48.47
Chinese	0.7	0.89	0.66	52.60
Asian Other	1.5	1.68	1.48	62.56
Black: Total	3.3	3.42	2.93	60.90
Black African	1.8	1.84	1.52	58.53
Black Caribbean	1.1	1.13	1.06	66.59
Black Other	0.5	0.45	0.36	56.39
Other: Total	1	1.11	0.82	52.64
Arab	0.4	0.43	0.26	41.99
Any other	0.6	0.68	0.57	59.42

Source: ONS

Table 1 shows the percentage of people for each ethnic group as a proportion of the total population of 16- to 64-year-olds and a proportion of those who were employed or those in the workforce. The final column presents data for the percentage of people in each ethnic group who are in the workforce as a proportion of each ethnic group's population in the 16- 64-year-old bracket. The table reveals that out of all ethnic groups, it is only for White people that the proportion of those employed exceed corresponding figures for the general population and the population aged 16- to 64- years.

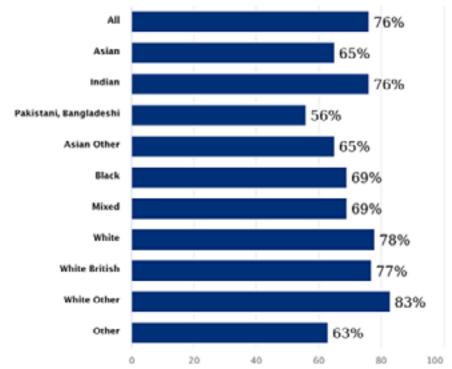
Whilst 86% of the population in England and Wales, and 85.61 of those between 16- to 64-years-olds are White, almost 88% of them make up the workforce. Figures are reversed for those who are of Mixed ethnicities, where their proportion of the workforce (1.48%) is less than their proportion of the 16- to 64-years-old population (1.76%), which in turn is lesser than their proportion of the general population in England and Wales (2.2%). For Asian, Black, and those categorized as Other, the proportion of those aged 16 to 64 was higher than figures for the general population, implying that they have more people of working age in terms of their population compared to those White and Mixed ethnicities. Despite this, they had smaller workforce percentages overall. For Asians, 8.10% were aged 16 to 64 years, but 6.8% were in the workforce. When broken down further, a similar pattern is noticed for all Asian sub-groups (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese, and Asian Other). The same goes for Black ethnic groups where 3.42% made up the population aged 16-64, but only 2.93% of them were in the workforce.

The last column of Table 1 shows the workforce percentage of each ethnic group as a proportion of their working-age population in 2011. Again, the disparity is clear as 72.93% of White people of working age are in the workforce. This is compared with roughly 60% for people from Mixed, Asian, and Black backgrounds. It suggests that fewer people of those from minority groups who are of working age are actually part of the workforce.

Figure 1 presents government estimates for 2019. The figures for all White ethnic groups shows an increase to 78% in 2019 compared with approximately 73% in 2011. This increase is reflected across minority groups also. In 2019, 65% of Asians of working age were in the workforce, compared with 59.6% in 2011. Among Black and Mixed people, the figure had risen to 69%. This indicates that in the intervening period between 2011 and 2019 in England and Wales, almost all ethnic minority groups had more people in the workforce.

Figure 1: Workforce by ethnicity in England and Wales, 2019

Title:Percentage of 16 to 64 year olds who were employed, by ethnicity. Location: England, Wales and Scotland. Time period: 2019. Source: Annual Population Survey| Ethnicity Facts and Figures GOV.UK



Source: ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk

Note: Whilst the workforce for England and Wales was put at 25.7 million people in 2011, the ONS in its <u>latest estimate</u> notes that the figure for the whole of the UK in 2021 was 29.3 million employees.

Figure 2: Employment by ethnicity in Great Britain, 2004-2019

Source: ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk

The increase in employment outcomes over the years can be seen in Figure 2. The figure shows that besides England and Wales, Scotland has seen similar improvements. There has been an increase in the total employment rate for England, Wales, and Scotland. Employment rates during the period increased for all ethnic groups with the best performers being the Pakistani and Bangladeshi (12% increase while the Whites had the worst rate of growth (3%). The gap in the percentage point between White and Other than White has also narrowed from 16% to 11%. It is worth noting that the rate of change has been slow, however. It took 15 years for there to be a 5% reduction in the employment gap between both groups – an average of 0.33% per year. If growth is maintained at this rate, the employment gap will close in 2052.

Table 2: Percentage of 16- to 64-year-olds who were employed in Great Britain, by ethnicity and area, 2019

Ethnicity	All	East Midlands	East of England	London	North East	North West	Scotland	South East	South West	Wales	West Midlands	Yorkshire and The Humber
All	76	77	78	75	71	75	75	80	79	73	74	74
Asian	65	67	71	66	58	60	57	75	72	66	62	56
Indian	76	73	84	74	*	72	64	85	71	*	77	69
Pakistani, Bangladeshi	56	57	59	58	47	54	53	68	*	61	52	53
Asian Other	65	61	72	65	*	59	57	70	77	63	55	58
Black	69	72	73	69	60	67	63	76	77	63	62	74
Mixed	69		76	69		69		73	77	68	61	68
White	78	78	79	79	71	76	76	80	80	74	77	76
White British	77	78	78	78	71	76	75	80	79	74	77	76
White Other	83	83	86	83	77	82	80	85	85	81	84	80
Other	63		75	66	44	55	55	77	68	52	56	50

^{*}Data withheld because a small sample size makes it unreliable

Source: https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk

Table 2 shows the statistics for employment rate across the regions of Great Britain broken down by ethnicity in 2019. Overall, there were marginal differences amongst the regions, but the South-East of England had the highest employment rate, while the North-East had the lowest. Going by regions and ethnic groups, the highest employment rate was recorded for White Other people living in the East of England, followed by White Other people living in the South-East and South-West, and people of Indian ethnicity living in the South-East. By contrast, those in the Other ethnic group category living in the North-East had the lowest increase in employment rate, followed Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups in the North-East. What we see here is the disparity in employment outcomes, not just in terms of ethnicity, but also among the regions in Great Britain, particularly the North-South divide.

Table 3: Regions of England and Wales by ethnicity, 2011

Region	Asian	Black	Mixed	White British	White other	Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%
East	4.8	2.0	1.9	85.3	5.5	0.5
East Midlands	6.5	1.8	1.9	85.4	3.9	0.6
London	18.5	13.3	5.0	44.9	14.9	3.4
North East	2.9	0.5	0.9	93.6	1.7	0.4
North West	6.2	1.4	1.6	87.1	3.1	0.6
South East	5.2	1.6	1.9	85.2	5.4	0.6
South West	2.0	0.9	1.4	91.8	3.6	0.3
Wales	2.3	0.6	1.0	93.2	2.4	0.5
West Midlands	10.8	3.3	2.4	79.2	3.6	0.9
Yorkshire and The Humber	7.3	1.5	1.6	85.8	3.0	0.8

Source: Gov.UK

Table 3 above, from the 2011 census, presents the ethnicity breakdown across the regions in England and Wales. It shows that people from minority backgrounds are more likely to live in London and the West Midlands. In London, less than half of the population was White British (44.9%), which was also the only region where the figure went below 80%. The second highest ethnic group in London were those from Asian backgrounds (18.5%), followed by White Other (14.9%), Black (13.3%), and Mixed (5%).

Table 4: Percentage of workers in each ethnic group employed in different types of occupation (2019)

Occupation	All	Asian	Black	Indian	Mixed/ Multiple ethnic groups	Other Asian (inc. Chinese)	Other ethnic group	Pakistan/Banglade	White	White British	White Other
Managers, Directors And Senior Officials	11.4	10.8	5.4	12.2	10.1	9.9	10.3	9.9	11.6	11.7	10.9
Professional Occupations	21.4	26.9	21.9	33.2	22.2	26.8	22.0	18.8	20.9	20.7	22.6
Associate Professional And Technical Occupations	14.5	12.2	11.7	13.4	19.9	12.5	13.0	10.4	14.7	15.0	13.0
Administrative And Secretarial Occupations	9.7	8.3	8.6	9.0	7.7	6.8	6.0	8.6	9.9	10.3	7.0
Skilled Trades Occupations	10.2	6.2	5.3	5.5	6.9	7.1	8.3	6.4	10.7	10.8	10.5
Caring, Leisure And Other Service Occupations	9.1	8.0	17.1	6.7	8.0	10.2	9.0	7.9	8.9	9.2	6.6
Sales And Customer Service Occupations	7.3	9.0	7.9	6.5	8.9	8.3	7.3	12.8	7.1	7.4	5.0
Process, Plant And Machine Operatives	6.2	8.3	6.4	5.7	3.6	4.7	9.9	14.4	6.0	5.6	9.6
Elementary Occupations	10.3	10.3	15.6	7.8	12.6	13.7	14.3	10.9	10.0	9.4	14.8

Source: https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk

Table 4 is a breakdown on the types of employment among people from different ethnic groups in 2019. Indians and White British made up the highest percentages of the managers, directors and senior officers category, compared to other ethnic groups (12.2% and 11.7% respectively of working Indians and White British can be found in this category). Black workers had the lowest figure in this category (5.4%). Black workers here take up the largest percentage of elementary occupations, while Indian workers are the least. Black workers are also far more likely to be in care, leisure, and other services. Professional occupations were the most common types of jobs, put at 21.4%. Indian workers are the highest percentage out of the ethnic minority workers in this category, with the worst being Bangladeshi workers (a 14.4pp gap between both ethnic groups).

A similar trend exists in the data for the unemployed. For instance, UK-wide figures compiled by the House of Commons Library between July and September 2021 show that while 8.4% of people from non-White backgrounds were unemployed compared to 3.8% White people, Indians tend to perform better. Only 4.9% of people from an Indian ethnic background were employed, the second-best performers after figures for the White ethnic group. Non-white unemployment figures are thus poor primarily because of the unemployment rates for people from Bangladeshi (12.3%) and Black (10.2%) ethnic groups.

Figure 3: Unemployment by ethnic background in the UK, 2020-2021

_	202	20	202	1
	Level	Rate (%)	Level	Rate (%
Bangladeshi	20	7.6%	30	12.39
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	140	11.7%	120	10.29
Other ethnic group	70	7.0%	90	9.69
Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups	50	10.5%	50	9.39
Chinese	10	4.9%	20	8.89
Pakistani	50	11.1%	30	6.79
Indian	60	5.6%	50	4.99
White	1,340	4.5%	1,120	3.89
Minority ethnic group	390	8.7%	390	8.49
Total	1,730	5.1%	1,520	4.49

Source: House of Commons Library https://researchbriefings.files.
parliament.uk/documents/SN06385/SN06385.pdf (Data was taken from the ONS but has been temporarily removed from the ONS website because of a weighting methodology issue).

Table 5 outlines data on employment across several industries in the three-year period between 2014 and 2016, by ethnicity. This data was released on 20 June 2018 and was provided in response to a request. This might explain why there have been no updates. It is also unclear whether it is based on figures from England and Wales only or if it is UK-wide. The ONS does not clarify. Another limitation is that the data lumps the ethnic groups into Asian, Black, White, etc. The consequence is that it becomes hard to ascertain figures for sub-ethnicities e.g., Pakistani. Regardless, the table shows that between 2014 to 2016, BAME workers were more likely to be employed in Activities of Extraterritorial Organisations and Bodies (18.4% of BAME workers), Transportation and Storage (17.5%), and Accommodation and Food Service Activities (16.9%). They performed least in Water Supply; Sewerage, Waste Management and Remediation Activities (4.1%) and Construction (5.3%).

Table 5: Percentage of employed people in each ethnicity by industry 2014 to 2016

SIC	2007 Section Letter/2-digit Division ¹	White	Mixed	Asian	Black	Other	BAME ²
Α	Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	~	~	~	*	~	~
В	Mining	93.4	~	~	~	~	6.6
С	Manufacturing	92.6	0.6	4.7	1.2	1.0	7.4
D	Electricity, Gas, Steam and Air Conditioning Supply	93.3	~	4.3	~	~	6.7
Ε	Water Supply; Sewerage, Waste Management and Remediation Activities	95.9	~	1.7	~	~	4.1
F	Construction	94.7	0.5	2.4	1.4	1.0	5.3
G	Wholesale and Retail Trade; Repair of Motor Vehicles and Motorcycles	87.0	1.1	8.0	2.4	1.5	13.0
Н	Transportation and Storage	82.5	0.9	10.6	4.1	1.8	17.5
I	Accommodation and Food Service Activities	83.1	1.4	10.0	2.2	3.3	16.9
J	Information and Communication	84.8	1.3	10.2	2.0	1.8	15.2
K	Financial and Insurance Activities	85.7	1.4	9.2	2.5	1.2	14.3
L	Real Estate Activities	89.2	~	~	~	~	10.8
М	Professional, Scientific and Technical Activities	89.6	1.3	5.7	1.8	1.5	10.4
N	Administrative and Support Service Activities	87.3	1.3	5.0	4.6	1.8	12.7
0	Public Administration and Defence; Compulsory Social Security	90.8	0.9	4.4	3.1	0.8	9.2
Р	Education	90.8	1.1	4.6	2.3	1.2	9.2
Q	Human Health and Social Work Activities	84.8	1.1	7.0	5.4	1.7	15.2
R	Art, Entertainment and Recreation	93.0	1.3	2.8	1.8	1.1	7.0
S	Other Service Activities	90.9	1.0	4.4	2.2	1.4	9.1
T	Activities of Households as Employers; Undifferentiated Goods-and-Services- Producing Activities of Households for Own Use	84.6	~	~	~	~	15.4
U	Activities of Extraterritorial Organisations and Bodies	81.6	~	~	~	~	18.4

Notes:
* Cell suppressed for disclosure reasons
~ Sample size too low to produce reliable estimates
Source: Annual Population Survey, <u>ONS</u>

In Scotland, the <u>2021 Census</u> showed that the total population was approximately 5.3 million people, 96% of which was White. This represented a 2% decrease in the White population compared with the 2001 Census. All minority ethnic groups (including Mixed and Other) made up 4% of the population. Diversity in the ethnic make-up was greater in the cities, with Edinburgh having 17.9% of people identifying as minorities, Glasgow 17.3%, Aberdeen 17.1%, and Dundee 10.6%. In Glasgow, one of Channel 4's hubs, the minority breakdown of the population in 2011 is as follows: 3.8% Pakistani, 2.4% White Other (Scotland sees White Other as minorities), 2.1% African, 1.9% White Irish, 1.8% Chinese, 1.5% Indian, and 1.4% White Polish. However, a <u>2019 Glasgow City Council</u> report on equality estimated the population of BAME people in Glasgow to have gone down to 12%.

In Northern Ireland, the population was 1.8 million in 2011. Those who identified as White comprised 98.21% of the population. For minority groups, 0.35% were Chinese, 0.34% Indian, 0.33% Mixed, 0.13% Black African, 0.06% Pakistani, 0.03% Bangladeshi, 0.02% Black Caribbean. The remaining figures went to Asian Other, Black Other, and Other groups. Put together, this shows that Northern Island is the least diverse nation in the UK, followed by Scotland, and then England and Wales (figures for England and Wales are merged).

Table 6: Workforce by ethnicity in Scotland, 2011 Census

Ethnicity	All people aged 16 and over	White	Mixed or multiple ethnic groups	Asian, Asian Scottish or Asian British	African	Caribbean or Black	Other ethnic groups
All people aged 16 and over	4379072	4221402 (96.40%)	10718 (0.24%)	109229 (2. 49%)	21864 (0.50%)	5041 (0.12%)	10818 (0.25%)
Economically active: Total	2750136	2655046 (96.54%)	7117 (0.26%)	63616 (2.31%)	15233 (0.55%)	3525 (0.13%)	5599 (0.20%)
Economically active: Employee: Total	2222098	2152791 (96.88%)	5499 (0.25%)	46202 (2.08%)	11011 (0.50%)	2648 (0.12%)	3947 (0.18%)
Economically active: Self-employed: Total	305722	292625 (95.72%)	766 (0.25%)	10345 (3.38%)	862 (0.28%)	312 (0.10%)	812 (0.26%)

Source: National Records of Scotland

Table 6 shows workforce data in Scotland across ethnicities in the 2011 Census figures. The table roughly similar percentages for people from Mixed backgrounds in terms of being economically active, employed, and self-employed. For Asians, the percentage of employed is relatively low, but this is compensated for by the relatively high percentage of Asians that are self-employed. The worst outcome is for people from Black backgrounds, where compared with the percentage of economically active people, fewer people are employed, and even fewer people still are self-employed.

Table 7: Workforce by ethnicity in Glasgow City, 2011 Census

Ethnicity	All people aged 16 and over	White	Mixed or multiple ethnic groups	Asian, Asian Scottish or Asian British	African	Caribbean or Black	Other ethnic groups
Economic activity							
All people aged 16 and over	497618	446729 (89.77%)	1734 (0.35%)	36268 (7.29%)	8797 (1.76%)	1369 (0.28%)	2721 (0.55%)
Economically active: Total	295992	268400 (90.68%)	1170 (0.40%)	18601 (6.28%)	5688 (1.92%)	932 (0.31%)	1201 (0.41%)
Economically active: Employee: Total	234925	216143 (92%)	894 (0.38%)	12856 (5.47%)	3596 (1.53%)	674 (0.29%)	762 (0.32%)
Economically active: Self-employed: Total	25535	22078 (86.46%)	110 (0.43%)	2870 (11.24%)	257 (1.01%)	63 (0.25%)	157 (0.61%)

Source: National Records of Scotland

Table 7 presents data for Glasgow, one of our cities of interest. It shows that compared to the percentage of economically active people who are White, there are more who are employed, but fewer are self-employed. The parentages are reversed for those in the Mixed and Asian categories. We see this especially for those from Asian backgrounds far more people are self-employed compared to those who are employed. However, among Africans and Caribbeans, there are fewer people employed and self-employed than there are economically active people. Therefore, for Glasgow and Scotland at large, people from Black and Caribbean backgrounds seem to be more likely to be out of employment.

Table 8 below is based on the 2011 Census figures for London. It shows that there were approximately 5.6 million people who were aged 16–64-year-old in London, with 3.9 million (69%) of them being in the workforce. It also shows that three out of every four White people between the ages of 16–64 were in the workforce. For those from Mixed and Black backgrounds, the figure goes down to three out of every five. For those from Asian backgrounds, the figure is 62.31%. There are variations, however. Indians generally performed at 71% compared with Bangladeshi on the other end with 48%. Overall, 65.52% of the workforce was White, 3.4% Mixed, 17.35% Asian, and 10.93% Black.

Table 8: Workforce in London by ethnicity, 2011 Census

E			% of 16-64-year-olds
Ethnicity	16-64-year-olds	Workforce	who are employed
Economic activity All categories: Ethnic group	5644424	3905206	69.19
White: Total	3427754	2558663	74.65
White British	2473549	1836030	74.23
White Irish	119664	89481	74.78
White Gypsy/ Traveller	5055	1928	38.14
White Other	829486	631224	76.10
Mixed: Total	218037	132800	60.91
Mixed White/Caribbean	62524	34754	55.59
Mixed White/Black African	34124	19982	58.56
Mixed White/Asian	54364	34791	64
Mixed Other	67025	43273	64.56
Asian: Total	1087112	677403	62.31
Indian	402765	286735	71.19
Pakistani	150945	79944	52.96
Bangladeshi	140171	67452	48.12
Chinese	103208	62508	60.57
Asian Other	290023	180764	62.33
Black: Total	709733	426873	60.15
Black African	380301	221495	58.24
Black Caribbean	232001	151717	65.39
Black Other	97431	53661	55.08
Other: Total	201788	109467	54.25
Arab	72884	33689	46.22
Any other	128904	75778	58.79

Source: ONS

For London, the ONS show that in 2019, 73.5% of the total workforce of 1,029,736 people was White (see Table 9). This was followed by Black at 7%, Indian 5.8%, Bangladeshi 2.9%, Chinese 1.4%, Mixed 1.3%, and Pakistani 1.1%. Hence, we see that the City of London had a less diverse workforce.

Table 9: Workforce in the City of London by ethnicity

Ethnicity	Workforce	Percentage
1 White	757,187	73.5
2 Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups	13,558	1.3
3 Indian	60,023	5.8
4 Pakistani	11,576	1.1
5 Bangladeshi	29,426	2.9
6 Chinese	14,095	1.4
7 Any other Asian background	19,054	1.9
8 Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	71,895	7.0
9 Other ethnic group	52,922	5.1
Total	1,029,736	100.0

Source: ONS

In Birmingham, in a report into workforce race equity by the Birmingham City Council, 42% of the population in 2020 were BAME, while 58% were White. The Council itself noted that employment with the Birmingham City Council was unequal, with 28% of staff identifying as BAME (43% were White, and 29% were unknown). The report gave a breakdown of the population in Birmingham as of 2018, showing that population as largely White (57.9%); this was followed by the Asian ethnic group which was 26.6%, Black 8.9%, Mixed, 4.4%, and other (2%). What we see here is that compared to the population in England and Wales, there are far more people of BAME background in Birmingham. The report does not include a breakdown of the population in terms of workforce by ethnicity.

In Leeds, according to the <u>Leeds Observatory</u>, using data from the 2011 census, 81.1% of the population is White British, followed by Pakistani (3%), Other White (2.9%), and Indian (2.1%). The Pakistani proportion was 3%, Bangladeshi 0.6%, Chinese 0.8%, Black African 2%, and Black Caribbean 0.9%. In total, the Asian population was 7.7%, Black was 3.5%, Mixed was 2.7%, White was 85%, and Other was 1.1%.

It has been very difficult to get workforce and education data by ethnicity for Leeds and Birmingham. By far, Scotland's data is the most accessible and easiest to navigate.

Ethnicity and Educational Outcomes

Table 10 below shows the educational level of the workforce as a proportion of each ethnic group's representation. It shows that at Level 4 and above (degree level), people of Mixed ethnicity were most likely to be employed, closely followed by White workers. The difference between White workers and both Asian and Black workers is 4%. As we go down the qualification, the gap seems to widen between White workers and those from other ethnic groups, before contracting again at the "No qualification" level. For instance, at Level 3 (A level), the difference between people from the White ethnic group and Asian and Black respectively is put at 13% and 7% respectively. At level 2 (GSCE), it becomes 15% and 10%. At below level 2 (fewer than 5 GSCE passes), it becomes 11% and 4%. For other qualifications, it is 15% and 4%. Finally, at no qualifications, the gap is 4% for Asian and Black workers when compared with White workers.

Table 10: Percentage of 16 to 64-year-olds who were employed and not in full-time education, by ethnicity and qualification level (England, Wales and Scotland) 2019

Highest qualification held	All	Asian	Black	Mixed	White	Other
All	79%	71%	75%	77%	80%	71%
Level 4 and above	87%	83%	83%	88%	87%	81%
Level 3	83%	71%	77%	78%	84%	66%
Level 2	76%	62%	67%	65%	77%	64%
Below Level 2	70%	60%	67%	60%	71%	62%
Other qualifications	77%	65%	76%	*	80%	67%
No qualifications	47%	44%	44%	37%	48%	43%

^{*}Data withheld because a small sample size makes it unreliable

Source: ONS Annual Population Survey, Gov.UK:

However, the figures for Scotland and Glasgow during the 2011 Census present a different picture. We see this in Table 11 where in Scotland, people from minorities background are far more likely to be educated at degree level than White people. In the table, 55.1% of those aged 16 and over from African backgrounds have degrees, compared with just 25.3% of those from all White backgrounds (including White Other). For Asians, the figure is 45.9%; for Mixed, it is 46.5%; and for Caribbean, it is 40.3%. The percentages were gotten by ascertaining the number of people educated at degree level as a proportion of people of working age in each ethnic group. Therefore, the suggestion is either that things have improved for Scotland between 2011 and 2019 or that the figures for Great Britain mask the reality in Scotland. In relation to this, Centre for Cities in a post quoted figures showing that people from White backgrounds in England and Wales are 27% more likely to be low-skilled than those from minority backgrounds.

Table 11: Total number of working-age people educated by ethnicity in Scotland, 2011 Census

Ethnicity/ Education	All people aged 16 and over	White: Total	Mixed or multiple ethnic groups	Asian, Asian Scottish or Asian British	African	Caribbean or Black	Other ethnic groups
All people aged 16 and over	4379072	4221402	10718	109229	21864	5041	10818
No qualifications	1173116	1147738	888	20292	1984	738	1476
Level 1	1010875	985236	1816	17739	3389	1067	1628
Level 2	627423	610188	2027	11610	1964	654	980
Level 3	424996	410612	1003	9407	2477	549	948
Level 4 and above	1142662	1067628 (25.3%)	4984 (46.5%)	50181 (45.9%)	12050 (55.1%)	2033 (40.3%)	5786 (53.48%)

Source: National Records of Scotland

Level 1 – GCSE range; Level 2 – A Level range; Level 3 – HND range; Level 4: Degree and above

The Scottish example can also be found in Glasgow (see Table 12) according to the 2011 Census, where only 24% of White people aged 16 and above have university degrees. For those from Mixed backgrounds, the figure is 49.7%; African, 43.3%; Asian, 41.4%; and Caribbean, 36.7%. We find overall that the Scottish workforce was not educated to degree level to the same proportion as the wider British workforce (although this is based on the comparison between 2011 Scottish figures and 2019 British figures). One other takeaway is that people from minority backgrounds in the workforce generally tend to be as educated if not more educated than the White workforce.

Table 12: Total number of working-age people educated by ethnicity in Glasgow City, 2011 Census

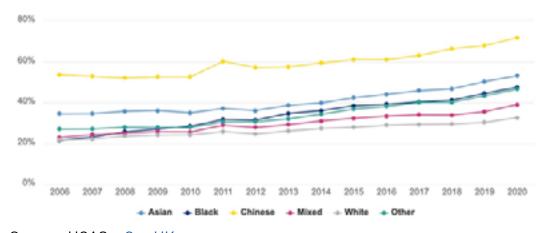
Ethnicity (Flat)	All people aged 16 and over	White: Total	Mixed or multiple ethnic groups	Asian, Asian Scottish or Asian British	African	Caribbean or Black	Other ethnic groups
All people aged 16 and over	497618	446729	1734	36268	8797	1369	2721
No qualifications	159162	148818	160	8166	1280	236	502
Level 1	98132	89436	235	6135	1640	294	392
Level 2	66685	61776	329	3427	768	180	205
Level 3	44694	39340	148	3508	1297	156	245
Level 4 and above	128945	107359 (24%)	862 (49.7%)	15032 (41.4%)	3812 (43.3%)	503 (36.7%)	1377 (50.61%)

Source: National Records of Scotland

Figure 4 shows people from state schools in England who applied to fulltime undergraduate courses through UCAS. Between 2006 and 2020, the percentage of Chinese students entering universities was by far the highest (71.7%), more than double the rate for White students (32.6%) the lowest in the data. Within this period, Black students had the biggest increase in university entry from 21.6% to 47.5%. By contrast, White students had the smallest increase (21.8% to 32.6%). The data shows that outcomes for White students have increasingly lagged behind those of other ethnic groups. Whilst in 2006, White, Black, and Mixed students had relatively similar entry rates, the gap has widened over the years, such that Black students are now 14.9% ahead of White students. What is of more interest is the data for Asian students, which is second only to that of Chinese students. Thus, the figures show that Asian students have seen an increase in entry rate from 36.1% in 2006 to 53.1% in 2020, a 17% increase. The data lumps Asians together and does not show separate figures for Indian, Bangladeshi, and Pakistani. However, it might account for another data above showing that Indians perform best in terms of occupying senior employment positions in the UK.

Figure 4:

Percentage of state school pupils aged 18 getting a higher education place, by ethnicity over time



Source: UCAS - Gov.UK

It should be noted that Figure 4 includes applications from international students, e.g., not British. When we focus instead on only those from the UK (as seen in Figure 5 and Table 13), the outcome is reversed. We see this in the data provided by the Higher Education Student Statistics for 2015 to 2020. The data measures the number of students who started full-time and part-time undergraduate study in the UK (not just England), by ethnicity.

The data shows that White students have consistently ranked highest when it comes to starting undergraduate study, even if the rate of increase has fallen slightly from 76% in 2015 to 72.6% in 2019. For all other ethnic groups, there have been marginal increases over the years, but none of them has been able to achieve anything near a 20% university entry rate. In the 2019/20 academic session, the difference between White students and Asian students (the best performing minority ethnic group) was 60.4%. Nonetheless, these figures should be interpreted in light of the fact that they do not adjust for the proportion of the population for each ethnic group. Also, it should be noted that the general population in England and Wales is still largely White (86% according to the 2011 census); Asian, 7.5%; Black, 3.3%; mixed, 2.18%; Other, 1%. See the ONS data for this.

Figure 5:

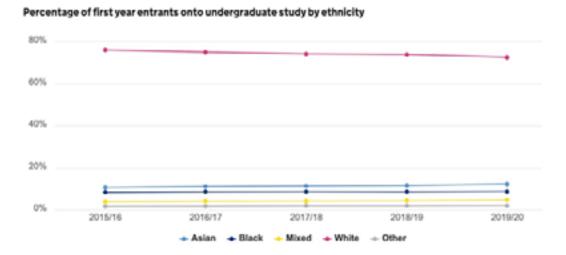


Table 13: Percentage and number of first-year entrants on undergraduate study by ethnicity (Students from outside the UK excluded)

	А	Asian Black		Black	Mixed		White		Other	
Year	Asian %	Asian Number	Black %	Black Number	Mixed %	Mixed Number	White %	White Number	Other%	Other Number
2015/16	10.5	61,545	8.2	48,335	3.8	22,125	76.0	446,040	1.5	8,715
2016/17	11.0	63,540	8.5	49,140	4.0	22,925	75.0	434,580	1.6	9,290
2017/18	11.3	65,335	8.6	49,860	4.1	23,565	74.2	428,565	1.8	10,345
2018/19	11.5	66,635	8.5	49,300	4.2	24,460	73.9	427,040	1.8	10,175
2019/20	12.2	70,660	8.7	50,655	4.5	25,840	72.6	421,730	2.0	11,635

Source: <u>Higher Education Student Statistics</u>; Gov.UK

The point is made clear in Table 14 below which shows that in England more Black students (6.8%) go into further education (FE), higher than the overall population of Black people (3.8%). A similar situation exists for Asian and Mixed students, although with slightly reduced percentage points (1.2% and 0.6% respectively). It is only among White students that we see fewer numbers going into FE compared with the general White population. The significance here is the likelihood of having in the future more qualified people from minority backgrounds in proportion to their populations

Table 14: Percentage of participants in further education compared to the overall population, by ethnicity

Ethnicity	FE participants	Population (2018 estimate)
Asian	9.6	8.4
Black	6.8	3.8
Mixed	3.4	2.8
White	77.3	84.0
Other	2.8	1.1

Source: FE Data Library; Gov. UK

Work and Education in the Screen Industries

The <u>Creative Skillset</u> 2012 report remains the most comprehensive source outlining ethnic minority under-representation in the Screen industries. The report showed that ethnic minority representation in the creative media industry fell to 5.4% from what it was in 2006 (7.4%) and 2009 (6.7%). In 2012, minority representation was highest in two sectors: terrestrial broadcast and commercials production (9.5% for both) and lowest in special physical effects and VFX (1% for both).

By occupation, minority ethnic groups perform well in the editorial, journalism and sport industry (10%), libraries and archives (9.4%), technical development (8.7%), and legal (3.3%). By contrast, they were under-represented in manufacture (0%), lighting (1%), animator (2%), and audio/sound/music (2%).

By region, London had the highest percentage of ethnic minority workers at 8.9% but was lowest when compared with figures for the screen industries workforce, where 28.8% of workers in London were from minority ethnic groups (the 2011 Census also shows that the non-White workforce in London comprised 34.5% of the London workforce – see Table 8). This points to how unrepresentative London was for ethnic minority people in the Screen industries. Similar patterns of under-representation were recorded at varying levels for all other regions, except Scotland where the minority groups formed 3.3% of the creative media workforce compared with the Scottish minority workforce figure of 2.5%.

The report also shows that the ethnic minority workforce in the UK creative media industries in 2012 was lower at 5.4% than average ethnic minority total workforce at 9.1%. Minority representation was lowest for television in regions outside England: 1% each for Northern Ireland and Wales, and 2% for Scotland. For regions in England, the figures ranged from 2% to 7%, except for the East Midlands, West Midlands, and London where the figures were highest at 10% of the TV workforce each in London and the West Midlands in 2012 and 37% for the East Midlands.

Creative Skillset released another report in 2015, but this was less comprehensive. The <u>data</u> shows that in 2015, there was a slight increase percentage of minority workers from what it was in 2012 (5.4%) to 7% in 2015, although it is advised that this data be viewed cautiously due to methodology and weighting concerns. The figure was only indicative, and caution is advised when reviewing trends over time. For TV, the figure is put at 9% minority representation for terrestrial broadcast, 13% for cable and satellite, and 7% for independent production.

The trend of under-representation has continued in 2020/21 as noted by industry workers in high-end television (HETV). This was captured in a report by ScreenSkills featuring 41 qualitative interviews and 39 quantitative surveys of HETV contacts carried out between November 2020 and February 2021. The report noted that the conversation among industry members on how to increase the representation of minority groups was becoming more frequent. However, the challenge in high-end TV was that workers tended to work with those they already knew, making it unlikely that the diversity of the workforce would improve anytime in the near future. There was also the mention of skill shortage, the suggestion being that those from minority ethnic groups tended not to have the required skills when compared with White workers. Given this, the solution seems to be that established creative workers will have to consciously go out of their way to recruit and integrate workers from minority ethnic groups. Another challenge mentioned in the report was the lack of a holistic approach to solving the diversity problem in the industry, considering the "piecemeal nature" to promoting diversity.

The Covid disruption has likely worsened minority representation in creative media industries. This can be seen in a report by ScreenSkills
Assessment 2021. The report was compiled from interviews with 28 senior managers of creative businesses between October and November 2020, and a survey of 1,181 respondents. It notes that compared to 2019, twice as many employers had not recruited in the past 12-month period from January 2020 to January 2021. Overall, 16% of the workforce in screen sectors were said to have migrated to other industries. For those who remained employed in screen, 40% of employers said it was harder to provide training, suggesting that the diversity skill gap mentioned earlier in the HETV report persisted. Also, 38% of those surveyed in the Assessment felt that "mid- and senior-level workforce and crew should improve their ability to develop and support new and early career talent" (p. 27).

CAMEo in a 2018 report, which was a review of available materials on workforce diversity in the Screen industries, concluded that the on-screen and off-screen workforce of the Screen industries was not reflective of the diversity of the UK population. They noted the fact that the Screen sector relies on "personal networks" when it comes to work and recruitment. The report also noted a number of issues that made it difficult to establish a coherent picture of the diversity among workers in the Screen industries. These include a focus on specific sectors, inconsistencies in defining what the screen industry comprises, and the presence of outdated data. From their review, they also showed that those living outside London or the South-East (including minorities of all kinds) are less likely to hold careers in the screen sector. They added that there was little to suggest that training schemes and mentorship for ethnic minority groups had addressed the underlying problems of inequality in the screen industry.

Creative Scotland in a <u>2017 review</u> notes the importance of improving education to enable greater access to the Screen Sector, noting that entry into the sector depends largely on "prior opportunities to acquire skills and knowledge" (p. 22). This means those with no experience are less likely to understand the employment structures of the sector.

In Scotland, a 2016 <u>survey</u> of 507 respondents (78% of them were White British and 12% were White Other) across the Screen industries was conducted. Out of this figure, 53 (10%) were described as being from an ethnic minority or Mixed group. The survey showed that 40% of minority ethnic respondents (18 of them) noted that ethnicity was a barrier to career progression. This can be compared to 15% of people in the wider survey who saw disability as a barrier and 39% who saw gender as a barrier. The educational attainment of screen workers in Scotland was relatively high, at 79% educated to degree level. However, continuous professional development was weaker, at 56%. Overall, 25% of workers from minority ethnic groups in Scotland identified themselves as "Director", higher than the 12% average found in the survey. Minority workers were also more likely to be freelancers (44% compared with the 41% average) and less likely to be in permanent roles (21% compared with the 35% average).

For the <u>DCMS</u>, the focus is on the creative industries, not the screen sector per se. The creative industries are described as careers that can be attributed to "individual creativity, skill and talent". Their 2016 report uses data from the Annual Population Survey. The DCMS found that the number of jobs in the creative industries increased by 3.2% to 1.9 million jobs in 2015, accounting for 5.8% of the UK workforce. Creative industry workers tended to be in London [11.5%]; while the area with the least number of creative industry personnel was the North-East (3.2%). Almost 60% (59.9%) of workers in the creative industries had a university degree, compared with the national average of 32.7%. The data also shows that 11.4% of creative industry jobs were held by those from ethnic minority groups, an increase of 7% between 2014 and 2015. In the creative economy, the increase in job outputs since 2011 for minority workers was put at 38.2%; compared with 18.5% for White workers.

Table 15 below was taken from the DCMS report. We can compare this table with Table 1 to see whether the creative economy is more or less representative in terms of ethnicity as opposed to the wider jobs' outcomes in England and Wales in the 2011 Census. Focusing on the percentage of ethnic representation in the workforce in England and Wales (Table 1), we see that creative economy features slightly more White workers (89% in Table 15 as opposed to 87.96% in Table 1). Figures are lesser for minority workers. For Asians, Table 1 is 6.8% as compared with 6.3% in Table 15. For Black people, it is 2.93% as opposed to 1.9%. And for Mixed, it is 1.48% as opposed to 1.1%. This shows that compared to the wider economy, the creative economy was less representative when it came to ethnicity. It should be noted that comparison was done between 2011 figures on one hand and 2015 figures on the other.

Table 15: Jobs in the Creative Economy, by ethnicity: 2015

Ethnicity	Jobs	Proportion
White	2,578,000	89.0%
Asian / Asian British	182,000	6.3%
Black / African / Caribbean / Black British	54,000	1.9%
Mixed	32,000	1.1%
Other	47,000	1.6%
Total Creative Economy	2,895,000	100%

Source: DCMS

The DCMS tends to have higher figures because it focuses on the wider creative industries and looks at the individual and not just the business/ organisational indices. The terminologies are also defined as follows: the creative economy includes the contribution of those who are in creative occupations outside the creative industries as well as those employed in the creative industries. Creative industries are a subset of the creative economy which includes only those working in the creative industries themselves. Creative occupations are a subset of the creative economy which includes all those working in creative occupations, irrespective of the industry that they work in. This focus on the wider creative industries/ economy means there are different yardsticks used to define and measure outcomes in the industry, with some seeing it as creative economy and others as the Screen industries. The inconsistency makes it hard to make comparisons and deductions across board.

150 2011 = 100143.9 Creative Industries BAME 140 Creative Industries White UK BAME UK White 130 120 110 104.9 100 90 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015

Figure 6: Change in the number of jobs in the Creative Industries between 2011 and 2015, by ethnicity

Source: DCMS

Nonetheless, the DCMS suggests that there has been an improvement over the years. This can be seen in Figure 6, which shows that between 2011 and 2015, there was an increase in the representation of BAME workers in the creative industries.

Table 16 below, taken from Table 5 above, shows the figures for the industries categorised under 'Information and Communication'. As noted earlier, it is unclear if the table refers to UK-wide figures because this is not stated. But what it shows is that essentially, in the period between 2014 and 2016, 15.2% of BAME workers were employed in Information and Communication, which is the category the television industry was placed. This is higher than the 11.26% non-White percentage of the workforce in Table 1 (note that the basis for comparison is not so clear-cut in terms of date, region, and classification). This would suggest, contrary to what we find in Table 15, that 'Information and Communication' is more diverse than the larger workforce. Overall, there is a picture of inconsistencies across the data. However, in Table 16, the industry (christened as "motion picture, video and television programme, sound recording and music publishing") had the lowest BAME figure (8.1%); White workers were 91.9%. The highest for BAME was in computer programming, consultancy, and related activities (17.8%).

Table 16: Percentage of employed people in media work by ethnicity 2014 to 2016

SIC 2007 Section Letter/2-digit Division		Mixed	Asian	Black	Other	BAME
Information and Communication		1.3	10.2	2.0	1.8	15.2
Publishing activities		~	4.3	~	~	8.6
Motion picture, video and television programme production, sound recording and music publishing activities	91.9	~	~	~	~	8.1
Programming and broadcasting activities	82.9	~	~	~	~	17.1
Telecommunications	82.8	~	11.6	~	~	17.2
Computer programming, consultancy and related activities	82.2	1.0	13.2	2.2	1.5	17.8
Information service activities	~	*	~	~	~	~

There is another ONS 2019 for ethnic minority people who work in TV, video, and audio engineering, but there are gaps in it. This information can be found here. As such, the data makes it difficult to infer differences in employment rates in the television industry by ethnicity.

In 2017/18, the BBC reports that BAME representation across all jobs at the corporation was put at 14.8% and 10.4% in leadership positions. Most BAME workers are in the Professional Service and World Service Group. This was in pursuit of a 2020 target of 15%. Off-screen BAME diversity between April 2017 and March 2018 was 8.6%, while on-screen was 27.3%. The data does not disaggregate the BAME figures. According to BBC Careers, Professional Services include "the professional, commercial and business services of the BBC: HR & Academy, Marketing & Audiences, Property, Finance, Procurement, Legal, License Fee Unit, Strategy, Commercial Rights & Business Affairs, Quality, Risk & Assurance and Policy". This suggests that they are almost exclusively off-screen. And the World Service Group is an international broadcaster owned by the BBC. Another report on career progression at the BBC shows that the organisation's Diversity and Inclusion strategy led to an increase in the BAME workforce from 13.1% in 2015 to 14.8% in 2018. However, there were no BAME workers on the Executive Committee of 15 members. Although in October 2019, June Sarpong was appointed as director of creative diversity. She remains the only Black member. The other BAME member is Gautam Rangarajan. And of the 96 leaders at the BBC, none was Black, while only 6 were non-white men; there were no non-white women. And although recruitment was increased, attrition rates are also said to be high.

The BBC in its <u>latest report</u> now has a new target: to achieve 20% BAME staff representation by 2026. As of 2021, 15.9% of employees are BAME. Out of this, 6.7% are Asian, 3.4% Black, 3.2% Mixed, and 2.6% Other BAME. The BAME representation is still highest in the World Service Group (49.3%); it is lowest in the Nations Division (5.9%).

Black on White TV observes that while there is an increase in BAME employment outcomes from 15.7% in 2019/20 to 15.9% in 2020/21, Black representation has decreased from 3.5% to 3.4%, and Asian representation has remained the same. In the BBC Studio sub-division (in charge of TV and radio production), BAME representation fell from 11.1% in 2019/20 to 10% in 2020/21. In this sub-division, Black representation fell from 2.4% to 2%, and Asian representation fell from 3.4% to 2.8%.

For <u>ITV</u>, the target is to have 15% BAME representation by 2022. The station announced <u>plans</u> in 2020 to create a Group Diversity and Inclusion Director. As of 2020, 12.5% of staff were from BAME backgrounds, and 22% of those seen on ITV are said to be BAME. The latest <u>report</u> from ITV notes that BAME off-screen representation is now 12.9%, out of which 10.1% are managers. The on-screen representation is said to be 17.6%.

Limitations

- 1. There is a lack of consistency in the data and reports. In some of them, BAME is taken as a whole; in others, BAME is disaggregated. Some reports refer to Screens, others refer to the creative industries.
- 2. The data, especially for the Screen industries, is fairly outdated, and a more comprehensive outlook is needed.
- 3. The ONS database is difficult to navigate. Lessons can be taken from the Scottish Census figures, which is far easier to access. This is why it is easier to get figures for Glasgow, but not for Leeds or Birmingham.
- 4. Data tends to focus overwhelmingly on England and Wales. This makes it difficult to get a UK-wide picture. Northern Ireland tends to be overlooked in most data outputs.

