'The devil is in the level': Understanding inequality in Australia's film, TV and radio industries

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Introduction

Over the past twenty years, Creative and Cultural Industries (CCIs) have attracted increased scholarly interest owing to their contribution to the social as well as economic fabric of society. The essential cultural, communicative and representational roles played by the CCIs across the globe makes them fundamental to the development of individual and community identities, the potential for intercultural understanding, and the cultivation of a sense of belonging. It is for these reasons, in addition to the basic justice of equal access to employment opportunity, that the CCI employment profile matters.

All too often, the association of the CCIs with political and cultural innovation has led to them being viewed as a progressive form of work, despite the precarity and inequalities associated with them (Gill, 2002, 2014; Taylor, 2010). Although a relevant degree and an up-to-date resume are necessary for graduates wanting to enter most of the CCIs, they are no longer sufficient. The CCIs have a notorious image of being employment markets in which people are hired on the subjective judgements of insiders about whether they are trustworthy, reliable, 'good to work with' – in short, the 'right sort of person'. These judgements are clearly susceptible to biases emerging from stereotypes prevalent in the larger society. In addition, networks and contacts continue to remain key means of gaining employment, which in turn operates as a

barrier to fresh and diverse talent from already under-represented groups. Clearly, then, who the key enablers, funders, gatekeepers and brokers are within the cultural and creative workplace matters. Therefore, underpinning the analysis in this paper is the argument that, in order to effect meaningful change in the diversity profile of the Australian cultural and creative sector, it is necessary to understand not just *how many* people are employed within CCIs, but also *where* they are employed.

Various overlapping definitions of the employment sectors constituting the creative industries operate globally. In terms of the creative employment categories we are examining, this paper focuses on media workers (in screen and radio) due both to their key, high profile role as storytellers within the CCIs, as well as the centrality of these creative sectors to public debate around creative employment diversity—or the lack of it—in Australia. It is important to note that in exploring the issue of diversity in CCIs, there are two main aspects to consider: representation of diversity in the content (and/or products) available and the diversity of the workforce in those industries, the two being highly inter-related and not mutually exclusive. This paper focuses on the latter, which influences not only whose stories are being told, but, quite literally, through whose eyes. To do this, we first look at occupational categories within the CCIs, in Australia, most relevant to film, TV and radio, followed by a specific case-study in radio. As such, our research contributes to the growing global body of knowledge on diversity in the CCIs by focusing on the Australian context

Paralleling similar discussions overseas, the lack of diversity in Australia's screen and radio industries has been subject to a high level of public and industry debate (for example Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA), 2016; PwC, 2016; Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance (MEAA), 2016; Screen

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Australia, 2016). In 2016 such commentary was catalysed around the nomination and subsequent award of the popularly voted 'Best Personality on Australian Television' award to Australian Sunni Muslim, Waleed Aly. Previously, gender had been the focus of critiques of recruitment practices in the advertising industry. For example, in late 2015 Todd Sampson, television personality and non-executive Chairman of leading communications company Leo Burnett Australia, received criticism for the company's appointment of an all-male, all-white, all similarly aged creative team. Such exclusionary practices are seen as especially strong in media industries, including and notably film, digital content production and television (Coles and MacNeill, 2017; Gregory and Brigden, 2017; Smith, Choueiti, Choi, et al., 2019; Verhoeven, Riakos, Gregory, et al., 2018). This has clear implications for a lack of diversity of stories and voices, even within a market with strong state-supported broadcasting.

The research outlined in this paper draws on a broader project by the authors, that interrogates Australian Bureau of Statistics census data from 2011 and 2016, to investigate employment in the CCIs through a variety of socio-demographic diversity variables. This paper highlights the intersections of gender, age and income within the CCI occupational codes that comprise what can be broadly described as radio and screen industries. We argue that the 'devil is in the level', and that – in Australia as elsewhere - what may seem to be an appropriate, equal or somewhat representative level of employment may be occurring predominantly at lower levels of seniority, lower incomes and with higher precarity. This is significant as not taking these into account can give a false perception of equality in the presence of stark power differences; clearly, all jobs are not equally valued, secure, creatively empowered and/or accorded high status.

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Research context

Although there has been much focus on the precarity of creative work, especially as experienced by the individual creative worker, research that focuses on the associated internal organisational and work dynamics – including employment profile and recruitment practices – has been scarce but is beginning to emerge. In the United Kingdom research is particularly evident on gender, race and class-based inequality[1]. Much of this work argues that exclusionary practices that discourage diversity tend to be stronger in the competitive cultural and creative industries, coupled with high numbers of aspirational entrants and the trend towards short-term project work (McRobbie, 2002; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012). Occupational challenges arising from this surplus of willing labour, such as low pay, extreme competition, chronic insecurity and bulimic work patterns potentially apply to most people (albeit differentially) in the CCIs, despite their gender, age, ethnicity or class.

Homophily – people preferring and hiring people like them (Umphress, Smith-Crowe, Brief et al., 2007; Wreyford, 2015) – and the informal networks of contacts built on social capital, which are key to gaining employment in the CCIs (Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012), tend to lead to an effective demographic replication of the profile of the existing creative insiders. The spaces for informal networking (such as pubs and even strip clubs) can form challenging environments for many (such as women), and the requirement for 'compulsory sociality' (Gregg, 2010) after already long working days poses problems for everyone with caring responsibilities and socio-economic disadvantages (Leung, Gill and Randle, 2015: 56-57). Further, as McRobbie (2016) has written, the 'self-employment, short-term project work and hence individualised outlook [of cultural and creative work], all contribute to a marked absence of

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workplace politics in terms of democratic procedures, equal opportunities, anti-discrimination policies and so on' (p. 23). These informal and often difficult barriers mean that the dominant group replicates itself by seeing 'people like themselves as the most trustworthy and competent' (Jones and Pringle, 2015: 39). Put another way, in 'a field of power and competition, if there is no representation from subordinate or disadvantaged groups, then inevitably dominant groups will happily reproduce their own structures of access and exclusion' (McRobbie, 2016: 24-25). Furthermore, stereotypes and assumptions about what women/men/Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples/disabled people are good at, and capable of, become unusually salient for decision-making in the absence of formal recruitment frameworks (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015). It is important to note also that, rarely, social stereotypes can lead to an increase in employment for certain disadvantaged groups; for example, in the case of women getting jobs because they are considered more socially competent (Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012: also Morgan and Nelligan, 2015). However, this is hardly an acceptable basis for employment decision-making, and it is still not necessarily the case that such increases are in alignment with an upsurge in influence or seniority.

There is an increasing awareness that a key contributor to the lack of social inclusion and diversity in the sector is the frequently unclear, informal and network-based nature of work practices favoured within the commonly short-term and project-based world of much creative employment (notably in film and TV production). Informal processes of 'network sociality' (Wittel, 2001) are often used to recruit staff, rather than more structured recruitment and selection processes with their probability of including greater checks and balances around decision-making and the potential for

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equal opportunity intervention in workplace profiles. The CCIs are largely a reputation economy; 'wherever you go, whomever you meet, represents a work opportunity … "life is a pitch"' (Conor, Gill and Taylor, 2015: 10). Further, 'we might say that the socially disadvantaged are less likely to be regarded as "talent" because they lack the resources necessary to compete in markets for prestige and recognition' (Banks, 2017: 67). This is a recognised problem and various attempts have been made to mitigate the worst effects of such 'in' network practices. The rise of the platform or gig economy, together with new modes of electronic networking, may have taken over some of the space left by declining union membership and permanent job opportunities in the CCIs (Banks, 2010); however, some networks intended to provide support in the sector ultimately fail to attract those in a position to hire, and instead are attended largely by aspirants and thus simply brought together people who struggled to get work' (Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012: 1325).

Approach and methods

This paper aims to bring forth the relationship between gender, as a socio-demographic diversity variable, and level of power in the workplace, as evidenced through those CCI occupational categories that represent the Film, TV and Radio industries in Australia. In doing so, the aim is to show how relative parity can often mask an uneven distribution of power within the hierarchy of these professions, and we argue that this needs to be understood in order to effect significant long-term change in the sector.

This article spotlights the occupational categories classified by the ABS as existing in 'Film, TV and Radio' (with some unavoidable statistical overlap into stage). This is a segment of the Australian CCIs that has been focus for much of the public

debate around the issue of social inclusion and diversity, especially in more visible roles. Furthermore, it is an industry sector that includes many key stakeholders who have genuinely sought to address the challenges of the need to diversify its workforce (for examples see Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), 2016; Screen Australia, 2016; FECCA, 2016). Focusing on job classifications and their level of power in the CCI sub-segment of Film, TV and Radio has enabled us to explore how what may sometimes seem at first to be good diversity representation, especially in terms of gender, may actually be less of a positive story once we drill down into the demographic profiles across different levels of seniority and job security.

In describing the composition of the CCI workforce in Australia, we relied on the ABS 2011 and 2016 Census data, to allow for comparison across a five-year time frame. For the purpose of this paper we have used the creative trident mapping of the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence in Creative Industries and Innovations to examine the 2011 and 2016 Census Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO) employment categories and categorise them as distinct CCI sectors (Higgs, Cunningham and Pagan, 2007) and to identify the creative occupations within them (Higgs and Lennon, 2014). Using customised data requests based on 6-digit ANZSCO Arts and Media Professionals Occupations as identified by the ABS (ABS 2016 & 2018), we analysed a large number of relevant diversity and socio-economic/demographic variables including Gender, Age, and Total Personal Weekly Income[2].

We recognise that census data have many shortcomings and provide us with somewhat of a 'blunt instrument' (Altman, Biddle and Hunter, 2004: 3). In particular, we acknowledge that high levels of unpaid, part-time, casual, volunteer and internship

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work are not captured for the census question 'In the main job held last week, what was the person's occupation?'. However, this quantitative approach remains a valuable and defendable one: given the focus of this analysis is upon power and who occupies the 'best seats' in terms of employment in Australia's radio and screen industries, it is more likely to determine where funding is allocated and who is employed.

Power is defined as the asymmetric control over socially valued resources in relations (Magee and Galinsky, 2008). The management level or organisational rank within an organisation and industry gives individuals formal structural power over valued resources and increases their informal social power through status and prestige (French and Raven, 1959; Magee and Galinsky, 2008). For this reason, as we have argued, it is essential not just to look at raw numbers, but rather to drill down into where people are located, especially the employment profiles across and between the higher status, more secure and/or desirable creative roles, and the lower status, less secure, and/or more administrative roles. It probably comes as little surprise that the CCIs replicate patterns found in other industries, where workforce diversity becomes less evident the further you move up the organisational food chain (Banks 2017: 111).

The diversity profile of Film, TV and Radio employees in Australia

Exploring diversity and power through the lens of gender and the 2011 and 2016 Census data on Film, TV and Radio (with some data overlap with Stage), a number of interesting trends emerge – good and bad. Overall, in 2016, 40% of the people employed across these sectors as their main occupation in the past week (as captured in the occupational roles listed in Endnote 3[3]) identified as women, which is notably identical to the 2011 overall split. Indeed, there is minimal difference in

gender splits across radio and screen for the majority of our analyses. As such, we focus on the most recent 2016 dataset, and only highlight differences between the two timeframes when it is significant to do so.

In 2016, the only roles where women outnumbered men were Radio Journalist, Artistic Director, and Media Professionals NFD. The category Media Producers (excluding Video) was the only to be split almost evenly, notable as this occupational category is a relatively economically rewarding one, with the numbers of people in various income increments increasing steadily between 2011 and 2016. However, gender parity in evidence in this occupational category drops off a little in the higher income brackets. In 2016, men made up 60% of those earning more than $2,000 a week.

It is in closer examination of the detail of the data where we begin to see the 'devil in the level'. Two particular categories - Media Professionals Not Further Defined (NFD) and Media Professionals Not Elsewhere Classified (NEC) – warrant closer attention. The predominance of women in Media Professionals NFD (60%) is worthy of note, given 'NFD' indicates that the information given by these respondents on the Census form was neither adequate nor specific enough to allocate to a clear role title, whereas an NEC classification is the one more likely to be given to clear but emerging or outlier roles. That more women's than men's role titles in these media professions are unclear points to a less clear job status within the industry (see Table 1).

Another particularly notable result, all the more significant when we are considering 'whose eyes' are we seeing ourselves through in the Australian screen industry, is that of Director of Photography. In 2016, 349 people registered this as their main, current occupation, but only 3% of these were women, down from 7% in 2011.

Although the drop in percentage is perhaps less of a concern when we factor in the often highly irregular and contract-based nature of this kind of work, the persistence of single digits for women is a cause for concern, reflecting a literal absence in Australia of 'the female gaze' in screen production noted elsewhere (Smith, Choueiti, Choi et al., 2019).

Table 1: Employment in Film, TV and Radio 2011 and 2016 by Gender

Employment codes	Total 2011			Total 2016		
	No of people	% Males	% Females	No of people	% Males	% Females
212112 Media Producers (excl Video)	6924	56	44	6746	52	48
212313 Director of Photography	303	93	7	349	97	3
211111 Actor	1602	58	42	1266	53	47
212113 Radio Presenter	1974	76	24	1511	80	20
212414 Radio Journalist	595	41	59	295	39	61
212399 Film, TV, Radio & Stage Directors NEC	616	71	29	460	75	25
212300 Film, TV, Radio & Stage Directors NFD	159	86	14	121	83	17
212312 Director (Film, TV, Radio or Stage)	1821	75	25	1806	79	21
212114 Television Presenter	397	61	39	254	63	37
212111 Artistic Director	233	49	51	166	46	54
212311 Art Director (Film, TV & Stage)	159	65	35	109	69	31
212100 Artistic Directors and Media Producers and Presenters NFD	230	73	27	147	66	34
212317 Technical Director	395	86	14	288	86	14
212314 Film & Video Editor	2213	76	24	2232	76	24
212318 Video Producer	981	76	24	1254	77	23
212000 Media Professionals NFD	2080	43	57	2120	40	60

In 2016 the roles in which men dominate were: Media Producers (excluding Video) (52%), Director of Photography (97%), Actor (53%), Radio Presenter (80%), Film, TV, Radio & Stage Directors NEC (75%), Film, TV, Radio & Stage Directors NFD (83%), Director (Film, TV, Radio or Stage) (79%), Television Presenter (63%), Art Director (Film, TV & Stage) (69%), Artistic Directors and Media Producers and Presenters NFD (66%),

Technical Director (86%), Film & Video Editor (76%), and Video Producer (77%). That is, they dominated in not only the majority of roles, but all directorial ones except for Artistic Director.

Further details indicating the differential in incomes, likely overall career earnings and potential for progression are clear when looking at the data for labour force status. Overall across these occupational classifications in 2016, men occupied 64% of the full-time and 52% of the part-time positions; women were far more likely than men to be 'employed, away from work' (58%), which is also where the ABS captures those people who identified as employed but do not provide any information about the number of hours in the past week. Across all the occupational classifications analysed (see Note 1), the only income category in which there were more women than men was 'Nil Income' (see Figure 1).

Driving down further into the detail - even in categories where at first view there is relative gender parity, acting for example (53% men, 47% women) - occupational inequality emerges in relative income levels (Figure 2). Strikingly, this chart mirrors that of the sum total of the 16 occupational categories, reflecting a broader pattern in which, at the bottom end of the market, women are more likely than men at any given time to be identifying as a worker in the sector but not receiving an income from it, whereas men at least are receiving some small pay. After around $400 a week, the discrepancy stabilises, with women consistently being just 35%–40% of the paid workforce at any payment level.

A key good news story here is the 2016 near parity in Media Producers (excluding Video) with women at 48%, up from 44% in 2011. As this is a key industry-enabling position, this is not insignificant and is worth keeping an eye on into the

future. Clearly, greater focus is still required on developing further inclusion of women among the ranks of some of the key 'above the line' creative and decision-making positions, such as Director and Director of Photography.

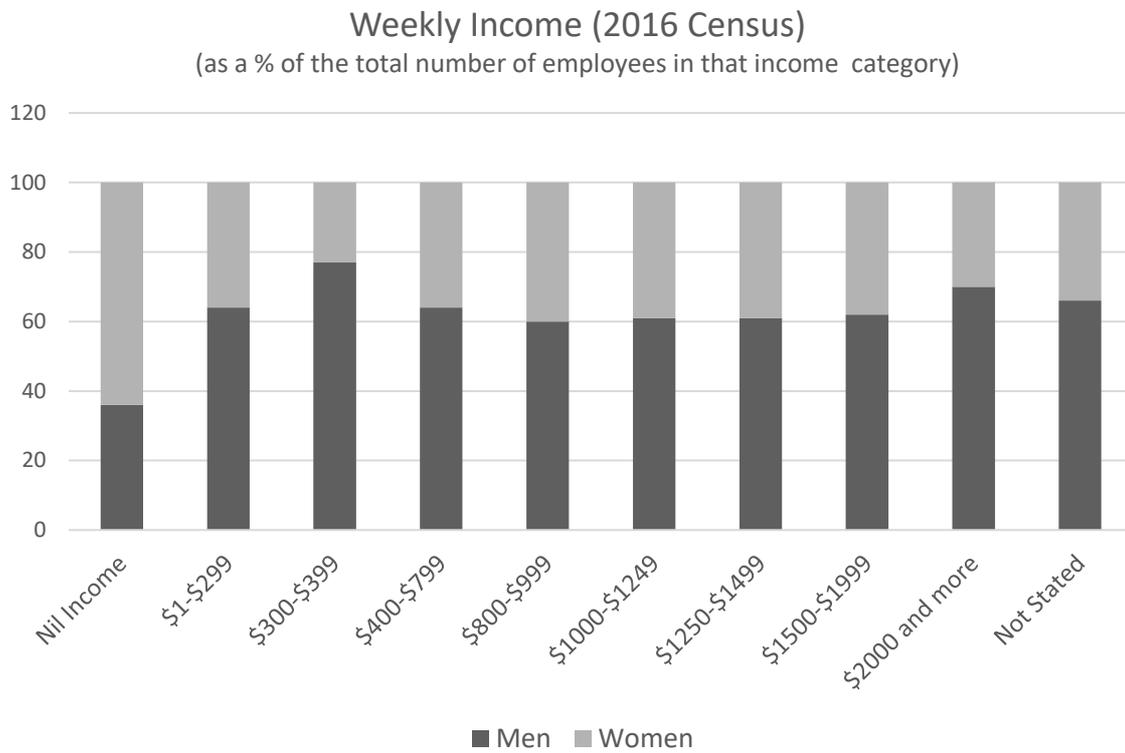Figure 1: Weekly Income (2016 Census) for all Film, TV and Radio Employment Categories
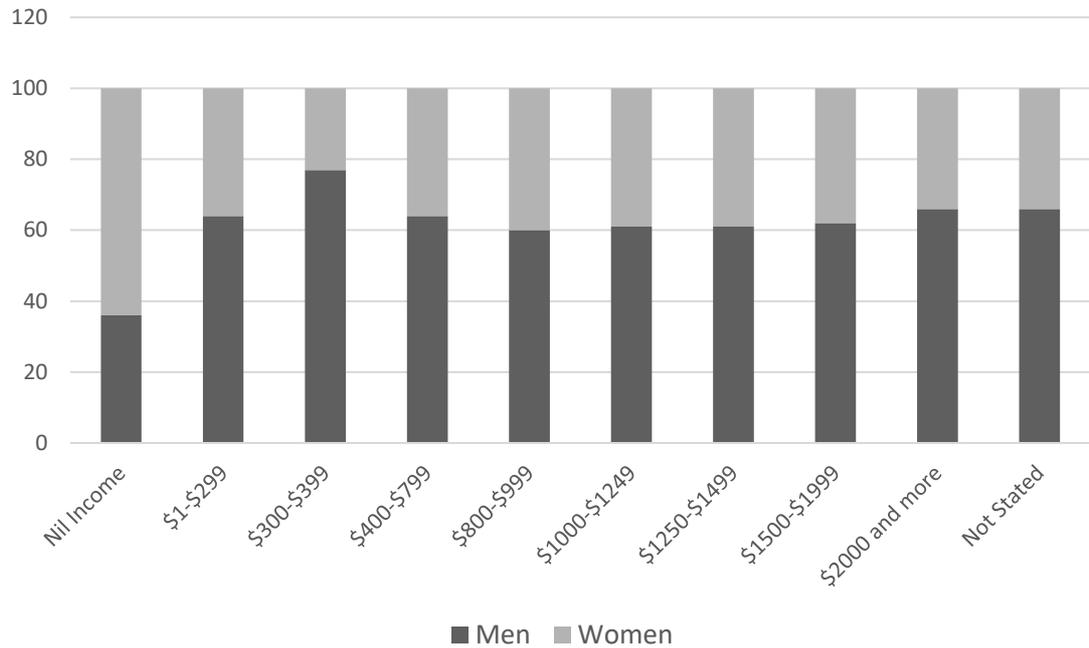
Weekly Income (2016 Census)
(as a % of the total number of employees in that income category)

Figure 2: Weekly Income - Actors (2016 Census)

Weekly Income - Actors (2016 Census)
(as a % of the total number of employees in that income category)

■ Men ■ Women

Beyond 'how many?': Radio as a case study

It is valuable to interrogate specific sectors more deeply; we have space to consider only one – radio. In Australia, and despite all other changes in the media landscape, the number of radio stations continues to grow – a reflection of its capacity to adapt quickly 'to embrace digital technology and therefore remain relatively buoyant' (North, 2015: 159). The mass media has a strong influence on how society pictures public issues (McCombs, 2014) and radio plays a significant role in this - the most recent polls show radio as the most popular breakfast medium, with 86% of Australians over the age of 14 listening on a regular basis (Roy Morgan Research, 2015, 2016). The appearance (and absence) of women in broadcast has the power to generate 'gendered frames that both define and constrain women's autonomy'

(O'Brien and Suiter, 2017: 259). Keeping this in mind, in this section, we examine

employment profiles for women working in radio paying attention to age and income.

In 2011, 2,569 people identified as working in radio, as either a radio presenter

(N=1974) or a radio journalist (N=595). A significant decrease can be seen in the 2016

Census data, with only 1806 people working in radio (radio presenters N = 1511; radio

journalists N = 295). Considering the industry as a whole, gender parity does not exist,

with only 26.7% of all coded employees identifying as women in 2016. It needs to be

noted that 'radio journalist' and 'radio presenter' are the only radio-specific

professions coded by the ABS. This is problematic as there are a range of higher order

positions (such as directors and managers) specific to the radio industry that are not

captured through the current coding. Furthermore, it can only be assumed the more

colloquial term 'DJ' is encapsulated in the category of radio presenter.

Despite the overall lack of parity, gender equality within the specific profession

of radio journalist is more or less balanced. In fact, according the 2016 Census, women

were in the majority (61%; N = 180). These findings are supported by other research

that suggests women now represent the majority of journalists across all publishing

platforms (Josephi and Richards, 2012; Hanusch, 2013; North, 2015), a significant

improvement since Henningham's 1993 study identified only a third of Australian

journalists as women. Then again, not all studies support this upward trajectory.

Byerly's (2011) global review found women constituted only 34.4% of news journalists

in Australia. Further, according to the Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance (2016), a

significantly low proportion of women journalists (30.8%) are actually named or

acknowledged as the producers of content. Despite suggestions that journalism

industries are reaching gender parity, the literature so far is contradictory. North

(2015) proposes that a combination of sample size, professional definitions and inclusion of publishing platforms can skew findings to suggest a more positive gender balance than is actually in play. When considering results from the Australian 2011 and 2016 Census data, the devil certainly reveals itself in the level of analysis.

As mentioned above, while relative gender parity exists for radio journalists, it does not hold true for radio as an industry. This overall (and increasing) gender imbalance in radio manifests in the more common profession of radio presenter, where the gender split is overwhelmingly dominated by men. In 2016 there were 1209 men (80%), and only 302 women (20%) classified as radio presenters. In other words, women can be found working as journalists (i.e. doing the 'grunt work') but are much less likely to be hosting the radio shows that deliver this journalism, and other cultural products, to the public.

Romano (2010) supports this in her own study of Australian broadcasting in 2009, which found 74% of stories (broadcast on one randomly chosen day) were presented by male broadcasters. Similarly, Women in Media (2016) report that women make up 27% of the hosting line-ups for prime-time radio across both the AM and FM bands. Poor representation can be found globally when it comes to being 'front of house' on the radio (World Association for Christian Communication 2015).

A related issue is an apparent gender pay gap, exacerbated by the under-representation of women in the profession of presenter. Proportionally, there are relatively fewer radio presenters on an 'inadequate' income, compared to radio journalists, across 2011 and 2016. Looking specifically at those women who do find employment in the more highly paid and regarded profession of radio presenter they

do not achieve wage equailty; in 2016 (see Figure 3), women made up only 20% of

radio presenters classified in the high income bracket.

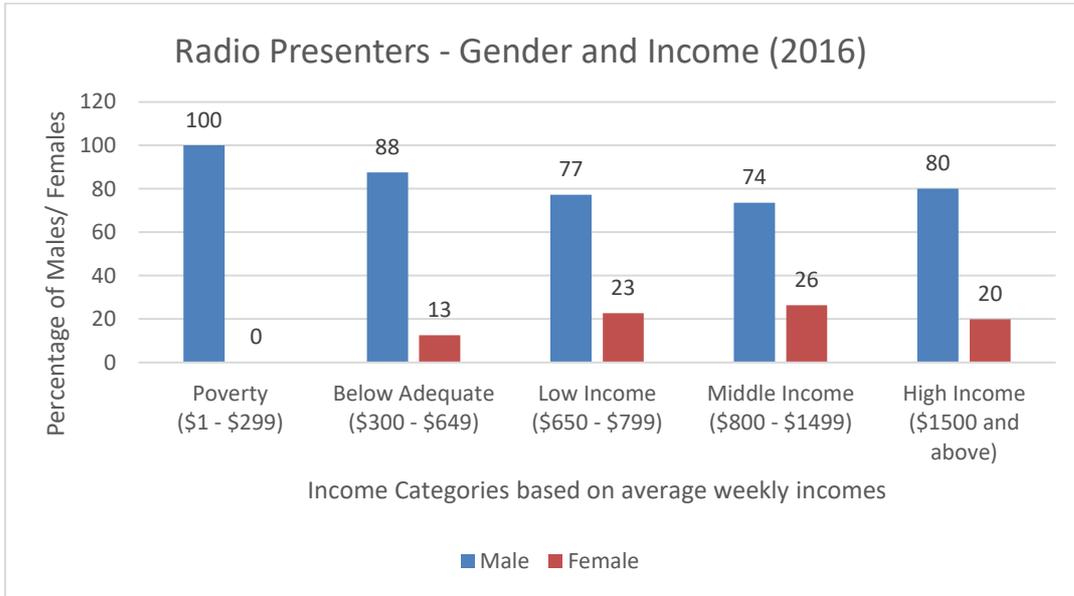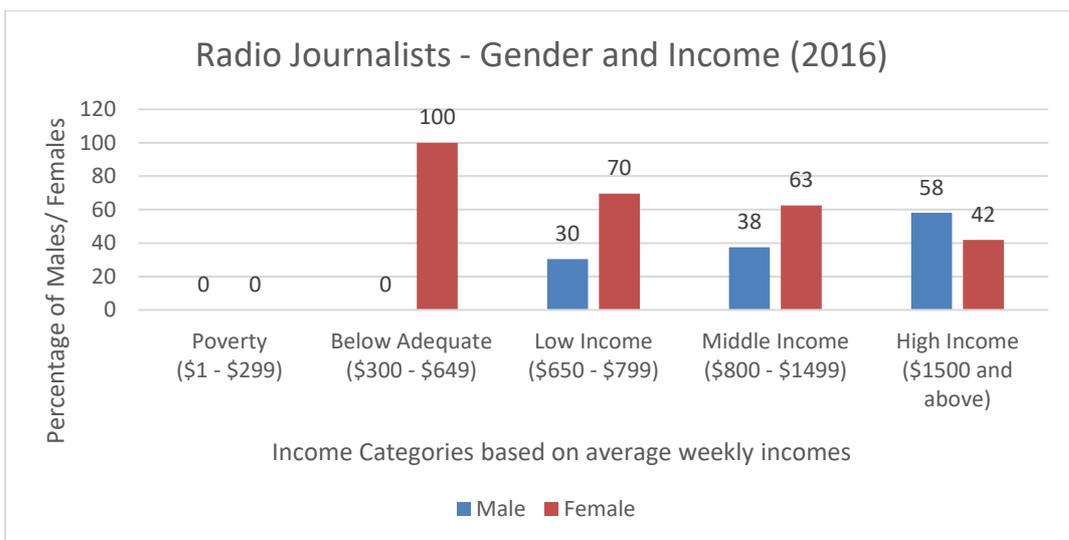Figure 3: Radio Presenters - Gender and Income (2016)

Radio Presenters - Gender and Income (2016)

Percentage of Males/ Females

	Poverty ($1 - $299)	Below Adequate ($300 - $649)	Low Income ($650 - $799)	Middle Income ($800 - $1499)	High Income ($1500 and above)
Male	100	88	77	74	80
Female	0	13	23	26	20

Income Categories based on average weekly incomes

■ Male   ■ Female

Figure 4: Radio Journalists - Gender and Income (2016)

Radio Journalists - Gender and Income (2016)

Percentage of Males/ Females

	Poverty ($1 - $299)	Below Adequate ($300 - $649)	Low Income ($650 - $799)	Middle Income ($800 - $1499)	High Income ($1500 and above)
Male	0	0	30	38	58
Female	0	100	70	63	42

Income Categories based on average weekly incomes

■ Male   ■ Female

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What is even more concerning is the gender gap in salaries for radio journalists, where women represent the majority of 'below adequate' and 'low' income categories. Furthermore, in the 'high' categories, women are in the minority. For example, in 2016, women radio journalists made up only 42% of high-income earners despite being significantly overrepresented in the industry (Figure 4). These findings are supported in other Australian-based research. Looking at journalism more broadly, only 1.2% of women journalists earn an annual income of more than $144,000, compared to 9.8% of men (Hanusch 2013), while the Workforce Gender Equality Agency (2015) found a 21.8% pay gap for women working in the Australian broadcasting industry (quoted in Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance 2016). Internationally, the gender pay gap in broadcasting was most recently and notably highlighted in July 2017, when it was revealed that only a third of the BBC's 96 top-earning talent were women and its seven best-paid stars were all men (Ellis-Petersen and Sweney 2017).

Age is a further area of concern for women working in radio revealed during our analysis – not only are women in the industry paid a lower income, but they are also employed for less of their working life span. In fact, in 2016, 90% of radio presenters over the age of 45 were men (Figure 5), although this is not surprising given the vast overrepresentation of male radio presenters. However, as with the gendered pay gap, it is in radio journalism that older women are most likely to be absent. Despite being overrepresented in the sector, women only represent approximately one third of radio journalists over the age of 45 - a significant decrease from 44% in 2011 (Figure 6).

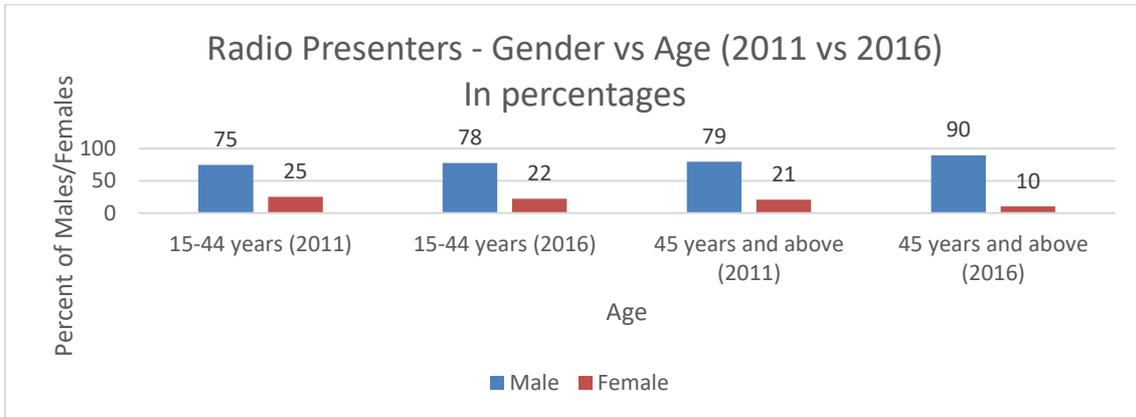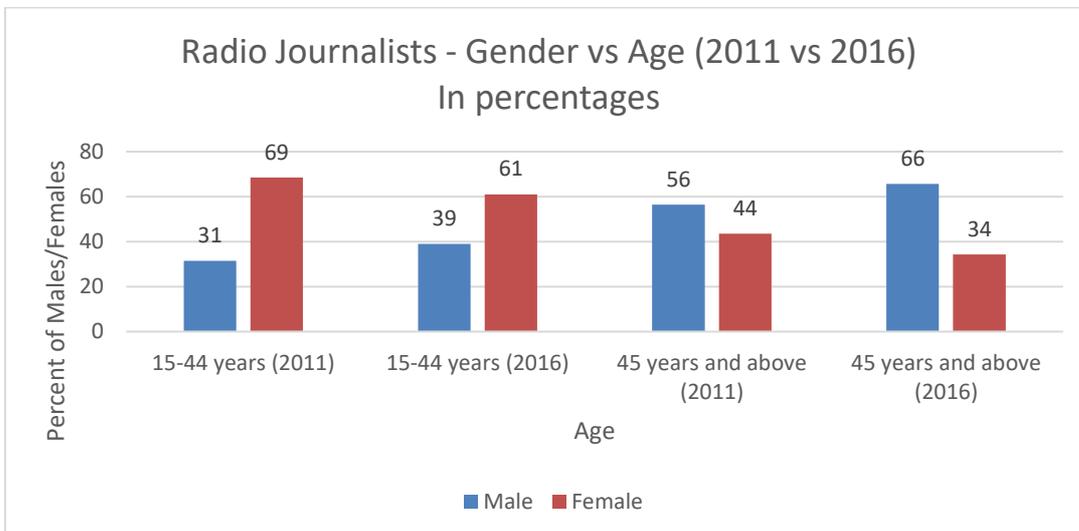Figure 5: Radio Presenters - Gender vs Age (2011 vs 2016)

Radio Presenters - Gender vs Age (2011 vs 2016)
In percentages

Age	Male	Female
15-44 years (2011)	75	25
15-44 years (2016)	78	22
45 years and above (2011)	79	21
45 years and above (2016)	90	10

Figure 6: Radio Journalists - Gender vs Age (2011 vs 2016)

Radio Journalists - Gender vs Age (2011 vs 2016)
In percentages

Age	Male	Female
15-44 years (2011)	31	69
15-44 years (2016)	39	61
45 years and above (2011)	56	44
45 years and above (2016)	66	34

North (2016: 34) makes this point more broadly, that Australian journalism is not becoming a women-dominated occupation 'in ways other than numerical majority'. Likewise, Jackson (2003) found an income disparity for women journalists,

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which increased with age. As our analysis of the ABS 2011 and 2016 census data shows, radio continues to be a male-dominated profession in Australia, as it is globally, with women under-represented across almost all aspects of the industry, and especially as the 'voice' of radio in the occupational category of radio presenter. It is of great concern that women currently have unequal voice and power in the Australian radio landscape.

Where to from here?

We recognise this article is limited to discussing findings that emerged from the analysis of a limited number of occupational codes, focusing on gender as the key diversity variable. There are many other variables that could be explored from the ABS census data, including but not limited to socio-economic status (as captured through Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas), Indigenous status, Top 20 Languages Spoken at Home, Dependent Children in Family, and 'Core Activity Need for Assistance'. Likewise, other occupational categories within the CCIs would benefit from similar quantitative interrogation. Furthermore, rich qualitative inquiry is required to better understand and explain the contexts of specific inequalities.

Clearly, true workforce diversity is not just a raw numbers game but also about where people are located in workplace hierarchies. Shifting both this and the employment practices that have become entrenched in the radio and screen industries – and the CCIs more broadly - requires deep, broad, sectoral change that challenges the current model of production (Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013: 504; Eikhof, 2017). It is also a big ask, for the reasons identified.

Social exclusion is evidenced in the lack of distribution of power, thus true social inclusion requires the redistribution of power. Perhaps the fastest way to

facilitate greater diversity within Australia's CCIs would be to 'spill' all the current leadership, gatekeeping and plum creative roles, but of course this is not going to happen, nor, ultimately, would it be desirable. The number of attractive, if not secure employment positions within Australia's CCIs is relatively small and, as we know, there are many qualified people who covet them. But for profound change to occur it will eventually require, and be evidenced by, a diversification of the profile of the people occupying these roles, coupled with a commitment to challenging occupational norms and culture, including the very networks that may have got people to where they are and which enable them to operate effectively there. There are no quick fixes here.

Several small and important initiatives are starting to appear, incrementally. Recently both Screen Australia and Screen NSW have brought in stricter rules around funding, which strongly encourage gender and (to a lesser extent) cultural diversity in project teams (Neill, 2017), and the Community Broadcasting Fund introduced questions about gender inclusion in its 2019 grants round. These and other schemes are to be encouraged and evaluated for their impact and potentially wider roll-out across the sector. Hopefully, too, recent attention to sexual harassment in the screen and stage sectors, competition, precarious employment and other disruptive factors, is opening up the employment pool via more objective recruitment practices, which may have profound impacts on work practices within CCI organisations.

Evidence indicates that greater employment diversity arises in 'settings in which there is both greater formality to the hiring process and greater transparency' (Conor, Gill and Taylor, 2015: 11), hence the need for greater focus on understanding and innovating the recruitment practices of the CCIs in order to make a difference to the cultural and creative products produced. Although recent exemplary examples of

diversity-conscious initiatives exist in pockets of the radio, TV, film and stage industries in Australia, there is no research or data to show the situation across the broader CCI landscape or the longer term impacts of the initiatives pursued thus far. Moreover, despite all this interest and clear evidence of a problem, no large-scale investigation has been undertaken into the hiring practices of Australia's CCIs – or indeed the decision-making processes of CCI gatekeepers and decision-makers elsewhere (Eikhof, 2017). Greater attention to opening up CCI employment pathways to a more diverse talent pool is essential if the sector is to reflect the diversity of the Australian population.

Conclusion

In this paper we have scoped the state of play around social inclusion and diversity as they affect identity and power imbalances for women in Australia's radio and screen industries, as key sub-sectors of the CCIs. We found that the 'devil is in the level'; that is, while there may seem to be gender parity or only a moderate imbalance at the sector level, when you drill down further into specific roles, incomes and age, clear inequalities begin to emerge. We argue that the lack of social inclusion and diversity at the level of gatekeeping positions is a key contributing factor to the recognised lack of diversity within the radio and screen industries. Despite the best of intentions, this remains a barrier to the implementation of initiatives that reflect a deep understanding of the barriers facing non-hegemonic workplace aspirants, and a barrier to signalling that access to positions of power is possible; indeed, that it is the norm and not the aberration. Further research is required to confirm if such patterns of inequality emerge from employment statistics for other occupational categories

within CCIs in Australia, however, the literature more broadly suggests this to be the case.

Given the unique symbolic role of media, arts and culture as the heart of our social and cultural, as well as economic, lives, all this matters intensely. Australia relies on its exported cultural products as a means of soft diplomacy in finding its identity in the world (Berryman, 2013). But even more profoundly, a lack of diversity in the radio and screen CCIs challenges national social cohesion and reinforces disadvantage. In fact, diversity and social inclusion are particularly important in all aspects of the CCIs because they play a bigger role in setting agendas, overcoming negative stereotypes and forming ideas about what is normal and/or possible for broader society (Friedman, O'Brien and Laurison, 2016; Martins and Harrison, 2011). Identity is at the core of who we are, how we perceive ourselves and how others perceive us, and the CCIs are themselves core vehicles for the expression and formation of personal, local, national and transnational identity and understanding.

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[1] See for example Banks 2007, 2017; Banks and Milestone 2011; Banks and Oakley, 2016; Conor, Gill and Taylor, 2015; Eikoff, 2017; Eikoff, Newsinger, Luchinskaya, et al., 2018; Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013; Friedman, O'Brien and Laurison, 2016; Gill, 2002, 2007, 2011,

2014; Gill and Pratt, 2008; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011; McRobbie, 2002, 2004, 2007; Milestone, 2016; O'Brien, Laurison, Miles et al., 2016; Scharff, 2018).

[2] Other diversity and socio-economic/demographic variables investigated, but not discussed in this article, include Socio-economic Status (as captured through Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas), Indigenous Status, Top 20 Languages Spoken at Home, Dependent Children in Family, 'Core Activity Need for Assistance', Highest Level of Educational Attainment, Local Government Area of Usual Residence, and Labour Force Status.

[3] We are working with this grouping (Radio, TV, Film and Stage) for both logical sectoral as well as data-driven reasons. Because of the overlaps between these industries, and many of the roles within them, at the 6-digit level the ABS does not dis-aggregate data between them in a number of occupational areas. Therefore, the ANZSCO employment categories we're drawing upon in this analysis are: 212313 Director of Photography, 211111 Actor, 212113 Radio Presenter, 212414 Radio Journalist, 212312 Director (Film, TV, Radio or Stage), 212300 Film, TV, Radio or Stage Directors NFD (Not Further Defined – see below), 212399 Film, TV, Radio & Stage Directors NEC (Not Elsewhere Classified – see below), 212114 Television Presenter, 212111 Artistic Director, 212311 Art Director (Film, TV, Stage), 212112 Media Producers (excl Video), 212100 Artistic Directors and Media Producers and Presenters NFD, 212317 Technical Director, 212314 Film & Video Editor, 212318 Video Producer, 212000 Media Professionals NFD. The aggregate data referred to here also include figures for 212212 Book or Script Editor (in 2016 1,075 people and overwhelmingly women at 80%). Because not all these people will be working in Radio, TV, Film and Stage this will make the overall figures for this sector appear a little more gender-balanced than they actually are.

The ABS uses the NFD and NEC to allow responses to be included when there the information provided is insufficient to allow more exact classification:

[NFD is used when] a respondent has not provided adequate information for the response to be put into a category at the most detailed level. The response may have been incomplete, non-specific, or imprecise. The response is coded to the next highest level which is sufficiently broad to include all possibilities implied by the available information.

NEC allows responses from a Census form which don't fit into a suitable category in the classification to still be included. (https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/95553f4ed9b60a374a256803001 2e707/2152a87d2c7e3501ca2573fe001556b8!OpenDocument, accessed August 2019)