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MEDIA FOR DIVERSITY AND  
MIGRANT INTEGRATION

**Thematic Report 2011/03:  
*Media Recruitment and  
Employment Practices***

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London Metropolitan University



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**MEDIVA PROJECT**

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## **The MEDIVA Research Project**

### **Media for Diversity and Migrant Integration: Consolidating Knowledge and Assessing Media Practices across the EU**

The MEDIVA project seeks to strengthen the capacity of the media to reflect the increasing diversity of European societies and promote immigrant integration. To achieve this objective, the project will organize the knowledge produced so far and will create a searchable online database of all relevant studies on media and diversity/integration issues that will be made available for use by the media professionals as well as the general public. Building on the existing work and combining it with a series of in depth interviews with senior journalists across Europe, the MEDIVA project will generate a set of media monitoring indicators (which will be available in eight languages) that can work for different media, in different countries, and that can provide the basis of a self- and other-assessment and future monitoring mechanism in the media. Four thematic reports will be written to reflect on how journalists and other media professionals deal with migrant diversity in five areas of their work: in recruitment/employment conditions; in training provided; as regards codes of ethics; in news making and programme production; in presenting diversity (news content). Finally, five Regional Workshops will bring together media professionals, NGOs and researchers to discuss the role of the media in promoting migrant integration.

The MEDIVA project is hosted by the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies and co-ordinated by Prof. Anna Triandafyllidou (anna.triandafyllidou@eui.eu ).

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**The Working Lives Research Institute** is a centre for research and teaching, based in London Metropolitan University's Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities. The Institute undertakes socially committed academic and applied research into all aspects of working lives, emphasising equality and social justice, and working for and in partnership with trade unions.

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## **Executive summary**

- A number of researchers in recent years have focused on the changes in employment patterns within the media industry that have resulted in the decline of what was seen as relatively secure full-time employment substituted by an increase in informal, temporary and freelance work, raising concerns about the increased precariousness of media work, with strengthened polarisation between core and peripheral jobs. Yet there has been very little research into the impact of these changes on the recruitment of migrant workers and on the cultural diversity of the workforce.
- The main objectives of the study were (a) to examine the issue of workforce diversity in the European media, with specific reference to migrants; (b) to highlight the many aspects of the recruitment process which can pose barriers to those outside the mainstream of society; (c) to explore whether policies in relation to anti-discrimination measures in recruitment were evident within the media sector and the extent to which they have improved employment opportunities for migrants; (d) to establish whether media companies adopted outreach schemes with the aim of recruiting migrant workers and whether they had monitored their implementation; and, (e) to ascertain the issues of discrimination in the industry.
- There is no agreement in Europe on what constitutes the ‘economy of culture’, with the media being part of it. Economy of culture is defined for the purpose of this study in terms of David Throsby’s understanding of ‘cultural activities’, which are those characterised by creativity in their production and their output potentially embodies at least some form of intellectual property. When the creative sector enters into the production process of other economic sectors and provides the inputs for the production of non-cultural goods, the resulting activities are referred to as the ‘creative sector’.

## **Methodology**

- Data was collected from secondary sources and interviews with 68 senior journalists and media professionals, interviewed by the MEDIVA partner institutions in six European countries (Italy, Greece, Ireland, Great Britain, Poland and the Netherlands).

## **Profile of the interviewed journalists**

- Participants in the survey came from a variety of media jobs. Among them, there were editors-in-chief, programme directors, reporters, senior journalists, presenters, an archivist, an assistant editor, a columnist, a creative head of productions, a creative producer, a head of HR, a head of diversity and newsreaders.
- Most participants were in the 30-59 age range and had worked in the industry on average for around 19 years. Over half were male (62%). Eleven respondents (16%) were of migrant origin.
- Of the surveyed media outlets – television, radio, news agencies and publishing (newspapers and magazines) - two thirds were privately owned.

## **“How to Get Your Foot in the Door?” Recruitment practices in the Media Industry**

- A significant relationship was found between the country where the media outlet was located and the implementation of formal anti-discrimination measures in recruitment although a quarter of the respondents did not know whether such measures existed in their media outlets. Over half of the respondents interviewed in the UK and half of those in the Netherlands reported the

implementation of anti-discrimination measures in their recruitment practices. None of the respondents in Italy and Ireland was aware of such measures being adopted by their companies. Yet, this should not be interpreted as indicating that the surveyed media outlets in these countries were not open to a diverse range of job applicants.

- None of our respondents in Ireland, Italy and Greece was aware of a diversity monitoring practice applied by their companies. In the UK, respondents spoke of an application process that required all applicants to complete and submit an equality and diversity form. Country regulations would sometimes impede the monitoring of diversity. It was explained that in the Netherlands, the question of an applicant's ethnic background figured on employment forms but it was optional whether it would be answered or not. Diversity monitoring was further obstructed by workers' contracts. Freelancers would only be registered if they had worked with a company for over a month. Migrant workers would rarely be recorded because of the nature of their contracts.
- Very few of the interviewees reported that their outlet had advertised job vacancies. Some interviewees mentioned advertising and a proper selection process as beneficiary not only for the 'image of the employer' as 'non discriminatory' but to find the best person for the job. As one of the interviewees commented, "*Our preoccupation is to get the best person for the job; it is not let's make sure we have ethnic minorities*". (int.40)
- Some respondents in the sample argued that migrants and ethnic minorities might be partly to blame for the lack of diversity among the media workforce. They were hesitant to apply for media jobs and this contributed to the lack of diversity in the industry. An investigative journalist of migrant background in the UK stated "*They are self-defeating by not applying for jobs in the media when they have the qualifications and the skills needed*". (int. 9)

### **Specific Barriers to Migrant Employment in the Media**

- Nepotism and lack of host country experience were seen as additional barriers specific to migrants and ethnic minorities. The media in the Netherlands and Ireland were still seen by our respondents as a 'white bastion' that was difficult to break into. New people who were hired tended to come mostly from the same schools and replicated the existing workforces.
- There were country differences in how interviewees interpreted the level of migrant aspirations to work in the media. In the Netherlands, a country with long traditions of immigration, careers in the media were not articulated as popular among young non-Western origin migrants. Preference was given to careers in medicine, law, economics and business management as these were sectors seen as offering more security and status. This career preference might have been rooted in past experiences in the origin country. Journalism in some countries of origin had a poor reputation where it was seen as too connected with dictatorial regimes.
- Some interviewees discussed the economic downturn of the last years as a major deterrent to media recruitment. "No jobs available" was reiterated by interviewees in all the countries surveyed. Other respondents talked of the 'oversubscription' of the industry – low demand for jobs and an excessive supply of highly qualified people, coupled with an 'enormous amount of competition' as other general barriers to media employment.



- Cultural differences may pose additional barriers to migrant applicants in the media. A Dutch reporter of Surinamese Hindustani origin talked about wearing a headscarf as creating an additional difficulty to getting work in the media industry.

*“I can imagine it is more difficult to get access with a headscarf, even if you are a good journalist and dare everything, and talk freely. Journalists may appear progressive and modern but they are also very conservative. So, on the one hand, they want to stay in the same mould. It is not handy if you have someone at work who does not want to shake hands; that’s a problem in our job as we speak with a lot of people”.* (int. 31)

### **Outreach Schemes: Reaching out for Migrant Applicants?**

- The Creative Department of a broadcaster in London runs a *Work Experience Scheme* for young people aged between 14 and 16. About six people a year are taken on for a week and get to work in a variety of departments in the company. Applications are made on-line and submitted to the HR Department and the Creative Heads who are asked to choose who to offer the places to, without reference to ethnic origin (int. 6).
- *Graduate Intern Scheme*: the application process is very similar to formal recruitment – very competitive and formalised. There is an application form and applicants are asked to submit samples of their work. Recruitment takes place only once a year but selected trainees can take up the offers at different times throughout the year (int. 6).
- *The Dutch programme “News Academy”* takes on interns from different cultural backgrounds to work on it for a week. Once a month, on Saturdays, 12 interns are given a workshop by programme makers on how to construct and cover a story and on how to look for main characters. The participants are selected via the Internet (int. 24).
- Some media companies in London had organised events to enhance diversity access. These included seminars and conferences specifically advertised to migrant and minority ethnic groups, to provide information and guidance about employment opportunities within the broadcasting. They were aimed at bringing talent to executives and producers. A valid residence permit was the only requirement for anyone wishing to participate.
- However, the outcomes of these schemes were experienced as mixed. For some programme producers, events that gave migrant and ethnic minority media people the opportunity to meet with mainstream media professionals was considered an effective tool for the recruitment of culturally diverse, talented people. But another respondent in the UK was less sure about the retention rate of outreach schemes. The interviewee believed that insufficient training was provided to enable the trainees to compete for jobs in the corporation (int. 10).
- At the opposite end of the spectrum were respondents who could see neither the need of nor the benefits from such outreach schemes. “We don’t experience any difficulty in filling our vacancies (...) if someone of migrant origin possesses the right qualifications, he/she will be offered the job; I don’t necessarily feel to go out and do the outreach.” (int. 40) Other media companies rely entirely on graduates from journalism colleges to cover their vacancies (int. 33).

### **Diversity in the Media Workforce: Can We Talk about Discrimination?**

- A highly significant relationship was found between the country where the media was located and the implementation of equality policies. None of the respondents in Greece, Italy and Poland gave an affirmative answer to the question about the existence of equality policies in the media outlets

they worked for, compared to all interviewees in the UK, half of those in the Netherlands and slightly over a quarter in Ireland, who reported the implementation of equality policies by their companies. Several respondents in Italy mentioned that equality principles were observed at an individual level, referring to written documents to guide journalists in their work.

- There were larger disparities in migrant employment when the figures were put in a country context. All respondents in the UK and the Netherlands reported the employment of migrant workers in the media. Several interviewees in Ireland reiterated the lack of diversity in Irish media. Only four respondents in Italy spoke of migrant recruitment in the media but in very small numbers. Ethnic media in the sample were more likely to rely exclusively on migrant labour with the relevant linguistic skills (Albanian newspapers in Athens; ethnic radio stations in Poland).
- Migrant journalists were more likely to work as freelancers or on short-term contracts in all the countries surveyed. It should be noted that this did not necessarily imply discrimination as project-based work was a common feature of employment in the radio and television. However, migrant conditions were characterised as precarious by one Italian respondent.
- A respondent from a public broadcaster in London spoke of a segmentation of media jobs, where migrants will not be found in the news. They were more likely to be employed in the archive). Jobs will differ in terms of their conditions. A migrant documentary maker in London spoke of low pay and over time, with ‘fiction film producers being paid much more and working less than documentary producers’ (int. 7).
- Some employers were more likely to offer jobs to migrant journalists who would not only write on home country affairs. [Migrant journalists] have to be able to do the bread and butter, which are the daily stories...” (int. 33) Another respondent in Ireland said that migrants were more likely to be found working in the canteen or as cleaning staff (int. 39). Migrants working as journalists in Ireland seemed an irrelevant question for a couple of respondents (int. 38). There was a tendency, however, for migrants in Italy to work as technical staff or camera men. One interviewee pointed out that this was done to save money (int. 59).
- Migrant media professionals were more likely to think there was discrimination in the media (63.6% of migrant respondents gave a positive answer to the question of discrimination in the media, compared to 5.6% native respondents). There was a similar pattern in terms of the views of men and women respondents, with women more likely to report discrimination than men (23% and 11% respectively).
- Several interviews touched upon the issue of ‘unresolved ‘gender discrimination in the media.  
*“There is discrimination in the media as in other industries, but not only against ethnic minority backgrounds [migrants] but also against women”*,
- Appearance related to age was seen as a discrimination basis for respondents in Greece and the UK. “Well, if you are a pretty, presentable lady, probably it will be easier to find a job as a journalist (int. 53). While some respondents in Italy spoke of discrimination against young people, other respondents in the UK saw a preference of the media industry for young people (int. 7). “If you are young and beautiful, you are more likely to get a job there”. (int. 2)
- Colour was sometimes seen as an advantage especially with presenters for a public broadcasting corporation in the UK. Respondents in Poland spoke of immigrants ‘as exotic’ and for them it

seemed that they were therefore preferred by employers. “Immigrants are seen as exotic and more attractive and are treated in a preferential way” (the example was taken from an interview for a job in a commercial television channel).

### **Emerging issues**

- The European countries with their traditions of immigration and their implementation of equality legislation had emerged as significant predictors of the ensuing recruitment practices. Companies with fairly robust recruitment practices were more likely to advertise their vacancies in their search for the ‘best candidate’. However, the effectiveness of this HR mechanism could often be fraught by internal competition.
- While the report recognises the potential dangers of workforce diversity being quantified as a box-ticking exercise, it points to monitoring as an HR mechanism that can make a difference as it represents an important tool for measuring improvement.
- The report has argued that effective and innovative outreach schemes could reduce the barriers to achieving media diversity by providing employment for people of a migrant background who otherwise might have very few contacts and limited knowledge of the recipient country.
- The way forward - while acknowledging the structural challenges of the current economic developments and the ensuing ‘hiring freeze’ - is in the implementation of formal regulation and monitoring. External regulatory pressures have the potential to challenge the resistance to change of the monoculture that exists in the industry.



## Table of Contents

<b>1. Introduction</b> .....	<b>2</b>
<b>2. Definitions</b> .....	<b>2</b>
<b>3. State of the Art: Recruitment and Employment Practices in the European Media Industry: The Impact on Migrant Workers</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>4. Analysing the Fieldwork Findings</b> .....	<b>10</b>
<b>4.1“How to Get Your Foot in the Door?” Recruitment practices in the Media Industry</b> .....	<b>10</b>
<b>4.2. Specific Barriers to Migrant Employment in the Media</b> .....	<b>12</b>
<b>4.3 Outreach Schemes: Reaching out for Migrant Applicants?</b> .....	<b>14</b>
<b>4.4. Diversity in the Media Workforce: Can We Talk about Discrimination?</b> .....	<b>17</b>
<b>5. Concluding Remarks</b> .....	<b>22</b>
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	<b>23</b>
<b>ANNEX</b> .....	<b>26</b>
<b>List of interviewees</b> .....	<b>26</b>

## 1. Introduction

A number of researchers in recent years have focused on the changes in employment patterns within the media industry that have resulted in the decline of relatively secure full-time employment and an increase in informal, temporary and freelance work (McKinley and Smith 2009; Christopherson 2009; Sengupta et al. 2009; Baumann 2002). Concerns have been expressed about the increased precariousness of media work, with a growing polarisation between core and peripheral jobs. These developments have signalled a departure from traditional concepts of the labour market and the arrival of a new paradigm characterised by informality and an increased reliance on personal contacts. Yet there has been very little research into the impact of these changes on the recruitment of migrant workers and on the cultural diversity of the workforce.

Based on relevant literature on the subject and the views of 68 senior journalists and media professionals, interviewed by the MEDIVA partner institutions in six European countries (Italy, Greece, Ireland, Great Britain, Poland and the Netherlands), the report examines the issue of workforce diversity in the European media, with specific reference to migrants. It highlights the many aspects of the recruitment process which can pose barriers to those outside the mainstream of society. Respondents in the sample were interviewed in detail, among other issues, about their knowledge of any anti-discrimination measures in recruitment adopted by their companies; the way such schemes were monitored and evaluated; the existence of a diversity department or a person specifically dealing with diversity issues in their outlet; whether the company employed migrant workers and the jobs they were doing; the existence of any formal equality or diversity policy; general barriers to employment in the media industry and specific barriers to migrant workers; the issues of discrimination in the industry and the existence of outreach schemes that target people with a migrant background.

Participants in the survey came from a variety of media jobs. Among them, there were editors-in-chief, programme directors, reporters, senior journalists, presenters, an archivist, an assistant editor, a columnist, a creative head of productions, a creative producer, a head of HR, a head of diversity and newsreaders. Most participants were in the 30-59 age range and had worked in the industry on average for around 19 years. Over half were male (62%). Eleven respondents (16%) were of migrant origin. Of the surveyed media outlets – television, radio, news agencies and publishing (newspapers and magazines) - two thirds were privately owned.

The thematic report is organised in the following way. It first presents the state of the art and the theoretical background against which the findings of the study are then tested. The next section looks at workforce diversity in the media examined through the prism of barriers and enabling factors to recruitment, with reference to migrant workers. *Do anti-discrimination policies in media recruitment matter for migrant employment? Do equality policies make a difference? What are the general barriers to media recruitment and what are the specific barriers to migrant workers? Is there discrimination in the media? How diverse is the media workforce?* These are some of the questions discussed in the text. The last section sets out the main conclusions from the research.

## 2. Definitions

There is still no agreement in Europe or beyond on what constitutes the ‘economy of culture’. A European report on delineating the cultural and creative sector defines **the cultural economy** as one comprising both the cultural and the creative sector. The definition draws on David Throsby’s seminal book “*Economics and Culture*” (2001). According to Throsby, cultural activities are characterised by creativity in their production and their output potentially embodies at least some form of intellectual property. When

the creative sector enters into the production process of other economic sectors and provides the inputs for the production of non-cultural goods, the resulting activities are referred to as the ‘creative sector’<sup>1</sup>.

In Europe, the term ‘**cultural industries**’ first appeared in the seventies in France, in a study on the economy of culture. At an EU level, twenty years later, the lack of cultural statistics was officially recognised and the Leadership Group on Cultural Statistics (LEG-Culture) was set up by Eurostat in 1997 to develop statistical methodologies to better explore the cultural economy in Europe. The LEG group identified eight domains of the cultural field: artistic and monumental heritage, archives, libraries, books and press, visual arts, architecture, performing arts and, audio and audiovisual media/multimedia<sup>2</sup>.

The terminology ‘**creative industries**’ came from the UK in the late 1990s, when the Creative Industries Task Force was set up to promote the economic performance of the creative industries. According to the definition, the media industry forms part of the creative industries.

Scholars have argued that the notion of a ‘creative industry’ encompasses the idea that some sectors in the advanced economies are already gaining a comparative advantage in a set of production processes that emphasise ‘individual creativity, skill and talent’ (DCMS 2010: 9). **These functions determine a labour process and work organisation that are significantly different from that of routine production.** The literature on creative work has explored some of these differences, including: a) increased labour flexibility (on the part of employees); b) network-based work organisation; c) informality and heavy reliance on personal contacts; d) minimal advertising and a presence of ‘gatekeepers’ and intermediaries; e) project-based production; f) entrepreneurship and self-employment; g) intense competition; and h) high risk and uncertainty.

Campion’s (2005: 7) view on **cultural diversity** is that it is more than ethnic diversity, bringing together both meanings of culture (i.e., a way of life and the creation and production of art and ideas). However, for the purposes of this report, cultural diversity will be interpreted in a more narrow sense to refer to the media workforce and the plurality of voices, viewpoints and roles in which various groups of workers, including migrants, are engaged.

A number of researchers in recent years have focused on the changes in the employment patterns in the labour market of the media industry that have resulted in a decline in a relatively secure full-time employment and an increase in informal, temporary and freelance work. Concerns have been expressed about the increased precariousness of media work, with strengthened polarisation between core and peripheral jobs. These developments have signalled a departure from traditional concepts of the labour market and the arrival of a new paradigm characterised by informality and an increased reliance on personal contacts. Yet there has been very little research into the impact of these changes on the recruitment of migrant workers and on the cultural diversity of the workforce.

### **3. State of the Art: Recruitment and Employment Practices in the European Media Industry: The Impact on Migrant Workers**

It is notable from much of the European media literature that workers from ethnic minorities and migrant workers feature little or not at all in most research accounts. Literature on staff diversity appears more evident in countries with a history of inward migration. Unsurprisingly, there are no such studies in the

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<sup>1</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/culture/pdf/doc885\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/culture/pdf/doc885_en.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid: 50.

Bulgarian language – with the exception of one ad hoc cursory survey, which was conducted on behalf of the MEDIVA project to count the number of any foreign-born staff in the Bulgarian media (Atanassova 2011). Similarly, available studies on the media workforce in Greece do not distinguish between the ethnic origins of staff, as such distinction is still non-applicable, because of the small number of migrant workers in the media. Unsurprisingly, most of the available knowledge on the topic is available in English and to a lesser degree in French. Clearly, the presence of foreign nationals among the creative workforces in most EU countries is still insufficient to attract much research and policy attention, notwithstanding an important report on public sector broadcasting in the UK which demonstrates the value of a programme-making workforce that is diverse and explores why there are still so few people from minorities in senior creative or editorial roles in the industries (Campion 2005).

***What has changed in the media production industries in Europe? And, how these changes have impacted on the workforce?***

The media production industries of most European countries have undergone considerable changes in the last 30 years. The main impact has been on the supply of labour. The public broadcaster model, traditionally followed by many western European countries, has been replaced by the publisher-broadcaster model. In practice, this has meant that employment relations within the media industry have been transformed from the structured and clearly bounded state of the internal markets of the public broadcasters into seemingly unstructured and ‘boundaryless’ external labour markets (Dex et al. 2000: 285), that flexibly supply an industry of a few big companies and many small producers with qualified personnel (Baumann 2002). The model is defined by increased competition for financing and decreased control over the product. Hence, the control that the producer has over the product is reduced in the pursuit of cost-minimisation strategies (Christopherson 2009: 79). Christopherson and Storper (1989 cited in Blair 2001: 153) argued that the gradual externalisation of labour had led to a changed distribution of work hours and skills among the workforce, reinforcing the ‘core-periphery’ divide. Those in the ‘core’ workforce (producers, directors and artists) enjoyed greater access to work hours and faced less employment uncertainty, as they had more experience and a strong network of personal connections. By contrast, ‘peripheral’ workers (production crews) were subjected to greater uncertainty and longer periods of unemployment due to limited experience and contacts.

In the currently dominant publisher-broadcaster model, the broadcaster is only responsible for publishing (i.e., assembling and transmitting) a programme that was commissioned to and produced by external producers. The main advantage of the new production pattern is its cost, as programming can be achieved relatively cheaper, utilising networks of freelancers thus saving on the fixed costs of permanent staff (Tempest et al. 1997: 49 cited in Baumann 2002: 29). New technological developments have further reduced the cost of production (meaning the labour cost) while simplifying the process. As it is often a camera, a digital tape recorder and a printer that are sufficient tools to create a media product.

The major trade-off, however, is cheap productions and an increased casualisation of the media workforce employed by independent production branches to work on short-term, fixed contracts as and when projects are available. Ultimately, these changes have compounded the ‘precarious’ character of media work, as part of the creative work sector (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2008). This includes the temporary and intermittent nature of work contracts, employment uncertainty and lack of any protective framework of social insurance (Ross 2008). The most common description of media work emphasizes intense competition, managed by ‘gatekeepers’, temporary, project-based, risky and ‘offering little in the way of conventional security as defined by a regular pay check or a pension’ (Christopherson, 2008: 74).

*Once they are in, some of the players thrive, but most subsist, neither as employers nor employees, in a limbo of uncertainty, juggling their options, massaging their contracts, never knowing where their*



*next project or source of income is coming from. The resultant cycle of feast and famine is familiar to anyone whose livelihood folds into the creative economy (Ross 2008: 36).*

### ***Are there barriers to recruitment in the media?***

Eugenia Siapera, in her book *'Cultural Diversity and Global Media: The Mediation of Difference'* (2010) adopts a theory of mediation to probe into some of the constraining and enabling factors impacting on the media production of cultural diversity. At a structural level, media corporations, as businesses that generate profits, operate in conditions of globalised capitalism, under the pressures of the market and in conditions of an increased concentration of ownership. Yet, the media in different countries still function in different regulatory frameworks, which in turn affect their operations. At an organisational level, each media outlet produces cultural diversity based on its own terms, media logic and 'conditions of visibility'. Individual employers in media outlets operate within these contexts and which may permit little influence on how many migrant and ethnic minority workers are recruited.

The Cultural Diversity Network in the UK has identified several barriers to the diversity of the media workforce, such as the informal nature of the industry, the prevalence of unpaid work placements, small companies who do not have the time or the resources and larger companies who grapple with corporate cultures (CDN 2010).

Migrant and ethnic minority workers, however, may face additional barriers. In 2006, the British Commission for Racial Equality reported on a study that had found that, although a relatively large number of individuals from ethnic minority backgrounds had considered a media career, in the end they had decided to not pursue it or if they had already entered it, had decided to leave it as they thought that the media workforce was 'too white' (Siapera 2010: 87).

Factors that may affect migrant workers and their chances of securing employment in the media include the size of the firm, with a rapid proliferation of small and medium-sized enterprises and micro businesses (considered unwilling or lacking the resources to invest in diversifying their workforce (CDN 2011). Small firms pay lower wages than do large ones, and they are also least likely to have personnel departments, to apply robust employment policies or to deal with trade unions (Bacon & Hoque 2005; Forth et al. 2006). They are also unlikely to have a diversity department or a person dealing with diversity issues.

Another issue identified in the literature is **the oversupply of applicants in the sector**, most of whom are university graduates. The expansion of the labour supply has been triggered, in part, by the proliferation of media studies training programmes across Europe and America (Christopherson 2009). It was estimated that there were 25,000 students graduating from media courses in the UK in 2000. Although there are no more recent accurate figures, it is accepted that the numbers have increased, at a rate of 60,000 new entrants looking for work each year (Pye Tait 2004). Speculative applicants mainly consisted of recent media studies graduates desperate for work experience, experienced freelance professionals and a large number of full-time professionals adversely affected by downsizing by large media corporations (Sengupta et al. 2009).

Empirical studies have highlighted the high proportion of freelancers in the workforce in a sector that is fast moving and dynamic. Such changes are likely to have an impact on recruitment and employment practices. Small businesses are less likely to have general equality policies or formal recruitment practices (Cully et al. 1999 cited in Holgate and McKay 2005) and rely to a greater extent on the use of freelancers,

factors which are known to lead to less than transparent employment practices. Together, these factors provide real challenges to new entrants and migrant workers (Holgate and McKay 2005).

The issue of **ethnic origin and class status of media workers** had emerged in several research accounts of the British media (Campion 2005; White 2006). Such studies were not identified from other countries but anecdotal evidence suggests that similar patterns pervade. It has been noted – with a particular reference to the audio visual sector in the UK - that there is a high percentage of workers who have attended independent schools and significant numbers who received their university education from Oxford and Cambridge. Some see the social networks, which result from these educational backgrounds, act as an important barrier to securing employment for those who did not graduate from the same institutions. For the capacity of individuals to affect circumstances to their advantage, in job searches or mobility, for example, depends predominately on their relative position within a network and the accumulated ‘social capital’ as a result (Burt 1992, cited in Blair 2009: 118). The report *‘Look Who’s Talking. Cultural diversity, public sector broadcasting and the national conversation* published in 2005, examined the views and experiences of over 100 programme makers across the broadcasting industry and highlighted how a person’s class status was often a significant determinant of establishment or progression in the industry. Class re-emerges as an exclusive factor for getting and maintaining jobs at the highest end of the American entertainment industry. While the overall labour supply has become more diversified, this process of diversification has had little impact on employment in the most ‘lucrative parts of the industry’, where members of the ‘old boy’s network’ are favoured (Christopherson 2009: 87). In such circumstances and in an industry that is notoriously difficult to gain entry anyway, the opportunities for migrant workers are reduced.

### ***Employment practices in the media***

In a recent survey of small firms in the UK, Sengupta et al. (2009) argue that media jobs offer autonomy but the trade-off is tight deadlines and low pay. They empirically assess **the model of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ jobs**, claiming that ordinariness rather than a stark polarisation is the key environment in media employment. This reinforces Blair’s (2001) argument based on the notions of fluidity of employment and ‘soft’ boundaries between labour market and job segments. Conversely, Christopherson (2009: 83), with reference to the American entertainment media industry and relying on dual labour market theory, claims that the **polarisation and segmentation of jobs and workers** has widened. Changes in the industry, described earlier, are affecting differently the different segments of the workforce. At the top end, producers, writers and directors complain about the loss of creative control, tighter budgets and production deadlines. Older, established professionals particularly men, are, however, more likely than new entrants and migrant, and minority workers to be able to maintain their connection with higher budget productions (Hunt 2007, cited in Christopherson 2009: 83). Thus, the new media environment is characterised by labour segmentation that separates a traditional white male workforce that has dominated industry employment from a growing, younger, more female and more ethnically diverse workforce (Christopherson 2009: 83). Migrant workers are more likely to be found in the latter tier of media employment. They are also more likely to be within that circle that has to respond to the demand for less secure and remunerative jobs. Migrants, young workers and women are disproportionately represented in what some have termed **the ‘precariat’** (Ross 2008; Hesmondhalgh and Bake 2008). Other approaches have focused on the division between creative and non-creative occupations employed within the sector, which all share the features of the sector, most specifically the precariousness of the market for creative products (Caves 2000 cited in McKinley and Smith 2009).

Examining labour market transactions in the British and German media production industries, Bauman (2002) argues that in both countries, employment patterns are characterised by informal labour market governance, a high inter-firm mobility of workers and a prevalence of short-term employment, and freelance work. Informal recruitment mechanisms govern transactions on the media labour market. Freelancers and media employers use intermediaries to minimise risks related to applicants' qualifications and future employment opportunities. This reflects two distinct employment strategies in the media market. One aims to achieve security and sustainability of employment on the part of individual workers while the other targets the reduction of transaction costs on the part of employers. Workers are recruited through personal networks and firms would often recommend workers to other firms. As firms would often need workers at a short notice, when a new project starts, then all were seen to benefit from a 'shared labour pool' (Sengupta et al., 2009: 50).

**Freelance work** is becoming the most 'vulnerable' form of employment in the media industry in Europe, with over-working and insecure, polarised income (Antcliff et al. 2005; Henninge and Gottschal 2007). Family support and supplementary jobs have been indicated as the main 'safety valves' for sporadic or unpaid media employment (Randle and Culkin 2009). Freelance workers in media firms in the UK were more likely to experience hidden deductions in their payments. Despite irregular working hours, they were not paid overtime and sometimes had to contend with delays in receiving their pay (Sengupta et al. 2009). Drawing from a study of 125 freelance new media workers in Austria, Finland, Ireland, the Netherlands, Spain and the UK, Gill (2002) argued that the highly valued features of the project based media careers – informality and flexibility – were the very mechanisms for the reproduction of **gender inequality**. These revealed work practices pervaded with insecurity, low pay and long hours.

A usual feature of employment in the US film industry was the expectation that workers **could work without payment** in the early stages of their careers. Similar expectations for work without pay characterise the UK film industry and certainly they constitute some of the traits of the industry across Europe. This could also be a practice of 'getting on', that is, to get promoted further into their careers (Randle and Culkin 2009: 102). Internships are another common entry route to the industry, particularly in broadcasting, and take the form of short, unpaid apprenticeships (ibid).

### *Diversity in the media workforce*

Shoobridge (2006: 120-122) constructs a general business model to conceptualise the production of workforce diversity in business, testing several propositions. Three of these are relevant to the media industry.

- *Proposition A:* Leadership and/or managerial characteristics (such as age, gender, education, and ethnic background) will directly influence human resource practices and the potential institutionalised discrimination practices within the firm.
- *Proposition B:* The degree of workforce ethnic diversity in a firm is influenced by specific managerial and business characteristics (i.e., firm size, geographical location and level of internationalisation), the HR practices, business support networks and potential institutionalised discrimination practices.
- *Proposition C:* Workforce ethnic diversity reinforces the level of business performance (commercial value of diversity)

The question of media diversity and recruitment has been debated during the past few years in many European countries. Horsti and Hulten (2011) conceptualise media diversity policies through the prism of

two interrelated and often competing objectives. The first is economic and is based on media freedom in the market place to choose from a variety of outlets and options. The second is cultural and focuses on the participation of migrant workers (ethnic/national minorities) to enhance diversity in media staffing. Their research on cultural diversity in Finnish and Swedish public service broadcasting highlights the increasing importance, from a commercial point of view, of having more diversity on the screen; monitoring diversity is identified as an ‘indispensable’ tool for increasing diversity in staffing.

Liff (1997 cited in Shoobridge 2006: 111) suggested that there are two distinct strands to managing diversity approaches, one focusing on individual differences and another on social group characteristics. Appropriate diversity-management HR strategies were found to increase the commitment of migrant and ethnic minority staff who felt valued for their contribution (Stalinski 2004 cited in Shoobridge 2006: 111).

Evidence from recent studies on workforce diversity in the media indicates that despite the increase in educational programmes in media that offer training to an increasing number of women as well as men and women from migrant and ethnic minority background, most ‘core’ jobs in the media continue to be held by white males. While the overall labour supply has become more diversified, this diversification has had little impact on employment in the ‘good jobs’ that ‘build careers over the long term’ and offer lucrative remunerations (Christopherson 2009: 87). In a report on cultural diversity in the public sector broadcasting in the UK, Campion (2005) explores the reasons for so few people from ethnic minorities in senior creative or editorial roles. Migrant media workers were often confined in a limited number of functions in the Belgium media (Giladi et al. 2010).

The debate on media diversity and recruitment in Europe has followed country-specific developments. In Sweden and Finland as in other European countries, the debate has been ‘more reactionary than progressive’. This has been reflected in the stagnation in migrant media recruitment (Horsti and Hulten 2011). The proportion of foreign-born journalists in Swedish media remained the same in 2005 as in 1999 (Djerf-Pierre 2007: 29 cited in Horsti and Hulten 2011). Recent studies in Belgium have highlighted the weaknesses of the media in diversity management (Bodson 2009; CSA 2006 cited in Giladi et al. 2010). A study by Giladi et al. (2010) concluded that media workforce diversity was not representative of the diversity in Belgium society.

In other parts of Europe, the debate has not yet picked up. A recent report on the composition of the Greek media workforce focuses on gender discrimination and there is no mention of ethnic diversity<sup>3</sup>. Sadly, gender discrimination remains a concern in the media industries in many countries across Europe and beyond. “But the fundamental patterns of media representation that preoccupied the women’s movement of the 1970s remain relatively intact thirty years later...” (Gallagher 2001: 4 cited in Rush et al. 2005: 239).

### ***Media efforts to promote cultural diversity***

To counter the barriers to workforce diversity, media employers in countries with more developed quality and diversity policies have announced new initiatives to promote what is currently termed cultural diversity.

In April 2011, the Cultural Diversity Network (CDN) – a UK broadcast industry collective set up in 2000 – launched its diversity pledge asking broadcasters and independent production companies to sign up.

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<sup>3</sup> <http://vprc.gr>

One of CDN pledges was to improve diversity in recruitment and output. Other pledge areas included the encouragement of diversity at senior, decision-making levels and the involvement with, or the organisation of, diversity-related events. Thus far, several initiatives have been launched as a response to the growing barriers in media recruitment (Box 1) but these were mainly targeting ethnic minority applicants.

**Box 1 (Culturally) Diversifying the media workforce**

- Leopard Films (UK) has transformed the way they advertise vacancies. They send their adverts to a variety of outlets including the TV Collective, Working Links, Production Base, Mandy and local job centres (CDN 2011).
- Since 1987 Mira Media (the Netherlands) has worked with young journalists from ethnic minorities and the mainstream media through establishing itself as an expert on promoting diversity in the Dutch media (European Commission 2009: 51).
- Mama Youth (UK) is a production company founded in 2005 that offers young adults from minority communities a chance to gain practical skills and means for finding employment (<http://www.mamayouthproject.org.uk>)
- Move On Up events organised by BECTU, a UK-based independent union of broadcasting and independent workers, for talented black and ethnic minority professionals to meet senior executives from a range of organisation, make contacts and seek new opportunities (<http://www.bectu.org.uk/info/docs/download/gen/moveonup200709.pdf>)

In some countries in Europe, employers have adopted a new vocabulary that actively seeks to recruit applicants from migrant and ethnic minority backgrounds (box 2). It is important to note that structural factors such as legal regulations may impact on the company's implementation of anti-discrimination measures in recruitment. Thus, in countries, such as France, where it is illegal to discriminate in any way, employers cannot explicitly invite applications from people of migrant or ethnic minority background. Siapera (2010) identifies this - i.e., migrants cannot be encouraged to apply for media positions by employers - as a first barrier to the recruitment of a diverse workforce.

**Box 2 Encouraging diverse applicants (Siapera 2010: 88)**

- The BBC Regions advertisements have included the requirement for “an understanding of diverse communities”.
- SVT (Sweden) has added to its adverts that “experience or knowledge about different cultures and religions and languages are valuable”.
- NPS (Netherlands) defines itself as a multicultural broadcaster of the Netherlands and as looking for multicultural talents.
- In 2005, WDR (Germany) announced that it promoted cultural diversity in the company and therefore welcomed candidates with migrant backgrounds.

As a second step, some editors and publishers have cooperated with schools and other institutions, in setting up special work experience schemes and targeted bursaries, allowing people from diverse backgrounds to get a taste of media work, as well as offering them a route to media employment (Society of Editors 2010).

#### 4. Analysing the Fieldwork Findings

##### 4.1. “How to Get Your Foot in the Door?” Recruitment practices in the Media Industry

Participants in our sample were asked about their personal or company experiences of recruitment and employment in the media industry and, in particular, they were asked to reflect on the barriers and the facilitating factors impacting on the diversity of their workforce, with specific reference to migrant workers. Another concern of the report has been to explore whether policies in relation to anti-discrimination measures in recruitment were evident within the media sector and the extent to which they have improved employment opportunities for migrants.

While some interviewees located in the metropolitan areas in Ireland, the UK and the Netherlands spoke of ‘fairly robust recruitment practices’, based on skills and competences, others in smaller areas and those in Greece and Italy, reported heavy reliance on informal methods and personal contacts. To some extent, the choice was determined by the accessibility to a large, diverse labour pool and the success of the media outlet in the implementation and monitoring of anti-discrimination measures aimed at preventing discrimination in its recruitment practices.

**Table 1 Distribution of respondents by country of location of media outlet and the adoption of a formal anti-discrimination policy in recruitment**

		Country of interviews						Total
		Greece	Ireland	Italy	Netherlands	Poland	UK	
If the outlet has a formal anti-discrimination policy in recruitment	Yes	2 13.3%	0 .0%	0 .0%	5 50.0%	2 16.7%	6 60.0%	15 22.1%
	No	11 73.3%	6 54.5%	7 70.0%	1 10.0%	7 58.3%	2 20.0%	34 50.0%
	Don't know	2 13.3%	5 45.5%	3 30.0%	4 40.0%	3 25.0%	2 20.0%	19 27.9%
	Total	15 100.0%	11 100.0%	10 100.0%	10 100.0%	12 100.0%	10 100.0%	68 100.0%

Source: MEDIVA Field Survey, June-July 2011, authors' own elaboration of the data collected.

There was a significant relationship between the country where the media outlet was located and the implementation of formal anti-discrimination measures in recruitment (chi-square = 26.170, df =10,  $p < .01$ ). It is evident from table 1 above that over a quarter of our respondents did not know whether such measures existed in their media outlets. Over half of the respondents interviewed in the UK and half of those in the Netherlands reported the implementation of anti-discrimination measures in their recruitment practices. None of the respondents in Italy and Ireland was aware of such measures being adopted by their

companies. Yet, this should not be interpreted as indicating that the surveyed media outlets in these countries were not open to a diverse range of job applicants.

Monitoring the implementation of such schemes is another issue of interest to this report as it represents an important HR mechanism for increasing diversity in staffing. None of our respondents in Ireland, Italy and Greece was aware of a monitoring practice applied by their companies. In the UK, respondents spoke of an application process that required all applicants to complete and submit an equality and diversity form. “One can easily get a data crunch on how many are disabled or non-UK born” (int. 3). The form is collected and kept separately from the application form. One respondent from the audio visual industry in London, responsible for programme recruitment, spoke of the need for ‘positive discrimination’. Sometimes she would be encouraged by editors to recruit from a particular section of the population to find the best recruits. Country regulations would sometimes impede the monitoring of diversity. One interviewee explained that in the Netherlands, the question of an applicant’s ethnic background figured on employment forms but it was optional whether it would be answered or not. Their practice had shown that almost 90% of applicants would complete the question of their parents’ country of origin but they would normally skip the question of their country of birth. Diversity monitoring was further obstructed by workers’ contracts. Freelancers would only be registered if they had worked with a company for over a month. Only those workers who were on the payroll were monitored (int. 24). Migrant workers would rarely be recorded because of the nature of their contracts (int. 25). “No one is hired on a permanent contract anymore and the temporary contracts, tied to specific programmes, fluctuate a lot, so it is not really possible to monitor”. (int. 32)

One HR director in a private media company in Ireland clarified:

*“(...) our policy is what we call ‘an equal opportunity employer’ and therefore we welcome applications from any and all applicants, whatever sexual community they might come from, whatever diversity groups they might represent (...) But we don’t have specific policy on targeting any ethnic minorities (...) or any affirmative action along those lines”. (int. 40)*

In accordance with the surveyed literature, very few of the interviewees reported that their outlet had advertised job vacancies. A private television station in Dublin (Ireland) had advertised both on their website and on the site of the Irish Film and Television Network (int. 40). Some interviewees mentioned advertising and a proper selection process as beneficiary not only for the ‘image of the employer’ as ‘non discriminatory’ but to find the best person for the job. As one of the interviewees commented,

*“Our preoccupation is to get the best person for the job; it is not ‘let’s make sure we have ethnic minorities’”. (int.40)*

However, an interviewee in Brighton (UK) was skeptical about the effectiveness of advertising as a recruitment strategy that would fill a vacancy with the best candidate.

*“The main difficulty is when a job is advertised, there are too many applicants for it. And, there will always be internal applicants for it. For someone to get a job in the company, he/she must compete with those already there”. (int. 10)*

Many interviewees reiterated the use of contacts and personal networks to gain access to media employment. They believed that recruitment in the media did not happen through standard advertising procedures but through a ‘phone call’, echoing the findings of research on recruitment and employment in the London audio-visual industry by Holgate and McKay (2005).

*“It is very much about who you know. It is not a question of sending a CV and going for an interview. It’s you put feelers out and then you get a phone call”.* (int. 34)

*“I think the media is very heavy on connections and who you know here and there. I mean if you look at certain newspapers, you will find people are related; they are family”* (int. 35)

The role of family in finding work in the media was echoed in the words of a Greek journalist, who argued that

*“If you, your father and mother have no powerful connections or don’t belong to powerful networks to support you, you can’t find work in the media”.* (int. 44)

Paradoxically, some interviewees in Italy, Greece and Poland attributed the lack of anti-discrimination recruitment measures adopted by their media companies to the fact that there were rarely any job applicants coming from migrant background. These were respondents working in media outlets with no specific measures in place to encourage migrant employment, which correlated with the country of residence and its immigration experience. A reporter working in a private broadcaster explained the lack of cultural diversity in Irish media as related to the migration experiences of the country. In general Ireland still has only first and second generation migrants and they are concentrated in sectors of the lower end of the market; the media is not one of them. Working in the media for new migrants was seen as a long process over time, going through several generations.

*“It would be quite remarkable if there were a huge number of first generation immigrants working here...[...] Also, I think that people arriving in a new country, having done this myself, you actually go for jobs that you can get ... and that will pay immediately”.* (int. 39)

According to some of the respondents in the sample, migrants and ethnic minorities were partly to blame for the lack of diversity among the media workforce. They were hesitant to apply for media jobs and this contributes to the lack of diversity in the industry. The director of an Italian newspaper commented:

*“We have no journalists of migrant background but not because we did not want to employ them but because we’ve never received an application from such a person”.* (int. 67)

An investigative journalist of migrant background in the UK thought that migrants did not dare to apply.

*“They are self-defeating by not applying for jobs in the media when they have the qualifications and the skills needed”.* (int. 9)

She remarked that migrants were constructing their ‘own barriers and mental blocks’ to applying for jobs in the media. Similarly, an ethnic minority chief editor in Amsterdam spoke of the ‘built-in timid attitudes of migrant journalists.

*“They say please give me a chance but the feeling is that you have to take your chances and that you are entitled to them does not exist”.* (int. 29)

It was alluded that the reasons for migrant timid attitudes might be in the non-transparent recruitment procedures.

#### **4.2. Specific Barriers to Migrant Employment in the Media**



One of the aims of the report was to explore what our respondents saw as a particular barrier that might exist for migrant workers in obtaining jobs in the media sector.

Nepotism and lack of host country experience were seen as additional barriers specific to migrants and ethnic minorities. The media in the Netherlands and Ireland were still seen by our respondents as a ‘white bastion’ that was difficult to break into. New people who were hired tended to come mostly from the same schools and replicated the existing workforces. Some of the UK respondents, who worked for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), shared the view that ‘the battle for diversity in the workforce was won’.

In their view, while traditionally, it was white men from Oxford and Cambridge, this had changed, with increased demand for expertise in local areas and offices around the world. While this was the respondents’ view, it clearly does not chime with the statistical data which shows that the labour force within the BBC, particularly at middle to senior level remains predominantly white.

Another respondent in London, a documentary film maker, who had worked for the Corporation, was of the view that being African-Caribbean was a barrier to recruitment and that it was “easier for East Europeans to ‘get their foot in the door’” as having ‘white skin helps’.

There were country differences in how interviewees interpreted the level of migrant aspirations to work in the media. In the Netherlands, a country with long traditions of immigration, careers in the media were not articulated as popular among young non-Western origin migrants. One diversity manager of a public media outlet was of the view that those of migrant origin would prefer to pursue careers in medicine, law, economics and business management as these were sectors seen as more security and status. This career preference might have been rooted in past experiences in the origin country. One of the interviewees in Amsterdam spoke of the fact that journalism in some countries of origin had a poor reputation where it was seen as too connected with dictatorial regimes. “Many people from Surinam, Tunisia or Egypt don’t see it as a recommendation to start working as journalists”. (int. 32)

Our interviewees were prompted to talk about general barriers to recruitment in the media industry and additional barriers that apply mainly to migrants and ethnic minorities.

Some interviewees discussed the economic downturn of the last years as a major deterrent to media recruitment. “No jobs available” was reiterated by interviewees in all the countries surveyed. Other respondents talked of the ‘oversubscription’ of the industry – low demand for jobs and an excessive supply of highly qualified people, coupled with ‘enormous amount of competition’ as other general barriers to media employment. “The amount of training that everybody has raises the bar”, added a creative director for a private broadcaster in London (int. 6). The interviewee said that when she first started work in the media – some 22 years ago – she had no formal training, as at that time there were no media degrees. Media outlets would train people. Nowadays things had changed. Media employers were less willing and able to train people to provide them with skills that they needed.

The majority of our respondents identified additional barriers to migrants if their first language was not the one spoken in the host country and if their qualifications were not acquired in the host country. “They would not know the system well”, was the concern of a freelance journalist from the United Kingdom (int. 10). An Irish journalist pointed out that language skills were particularly evident as a barrier in the print media because ‘print is probably a different animal to radio or television, where it is harder to succeed if you are from a non-English background’ (int. 37).

On the other hand, talent and great ideas in the industry are of value in their own right. An interviewee, creative director, in London spoke of colleagues from Japan, Spain and North Africa. She thought that their language skills would hold them back but their ideas were brilliant. “As an employer, I had to train them, to back their talent”, she added (int. 6).

Cultural differences may pose additional barriers to migrant applicants in the media. A Dutch reporter of Surinamese Hindustani origin talked about wearing a headscarf as creating an additional difficulty to getting work in the media industry.

*“I can imagine it is more difficult to get access with a headscarf, even if you are a good journalist and dare everything, and talk freely. Journalists may appear progressive and modern but they are also very conservative. So, on the one hand, they want to stay in the same mould. It is not handy if you have someone at work who does not want to shake hands; that’s a problem in our job as we speak with a lot of people”.* (int. 31)

### 4.3 Outreach Schemes: Reaching out for Migrant Applicants?

As it has been stressed above, some employers in countries with explicit equality and diversity policies have introduced outreach schemes in an effort to increase the recruitment of migrant workers, thereby attempting to counteract some of the barriers to workforce diversity in the media<sup>4</sup>. Others have collaborated with schools to raise awareness of jobs in the media (int. 24; int. 25; int. 27). A media literacy project was being run by a Dutch media company which had prepared a toolkit and a DVD to show schools what they could do to stimulate a positive perception of the journalistic profession (int. 24). Sometimes, media professionals in the UK would be invited to speak at urban colleges and organise seminars there. In other instances, school initiatives were not directly related to recruitment. The ‘weekend school’ and ‘newspaper in the classroom’ were run by a media company in Amsterdam, targeting young people in disadvantaged areas. Their purpose was not to offer any kind of media training but rather some useful weekend activities. However, the programmes were not highly attended and relied on the voluntary input of professionals (int. 31).

In some media outlets, interns had been taken on from main journalism colleges (int. 33; int. 41; int. 57), usually for a month or in the summer period (int. 38). Other employers advertised their internships widely in line with their recruitment practices (int. 40).

The Creative Department of a broadcaster in London runs a *Work Experience Scheme* for young people aged between 14 and 16. About six people a year are taken on for a week and get to work in a variety of departments in the company. Applications are made on-line and submitted to the HR Department and the Creative Heads who are asked to choose who to offer the places to, without reference to ethnic origin (int. 6).

*Graduate Intern Scheme:* the application process is very similar to formal recruitment – very competitive and formalised. There is an application form and applicants are asked to submit samples of

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<sup>4</sup> Only 23 of our respondents were aware of such outreach schemes run by their media outlets or by other media companies; these were mainly from the UK, the Netherlands and Ireland; only one respondent was from Poland and none from Greece or Italy).

their work. Recruitment takes place only once a year but selected trainees can take up the offers at different times throughout the year (int. 6).

Legal barriers were seen as potentially preventing children of migrant background from continuing their education in colleges, for example, the absence of long-term residency in Ireland was said to be depriving migrant children of access to grants and college bursaries (int. 41).

However, very few initiatives were identified that had explicitly targeted people of migrant background.

*The Dutch programme “News Academy” takes on interns from different cultural backgrounds to work on it for a week. Once a month, on Saturdays, 12 interns are given a workshop by programme makers on how to construct and cover a story and on how to look for main characters. The participants are selected via the Internet (int. 24).*

Some media companies had organised events to enhance diversity access. These included seminars and conferences specifically advertised to migrant and minority ethnic groups, to provide information and guidance about employment opportunities within the broadcasting. They were aimed at bringing talent to executives and producers. A valid residence permit was the only requirement for anyone wishing to participate in these events. In his own work of a radio programme director in London, one interviewee explained how he would scout for talent across the country.

*“We will try to make it easier for migrants and ethnic minorities because of the additional barriers for them; they have few contacts, sometimes their English is not that good and they don’t know how this country works” (int. 4).*

However, the outcomes of these schemes were experienced as mixed. For some programme producers, events that gave migrant and ethnic minority media people the opportunity to meet with mainstream media professionals was considered an effective tool for the recruitment of culturally diverse, talented people. Evaluation surveys following the events had shown a very high proportion of participants considering them a success. The conferences and seminars provided opportunities for migrant and minority ethnic talent to have their questions answered; and the results had been that new talent had been identified (int. 4).

But another respondent in the UK was less sure about the retention rate of outreach schemes. He recalled two large scale diversity schemes run by the BBC. The *Broadcaster Journalist Trainer Scheme* was run in every radio station, in every region. At the end of the training year, not one of the participants was offered a job. The interviewee believed that insufficient training was provided to enable the trainees to compete for jobs in the corporation (int. 10). Another scheme, the *Regional Route Scheme* for the recruitment of people to cover black and ethnic minority arts for the radio and a little for television, was ascertained as having a ‘slightly higher survival rate’. All recruited were kept after a year.

One interviewee was cynical about the schemes’ outcome. “The practice was, through these schemes, to keep recruiting at an entry level, where the pay is low and there are no opportunities for advancement and promotion”. People in junior roles were kept on insecure contracts. Not enough attention was paid on training to give these people a chance to survive in a large corporation. “The corporation was just filling

the gaps through quotas. For me, it was a bogus system. I found it very frustrating [he left after seven years on short-term contracts] (int. 10). Similar thoughts were shared by another respondent who saw the employment quotas as very short lived solutions likening them with the stabilisers on a child's bike. They are put in with the view to removing them 'as soon as the balance is rectified' (irl-2). Very few of our respondents were of the view that quotas – 'certain jobs to certain people' – were a useful recruitment tool that can enhance diversity in the media (int. 34).

A media company in the Netherlands spoke of an internship organised for nine young migrants, recruited through a website. None of them stayed. In the view of the interviewee it did not work because the participants were not committed. An error in the selection procedure was identified by the organisers. "We were too idealistic and not business minded; but the intention was there" (int. 23). An inadequate selection procedure was given as the reason for the limited success of another outreach scheme. A media company had organised a *Master class* for eight to ten people of non-West European background to work with editors in the newsroom. In the course of the training, it became clear that eight interns on one programme 'was a lot'. There was not enough staff to work with them. For such an initiative to be successful, it was felt that there would need to be a prerequisite that the interns possessed some media skills and for the media staff to be in a position to maintain regular contact with trainees (int. 32).

Similarly, the Federation for Moroccan Journalists in the Netherlands had a relatively short existence. Interviewees suggested that this was because Moroccan journalists were unwilling to deal with their Moroccan identity as professionals. The initial idea was to assist and give advice those who had just started work in the host country. Within the 'white media industry', there are people who help each other; these can be relatives, acquaintances. As one participant suggested migrant journalists do not have these forms of support structures. "What do you do when your bureau chief says, 'I want you to write only about Moroccans. How do you deal with criticism from your own community when you bring out things they prefer not to show?'" The idea of such professional networks is to increase the numbers of migrant journalists in newsrooms and on editorial boards but, in the view of this participant, for such initiatives to grow, the commitment and support of migrant professionals was needed (int. 28). In other instances, where refugee journalists were involved, institutional support was considered crucial and one example was of '*Refugee.pl*' is a refugee journal financed by the European Commission and published in cooperation with the Polish Humanitarian Action (int. 18).

At the opposite end of the spectrum were respondents who could see neither the need of nor the benefits from such outreach schemes. "We don't experience any difficulty in filling our vacancies (...) if someone of migrant origin possesses the right qualifications, he/she will be offered the job; I don't necessarily feel to go out and do the outreach." (int. 40) Other media companies rely entirely on graduates from journalism colleges to cover their vacancies (int. 33).

**In sum**, outreach schemes can be innovative, efficient and sustainable. They can find employment for people of migrant and minority background who otherwise might have few contacts and insufficient knowledge of the host country. However, such schemes are only applied by media outlets in countries with some traditions of multiculturalism and where the sector has adopted policies on equality and/or anti-discrimination. Hence, structural, institutional and personal factors come into play to determine the initiation of such schemes and their final outcome. There is a great need, however, for such schemes to not only be implemented but also monitored and evaluated. Monitoring ethnic diversity has been identified as constituting a particular challenge.

The industry, across the surveyed countries, still has difficulties recognising the commercial benefits of workforce diversity – especially in difficult economic times.

**4.4 Diversity in the Media Workforce: Can We Talk about Discrimination?**

In the course of the interviews we asked people their views on the diversity of the workforce in the media outlet they were working. We also sought their opinions on the existence of discrimination in the industry and their personal experiences of it. As our respondents were experienced media professionals, we were interested in exploring what their experiences of discrimination had been in working in companies that had equalities policies and those that did not.

When asked about the adoption of a general equality and diversity policy by the media companies our respondents worked for, the difference between the surveyed countries was profound, with none of the respondents in Greece, Italy and Poland giving an affirmative answer, compared to all interviewees in the UK, half of those in the Netherlands and slightly over a quarter in Ireland, who reported the implementation of equality policies by their companies (table 2). A highly significant relationship was found between the country where the media was located and the implementation of equality policies (chi-square=67.828, df=10, p=.000). Several respondents in Italy mentioned that equality principles were observed at an individual level, referring to written documents to guide journalists in their work.

**Table 2 Distribution of respondents by country of location of media outlet and the adoption of a general equality policy**

		If the outlet has a general equality policy			
		Yes	No	Don't know	Total
Country of interviews	Greece	0 .0%	15 36.6%	0 .0%	15 22.1%
	Ireland	3 16.7%	3 7.3%	5 55.6%	11 16.2%
	Italy	0 .0%	6 14.6%	4 44.4%	10 14.7%
	Netherlands	5 27.8%	5 12.2%	0 .0%	10 14.7%
	Poland	0 .0%	12 29.3%	0 .0%	12 17.6%
	UK	10 55.6%	0 .0%	0 .0%	10 14.7%
	Total	18 100.0%	41 100.0%	9 100.0%	68 100.0%

Source: MEDIVA Field Survey, June-July 2011, authors' own elaboration of the data collected.

Overall, just over a quarter of our respondents were working in companies that had implemented equal opportunities policies, most of them covering gender, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation and age.

Our respondents gave similar responses to the question on the existence of a diversity department in their media outlets. Only four respondents in the Netherlands, three in the UK and one in Ireland gave a positive answer. Most of the media outlets that had a diversity department were publicly owned broadcasters.

A significant relationship was found between the ownership of the outlet and the existence of a diversity department in it (chi-square=9.936, df=4, p<.05). Similarly, there was a significant relationship between the country of location of the media outlet and the existence of a diversity department in it at 1% level of significance (chi-square=26.826, df=10, p<0.1). More respondents (15 people; of them, six in the Netherlands and the UK, and three in Ireland), however, reported that their companies had a person responsible for issues of diversity. An interviewee working for a public broadcaster in the UK could not see the need for a diversity department. He felt ‘the battle was won’. “Nationality has never been an issue for us. Traditionally it was white men from Oxford and Cambridge. It’s different now, with officers around the world”. (int. 4) The need for local expertise was said to have brought about the change.

As an indirect way of measuring ethnic diversity in the media, we asked our respondents about the employment of migrant workers in their companies. Naturally, international news agencies and the audio visual industry were more likely to recruit migrants in large numbers (table 3). Most of these were privately owned.

**Table 3 Distribution of respondents by type of media and their awareness of migrant employment in it**

Type of media	If the respondent knows of migrants being recruited in the media			Total
	Yes, a lot	Yes, just a few	Not at all	
TV	5 27.8%	10 55.6%	3 16.7%	18 100.0%
Radio	3 23.1%	5 38.5%	5 38.5%	13 100.0%
Newspaper	3 13.6%	13 59.1%	6 27.3%	22 100.0%
Magazine	1 33.3%	2 66.7%	0 .0%	3 100.0%
News Agency	2 66.7%	0 .0%	1 33.3%	3 100.0%
TV & Radio	5 55.6%	2 22.2%	2 22.2%	9 100.0%
Total	19 27.9%	32 47.1%	17 25.0%	68 100.0%

Source: MEDIVA Field Survey, June-July 2011, authors’ own elaboration of the data collected.

There were larger disparities in migrant employment when the figures were put in a country context (table 4). All respondents in the UK and the Netherlands reported the employment of migrant workers in the media. Several interviewees in Ireland reiterated the lack of diversity in Irish media (int. 40; int. 41; int. 42). “I don’t see any diversity. The only migrants you might see is maybe British or from Australia... But at the moment I am struggling to think of any other migrant of colour, non-EU origin” (int. 34). “Ethnic representation is extremely poor in Irish media”. (int. 37) Similarly, according to our respondents, journalists of migrant origin were very difficult to find in Italy (int. 61).

Only four respondents in Italy spoke of migrant recruitment in the media but in very small numbers. Ethnic media in the sample were more likely to rely exclusively on migrant labour with the relevant linguistic skills (Albanian newspapers in Athens; ethnic radio stations in Poland).

Migrant journalists were more likely to work as freelancers or on short-term contracts in all the countries surveyed. Bovenkerk-Teerink (1994) noted that this did not necessarily imply discrimination as project-based work was a common feature of employment in the radio and television. However, migrant conditions were characterised as precarious by one Italian respondent (int. 59). A respondent from a public broadcaster in London spoke of a segmentation of media jobs, where migrants will not be found in the news. They were more likely to be employed in the archive. “You can find there one Polish, one German and another one from Uganda” (int. 2). Jobs will differ in terms of their conditions. A migrant documentary maker in London spoke of low pay and over time, with ‘fiction film producers being paid much more and working less than documentary producers’ (int. 7).

Notwithstanding, there were stark differences between the surveyed countries in terms of the jobs that migrants in the media were doing. Interviewees from international news agencies spoke of a distribution of migrant workers across all sorts of jobs (int. 1). A private entertainment media company in London had the broadest ethnic mix in its creative department. There, migrants worked as writers, producers, administrators, and production managers. “Migrants are represented at every creative level up to the senior management” (int. 6). A migrant journalist in London spoke of the diversity of jobs that migrant workers were doing in the World Service of a public corporation. They were working in different jobs, from broadcast journalists, production managers to programme directors. The respondent mentioned that it was not only a matter of getting a media job as a migrant but also whether you would get promoted, how long it took to get promoted and most importantly the type of the contract you were employed on. She spoke with bitterness and frustration about her struggle to get a permanent contract (which she still had not obtained) (int. 7). Similar experiences were shared by migrant media professionals in the Netherlands (int. 23; int. 30). In a community radio station in Brighton, all migrants were studio managers (int. 8). Respondents in the Netherlands spoke of a relative variety of jobs that migrants in the media were doing. They would cover reports, work as cameramen and journalists; they would work in finance and administration (int. 30). The interviewees in Poland explained that all migrant professionals were working as journalists for ethnic broadcasting channels (int. 14; int. 16; int. 13).

An undercover reporter of migrant origin felt that she had expanded her employment opportunities – avoiding the ‘ethnic mobility trapping’ (Wiley 1967, cited in Bovenkerk-Teerink) by working for the ‘migrants’ tape only’ (Bovenkerk-Teerink 1994: 48) - by being able to write on issues related not only to her home country but on domestic affairs as well (int. 9). Some employers were more likely to offer jobs to migrant journalists who would not only write on home country affairs. One Irish employer mentioned “... If a young Nigerian lad is going to come along and say ‘I want to write about issues in the Nigerian community’, it’s not really going to be of broader interest. (...) [Migrant journalists] have to be able to do the bread and butter, which are the daily stories...” (int. 33) Another respondent in Ireland said that migrants were more likely to be found working in the canteen or as cleaning staff (int. 39). Migrants working as journalists in Ireland seemed an irrelevant question for a couple of respondents (int. 38).

There was a tendency, however, for migrants in Italy to work as technical staff or camera men. One interviewee pointed out that this was done to save money (int. 59).

**Table 4 Distribution of respondents by country of interview and awareness of migrant employed in the media**

	If the respondent knows of migrants being recruited in the media			
	Yes, a lot	Yes, very little	Not at all	Total
Greece	4 21.1%	6 18.8%	5 29.4%	15 22.1%
Ireland	0 .0%	8 25.0%	3 17.6%	11 16.2%
Italy	0 .0%	4 12.5%	6 35.3%	10 14.7%
Netherlands	6 31.6%	4 12.5%	0 .0%	10 14.7%
Poland	2 10.5%	7 21.9%	3 17.6%	12 17.6%
UK	7 36.8%	3 9.4%	0 .0%	10 14.7%
Total	19 100.0%	32 100.0%	17 100.0%	68 100.0%

Source: MEDIVA Field Survey, June-July 2011, authors' own elaboration of the data collected.

***Is there discrimination in the media?***

Respondents were asked if they thought there was any form of general discrimination in the media industry and if so, what form it took. Most respondents had interpreted the question similarly to the one on barriers to recruitment in the media.

Half of the respondents thought that there was discrimination; almost a third (32%) believed there was not and 18 per cent did not know. Considerably more interviewees in the private sector (68%) were likely to feel that there were forms of discrimination in the sector. Table 5 shows the distribution of responses by the ethnic origin of interviewees. Migrant media professionals were more likely to think there was discrimination in the media (63.6% of migrant respondents gave a positive answer to the question of discrimination in the media, compared to 5.6% native respondents). There is a similar pattern in terms of the views of men and women respondents, with women more likely to report discrimination than men



(23% and 11% respectively). The respondents in the age group of 40 to 49 years were more likely to report awareness of discrimination in the media.

Several interviews touched upon the issue of ‘unresolved’ gender discrimination in the media.

*“There is discrimination in the media as in other industries, but not only against ethnic minority backgrounds [migrants] but also against women”*,

said a male journalist in Ireland (int. 41). The feelings of being marginalized in the media were shared by an Italian female respondent, who saw gender discrimination in getting career promotions and in the ‘limited role often reserved for women’ (int. 64). Another female respondent in London spoke of a ‘lower level sexism’ with women being overrepresented in administration and underrepresented in managerial positions (int. 3), contradicting other views claiming that the gender battle is won. An Irish respondent compared discrimination against migrant workers with that against women; most of researchers and production jobs were done by women while most presenters were male (int. 34). An Italian respondent identified women and young people as the hardest hit by ‘flourishing inequality’ in the country (int. 67).

Some respondents saw discrimination in the media stemming from the lack of advertising for jobs and personal connections (int. 35). For other respondents, discrimination was created by editors’ prejudice (int. 38) or simply by the lack of equality legislation in place (int. 64). Another respondent in the UK spoke of discrimination that is not based on ethnicity but rather on the fact that media is ‘a closed shop, old boys club’ (sc-press). “If you are brilliant and Somalian, you will be accepted to work in the media and you will 50 times, even more, than [the ones in the club] but you will never be accepted in the club”, a reporter of mixed origin in Brighton noted.

A couple of respondents in Greece spoke of discrimination based on an opinion that is different from the editorial line. “You become the black sheep”. (int. 44; int. 45)

Migrant interviewees in Greece spoke of discrimination based on their ethnic origin. “(In the broadcasting company he worked for), they did not call me Niko but the Albanian. I believe the Greek media does not perceive discrimination practices as such, rather, they see them as something natural” (int. 48).

Appearance related to age was seen as a discrimination basis for respondents in Greece and the UK. “Well, if you are a pretty, presentable lady, probably it will be easier to find a job as a journalist (int. 53). While some respondents in Italy spoke of discrimination against young people, other respondents in the UK saw a preference of the media industry for young people (int. 7). “If you are young and beautiful, you are more likely to get a job there”. (int. 2) Colour was sometimes seen as an advantage especially with presenters for a public broadcasting corporation in the UK (int. 2). Respondents in Poland spoke of immigrants ‘as exotic’ and for them it seemed that they were therefore preferred by employers. “Immigrants are seen as exotic and more attractive and are treated in a preferential way” (the example was taken from an interview for a job in a commercial television channel) (int. 16).

**Table 5 Distribution of respondents by their awareness of discrimination in the media**

	If the respondent is native or migrant		
	native	migrant	Total
“There is discrimination in the media”	30 52.6%	7 63.6%	37 54.4%

“There is no discrimination in the media”	20 35.1%	2 18.2%	22 32.4%
“Don't know if there is discrimination in the media”	7 12.3%	2 18.2%	9 13.2%
Total	57 100.0%	11 100.0%	68 100.0%

Source: MEDIVA Field Survey, June-July 2011, authors’ own elaboration of the data collected.

**In sum**, roots of discrimination seemed easily muddled with barriers to recruitment in the media. They often reproduced some of the traits of individual and institutional discrimination, related to personal connections and ‘closeness of the industry’, pay and promotion, and age. On other occasions, they were more country specific, generating opportunistic discrimination based on appearance and skin colour. Structural discrimination against migrants could, sometimes, trigger frustrations stemming from unresolved gender discrimination issues.

## 5. Concluding remarks

Based on the literature on media employment with regard to diversity and migration, and the views of sixty eight professionals across the industry in Italy, Greece, Ireland, the UK, Poland and the Netherlands, this report has highlighted the many aspects of the recruitment process that could marginalise those outside the mainstream of society.

The report has been concerned with the evidence of anti-discrimination measures in recruitment within the media sector and the extent to which they had impacted on employment opportunities for migrants. The European countries with their traditions of immigration and their implementation of equality legislation had emerged as significant predictors of the ensuing recruitment practices. Companies with fairly robust recruitment practices were more likely to advertise their vacancies in their search for the ‘best candidate’. However, the effectiveness of this HR mechanism could often be fraught by internal competition.

The report has demonstrated the value of a diverse media workforce and has explored why there were still so few migrants in professional jobs in the media. It has revealed how people from the industry often felt helpless when they could not make an impact on a work environment that could be discriminative not only on the basis of ethnic origin but also on age, gender and appearance.

In some instances, migrant job candidates were thought to have been ‘self-defeating themselves’ by not finding the courage to apply. In other country contexts, migrants were perceived as not willing to apply for media jobs as careers in other sectors such as medicine, law and economics were seen as more prestigious.

The report has pointed to a number of specific barriers to migrant employment in the media. Looking at the shares of migrant workers in the media workforce, large disparities were revealed between countries. Similar patterns were identified when ascertaining the types of jobs done by migrant workers. As the

survey was relatively small it could not provide all answers but it did point to the interplay of national experiences of multiculturalism, with institutional opportunistic and individual barriers as one explanation for the lack of workforce diversity in the media and migrant career progression in some country contexts. Cultural differences were found to pose additional barriers to migrant employment.

While the report recognises the potential dangers of workforce diversity being quantified as a box-ticking exercise, it points to monitoring as an HR mechanism that can make a difference as it represents an important tool for measuring improvement.

The report has argued that effective and innovative outreach schemes could reduce the barriers to achieving media diversity by providing employment for people of a migrant background who otherwise might have very few contacts and limited knowledge of the recipient country.

The way forward - while acknowledging the structural challenges of the current economic developments and the ensuing 'hiring freeze' - is in the implementation of formal regulation and monitoring. External regulatory pressures have the potential to challenge the resistance to change of the monoculture that exists in the industry.

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## 7. ANNEX

### *List of Interviews*

No. interview	Name of Interviewee	Media Outlet	Position	Date of Interview	Place of Interview	Language of Interview
1	Gerard Wayne	Reuters News agency	Senior Journalist/ Reporter	13.06.2011	London (telephone interview)	English
2	Jude Cowan	Reuters News agency, ITN	Archivist	14.06.2011	London (telephone interview)	English
3	Julie Rainey	BBC	Creative Producer	15.06.2011	London	English
4	Graham Frost	Radio 4 BBC	Radio producer	17.06.2011	London (telephone interview)	English
5	Andrew Wasley	Ecol Magazine	Editor	20.06.2011	London (telephone interview)	English
6	Kip Katesmark	REBI TV	Creative Head of Productions	13.07.2011	London (telephone interview)	English
7	Gugulethu Mseleku	BBog_TV	Film Producer	14.07.2011	London (telephone interview)	English
8	Suchitra Chaterlee		Column Writer; Radio presenter	27.07.2011	London	English
9	Claudia Murg	Undercover TV	Investigative journalist & TV producer	28.07.2011	London (telephone interview)	English
10	Neil Ansell		Print & Broadcast Journalist	25.07.2011	London	English
11	Ewa Wanat	TOK FM	Chief editor	22.06.2011	Warsaw	Polish
12	Renata Kim	Wprost	Journalist	22.06.2011	Warsaw	Polish
13	Dobrzyńska	Telewizja	Newsreader/rep	23.06.2011	Warsaw	Polish

	Danuta	Polska	orter			
14	Magierowski Marek	Polsat	Deputy editor-in-chief	20.06.2011	Warsaw	Polish
15	Dąbrowski Mariusz	Polskie Radio	Deputy Director of the Polish Radio 1	22.06.2011	Warsaw	Polish
16	Stroiński Maciej	Polsat	Newsreader/reporter	23.06.2011	Warsaw	Polish
17	Władyka Wiesław	Polityka	Political commentator/feature writer	21.06.2011	Warsaw	Polish
18	Marcin Wojciechowski	Gazeta Wyborcza	Columnist	20.07.2011	Warsaw	Polish
19	Wojciech Maziarski	Newsweek	Editor in chief	19.07.2011	Warsaw	Polish
20	Rafał Kiepuszewski	Polskie Radio dla Zagranicy	Deputy Editor in chief	19.07.2011	Warsaw	Polish
21	Aleks Dzikawicki	Telewizja Beslan	Manager of the news department	18.07.2011	Warsaw	Polish
22	Dimitrij Nowikau	Europejskie Radio dla Białorusi	Editor in chief	20.07.2011	Warsaw	Polish
23	Corine de Vries	Volkskrant (press)	Managing Editor for editor in chief	24.06.2011	skype	Dutch
24	Frans Jennekens	NTR (TV)	Head of Diversity	29.06.2011	Hilversun	Dutch
25	Giselle van Cann	NOS news (TV)	Assistat Editor in Chief	30.06.2011	Hilversun	Dutch
26	Wishes to remain anonymous	NPO (PSB)		30.06.2011	Hilversun	Dutch
27	Anjes van der Linden	VARA	Head of HR	14.07.2011	email	Dutch
28	Ilah Rubio	Rotterdams Dagblad	Reporter	08.07.2011	Telephone interview	Dutch
29	Anil Ramdas	MTNL	Chief editor and presenter	11.07.2011	Telephone interview	Dutch

30	Robert van Brandwijk	Metro	Chief editor	11.07.2011	Telephone interview	Dutch
31	Perdiep Ramesar	Trouw	Reporter	03.08.2011	Telephone interview	Dutch
32	Harry Hosman	VPRO	Editor in chief and editor, program maker	24.08.2011	Telephone interview	Dutch
33	Paul Cullen	The Irish Times (daily newspaper)	senior journalist	03.06.2011	Dublin	English
34	Dil Wickremasinghe	Newstalk (Radio)	Presenter of intercultural programme "Global Village"	08.06.2011	Dublin	English
35	Catherine Reilly	Metro Éireann (fortnightly)	Freelance (former assistant editor for Metro Éireann)	13.06.2011	Dublin	English
36	Wishes to remain anonymous	Newstalk (Radio)		15.06.2011	Dublin	English
37	Wishes to remain anonymous	TV3		28.06.2011	Dublin (telephone interview)	English
38	Wishes to remain anonymous	The Irish Independent (daily newspaper)		29.06.2011	Dublin	English
39	Wishes to remain anonymous	RTE		30.06.2011	Dublin	English
40	Julie Eastwood	TV3	HR director	01.07.2011	Dublin (telephone interview)	English
41	Wishes to remain anonymous	The Irish Times (daily		06.07.2011	Dublin	English



		newspaper)				
42	Wishes to remain anonymous	RTE		27.07.2011	Dublin	
43	Wishes to remain anonymous	RTE		27.07.2011	Dublin	
44	Maria Delithanasi	Kathimerini Newspaper	Reporter on social and migration themes	21.6.11	Athens	Greek
45	Alexandra Christakaki	NET Television	Editor-in-chief	24.6.11	Athens	Greek
46	Frida Bedaj	Albania Press	Editor-in-chief	23.6.11	Athens	Greek
47	Kyriakos Theodorakakos	APE-Athens News Agency	Senior Journalist	22.6.11	Athens	Greek
48	Niko Ago	Sunday AVGI	Reporter & columnist on migration issues	26.6.11	Athens	Greek
49	Vasilis Chronopoulos	Website magazine DIAVATIRIO	Director	2.7.11	Athens	Greek
50	Dimitris Tsiodras	Sunday Eletherotypia newspaper	Editor-in-chief	5.7.11	Athens	Greek
51	Takis Kampylis	Athens Radio 984	General Director	28.6.11	Athens	Greek
52	Thananis Argyrakis	Eleftheros Typos Newspaper	Senior journalist	1.7.11	Athens	Greek
53	Maria Psara	Sunday Ethnos & ERT TV	Journalist & Reporter	20.7.11	Athens	Greek
54	Vasilis Adamopoulos	Vima FM 99.5	Editor in chief and radio broadcasting producer.	14.7.11	Athens	Greek
55	Tasos Teloglou	SKAI TV & Sunday Kathimerini newspaper	Senior journalist & Editor-in-chief	12.7.11	Athens	Greek

56	Michalis Laganis	Alter TV	Journalist/Reporter	6.7.11	Athens	Greek
57	Andreas Belegris	Proto Thema Newspaper	Journalist/Reporter	4.7.11	Athens	Greek
58	Laskaratos Kostas	ANT1 Radio & Web	Journalist/Reporter & editor-in-chief of the web portal	4.7.11	Athens	Greek
59	Marco Bazzichi	Radio Radicale	Collaborator	13.06.2011	Florence	Italian
60	Franco de Felice	Rai, TG 3	Director (caporedattore)	14.06.2011	Florence	Italian
61	Marialuisa Pezzali	Radio24	Journalist	16.06.2011	Milan (telephone interview)	Italian
61	Tiziana di Simone	RAI Gr-Parlamento	Journalist	18.06.2011	Rome (telephone interview)	Italian
63	Sandro Bertuccelli	Florentine edition of la Repubblica	Journalist, director (caporedattore)	21.06.2011	Florence	Italian
64	Cristina Petrucci	TV, RAInews24	Collaborator	27.06.2011	Rome (telephone interview)	Italian
65	Francesca Padula	Il Sole24Ore	Journalist	5.07.2011	Milan (telephone interview)	Italian
66	Alessandra Coppola	<i>il Corriere della Sera</i>	Journalist	8.07.2011	Milan (telephone interview)	Italian
67	Giuseppe Mascambruno	<i>la Nazione</i>	Journalist, director (caporedattore)	14.07.2011	Florence	Italian
68	Massimo Lucchesi	RAI	Journalist	21.07.2011	Florence	Italian



