'I just didn't see anyone like me'

Women's experiences in Scottish media, creative and cultural industries

Meryl Kenny, Shan-Jan Sarah Liu, Fiona McKay and Elena Thomson

University of Edinburgh and Robert Gordon University

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1. Introduction

Arts, culture, and media are a key area of women's continuing inequality in Scotland. However, until recently, little Scottish-specific research has been conducted in this area. This report fills some of this 'data gap', providing new research on: intersectional obstacles to women's participation in Scottish media, creative and cultural industries; mechanisms and initiatives that have been successful in improving access and representation of different groups of women in the sector; as well as women's experiences of the effectiveness (or not) of these measures. It explores these broader trends and issues by investigating women's diverse experiences across different sectors, as well as through an in-depth qualitative case study of women's experiences in journalism.

2. Gender inequality and marginalisation in Scottish media, creative and cultural industries: existing research

Previous studies have investigated gender inequalities in media, creative and cultural industries at the global, European and UK levels – and have been carried out by a range of actors, including academics; professional media unions; government bodies; non-profit and civil society organisations; and industries themselves. These studies confirm that men from predominantly majority groups are generally over-represented across these industries, particularly at the decision-making level, with patterns of horizontal segregation also playing out in different industries (for example, with women concentrated in perceived 'softer' or 'feminine' areas of creative industries, such as makeup or costume).[1] The underrepresentation of women, in turn, results in limited and/or stereotyped portrayals of different groups of women across media, creative and cultural sectors as well as a lack of equal representation across print, radio, and on screen.

Themes across extant studies are:

- The collection of workforce diversity data varies significantly across different industries, with creative and journalism sectors generally achieving the best visibility in industry data and research;
- Existing studies have historically focused more on gender and race/ethnicity, than on the intersection of gender with age, disability, social class, sexuality, religion, or other inequalities;

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[1] See for example: European Institute for Gender Equality 2013; Engender 2017, 2020; House of Lords Select Committee on Communications 2015; STUC 2016; Creative Scotland 2017; Ross et al 2018; Creative Access 2020; Taylor 2020; Hamilton 2020; UNESCO 2020; EU 2021; Global Media Monitoring Project 2021. This list is by no means exhaustive.

- Although the importance of an intersectional approach is increasingly recognized, many reports and studies continue to focus on 'single-axis' frameworks to understanding inequalities[2], often looking at different protected characteristics in isolation from each other;
- Although several large-scale reports from industry, academia and other actors have been published on equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI) issues within media and cultural industries, these often tend to be UK-wide, with the devolved nations subsumed within larger data sets – and with sometimes limited acknowledgment of the specificities of the Scottish context (in terms of the legislative and policy context, geography, population, language, for example).

While Scottish-specific research has been limited to date, recent scholarship in this area has tended to focus on representations of women in the media, arts or popular culture, and/or women's experiences working in these sectors. Looking specifically at work on Scottish media, for example, recent research has highlighted the continuing marginalisation of women in sports media (Jenkin 2020); and the (lack of) representation of women with disabilities in Scottish and UK media (Darke 2018). Research on women of colour in Scottish media, led by Pass the Mic and Gender Equal Media Scotland, finds that women of colour are largely excluded from the positions that make the news in terms of occupying journalist/anchor roles; are underrepresented as subjects of the news, particularly in local or national news about Scotland; and are less likely to be used as experts or included as members of the public offering popular opinions (Boyle, House and Yaqoob 2021). Meanwhile, Women in Journalism Scotland – which focuses on networking, training and campaigning for women working across print, broadcast and online journalism and communications – has carried out multiple surveys of women working in Scottish media. These include recent surveys on women journalists' experiences of sexual harassment and sexist treatment (WiJ Scotland 2018); and more recently, on women's experiences more broadly, focusing particularly on the impacts of COVID-19 (WiJ Scotland 2020).

The findings of the latter survey (WiJ Scotland 2020) suggest that women in journalism (especially women from minority backgrounds) have disproportionately been affected by cuts in the industry as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, while also shouldering the majority of unpaid care work in the home. Similar trends have been highlighted in Scottish creative and cultural industries, with concerns raised about the impact of large-scale budget

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[2] A 'single-axis' framework treats gender and other protected characteristics or axes of identity (e.g. race/ethnicity) as exclusive categories of experience. Scholars writing on intersectionality have critiqued this approach. Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991: 1244), for example, explains that 'the intersection of racism and sexism factors into Black women's lives in ways that cannot be captured wholly by looking at the race or gender dimensions of those experiences separately.'

cuts and redundancies on the most marginalised, and the ways in which the pandemic has exposed the 'vulnerabilities' of these sectors in terms of 'retaining diverse voices' (Qureshi 2021; see also Dunn 2020). More research, therefore, is needed to further explore the ways in which different identities intersect in shaping women's experiences in Scottish media, creative and cultural industries; as well as how COVID-19 has (or has not) exacerbated inequalities for different groups of women across these industries.

3. Approach and Methodology

This report builds on the existing body of work on women's experiences in Scottish media, creative and cultural industries, providing further insights into intersectional obstacles to women's participation in these sectors; mechanisms and initiatives that have been successful in improving access and representation of (different groups of) women; as well as women's experiences of the effectiveness (or not) of these measures. We approach this project from an intersectional feminist perspective, centring the perspectives and experiences of those marginalised by the intersections of multiple oppressions, in order to develop strategies for change that take the needs and aspirations of these groups fully into account.

'Counting' women and tracking the intersection of gender with other protected characteristics is a crucial step in identifying and monitoring patterns of inequality in these sectors, but it is not necessarily sufficient in understanding more entrenched and often hidden mechanisms of gender bias and exclusionary cultures in these industries (see De Vuyst and Raeymaeckers 2019). As such, we employ a **mixed-methods research design**, with a concurrent integrated approach where quantitative and qualitative approaches are brought together as a means of enriching our analysis and triangulating findings. Our study includes a **quantitative survey** of 322 women working in the media, creative and cultural industries in Scotland. Although our study focuses on women's experiences of marginalisation, our survey was open to all who identify as women, allowing participants to indicate their own various identities and positionalities, which we include in our demographic analysis. Multiple understandings and definitions of marginalisation exist; we took an open approach, enabling us to analyse how different identities intersect in ways that shape how women experience obstacles and opportunities in these industries.

Building on these broad survey trends, we then focus on a case study of women's experiences in journalism, drawn from 16 **qualitative in-depth interviews** with different groups of women working across this sector, as well as key actors leading on equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI) initiatives. The case study allows us to delve further into the ways in which intersecting axes of inequality operate in women's lives, as well as women's

specific experiences of participating in and/or leading on initiatives aimed at improving the representation of under-represented groups in the sector.

The survey was distributed between 1 June and 23 June 2021. Survey participants were recruited through emails to individuals working in the above industries and professional organisations and networks, as well as social media. Interviews were conducted between 13 June and 7 July 2021. Interview participants were recruited through a snowball sampling approach via relevant civil society and professional organisations and campaigns, as well as through our survey, where participants could indicate if they wanted to participate in an additional interview.

Given the time frame and scale of the commissioned project, as well as the smaller pool of candidates available to recruit in terms of the size and diversity of these industries, our samples are not representative, nor are our categories exhaustive, and therefore the findings of this study have limitations. More in-depth work will be needed within and across these diverse industries to delve further into their complex dynamics. Nevertheless, this project identifies some of the common challenges and obstacles that women in various sub-sectors experience, with a specific focus on journalism – emphasising in particular the similarities and differences amongst women and focusing on experiences of marginalisation – which provides a foundation for future work in this area.

The research project was approved through the ethical review process in the School of Social and Political Science at the University of Edinburgh.

4. Overall Trends

We surveyed 322 women working across a wide range of media, creative and cultural industries in Scotland (see Figure 1). Our survey participants were fairly equally distributed across varying years of experiences, with the exception of those who have 16-20 years of experience (at 13%). The majority of those surveyed indicated they worked between 31-48 hours a week, were employed by an organisation, and worked full-time.

Our sample consists of women who are aged between 21 and above 60+, with the largest group aged between 31-40 (33%) followed by women aged 41-50 (29%). Our sample is predominantly white, with only 10% of our participants identifying as Black, Asian, or minority ethnic (BAME)[3]. The majority of our sample are heterosexual, with 18% of our

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[3] It is recognised that BAME and BME are contentious concepts and have limitations in their usage including the conflation of ethnic identities and centring of whiteness. In this case, the term is used in our analysis of findings to suggest differential outcomes of these groups compared to a white majority. It should be noted that the category of 'white' in our sample may also have been opted by those in white minority groups, such as Gypsy, Roma or Traveller groups.

sample identifying as bisexual, and 6% identifying as gay or lesbian. Two per cent of the sample also identify as transgender. The majority of survey respondents were born in Scotland (60%), followed by England (25%). The majority of those surveyed speak English as their primary language, while only 5% speak Gaelic, Scots, or some other language as their primary language. Twenty per cent of our sample indicate that they have a disability or a chronic disease.

Our participants also work in various regions across Scotland, with the majority based in the Lothians and Glasgow. Forty-five per cent of those surveyed hold an undergraduate degree while 40% of them hold a postgraduate degree (Masters). Thirty-five per cent of the women we have surveyed also have a household income of more than £100,000, while only 0.5% of the sample have a household income of between £25,000 to £49,999. Twenty-four per cent of our sample are single women; 23% are cohabiting couples without children; 11% are married or in a civil partnership without any children; and 10% are married or in a civil partnership with dependents. Seventy-five per cent of the participants indicate that they have no caring responsibilities at all while 25% indicate that they contribute 1-20 hours a week on caring for children or the elderly. See Appendix A for a complete list of questions included in our survey.

Although our overall sample size (322 survey participants) is large, variation is particularly small across some subgroups, for example, based on some protected characteristics, prohibiting us from making intra-group comparisons. Thus, our analysis in subsequent sections only presents the statistical breakdowns of data in each subgroup that we analyse (for example, women in different sectors, women in different age groups, women in different ethnic groups, etc.).

Figure 1. Percentage of participants in each industry
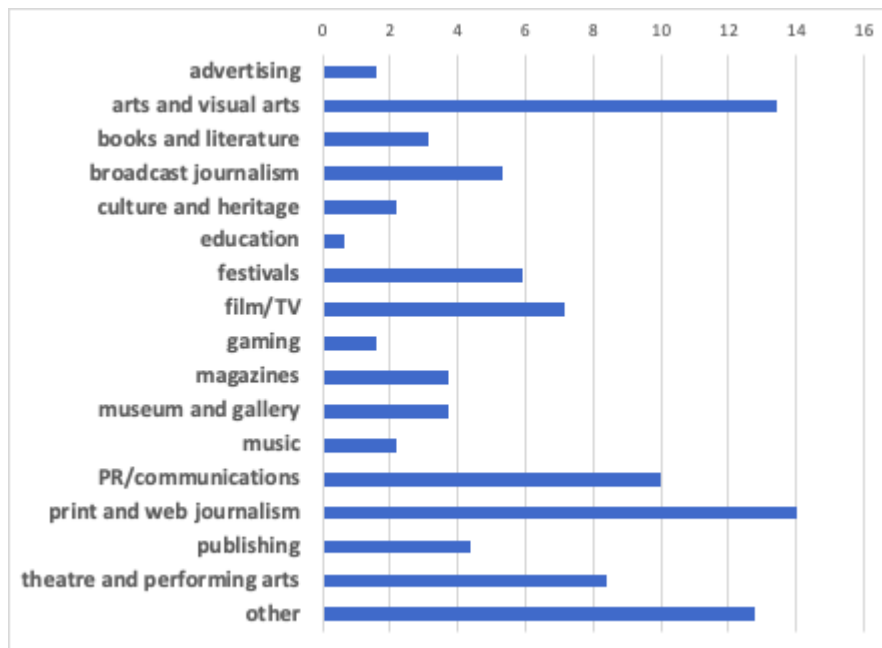

4.1 Barriers to Women's Participation

Our survey encouraged participants to reflect on barriers to women's participation, asking them to identify and rank the top three issues faced more generally by women in their industry, as well as the top three challenges that they personally have faced in their careers (see Appendix A). The survey questionnaire included a range of options (see Figures 2 and 3) – drawing on wider themes identified in previous studies – and also provided open-ended fields for participants add additional issues and challenges and to elaborate on their experiences. Below we identify the main trends in survey responses, and also evaluate subgroup differences between women and across different sectors.

Vertical occupational segregation

Perhaps surprisingly, the underrepresentation of women did not rank highly as a key issue for survey participants (only 7% of participants ranked it as a top three issue). Open-ended survey comments expressed mixed views as to whether women's status in particular sectors had improved. However, there was a general consensus across responses that inequalities still persisted at leadership level. As Figure 2 shows, the overall top issue identified by participants was **male-dominated leadership**, which was selected 166 times and made up 20% of all issues. Male-dominated leadership was a major issue for women working across all sectors, with the exception of music. Although a significant proportion of women working

in music also indicated male-dominated leadership to be an important issue, the majority instead ranked **precarity of positions** as their top issue.

Figure 2. Top issues facing women overall, ranked by participants (by frequency)
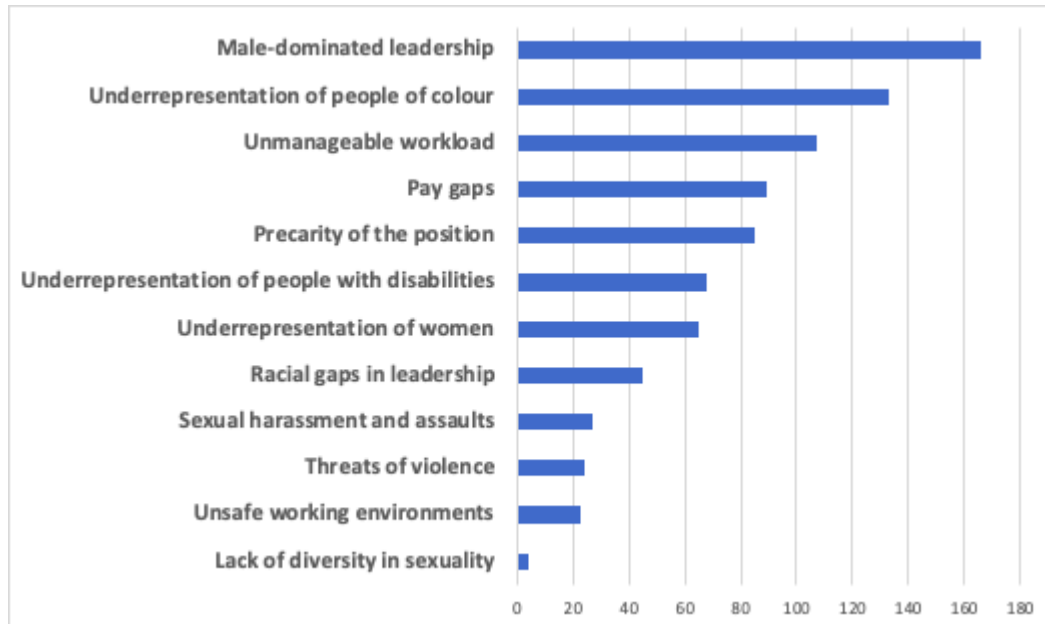
While the underrepresentation of women was only ranked the seventh biggest issue (out of 12), 16% of participants identified the <mark>underrepresentation of people of colour</mark> as an important issue facing women in their industry, making it the second biggest issue identified (see Figure 2). The top ranking of these two issues – male-dominated leadership and the underrepresentation of people of colour – suggests ongoing concerns about 'male, pale and stale' sectors, as well as with the underrepresentation of women (particularly women of colour) in senior leadership roles.

Workload, Work-Life Balance and Job (In)security

Unmanageable workload was ranked as the third most important issue facing women overall (13%). Similarly, when survey participants were asked to reflect on the biggest challenges they personally have faced in their industry, 17% identified this to be **lack of work/life balance**, followed by **physical and mental stress** and **lack of promotion opportunities** (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Top challenges faced in their careers, ranked by participants (by frequency)
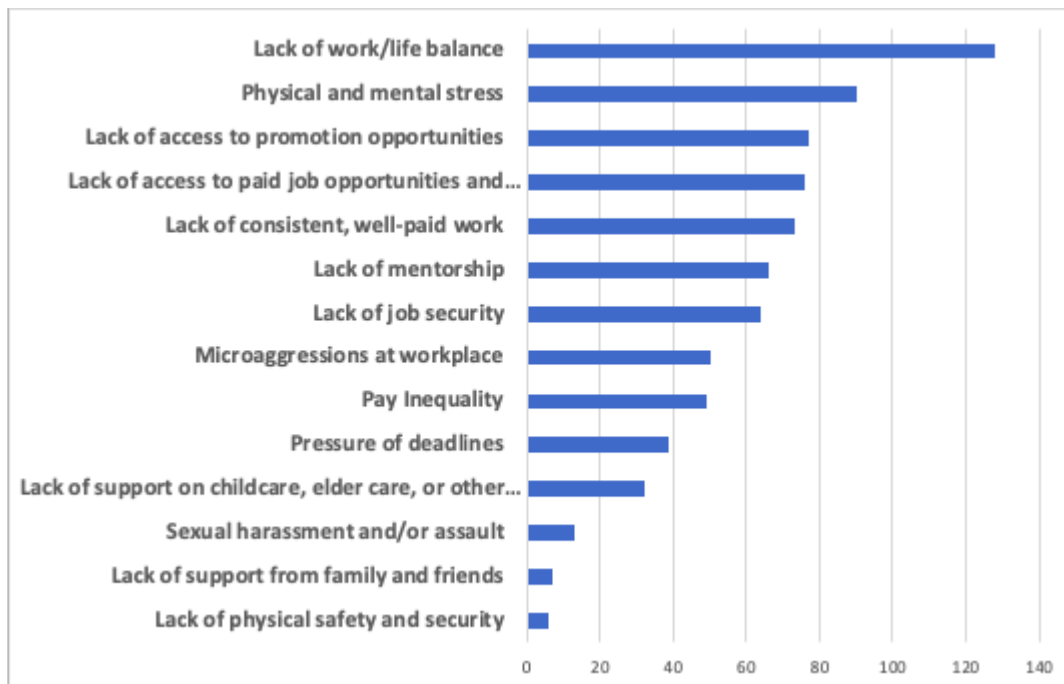
There were variations across sectors. For example, a lack of work/life balance presented the toughest challenge to women in arts and visual arts, books and literature, education, gaming, journalism, museum and gallery, and theatre and performing arts; whereas for women in advertising, PR/communications, and publishing, physical and mental stress was the biggest challenge.

Open-ended comments linked these concerns with related issues around pay gaps; unpaid labour; and job (in)security. Multiple participants also drew attention to the impact of wider economic crises and the global pandemic, pointing to worsening employment conditions, budget and funding cuts, and job losses. The disproportionate impact of these wider trends on marginalised women and those in more precarious employment (such as freelancers) was also highlighted by participants. With regards to the specific impacts of COVID-19, while some highlighted the ways in which the pandemic had led to positive gains for flexibility and accessibility in the workplace, multiple participants emphasised that their workload became increasingly unmanageable during lockdown, especially for those who were parents or carers.

Variations were also apparent across different groups of women. For example, women aged between 21 and 40 were more likely to indicate that **lack of access to paid job opportunities and permanent positions** was their biggest challenge. Whereas, for women aged 41-60, **lack of promotion opportunities** was identified as their biggest challenge. For

women aged 60 and above, **lack of consistent, well-paid work** was the biggest concern. These differences are not surprising, given that they reflect different concerns that come with different stages of women's career trajectories.

It is also important to note that although work/life balance and physical and mental stress were the two biggest challenges identified by white women, no BAME women indicated work/life balance to be their biggest challenge. Instead, BAME women on average identified the lack of access to paid job opportunities and permanent positions, lack of consistent, well-paid work, and **lack of mentorship** as their biggest obstacles in their respective sectors. These differences are stark and potentially revealing, highlighting a possible relationship between race/ethnicity and precarity, as well as the challenges of mentorship and support for BAME women in largely homogenous sectors. It is important to note, though, that our sample of BAME women (10%) is significantly smaller than that of white women (90%) so it is possible that a bigger sample size of BAME women could reach different outcomes. Nevertheless, the smaller sample size of BAME women from these industries in our survey perhaps reflects a systematic problem of the underrepresentation of BAME women, which has been pointed out by our participants across sectors.

A Leaky Pipeline

In addition to asking survey participants to identify and rank the top issues and challenges they have encountered, we also asked them to reflect on whether they had ever considered leaving their industry and why. Two-thirds (67%) of those surveyed had considered leaving their industry at some point. Amongst those women who had considered leaving, the top three motivating factors selected were: (1) **lack of work/life balance**, (2) **physical and mental stress**, and (3) **lack of access to promotion opportunities** (see Figure 4), which broadly correspond to the issues and challenges discussed above.

Figure 4. Top motivating factors to leave, ranked by participants (by frequency)
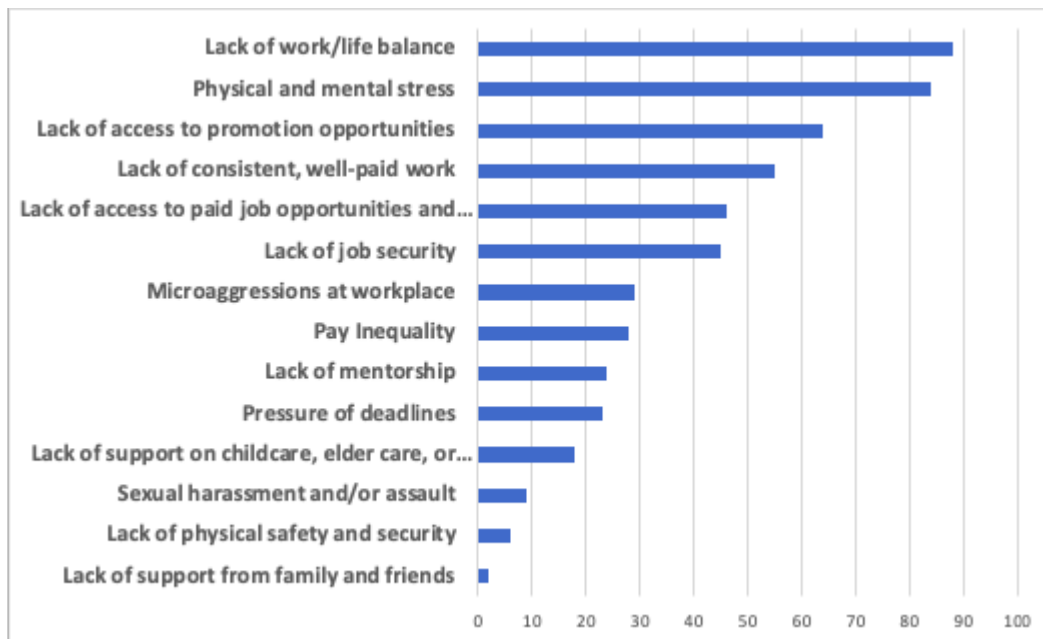
Again, there were variations across industries. For women in advertising, journalism, PR/communications, culture and heritage, and music, a lack of work/life balance was the number one reason for considering leaving. For women in festivals, books and literature, and museums and galleries, a lack of access to job opportunities was identified as the main barrier for remaining in these sectors. Women in film/TV, arts and visual arts, and theatre and performing arts named the lack of consistent paid work as the main reason for leaving these sectors. For women in gaming and magazines, a lack of promotion opportunities was the main reason given for considering leaving.

As highlighted in the previous section, these differences perhaps speak to sector-specific variations in terms of precarity and job (in)security. However, it is important to note that we have a bigger sample of participants from certain sectors, such as journalism and arts and visual arts, whereas women working in gaming, for instance, are heavily underrepresented in our sample. This suggests that our findings on the motivating factors to leave the industry could differ if our sample size were increased for women working in the latter sectors.

Again, there were differences between women. While lack of access to promotion opportunities motivated white women to consider leaving, BAME women were motivated by lack of access to job opportunities. This difference suggests variations in access and opportunities for white women versus BAME women and, as above, highlights the intersection of gender, race/ethnicity and precarity, which has also been emphasised in previous surveys (e.g. WiJ Scotland 2020). While our sample size was small, similar

variations existed with regards to sexuality, with bisexual or lesbian women citing lack of access to job opportunities as their top motivation for leaving, while physical and mental stress was the biggest factor prompting heterosexual women to consider leaving. These differences suggest women with marginalised identities face particular obstacles that make them more likely to consider exiting these industries early.

4.2 Opportunities for whom?

While inequalities in the media, creative and cultural industries are well-documented, the question of how women in these industries perceive the underrepresentation of different groups has not been fully explored. Therefore, our survey also asked participants to identify which groups of people they thought were most underrepresented in their industry. A majority of survey participants (54%) indicated that BAME individuals were the most underrepresented group in their industry. This was followed, with notably smaller percentages, by disabled individuals (11%) and working-class people (10%). There was little variation across sectors, indicating that across the board, the exclusion of BAME people was a serious issue.

When asked to elaborate in open-ended questions on why they thought particular groups were underrepresented, a number of survey participants viewed this as a structural issue:

> Structural biases which are really only just beginning to be addressed. [It is] an industry which has come to expect people to work for low or no pay while their career is establishing (thereby excluding those for whom this is unsustainable) [Dramaturg in theatre].

> Because white, cis, male privilege (and thus patriarchy) is our societal norm and not a lot of people are up for actively challenging the status quo. It's systemic [Freelance Writer in publishing].

Other responses highlighted the intersection of different inequalities – including race, ethnicity and class – as well as the role that other demographic factors, such as geographic location, play in the underrepresentation of different groups:

> The industry is predominantly white and opportunities are based in the main cities. Also (and especially as a result of Covid) it is largely made up of people that can afford to stay, be paid less, work for free or work for very little [Freelance writer in print and web journalism].

As the above quote indicates, regardless of which groups participants thought were underrepresented (and why), a recurring theme in survey responses centred around class, and the financial ability to be, and stay, in these industries. Multiple participants highlighted issues of job precarity and pay, issues which as previously highlighted, appeared to be of particular importance for particular groups of women with marginalised identities, who may be excluded from entering and sustaining careers in particular industries.

Some felt that COVID-19 had exacerbated issues of precarious employment, as highlighted by one survey respondent.

> COVID-19 has had impacts on many women I work with, particularly those with caring responsibilities, which still falls on women more than men. The precarity felt across the sector with loss of income and short-term funding cycles means opportunities for work are reducing. There is likely to be a long-term stagnation of new opportunities, particularly for early career and entry level roles, which means recruitment into the sector will become even harder and may prevent people choosing to work in the sector. The risk is that the sector becomes increasingly undiverse [sic] as a result [Project manager in arts and visual arts].

4.3 Strategies for Change

In seeking to identify intersectional obstacles to women's participation in Scottish media, creative and cultural industries, we also were concerned with how these inequalities might be challenged. Survey participants were therefore asked whether they had participated in equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI) initiatives in their industry and how effective they thought these were. Participants were also asked to identify and rank which initiatives they thought should be used to increase the participation of women (particularly marginalised and under-represented groups of women) in their industry.

Over half (58%) of the women we surveyed indicated they had participated in EDI initiatives, while 21% of women stated that they had not. About half of those who had participated thought they were very or somewhat effective (52%), while only 10% said they were not effective at all.

When asked which EDI initiatives *should* be used to increase the participation of women, the top three choices were: (1) **mentoring and shadowing schemes**, (2) **active recruitment of women**, and (3) **policy change within the workplace** (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. EDI initiatives that should be used, ranked by participants (in frequency)
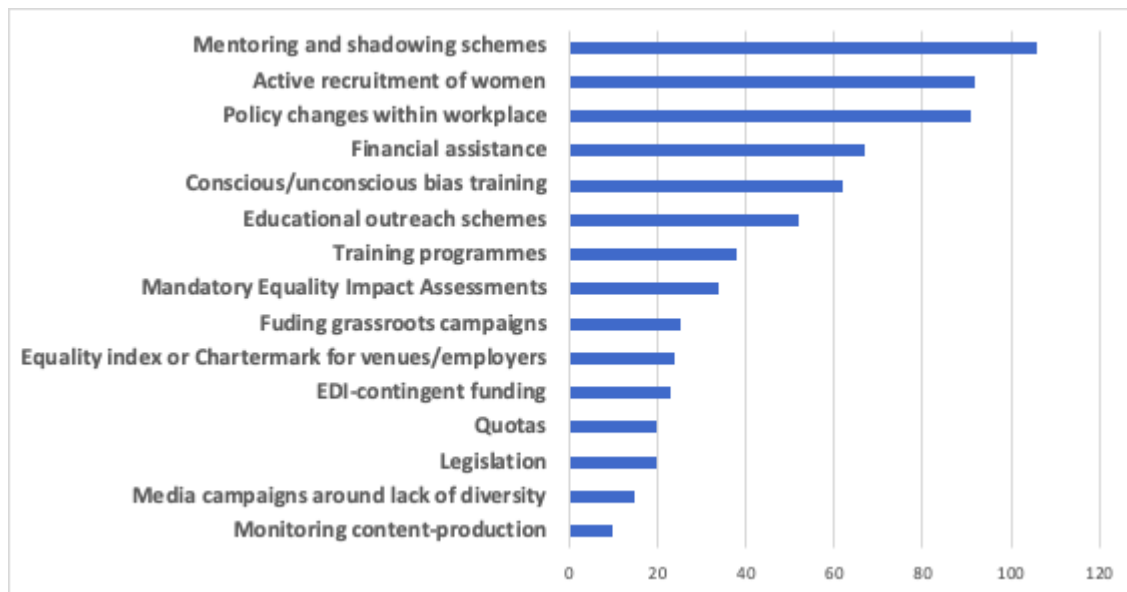
In open-ended comments, survey participants identified additional measures that could be adopted in their sectors, including policies around care (e.g. enhanced parental and caring leave for women and men) and menopause; awareness training and anti-discrimination policies (e.g. with regards to discrimination against trans women); employment (paid internships or apprenticeships); informal support (women's networks); or wider structural and government policy changes (e.g. universal basic income). Also highlighted was the importance of accountability and consequences for 'bad' behaviour on the part of individuals and organisations. As one participant wrote:

> I'd really like companies/organisations in the creative industries that take advantage of workers, who usually end up being young women, to not continue to get away with it. When complaints are made, they need to be taken seriously by the wider industry, even if that means cutting ties. Covid has highlighted the bad behaviour of many of these companies and there should be some repercussions for their poor treatment of staff. In some cases, I've seen these companies being given funding and support, but they've done nothing, for example, to work on their EDI, so why should they be rewarded? Empty promises and chat means nothing without action [Freelance writer in print and web journalism)]

5. Spotlight on Women in Journalism

To explore some of the trends identified above in more depth, we interviewed 16 women who work in journalism in Scotland, predominantly in the news media. Journalism was chosen as a case study as it was one of the dominant professions amongst survey participants. This was also due to the access to networks the researchers had from the outset, as well as the availability of sourcing participants in the timescale of the project. Our sample included a range of experiences from several sub-sectors (print, television, radio, online), geographical range (Central Belt of Scotland, the North East, Highlands), employment (full-time, part-time, freelance), journalistic patches (regional, national) and diverse identities across different (and intersecting) protected characteristics, including age, disability, race, and sexual orientation. Our sample also included key actors in print and broadcast journalism leading on equality and diversity initiatives in the sector. Interviewees were between 21 and 60 years of age, with experience in the industry ranging from one year to 30+ years. All had either undergraduate and/or postgraduate degrees, a broad trend also highlighted in our wider survey data. Six interview participants had caring responsibilities for dependent children and/or other family members. Due to the sensitive and sometimes confidential nature of the issues being discussed, and the relatively small pool of women journalists in Scotland (particularly in some roles), participants are identified by number and only the broad sub-sector in which they work has been identified to preserve anonymity (see Appendix B).

5.1 Obstacles and Opportunities for Women in Journalism

Interview participants were asked to reflect on their career trajectories and on what they viewed as the obstacles and opportunities for different groups of women in the journalism sector. Many of the themes that emerged echo our wider survey findings of women across media, creative and cultural industries.

A male, pale, stale industry?

Echoing the broader trends in our survey data, the majority of interview participants highlighted the barriers arising from 'male, pale, stale' newsrooms and workplaces. While there was a general acknowledgement that this had improved over time, male-dominated leadership was identified as still a particular barrier 'at the top' for women:

> I would agree that newsrooms are male-heavy, particularly at a higher level, the decision makers tend to be males. I've never really seen that change over the kind of

25 years that I've been working. That's kind of been quite a static picture [Journalist 1].

I think there has been a bit of progress made, you know, definitely, recently the editor of the [Scotland on Sunday] was a woman, but I think there's still only three female editors in Scotland. So I think until it becomes much more commonplace to have women in senior roles, then, you know, it shouldn't be a kind of revelation to have somebody in that position but it kind of still is [Journalist 7].

Others specifically highlighted the intersection of gender with race, class and other inequalities, pointing to, for example, the lack of role models for women of colour within the sector:

I really didn't think that it was something that was possible, for me, especially in Scotland. I just didn't see anyone like me doing it. I just didn't think it was a possibility … I'm pretty sure at that point there weren't any people of colour visible in magazines or publishing [Journalist 13].

All participants agreed that diversity and inclusivity was lacking in journalism, particularly highlighting the underrepresentation of BAME, disabled and LGBTQ+ individuals in the profession, as well as a lack of working-class representation:

I just think people ... have too much of the same life experience ...I mean, I work with some great, hard-working, skilled journalists, but there's no diversity there.... we're meant to be a mirror, but what are we mirroring exactly? Are we sort of building this echo-chamber, you know? The white middle-class experience. I would really like to see that shaken up and obviously, women are part of that picture [Journalist 1].

Some felt that these inequalities reflected wider societal structures, rather than being particular to the industry itself. Others, however, highlighted particular exclusionary dynamics specific to journalism. For example, several participants drew attention to the 'news conference', where journalists discuss stories, pitch stories or are assigned them by editors. This was described by Journalist 15 as a 'a bit of a bullring sometimes', particularly in the tabloid press, adding that:

… women really don't have much of a voice in those news conferences. And if they do, they're very quickly shut down and silenced, or, you know, mildly ridiculed to the point that they won't speak up again.

These exclusionary dynamics were particularly important as, according to Journalist 15, the lack of diverse women's voices in the room then shapes the news agenda:

> ... the problem with that is that you have a very singular perspective of the stories that go into the next day's national papers. You're getting a very specific perspective on the stories of the day – typically white, middle-aged, middle-class male – and it doesn't include half the population, or it doesn't really include the minority view. And that filters through our news into our conversations and into society and informs societal attitudes, and I believe feeds into wider sexism.

The marginalisation of women's voices in decision-making, whether in the day-to-day or at the top, was also perceived to interact with other identity categories. In particular, a number of participants highlighted the intersection of gender with age. Some highlighted barriers older women face in journalism, particularly for those working in television: 'as you get older, I would say over 40, I think there's an expectation that you're not going to keep appearing on screen' [Journalist 10]. Others felt that younger women in particular were treated differently or taken less seriously than male-counterparts of a similar age:

> ... in conference, for example, men are so much more willing to listen to each other that if a woman pipes up, it's all like, 'really?', or 'I don't know about that.' And then if one other guy goes 'actually yeah, I've had that experience', then they're all like 'yeah, ok, fine'. That is getting better, but it's still a problem and it's very much a problem with age [Journalist 12].

Nationality and language were also seen as barriers for women journalists, particularly those working in the broadcast media. Journalist 4, whose first language is not English, for instance, reported that she was told by an educator and younger peers that she needed to change her accent to fit in:

> Well, it's not it's not gonna be the first time that I've been told 'no, you have an [...] accent so you will never make it into journalism in the UK' and maybe that was my way of [saying] like I'm not going to let my accent actually ruin my career.

Issues regarding Scottish Gaelic speakers and Gaelic broadcasting were also highlighted, which according to Journalist 14, has been traditionally 'perceived as of a lower value and a lower importance, lower priority', though the same journalist also highlighted significant positive changes in this regard since the inception of BBC Alba. Other interviewees cited similar positive changes with regards to other languages and accents – 'I think we have more members of our team now, that have strong accents and that's encouraged and

welcomed' [Journalist 6] – though a disparity was acknowledged in the treatment of other Scottish accents, such as Doric [Journalist 8].

Finally, participants also highlighted the prevalence of (particular) university degrees, and a Central Belt bias in the industry, though many stated that they felt these dynamics were less pronounced than, for example, in London: 'everything happens in Glasgow and Edinburgh or Dundee' [Journalist 13].

'Soft' vs. 'Hard' News

Interview participants highlighted how the over-representation of men from majority groups had gendered effects, for example, resulting in, gendered practices with regards to the types of journalism covered by male and female journalists. This included women sometimes being assigned 'softer' or more feminine news beats or patches (such as health) while men got the higher status stories (for example, as politics correspondents) [Journalist 7]. Journalist 16 reflected on her career:

> I quite often remember that in the morning meeting we would be divided into – you know, the men would go to the court or the latest merger that's happened, or the political story, and the women would quite often be sent, you know, to the zoo and there's something happening about the penguins. Quite often, the more emotional, touchy-feely stories would be allocated to the women.

Despite their experiences, some participants felt that these practices had changed for the better in recent years: 'nowadays, certainly when we're allocating to reporters, I definitely think it's done on the basis of knowledge and ability' [Journalist 16], while others felt this was still happening: 'there has been some progress in changing that … but not nearly enough' [Journalist 7]; 'I still think female reporters are given stories that you wouldn't give to men' [Journalist 3]. The same journalist added that this coincided with a narrowing to a more male-dominated news agenda, where there was a lack of 'female stories' in newspapers, which still tended to be assigned to specific 'female sections and women's sections' [Journalist 3].

Job Security and Career Progression

Existing research on women in journalism in Scotland has highlighted the ways in which women have been disproportionately affected by precarity, job uncertainty, and cuts in the industry, particularly and most recently as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic (WiJ Scotland 2020). Our interview participants raised similar issues, highlighting concerns about a 'glass ceiling' for women's careers that was explained by, again, the male dominance of senior

positions, specific recruitment practices, as well as the ongoing restructuring and 'shrinking' of the industry, in particular print and online journalism. A number of interviewees felt that there was still a culture of nepotism where positions were often filled through 'word of mouth, taps on the shoulder' [Journalist 5] which could perpetuate male dominance in specific areas of journalism, such as politics reporting. Others highlighted problems of a 'leaky pipeline' where new entrants weren't being given enough support and, as a result, had moved on elsewhere:

> I've definitely seen people leave, young reporters, leave quite recently, because they just weren't given enough time to develop. And then they've gone elsewhere, and they've done really well…It's that kind of thing where you're just expected to know everything in journalism. And if you don't get it right, you get a bollocking basically. It's that kind of environment [Journalist 3].

Job security, in the print media in particular, was highlighted as a key concern and as something which was getting 'much, much worse, you know, as all these newspapers go under or cut their staff' [Journalist 12]. In particular, some participants felt that the lack of secure jobs in the print media impacted women disproportionately:

> I think most of the freelancers that I know would be women or women tend to go into freelancing because it suits them better or maybe the staff jobs just aren't suitable for them or whatever. But it definitely has been a kind of shrinking pool of staff jobs and secure work which I think has probably impacted women more than men, though men have obviously been affected by it as well [Journalist 7].

Some felt this was compounded by the lack of job opportunities in Scotland, compared to, for example, London.

> There's definitely not the same opportunities up here as there are down there. Radio up here has been scaled back massively, and TV-wise there was only really BBC and STV [when I started]. Now there's a bit more [Journalist 10].

Others highlighted limited opportunities for career progression, such as Journalist 10 – 'you stayed at the same level for a long, long time' – and Journalist 5:

> So I think you know, this isn't necessarily just a female experience, obviously, but there just simply isn't a career progression that there might have been in the past … That is kind of just dried up, people just hardly do that anymore. People leave to go into PR. That's it, if you want to improve your salary, that's how you do it.

While some of the women we interviewed had been directly affected by Covid-related job cuts, participants also highlighted how the pandemic had potentially opened up new and more diverse employment opportunities beyond London and the Central Belt:

> I've been seeing a lot more opportunities where it specifically says, you know, we're open to people that are elsewhere for remote working and stuff. And that's really nice to see, because I'd like to see more of that [Journalist 13].

Balancing Work and Care

A broad trend identified by participants was the difficulties women with caring responsibilities faced in the industry, which is also reflected in our wider survey data. This was discussed by women both with – and without – caring responsibilities. While some saw this as a more general structural problem, others pointed to sector-specific issues in terms of job expectations (both formal and informal) where 'the way the job's perceived … you're always on it, it's 24/7 ...and if you have to pick up kids from nursery, it just isn't doable to have those kinds of hours' [Journalist 16]. As one journalist put it:

> This is an industry that requires a huge amount of flexibility. And there is a measure, a good measure, of unpredictability in many of the roles. Which has tended to mitigate against, you know, career progression for women, because of the tendency of women to take a more active role in caring responsibilities, be that for children or for other family members [Journalist 14].

Several interviewees worked (or had worked) part-time, but there were mixed views on whether this had helped them balance work and care responsibilities, with some highlighting ongoing bias in the industry on this front. Some gave accounts of arguing with managers who perceived women coming back from maternity and wanting reduced hours as an 'inconvenience' [Journalist 16], while others felt that women working part-time weren't always taken as seriously or viewed as reliable compared to their full-time counterparts [Journalist 10]. Meanwhile, while Journalist 9 said that her employer had been very supportive of her reducing her hours, she added, 'I think possibly had there been a better balance in terms of getting home at a reasonable hour at the end of the day, I maybe wouldn't have had felt that I had to make the choice to go part time in the first place' [Journalist 9].

Discriminatory attitudes relating to women on maternity leave were noted by a number of participants, who stated that, for example, they had been moved into 'easier' roles when they returned from leave (for example, in production or off-camera in broadcast journalism). In some cases, participants chose to move into these roles, reflecting, as above,

the perceived incompatibility of journalistic careers with caring responsibilities. Journalist 15 shared a scenario about a project – an exclusive story she had been working on – before having a child. She said she had offered to continue to lead on the project while on leave, however ultimately had the project taken off her, which she said was 'probably the most crushing point in my whole career'. She added:

> They're the low-level, slightly patronising micro-discriminations that build up and build up to that whole scenario. And they are really hard to tackle. Because they are nuanced, they can be reinterpreted to look a different way. And HR will always find a way to explain to me these things so they're not at fault. So I don't really know how you would go about tackling those things without getting a blot on your career [Journalist 15].

There was a general sense that the global pandemic had alleviated some of these care pressures: 'It's made managers and people higher up the chain realise that actually we can have a newsroom where we have practices that have been more widely used in other areas of business' [Journalist 16]. Others, however, highlighted, for example, that they had taken on the majority of childcare/home-schooling during lockdown [Journalists 9 & 16]. This reflected the overall trends in our wider survey data and previous studies in terms of both the opportunities and setbacks posed by the global pandemic for women.

Pay Inequality

Challenges around care, career progression and workload also relate to issues around pay. This was particularly highlighted by participants who worked in print media, who drew attention to the challenges arising from a lack of transparency around pay structures, which had resulted in unequal pay rates:

> I think it's just endemic in journalism that people are taken on at different rates. And also, you just stay on that rate for years and years with no kind of hope of getting any more money… they just still rely on this thing of people wanting to be journalists, so they'll just put up with rubbish salaries [Journalist 3].

Though this lack of transparency was acknowledged as a widespread issue affecting all genders, this was also seen to be a contributing factor to specific gender pay gaps. One participant recounted how she had discovered one of her male colleagues who had started in a role at the same time as she did – with the same job title – was being paid a higher salary than her. This was only rectified after a lengthy equal pay claim:

I think part of that issue was that he came from another newspaper title that was already paying him more whereas I came from the […], which was paying less than what he was getting. But I mean, still, at the end of the day, we were doing the same job and I was being paid less than he was [Journalist 9].

This was also the experience of another journalist who has worked in the industry for 20+ years:

Journalism is just jobs where everyone is making different money. Nobody knows what anyone else makes. And no one wants to challenge it … And obviously, you were being paid less than male reporters as well … you didn't really know until much later, but I know for a fact I was taken on at a lower rate than another male reporter that had probably less experience than me [Journalist 3].

Participants flagged that these inequalities were particularly acute in private sector journalism, with another interviewee saying that this lack of transparency around pay scales or pay structures made it more difficult for women's career progression: 'it's then really difficult to know what you're on compared to other journalists … but it's very difficult to kind of know what bracket you're in and how you can progress which is just, yeah, it's very frustrating' [Journalist 7].

Indirect and Direct Discrimination

Many participants felt that, overall, attitudes to women had shifted significantly in recent years, particularly in light of the #MeToo movement: 'I've definitely seen more of a kind of reckoning within the sector, and just generally less tolerance for bad behaviour which is really great' [Journalist 13]. Many felt that women had made strides in the workplace over time: 'women feel more empowered in the newsroom now than before' [Journalist 6]; 'in my experience, women definitely are charging forward doing great work in the industry; [Journalist 2], and felt inspired by seeing women in leadership positions [Journalist 4].

Nonetheless, many participants also recounted examples of negative experiences in their careers – ranging from racist/sexist discrimination to bullying and sexual harassment. In some cases, this discrimination was indirect, reflecting gendered, racist, classist, and ageist assumptions from work colleagues, line managers or the general public:

People did not believe that I was in that position. And I had a couple of like just really annoying situations where people would kind of think that I was the intern or something. I think a lot of women especially have those stories [Journalist 13].

It's just kind of off the cuff, like throwaway remarks on social media, you know, referring to me as a girl rather than a woman or a journalist whereas I've noticed on social media, my male colleagues haven't really had any of that that -- no one calls them a boy, they just refer to them as a reporter [Journalist 2].

A number of participants also referenced examples of direct discrimination, with some referencing incidences of bullying and being treated differently by women managers as a particular issue. Some explained this as the result of women having to fit in within a masculinised industry – 'their thing was, well it was hard for me, so it should be hard for you' [Journalist 12]. Journalist 3 said:

… it's just that culture in there that I think women masculinize themselves, to get ahead, to appear that they were as good as men, which is, you know, men's fault, obviously, having that, but then what happens then is the they take their stress out on you as a reporter, and, you know, I had many cases of just feeling demoralised and bullied by female news editors [Journalist 3].

Many felt there was still a culture in some places of inappropriate language and 'sexual jokes' [Journalist 12]. One participant said that she had encountered overt sexist language, even within the last seven years, from a news editor repeatedly using phrases like 'check the tits on that', 'she's nothing but a pig in lipstick', 'fucking cracking rack', 'she was a looker in her day, but…' in reference to 'stories, people in the industry, mutual acquaintances, staff, sometimes, you know, colleagues' [Journalist 15]. Women who discussed similar scenarios spoke of the impact this had on their confidence and the difficulty in speaking up: 'There's still that fear of "oh, you know, I might lose my job or something if I speak out about this"' [Journalist 3].

Some of the more experienced journalists spoke about sexual harassment by colleagues when they were younger, but also acknowledged that they knew of instances of sexual harassment which had happened to colleagues more recently. Several participants spoke about how some situations were kept 'hush, hush' with bullies and perpetrators moving on (often to other jobs in the same industry) without proper disciplinary processes: 'these problematic characters just continue to float around' [Journalist 13]. The overall view was that while many workplaces were increasingly progressive, others lagged behind, dependent in part on the attitudes of those in management and editorial/production positions.

5.2 Strategies for Change

Interview participants were asked to reflect on their experiences of participating in and/or leading in equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI) initiatives. They were also asked about what kinds of initiatives they thought *should* be used to increase women's (and particularly marginalised women's) participation in the journalism sector.

Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Initiatives

EDI initiatives in the industry tend to fall into several different categories:

- Monitoring & Metrics
- Recruitment – schools, universities, apprenticeships
- In-house and external training and mentoring
- Ad hoc initiatives driven by management
- Diversifying of boards
- Networking

Several participants highlighted wider EDI initiatives specifically focused on improving diverse representation in terms of monitoring media content and contributions. This was interesting given our wider survey results, in which monitoring content production was ranked the lowest amongst EDI initiatives that participants thought should be implemented to increase women's participation in their industry. Examples of such initiatives included:

- The BBC's 50:50 The Equality Project – cited by one participant as 'transformative' (Journalist 14) – which is a voluntary, self-monitoring system that tracks gender representation in media content. This has also been extended to disability and ethnicity, although a participant did flag the difficulties of obtaining intersectional (versus single-axis) monitoring data (Journalist 11).
- STV's 'Expert Voices' initiative, which has offered media training workshops for potential (non-staff) women contributors in partnership with Women in Journalism Scotland, focusing initially on recruiting and training women experts in healthcare and science.
- Pass the Mic Project, founded by Talat Yaqoob, which has worked with media partners to provide training and development opportunities, and paid commissions, for women of colour experts in Scotland.

In reflecting on these sorts of EDI initiatives, participants also highlighted the specific ways in which the nature of the 'job' discourages people from seeking out a wider range of voices.

The real pushback is 'we know, we're the journalists, we're the experts'. But actually when they start thinking about it, they're just going to what is the quickest, easiest option, because they've got a programme to put out, they've got an article to write, and they've got a bit of radio to make [Journalist 11].

You went in at 9 and you're given a story that you're expected to turn around for 6 and most of the time you didn't have anything set up. So you just had to go to whatever is the easiest thing to do...you know you didn't have time or the resources or you know the support to do something more [Journalist 10].

Many participants also highlighted their participation in **mentoring schemes** (including reverse mentoring)**, networks**, and **training schemes**, whether in-house in their particular company, or externally through organisations like Women in Journalism Scotland. There was significant variation across employers and sub-sectors as to whether in-house mentoring and training was offered, and in cases where it was, it was often offered to everyone, rather than specific groups. A few participants emphasised their frustrations with attempts to get mentoring schemes for women off the ground in their specific companies. In terms of **recruitment**, several participants stressed the importance and positive impact of apprenticeship schemes (particularly given trends around university degrees in the journalism sector), internships/placements, and mentoring/outreach schemes with schools and universities in order to encourage a wider range of individuals to work in the sector. Examples cited included BBC Scotland initiatives like their partnership with Boost Employability; as well as the Black Professionals Scotland Interns scheme.

Nonetheless, several participants expressed a degree of scepticism as to whether these kinds of initiatives within their companies constituted a 'box-ticking' exercise:

It's very much about kite-flying. It's about how it's seen on the outside, what they're seen to be pushing. And when it trickles down to what people are trying to push through on a level that can really change people's lives, they're not really committed to it [Journalist 12].

Several participants raised the issue of whether initiatives were accompanied by adequate resources and support, with Journalist 12 adding: 'it does always come down to cash. It's always what they tell us what they don't have, is the cash to do it. Even when they do'.

Another participant, however, emphasised how more corporate and commercial agendas could be used strategically to push for change:

It's up to us to make an interesting programme, and a programme is not interesting if it has the same people on it every week...it's not that we're doing this simply out

of the goodness of our hearts and because we think it's a just cause, you know, we're a commercial entity and we want viewers and that's the way to get viewers as well [Journalist 16].

Overall, while most participants felt there was more 'joined-up' and intersectional thinking when it came to diversity, they emphasized that this was still very much in progress: 'I feel it's broken down by, let's get more women in, let's get people from more ethnic backgrounds in...I feel that the push is far more about getting a woman on, than a woman of colour on' [Journalist 10]. Another participant reflected:

I see a lot of events or panels or whatever that are for women in the media. But often they might not take into consideration what women of colour's experience in the media ... disabled women might have a completely different experience ... I think it needs to go a bit deeper than that to make a real difference [Journalist 13].

The same journalist, however, flagged that EDI initiatives often rely on the (frequently unpaid) labour of marginalised women – especially of women of colour – potentially resulting in burnout:

I think it's a case of kind of passing the baton over every so often just to make sure it's not the same people taking that on. At the moment, I'm 100% happy to do those kinds of things and continue. But I recognise that at some point I probably will need to stop because it is exhausting having the same conversations again and again. And just in terms of mental health and stuff, it can be a lot [Journalist 13].

Who, When, Where, How: Interventions and Accountability

When asked what kinds of initiatives *should* be used to increase women's (and particularly marginalised women's) participation in the journalism sector, several participants came back to core issues around care and workload:

I feel we need to do more to harness working mums and you know get working mums back from maternity leave. I think we need to do more to kind of hang on to them or to make them feel part of it. I mean you know they offer flexible working, and they seem to think that's all they need to do [Journalist 10].

A number of the print journalists again said that there needed to be more transparency around journalist's pay in the private sector. This was situated in wider issues of target-driven journalism, which was seen to put specific pressure on journalists, and which several participants suggested needed to be abolished:

We don't get pay rises, but we're awarded bonuses if you hit your quarterly targets, this creates a horrible environment among staff. Just give everyone a pay rise, just give us fair pay, you know, get rid of the targets. They're just bad for mental health. They're bad in every way. They're great if you can get them, but just give everyone a fair wage for what they're doing, everyone contributes. And, you know, I just think it's a horrible kind of way that the industry is moving towards [Journalist 3].

Mentoring was seen to be a key practice for women journalists and was mentioned by the majority of our participants, with some suggesting integrating and embedding formal time dedicated to mentoring into workloads [Journalist 3]. As one participant put it:

I think something that the young women in my company always say is that they wish they had a mentor within the company … The majority of women feel very unheard. They feel like they're there to do the leg work. And then when they ask for things, like being paid fairly or equally, or parity in other ways, they're just dismissed … They just don't' feel that anybody's there saying 'I believe you, and I believe in you [Journalist 12].

Echoing our wider survey responses, one recurring theme was the need to diversify leadership at the top. As Journalist 13 put it, the underlying issue is the need for 'people in power just [to step] back' and for their positions to be filled by 'people of colour, by women, by working class people, all of those things', while also acknowledging that this was 'not going to happen anytime soon'. Another journalist made similar points with regards to the need for men in positions of power and from predominantly majority groups to step down from wider recognition and award schemes, citing the specific example of the Scottish Press Awards:

The judging panel on that – the vast majority are male; the vast majority are over 50. And I'm sorry but you're not going to get an interesting and diverse mix of applicants if the categories that you're creating are focused to the kind of journalism that you are looking at [Journalist 12].

At the same time, participants highlighted the need for EDI initiatives to be implemented earlier in the career 'pipeline', for example, grassroots funding and support for people starting out in the industry [Journalist 13] and outreach and recruitment initiatives aimed at schools: 'I think, as far as a career, it's not really promoted in schools' [Journalist 3]. This was seen as particularly important for promoting jobs across media and creative industries as viable career options [Journalist 9], as well as providing visible examples of representation for marginalised groups: 'not even just to say how to become a journalist, but just to see

people that were like me' [Journalist 13]. Journalist 13 also highlighted the importance of involving families in these career conversations:

> From the perspective of a person of colour, I think it's also really important from a young age to include the family, because often there's this stigma...that it's not a valid job. So I think, from a really early age it's really important to somehow have those conversations with, not just the people, but the family, that these jobs exist, they're great. This is all the great stuff you can do in this industry.

Most of our participants said accountability for enacting meaningful change lay with those with decision-making powers and control over resources: 'it very much depends on who holds the purse strings' [Journalist 12].This included boards (especially for large companies), programme directors and producers (broadcast), and editors (print and online), as these are the people 'who determine the culture within the organisation, the openness to change' [Journalist 14]. It was felt that those in senior leadership positions set the tone and strategic priorities, particularly, in some participants' view, with regards to attitudes around diversity in recruitment. Several participants also highlighted the importance of accountability, with senior leaders being held to account not just for their team's performance, but also in terms of the diversity of their workforce and opportunities for career progression [Journalist 14]. Others highlighted significant variations across the Scottish media sector, and drew attention to the need for smaller organisations to be held accountable in terms of their efforts to be more inclusive:

> '[It's] all fine and well for the [large organisations] to have these kinds of, you know, diversity pushes and apprenticeships, but we need all workplaces in the media to have those; we need the small organisations … because, you know, those small radio stations are where women start' [Journalist 6].

6. Conclusions: Where to from Here?

Building on the findings of previous studies, this report illustrates the continuing gendered and intersectional obstacles to women's participation in the media, creative and cultural industries. Taking a mixed-method approach, it provides new data on different groups of women's experiences of navigating these industries in Scotland, as well as their perspectives on the effectiveness (or) not of mechanisms and initiatives aimed at improving the access and representation of marginalised groups in these sectors. While the themes and trends we identify are not comprehensive, they provide a foundation for future work to further investigate the experiences of diverse groups of women in these sectors, including through the proposed Women's Media Body for Scotland.

How might change best be achieved? The collection of **intersectional gender-sensitive sex-disaggregated data** is an essential first step – continuing to regularly monitor the diversity of staff and leadership (as well as, in some sectors, trends around content, contributors and interviewees). While some existing measures on this front are voluntary, arguments for making them compulsory should be considered. The importance of **mentoring and networks** is a frequent theme both in our wider survey and in our journalism case study, with women journalists, for example, highlighting the importance of external organisations like Women in Journalism Scotland and Pass the Mic, but also drawing attention to the need for more in-house schemes within particular workplaces focused specifically on targeting marginalised groups – and for this work to be recognised in workloads. Participants also felt that mentoring schemes aimed at women as a group (whether external or in-house) need to recognise and include the diversity of women's experiences at the intersections of gender, race, disability, sexuality, class, age and more. Another related theme is the need for further **dedicated resources and funding** within companies to support in-house initiatives and embed EDI into workplace practices[4]. Participants highlight significant variations across these different sectors – as well as between large and small, and public and private sector organisations – which in turn shapes patterns of recruitment and retention of different groups of women.

Our report points to the challenges of 'leaky pipelines' of talent, and draws attention to the importance of focusing on **critical career junctures,** where different groups of women often chose to exit these industries. Our report also suggests that these choices are not the same for all women, pointing to the ways in which issues of precarity and job security appear to disproportionately affect women of colour. One theme that emerges is the importance of both **industry-led and grassroots initiatives** aimed at school-level, to encourage more women – and particularly women of colour – to view the media, creative and cultural industries as viable career options. Another critical juncture identified is support into, and return from, maternity leave, pointing to the need for **attitude and policy changes** around return to work; flexible and part-time working; and pay, roles and responsibilities for working mothers and carers. Related to this are key issues around precarity and job security; the need for more open recruitment practices and transparent pay grades/structures, particularly for private sector companies; and the importance of schemes apprenticeships and internships/placements in opening up different and more inclusive pathways into particular sectors.

Our report again highlights that the **lack of diversity at the top** is a key and continuing obstacle to the inclusion of more diverse voices in media, creative and cultural industries.

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[4] See similar findings in Cherubini et al 2020.

This, in turn, impacts on who decides to enter (and stay) in these industries, as well as what kinds of content is produced. One recommendation that emerges from our data is the need not only for more efforts to encourage better and more diverse **representation** amongst senior leadership and key decision-makers across these industries, but also for **accountability measures** to ensure that EDI is a key criterion on which senior leaders and their organisations are evaluated both internally and externally by, for example, funding organisations.

A final key theme that emerges from our data is the question of how the global pandemic will affect women's status and experiences in these industries. As already highlighted, initial research into the impact of COVID-19 has demonstrated the disproportionate impact on women's wellbeing, mental health and financial security – particularly marginalised women (WiJ 2020; Close the Gap and Engender 2021). Our data suggests that the pandemic has been a 'double-edged sword' for women, presenting both obstacles and opportunities that have been shaped by not just gender, but also race, class, sexuality, and other inequalities.

On the one hand, virtual workplaces have facilitated remote and more flexible working arrangements which have allowed (some) women to better balance work/care, alleviated some industry pressures, and offered more accessible opportunities for those previously unable to take on specific roles. On the other hand, participants raise concerns about the impact of budget cuts and redundancies across Scottish media, creative and cultural industries – particularly on the most marginalised – and point to continuing inequalities around work and care, with home-schooling and caring responsibilities shouldered disproportionately by many women during lockdown. This highlights the contingency and precarity of gains made for different groups of women, and the potential for the 'rolling back' of existing EDI initiatives and reforms: 'a lot of people are just looking to survive now, so maybe a lot of people don't care about other things at the moment, but surviving' [Journalist 13]. It is absolutely vital that these issues do not slip down the agenda.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Survey Questionnaire

GEMS Women's Representation in Scotland

Q45 In order to ensure that you are eligible for the survey, we need to ask you the following two questions first before you may proceed.

1 Do you primarily work in Scotland?

    o No (1)

    o Yes (2)

1 Do you identify as a woman?

    o No (1)

    o Yes (2)

End of Block: Screening

Start of Block: Introduction

Thank you for taking the time to complete this short survey, it should take about 20 minutes to complete. This survey is for women currently working in the media, journalism, culture, and gaming sectors in Scotland. This study is conducted by Engender, Gender Equal Media Scotland, the University of Edinburgh and Robert Gordon University. The information you provide will be used for a research report documenting women's experiences in Scottish media and cultural industries for Engender and Gender Equal Media Scotland. You are free to decline to answer any particular question you do not wish to answer for any reason. Your participation is completely voluntary and you may opt out or end it at any point. This survey is also anonymous. Your data will be collectively analysed, in line with non-disclosive reporting, with a view gathering evidence to develop interventions to support women in the media, culture, and gaming sectors. All measures will be taken to protect and ensure the

confidentiality of the information provided by survey participants, and no identifying information will be reported in any publication from this study. All data will be securely stored and, in the interest of open science, a de-identified dataset will be securely archived for future research purposes. If you have any questions, please contact the co-investigators, Dr. Sarah Liu (sarah.liu@ed.ac.uk); Dr. Meryl Kenny (M.Kenny@ed.ac.uk) and Dr. Fiona McKay (f.mckay5@rgu.ac.uk). By clicking the button below, you acknowledge giving consent to the use of data for this purpose on the understanding that:

- Any material likely to identify people will be anonymised.
- The material will be treated as confidential and kept in secure storage at all times.
- The material will be retained in secure storage for use in future academic research
- The material may be used in future publications, both print and online.
- You have the right to opt out of the study at any point before the report is written up on 21 June 2021.

End of Block: Introduction

Start of Block: Primary job

3. In what industry do you primarily work?

 o Advertising (1)

 o Broadcast journalism (radio and TV) (2)

 o Festivals (3)

 o Film/TV (4)

 o Gaming (5)

 o Magazines (6)

 o Music (7)

 o PR/Communications (8)

 o Print and web journalism (9)

 o Publishing (10)

 o Visual Arts (11)

 o Other (12) _____

4. What position do you hold at your current main job?

_____

5. In your main job, how many hours a week do you usually work? Include paid and unpaid overtime and freelance and contracted work.

   o 0 to 15 (1)

   o 16 to 30 (2)

   o 31 to 48 (3)

   o 49 or more (4)

6. Are you self-employed (e.g. sole trader, freelancer, contractor, work through an agency, run your own business)?

   o No (1)

   o Yes, please specify. (2) _____

7. How many years have you been working in your current industry?

   o 0-5 years (1)

   o 6-10 years (2)

   o 11-15 years (3)

   o 16-20 years (4)

   o More than 20 years (5)

End of Block: Primary job

Start of Block: Experiences

8. What top three issues do you think exist for women in the industry?

Please rank them by dragging them into the box.

1=biggest issue; 2=second biggest issue; 3=third biggest issue.

_____ Lack of diversity in sexuality (3)

_____ Male-dominated leadership (4)

_____ Pay gaps (5)

_____ Precarity of the position (6)

_____ Racial gaps in leadership (7)

_____ Sexual harassment and assaults at work (8)

_____ Threats of violence from readers, participants, and audience (1)

_____ Underrepresentation of people of colour (9)

_____ Underrepresentation of people with disabilities (physical, mental, and all forms) (10)

_____ Underrepresentation of women (11)

_____ Unsafe working environments (including lack of support or protection in the field) (12)

_____ Unmanageable workload (13)

9. If there are other issues that exist for women in the industry not listed here, please specify here.

_____

_____

_____

_____

10. Which three top groups do you think are particularly underrepresented in your industry? Please rank them by dragging them into the box.

1=most underrepresented; 2=second underrepresented; 3=third underrepresented.

_____ Black, Asian, and other ethnic and racial minorities (1)

_____ Carers (excluding parents) (14)

_____ Disabled individuals (2)

_____ Gaelic/Scots speakers (3)

_____ Individuals aged above 60 (4)

_____ Individuals aged between 16-30 (5)

_____ Individuals working in/from rural areas (6)

_____ LGBT+ individuals (7)

_____ Migrants (8)

_____ Non-graduates (13)

_____ Parents (excluding other type of carers) (9)

_____ Working class individuals (10)

_____ Women (11)

11. Why do you think these groups are underrepresented?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

12. What top three challenges have you faced in your career?

Please rank them by dragging them into the box.

1=biggest challenges; 2=second biggest challenge; 3=third biggest challenge

_____ Lack of access to paid job opportunities and permanent positions (1)

_____ Lack of access to promotion opportunities (2)

_____ Lack of consistent, well-paid work (3)

_____ Lack of job security (including employment precarity, pension, insurance, etc.) (4)

_____ Lack of mentorship (5)

_____ Lack of physical safety and security (6)

_____ Lack of support from family and friends (7)

_____ Lack of support on childcare, elder care, or other forms of care (8)

_____ Lack of work/life balance (9)

_____ Microaggressions at workplace (10)

_____ Pay inequality (11)

_____ Physical and mental stress (12)

_____ Pressure of deadlines (13)

_____ Sexual harassment and/or assault (14)

13. If there are other challenges that you have faced not listed here, please specify.

_____

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_____

14. Have you considered leaving the industry?

    o No (1)

    o Yes (2)

15. If yes, what top factors have motivated you to consider leaving the industry?
Please rank them by dragging them into the box.

    1=primary motivating factor; 2=second motivating factor; 3=third motivating factor.

_____ Lack of access to job opportunities (1)

_____ Lack of access to promotion opportunities (2)

_____ Lack of consistent, well-paid work (3)

_____ Lack of job security (including employment precarity, pension, insurance, etc.)
(4)

_____ Lack of mentorship (5)

_____ Lack of physical safety and security (6)

_____ Lack of support from family and friends (7)

_____ Lack of support on childcare, eldercare, or other forms of care (8)

_____ Lack of work/life balance (9)

_____ Microaggressions at workplace (10)

_____ Pay gaps (11)

_____ Physical and mental stress (12)

_____ Pressure of deadlines (13)

_____ Sexual harassments and/or assaults (14)

16. If there are other factors that have motivated you to consider leaving the industry not listed here, please specify.

_____

_____

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_____

17. Do you think the industry is better for women than when you started?

    o No, please explain. (1) _____

    o Yes, please explain. (2) _____

18. How do you think COVID-19 has changed women's experiences in the industry?

    o Significantly worsened (1)

    o Somewhat worsened (2)

    o Neither worsened nor improved (3)

    o Somewhat improved (4)

    o Significantly improved (5)

19. Have you participated in any equality and diversity initiatives in your field?
This might include but not limited to, for example, mentoring and shadowing initiatives, training, conscious/unconscious bias training, financial assistance, etc.

    o No. (1)

    o Yes, please specify. (2) _____

20. How effective do you think these initiatives are?

o Not effective at all (1)

o Slightly effective (2)

o Neither effective nor ineffective (3)

o Somewhat effective (4)

o Very effective (5)

21. What top three initiatives should be used to increase the participation of women (particularly marginalised women) in your primary industry?
Please rank them by dragging them into the box.

1=most important initiative; 2=second most important initiative; 3=third most important initiative

_____ Active recruitment of women (1)

_____ Conscious/unconscious bias training (2)

_____ EDI-contingent funding (3)

_____ Educational outreach schemes (4)

_____ Equality Index or Chartermark for venues/employers (5)

_____ Financial assistance (6)

_____ Funding grassroots campaigns (7)

_____ Legislation (8)

_____ Mandatory Equality Impact Assessments (9)

_____ Media campaigns around lack of diversity (10)

_____ Mentoring and shadowing schemes (11)

_____ Monitoring content-production (12)

_____ Policy changes within workplace (13)

_____ Training programmes (14)

_____ Quotas (15)

22. If there are initiatives that you have found important not listed here, please specify.

_____

_____

_____

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_____

23. We realise our survey cannot cover everything. Therefore, we welcome your input on any ideas you may have for increasing the representation of women in Scottish media and cultural industries. We also welcome anything else you would like to tell us about your experiences working in the industry, including the impact of COVID-19 on women.

_____

_____

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_____

End of Block: Experiences

Start of Block: Demographic background

24. Please indicate your age

o Under 21 (1)

o 21-30 (2)

o 31-40 (3)

o 41-50 (4)

o 51-60 (5)

o 60+ (6)

25. Which of the following best describes your current household status?

o Cohabiting couple, dependent children (1)

o Cohabiting couple, no children (2)

o Cohabiting couple, non-dependent children (3)

o Lone parent, dependent children (4)

o Lone parent, non-dependent children (5)

o Married or in a civil partnership, dependent children (6)

o Married or in a civil partnership, no children (7)

o Married or in a civil partnership, non-dependent children (8)

o Single (9)

o Other (10) _____

26. Which of the following best describes your sexual orientation?

o Bisexual (1)

o Gay or lesbian (2)

o Heterosexual (3)

o Other (4) _____

27. Do you consider yourself to be trans or have a trans history?

o No (1)

o Yes. Please describe your trans status (for example, non-binary, trans man, trans woman) (2) _____

28. What is your country of birth?

o England (1)

o Northern Ireland (2)

o Scotland (3)

o Republic of Ireland (4)

o Wales (5)

o Elsewhere, please write in the current name of the country: (6)

_____

29. If you were not born in Scotland, in what year did you most recently arrive to live here?

_____

30. What Scottish region do you work in? *Note: this refers to where you work, not where you live.*

o Central Scotland (Falkirk, North and South Lanarkshire) (1)

o Glasgow (2)

o Highlands (Argyll and Bute, Highland, Moray) (3)

o Islands (Na h-Eileanan an Iar, Shetland, Orkney, Skye) (4)

o Lothian (Edinburgh, East and West Lothian, Midlothian) (5)

o Mid Scotland and Fife (Clackmannshire, Fife, Perth and Kinross, Stirling) (6)

o North East Scotland (Aberdeen, Dundee) (7)

o South Scotland (Dumfries and Galloway, Scottish Borders, East and South Ayrshire) (8)

o West Scotland (East/West Dunbartonshire, Inverclyde, North Ayrshire, East Renfrewshire) (9)

o All of Scotland (10)

o Other (11) _____

31. What is your main language? Tick all that apply.

☐   English (1)

☐   Gaelic (2)

☐   Scots (3)

☐   Other, please write in (including BSL and TACTILE BSL) (4)

_____

32. What is your ethnic group?

o African, Scottish African or British African (1)

o Arab, Scottish Arab or British Arab (2)

o Asian, Scottish Asian or British Asian (3)

o Caribbean or Black (4)

o Mixed or multiple ethnic groups (5)

o White (6)

o Other (7) _____

33. What religion, religious denomination, or body (if any) do you belong to?

_____

34. Do you consider yourself to have a disability or a chronic disease?

o No (1)

o Yes (2)

35. Which of these qualifications do you have?
Tick all that apply.

☐   No qualifications (1)

☐   School leavers certificate (2)

☐   CSEs or equivalent (3)

☐   Standard grade, National 4 or 5, O Levels, GCSEs or equivalent (4)

☐   Higher grade, A levels, AS levels or equivalent (5)

☐   NVQ or HND or HNC or equivalent (6)

☐   Other professional or technical qualification (7)

☐   Undergraduate degree (8)

☐   Postgraduate degree (Masters) (9)

☐   Postgraduate degree (PhD) (10)

☐   Other (11) _____

36. What is the total income of your entire household last year (before tax)?

o £0 (4)

o £1 to £9,999 (5)

o £10,000 to £24,999 (6)

o £25,000 to £49,999 (7)

o £50,000 to £74,999 (8)

o £75,000 to £99,999 (9)

o £100,000 or more (10)

37. Do you look after or give any help or support to family members, friends, neighbours, or others because of either: long-term physical/mental ill-health/disability/or problems related to old age? (Do not count anything you do as part of your paid employment.)

o No (1)

o Yes, 1 to 20 hours a week (2)

o Yes, 21 to 40 hours a week (3)

o Yes, 40 or more hours a week (4)

38. In the last seven days, were you doing any of the following?
Tick all that apply.

☐   Self-employed or freelance (2)

☐   Temporarily away from work ill (3)

☐   Temporarily away on maternity leave (4)

☐   Temporarily laid off or on furlough (5)

☐   Working as an employee (6)

☐   Working other kind of paid work outside your primary job (7)

☐   None of the above (8)

End of Block: Demographic background

Start of Block: Conclusion

39. Would you be willing to help this project with a further follow-up interview? Your data will remain anonymous - we will not publish any identifying information about individuals. Vouchers may be available as recompense for participants, especially for those in precarious employment.

o No (1)

o Yes, please enter your email address or phone number where we can reach you. Your data will remain anonymous. (2)

_____

40. Would you like to know about the report findings when they are published?

o No (1)

o Yes, please enter your email address. Your data will remain anonymous. (2)

_____

41 Thank you for your time and effort in completing this survey. We would appreciate it if you would circulate the survey link to anyone you think would be interested in participating. If you have any questions, please contact the project investigators, Dr. Sarah Liu (sarah.liu@ed.ac.uk); Dr. Meryl Kenny (M.Kenny@ed.ac.uk), and Dr. Fiona McKay (f.mckay5@rgu.ac.uk).

End of Block: Conclusion

Appendix B: List of Interviews

- Journalist 1: Print, national newspaper, approx. 25 years in industry.
- Journalist 2: Print, regional newspaper, approx. two years in industry.
- Journalist 3: Print, national newspaper, approx. 20+ years in industry
- Journalist 4: Print, regional newspaper, approx. one year in industry.
- Journalist 5: Print, national newspaper, approx. 13 years in industry.
- Journalist 6: Broadcast, national broadcaster, approx. seven years in industry.
- Journalist 7: Print and broadcast, freelance, approx. 20 years in industry.
- Journalist 8: Broadcast, staff and freelance, approx. 30+ years in industry.
- Journalist 9: Print, national newspaper, approx. 15 years in industry.
- Journalist 10: Broadcast, national broadcaster, approx. 11-15 years in industry.
- Journalist 11: Broadcast, national broadcaster, approx. 11-15 years in industry.
- Journalist 12: Print, national newspaper, approx. 6-10 years in industry.
- Journalist 13: Print and web, freelance writer, approx. 0-5 years in industry.
- Journalist 14: Broadcast, national broadcaster, approx. 30+ years in industry.
- Journalist 15: Broadcast, print and online, national broadcaster, approx. 15 years in industry.
- Journalist 16: Broadcast, national broadcaster, approx. 20+ years in industry.

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