Feeling devalued:
The creative industries, motherhood, gender and class inequality.

Tamsyn Dent

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Bournemouth University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

October 2016

Abstract

There is a growing body of data that illustrates how work in the creative media industries is marked by bleak inequalities. Critical sociological accounts of the industry have explored the barriers to employment opportunities for workers from different ethnic, disabled, gendered and more recently socially classed backgrounds resulting in the awareness that the majority of those who control the means of production for creative and cultural commodities are male, white and middle class. With regards to women, the problem of gender inequality has commonly been linked to women's childbearing capabilities citing the demands of childcare as a key reason for women's withdrawal from and under-representation within the industry. Linking gender inequality in the creative workforce to motherhood creates a smokescreen, a framework which allows for concepts of 'choice' and 'preference' to mask deeply complicated processes of oppression and exclusion. Motherhood also places the issue of gender inequality into a singular axis, failing therefore to consider the multiple axes of exclusion that operate within the workforce. This thesis takes this issue of motherhood, gender inequality and work in the creative industries as its focus point to explore how motherhood has become synonymous with female withdrawal from the industry. It responds to literature on modes and practices of work in modern society drawing from those who have equated work in the creative sector as emblematic of a "brave new world of work" (Beck 2002 in Deuze 2007, p.21) and exposed a paradox between celebratory concepts of creative practice and the lived realities of the creative workforce. My own contribution has been drawn from a series of in-depth interviews with mothers who either work or have left work in the creative sector following the birth of a child/children. The research findings emerged inductively, following a grounded theoretical approach but one that was informed by a feminist epistemological framework to knowledge production. Thinking about motherhood as

a fluid and constructed concept enables an exploration into the relationship between

motherhood, gender and class-based inequalities and how they operate within the industry.

Table of contents

Acknowledgements

I could not have completed this project without the support and encouragement of a number of people. First I would like to thank my supervisors, Professor Stephen Heppell and Dr. Shaun Kimber for their continued belief and patience with me and Dr. Heather Savigny who joined the supervisory team at a critical moment and helped drive it to submission. I want to thank the team at CEMP particularly Laura Hampshaw for showing me the lighter side to academia. Thanks to Creative Skillset for their financial contribution to this project with particular acknowledgement of Catherine Godward and Kate O'Connor whose commitment to support women in the creative media industries initiated this thesis along with Karen Muir, Dan Wilks and Dr. Kion Ahadi for their help and guidance. I would also like to thank Dr. Emily Dawson who has been a good friend and mentor during this process along with Dr. Kim Dhillon and Dr. Natalie Wreyford both of whom have shown me that academic work and motherhood can be combined.

I want to acknowledge and thank all my family, friends and my local communities who have provided encouragement, faith and childcare! Particular thanks go to Alison Quinn, my father John Dent and my sister Katy Dent for their support. Very special thanks go to my husband Paddy Chatterton who has been a constant source of humour and love and our beautiful children, Freddy and Evie. My family and friends have kept me grounded and balanced throughout this process, providing vital relief to academic work.

Finally, I want to thank all the women who took part in this project and gave me their time; precious, valuable time. Often they would talk to me late into the evening after a long day of childcare, work or both this being the only time they had to offer. Occasionally we were joined by a child and the sound of their tears and voices would cut across the recorded interview to remind me of what this is about. I want them to know that I value their time and their story. It is dedicated to my own mother whose pain and struggle has had a significant impact on my life and driven my interest with this subject.

Author's declaration

I declare that this thesis is all my own work and the sources of information and the material I have used (including the internet) have been fully identified and properly acknowledged.

Introduction

This introduction outlines the rationale behind a critical evaluation of gender inequality in the creative media industry. It provides the context for my own original contribution to research that has emerged from an in-depth exploration into the impact that motherhood has on women's participation within the creative media workforce and how the relationship between motherhood and work are linked to class-based inequalities across the industry.

There has been a shift in the way that people in Western societies organize themselves and these changes have been claimed to have significant consequences to the self (Giddens 1987, 1991; Beck et al. 1994; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001). These changes are the product of a number of factors relating to the economic and social spheres of society. Work in the West from the end of the Second World War up until the mid-point of the 20th century was defined under the label of 'Fordism' consisting of mass production sites comprised of a base of largely deskilled, male employees forming the production line for manufactured goods with the motor car industry used as the exemplar of this model (Beynon 1973, Blauner 1964 and Braverman 1974 in Crompton 2006, p.62; Piore and Sabel 1984). The dismantling of the Fordist regime has been a result of a number of factors. Technological change which has altered the mode of production, the impact of global outsourcing and social changes in the home resulting in the increase of women into the workforce following the second wave feminist movement (Crompton 2006; Giddens 1991). These combined changes, each with their own development path have created new forms of social organization both in the workplace and in the family. They have generated new concepts and theoretical frameworks to enable understanding on the "brave new world of work" (Beck 2000 in Deuze 2007, p.21) and its impact on social order. Terms such as flexibility (Sennett 1998) individualization (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001), reflexivity (Beck et al. 1994; Giddens 1991; Rose 1990)

are terms associated with the conceptual vocabulary that enables an understanding on how we live in today's modern society and the relationship between these wider structural and institutional changes and the individual social agents who both shape and are shaped by them (Giddens 1991).

They are terms that are returned to throughout this thesis. What they represent is a framework to comprehend the relationship between the self, work and the family in the new modern age, an age which has been described as 'high modernity', 'second modernity' or 'reflexive modernity' (Giddens 1991; Beck et al. 1994; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001). But as one investigates these terms in detail the tensions between their conceptual forms and social agent's lived realities start to emerge. Factors such as power and individual agency become subsumed in wider discourses of self-regulation and control making it hard to understand how power and agency operate in the modern age. As feminist scholar Angela McRobbie remarks in her criticism of Beck and Giddens's concepts, "[t]hey have no grasp that these are productive of new realms of injury and injustice" (2009, p.19). Theoretically we are still making sense of the impact and repercussions of these wider social changes.

This study is an attempt to break down one of the key paradoxes of the modern age. It asks the question that if individuals have the technological means and social agency to reflexively construct their own biography why do widespread workplace inequalities persist? My study focuses on one sector in particular – the creative media industries in the UK. The rationale for a detailed study on this sector is that is has been held up as an exemplary industry to represent these wider institutional and ideological changes in social life (Deuze 2007; Garnham 2005; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011; Townley et al. 2009). The break-down of large bureaucratic production lines into smaller scale workplaces that are run through notions of flexibility and

individualized labour, project-based labour, whereby individual workers take responsibility for managing their own employment pathway and progression (Crompton 2006; Deuze 2007; Gill and Pratt 2008; Sennett 1998). They are also the industries that have been held as representing the fluid 'liquidity of life' (Bauman 2000 in Deuze 2007) a term that refers to the merging of the private and public spheres of work and the home in the individualized, reflexive and flexible labour market. This sector has been in the past exonerated for being forward thinking, meritocratic, progressive, humanitarian offering opportunities for new worker subjectivities who had been previously excluded from such level of work (Aglietta 1979, Bell 1973, Castells 1996, 1997, 1998, Lash and Urry 1987 Piore and Sabel 1984 in Conor 2010, p.29 and Florida 2002). And yet, women are and have been consistently under-represented at the highest and most creative lead level (Creative Skillset 2010b, Follows et al. 2016; EWA 2016a, 2016b; Cobb et al. 2016; Lauzen 2015). They are paid less than their male counter-parts and segregated into areas in the industry which are perceived as of less economic value to creative production (Banks, M J. 2009). The problem of inequality in the creative media industry does not relate to just gender and emerging research into the relevance of the sector in this new modern age has revealed a number of potentially intersected and endemic inequalities that operate across factors of race, gender, disability and class (Creative Skillset 2008, 2010b, 2012; Holgate and MacKay 2009; Randle et al. 2014; Randle and Hardy 2016; O'Brien, D., et al. 2016).

How do we understand this? This study will focus on the question of gender and inequality in the creative media industry. Gender inequality in the modernized, individualized workplace has been summarized as a result of three factors:

1) The character and 'choice' of the individual women themselves;

2) The working practices and cultures of organizations and the qualities of the worker that they require and;

3) The 'wider context of employment and care' (Crompton 2006, p.65).

My study looks at the relationship of these three factors through an analysis of the experiences of motherhood for female creative media workers. The driving question of my thesis is 'how does motherhood impact on creative media workers?' According to available employment monitoring data motherhood is a significant cause of female withdrawal from the industry (Creative Skillset 2010b). The reason for this withdrawal has traditionally been framed through the notion of individual choice or 'preference' (Hakim 2006) made by women themselves or through the critique of the creative industries working practices and organizational culture for failing to create "family-friendly" policies (Gill 2014, p.510) mirroring the three factors as outlined by Rosemary Crompton as referenced above. These two assumptions relate to a wider recognition of a 'maternal wall' (Crosby et al. 2004; Williams 2004, 2005) that exists across the professional workplace (Blair-Loy 2003; Costa Dias et al. 2016; Stone 2007; Wajcman 1998) signifying the impact that motherhood has on a professional woman's career in comparison to a woman without children. However, as Ros Gill has pointed out in relation to the creative industries a focus on motherhood as "the issue" (2014, p.510) masks the wider, institutionalized forms of sexism across the industry failing to recognize that many women without children "are still under-represented in positions of seniority and power'" (2014, p.511). Like Gill I agree that "that constant reiteration of motherhood as "the issue"" is problematic (pp.510-511) but thinking about how motherhood *has* become "the issue" of gender inequality in the creative media industry is an interesting point of focus.

As such my original contribution to knowledge is an exploration of how motherhood has become "the issue" when framing the question of gender inequality in the creative media industries and more specifically, what constructions of motherhood are being drawn upon in order to inform this question. Thinking about motherhood rather than as a fixed state but as a practice, one that is a constructed and discursive activity enables deeper reflection into how motherhood acts as a barrier to career retention and progression in the context of creative media work. A focused look at the individual subjective experience of motherhood linked to the identity of the practitioner allows a reflection on how processes and practices of motherhood reflect wider inequalities within the industry. A key finding from this research was how social class influenced mothering practice which led to a consideration of how the relationship between an individual's social class and employment in the creative industry reflected wider social practices.

This study was funded in part by Creative Skillset who has been gathering employment data on the creative media workforce since 1999 and it was the result of their 2009 workforce census that inspired the project (Creative Skillset 2009, 2010b). The 2009 survey revealed a significant reduction in the number of women working across the creative media sector, particularly in the 35 years plus age group from the previous census of 2006. These results built on additional qualitative research also conducted by the organisation which found that women were struggling to balance parenting and work in this sector (Creative Skillset 2008) and it was the combination of these two areas of research which led to their hypothesis that, "women have been leaving the industry because of difficulty reconciling managing a career in the creative industries with raising a family" (Creative Skillset 2010b, p.1).

Creative Skillset's hypothesis fits with Gill's critique of motherhood as "the issue". It reinforces a wider cultural ideal (see discussion in chapter two on cultural constructions of motherhood) that children are primarily women's responsibility bypassing the wider structural inequalities relating to earnings and progression which also emerged in their data. In this case according to an institution like Creative Skillset who operate to support the training and development needs of the creative media industries (see chapter three for a more developed description of the organisation's role in the sector), motherhood is made the focus of gender inequality rather than a factor. In my research I was interested in a deeper exploration into this concept of motherhood as a factor. Questions that emerged in the early stages of the project included how does motherhood impact on a woman's creative career? If the creative media industries are exemplary in offering flexible and individualised forms of work, then how is this not a benefit for women with children? What does a consistent trend of female withdrawal from the industry as a result of childbearing suggest about the wider concepts of individualism and choice? Finally, I was interested in how to consider individual agency within these wider social structures.

Motherhood therefore is the focus for this investigation. The project emerged following a series of one-to-one interviews conducted with mothers who either currently work or had formally worked in the creative media industries. The scope of this study covers practitioners who have operated within and across the television, film, radio, animation and digital gaming industries (see Appendix 1). The research findings have emerged inductively following a feminist epistemological framework which is committed to centering the research focus on the lived realities of women's lives (Acker et al. 19991; Code 2014; Fonow and Cook 1991; Hesse-Biber and Leavey 2007; Hesse-Biber and Brooks 2007; Oakley, A. 2016).

Outline of the thesis

In chapter one I set the scene, providing further clarity on the research that spearheaded this project. I explain my relationship with Creative Skillset and how my review of their quantitative data developed my own research focus. I also review the wider literature relating to women and work in the creative media industries, providing the historical overview of how women have been employed in creative labour. I then review the theoretical frameworks relating to individualization and reflexivity that are associated with the social shifts that have taken place in second modernity applying their relativity to work and employment in the creative media industry. I look at recent research on creative work, literature that is exposing how new cultures and practices of creative work are having significant impacts on the subjects that operate within them and then finally in this section I introduce Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework as a means to understand the social practices that regulate entrance to the industry and the type of social agents that enter.

In chapter two I look at the literature on motherhood outlining the concept of motherhood as a socially constructed and oppressive regime, that emerged during the second wave feminist movement. The chapter follows how the scholarship on motherhood and mothering practice has evolved during that time, inspiring new and alternative frameworks which consider the situated experience of motherhood. This body of research, which developed over a period of 60 years, shows the fluid, complicated and multiple experiences of motherhood, a necessary framework to apply to the situation of mothers today.

I have titled my methodological chapter 'a journey' to represent the complicated and emotional process that developed this research project. Several structural and personal

barriers contributed to the development of this research project and by applying a feminist epistemological framework to knowledge production I have been able to account for these issues by applying a process of "exploration and discovery" (Acker et al. 1991, p.135). This process relates to both my own identity and that of the women who are my research focus.

The following three chapters develop my theoretical contribution. All three are linked to themes and categories that emerged from the data and combined together show the complexity of mothers' situated location in the creative media workforce. Chapter four develops a discussion on how types of mothers are stigmatized in the creative media industry and how this produces a number of effects to those internalizing that stigma. Chapter five builds on the concept of stigma to look at how the organization structure and working culture of the creative media industries makes it very difficult for women to perform as creative workers and mothers. In chapter six, I bring these two concepts together to think about how the symbolic stigma of motherhood combined with the unequal working conditions contribute and work to devalue and depress all of women's status within the industry. I label this relationship as 'the cycle of value production' a concept that emerged from my original research and describes the process that an early female entrant goes through from the moment that she enters the industry which facilitates her contribution to the pattern of entry – devalue – stigma – oppressive working culture – withdrawal – value – devalue that women experience.

In chapter seven, my concluding chapter I consider the legacy of this research. Returning to the original questions that emerged from the early review of the available Creative Skillset data I outline the deeper complexity that this qualitative approach has exposed. I frame my work within recent studies that reveal the persistent under-representation of women in

creative media roles (Directors UK 2014; EWA 2016a, 2016b; Follows et al. 2016; Lauzen 2015; Raising Films 2016; Wells 2015) and consider the areas that due to the nature of this research I was unable to develop providing a list of recommendations for future research. It is my goal that through exposing these women's stories and combining this qualitative inductive research with the broad statistical picture that is emerging throughout the world we will be armed with the tools to implement change.

Chapter one: why the creative media industries?

1.1   Introduction

> "As the twenty-first century approaches, we are experiencing a period of social transformation as spectacular as anything that has occurred in earlier phases of the modern era." (Giddens 1987, p.16).

The purpose of this opening chapter is to introduce the key theoretical concepts that my own research findings critically engage with. I open with a quotation from Anthony Giddens's inaugural lecture presented at Cambridge University in 1986 as this comment preludes his later theoretical contribution on how major changes in society including technological innovation, globalization and the decline of industrial production in Western societies have impacted on social actors (Giddens 1991). I refer to Giddens's theory as it is a framework that I return to in connection to my own research which explores the relationship between motherhood and creative media workers. One of the significant implications of Giddens and his contemporaries' work was the relationship between larger institutional changes and the individual self (Giddens 1991; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001). The emergence of new, networked technologies was predicted as heralding a "brave new world of work" (Beck 2000 in Deuze 2007, p.21) one that would challenge the traditional social order and provide opportunities for subjects from previously marginalized groups (Bell 1973; Beck 1994, 2002; Giddens 1994).

Giddens, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim developed the term 'individualization' (Beck et al. 1994; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001) as a concept that represents the relationship between structural, industrial changes and the processes through which social actors operate. The

requirement for individuals to reflexively construct and manage their own lives led to the

epochal definition of 'reflexive modernity', which Beck describes as:

> "…a change of industrial society which occurs surreptitiously and unplanned in the
> wake of normal, autonomized modernization and with an unchanged, intact political
> and economic order implies the following: a *radicalization* of modernity, which
> breaks up the premises and contours of industrial society and opens paths to other
> modernity" (Beck 1994, p.3 emphasis in original).

The industries which have been claimed as the best representation of the social changes

associated with individualism are the cultural, creative and media industries (Deuze 2007; de

Peuter 2011). This representation is understood in two ways. One because drivers of

consumptions in this new world of work are increasingly based on cultural commodities

linked to lifestyle not necessity, resulting in the rising demand of cultural and creative

production (Piore and Sabel 1982; Giddens 1991; de Peuter 2011, 2013) and two because the

favoured model of production associated with creative labour is built on short-term, project-

based, flexible models whereby institutions manage risk through the adoption of a

individualized labour market (Deuze 2007; de Peuter 2011, 2013; Gill and Pratt 2008; Guile

2010; Townley et al. 2009). Creative, cultural and media workers have been described as the

"preferred labour profile" (de Peuter 2011, p.264) for work in contemporary capitalism.

In addition, they are the industries that have been held as representing the "liquefaction of

life" (Bauman 2000 in Deuze 2007, p.44) the merging of the private and public spheres of

work and the home in the individualized labour market. The social changes associated with

this sector have been exonerated for being forward thinking, meritocratic, progressive and

humanitarian offering new employment opportunities for previously marginalized workers

(Aglietta 1979; Bell 1973; Castells 1996, 1997, 1998; Lash and Urry 1987; Piore and Sabel

1982 in Conor 2010, p.29 and Florida 2002). The problem is, they haven't. A multitude of

statistical data gathered to monitor employment rates in the creative media industries has

exposed the consistent under-representation of workers from female, ethnic and disabled

backgrounds (Dex et al. 2000; Directors UK 2014; Cobb et al. 2016; Creative Skillset 2002,

2003, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010(a), 2010 (b), 2012, 2014; EWA 2016a, 2016b; Follows at al.

2016; Lauzen 2015; Raising Films 2016; Wells 2015). Social class, a demographic that for

many years was marginalized in the research agenda on creative practitioners (for reasons

which shall be discussed in section 1.6) has recently emerged in the inequality discussions as

a critical factor with attempts made to statistically expose class barriers across the sector

(Randle at al. 2014; O'Brien, D. et al. 2016). With regards to the unequal representation of

women in the industry motherhood has been singled out as the predominant reason behind

women's withdrawal from the industry with monitoring data showing a pattern of female

withdrawal around the 35plus age bracket coupled with the knowledge that fewer women who

work in the creative media industries have dependent children when compared to men

(Creative Skillset 2010b). This has led to an industry-wide accepted hypothesis put forward

by Creative Skillset that:

> "women have been leaving the industry because of difficulty reconciling managing a
> career in the creative industries with raising a family." (Creative Skillset 2010b, p.1).

I am interested in the relationship between motherhood and creative work as experienced by

those that have occupied both roles. The research findings have emerged from a grounded

methodological approach from a series of interviews with women employed across a number

of different sectors classed as belonging to the creative media sector[1]. The research project

was commissioned and part funded by Creative Skillset, one of the UK's sector skills councils

(SSCs)[2] who quantitatively monitor the creative media industry through a series of workforce

censuses and surveys. However, the empirical findings are my own, drawn from an inductive

---

[1] In section 1.4 I discuss the development of the term 'creative media industries' and how it relates to wider
changes in the creative economy. Appendix 1 lists the different sectors that participants were employed across.
[2] The Sector Skills Councils are independent, employer-led organizations set up to support the skills needs
within their specific sector. More information on the current SSCs can be found at http://fisss.org/about-us/
[Accessed 29th August 2016].

approach which sought to question the hypothesis that motherhood was the reason that women were withdrawing from the creative media industries.

The awareness of inequality across the industry has led to an emerging and growing body of theoretical literature that explores the experiences of social agents within the creative sector and their relationship to these wider social changes linked to the individualization thesis (Banks 2007; Blair 2001, 2003; Christopherson 2009; Conor 2010; Gill 2002; Gill and Pratt 2008; Havens et al. 2009; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2015; Holgate and McKay 2009; McRobbie 1998, 2002; Taylor 2010; Taylor and Littleton 2013; Ursell 1998, 2000, 2003). There has been an acute interest in how conditions and cultures of work in the creative and cultural sectors have generated "new labouring subjectivities" (Gill 2014, p.514). This literature exposes the knowledge gap between the highly celebratory literature on creative employment as the driver for self-actualizing work in the new knowledge economy (see Gill 2002 and Conor 2010 for a summary) and the emerging body of literature concerned with exploitative and precarious working practices that operate within the industry coupled with the unequal demographic representation of its workforce. This literature has been claimed to represent a new paradigm of "critical media industry studies" (Havens et al. 2009) or "production studies" (Mayer et al. 2009) which is interested in "bringing the social back in" (Mayer 2009, p.15) to analysis of creative and media work. Thus, an interest in the composition, experience and control of the creative media workforce which for many years had been largely absent from scholarly interest in the media industries (with notable exceptions including d'Acci 1994; Born 2005, see also Meehan and Wasko 2014) is now producing work that challenges existing preconceptions of individualized working processes exposing the existence of traditional barriers to employment that operate across the industry.

With regards to women, the problem with equating gender inequality in the creative media industry with motherhood, as pointed out by Gill, is that it reinforces the notion that raising children is primarily a women's responsibility and also masks other barriers to women's employment and progression which Gill identifies as "the new, mobile, subtle and revitalized forms of sexism" that operate (Gill 2014, p.509, see also Taylor 2010). Gill makes the point that scholars need to look beyond the concept of motherhood as "the issue" and instead consider other factors that produce gender inequality within the sector. Whilst I agree with Gill's point, my contribution to this literature as I state in my introduction is to look explicitly at why motherhood is understood as the issue. My focus is an exploration into how motherhood has become the acceptable reason for women's withdrawal from the industry and how the concepts that have been celebrated in the individualized thesis, that of individual choice and empowerment have been applied to the construction of the mother as well as the creative worker. Thus, the experience of the female creative media worker / mother exposes the clash between these two socially constructed roles. I argue that a detailed exploration of the experience of mothers in the creative media workforce contributes to this growing body of literature on creative workers. My approach has been to consider what concepts and constructions of motherhood are being drawn on in relation to framing motherhood as the reason behind female withdrawal from the creative media sector. Thinking about motherhood rather than as a fixed state but as a practice, one that is a multiple and discursive activity linked to social identity enables deeper reflection into how motherhood acts as a barrier to career retention and progression in the context of creative media work. A key finding from this research was how social class influenced mothering practice which led to a consideration of how the relationship between an individual's social class and employment in the creative industry is linked to wider social practices.

In the opening chapter I introduce some of the key theories that construct and inform my own argument. The chapter outlines the historical issue of women's occupation within the creative media industry up to the revelation of gender inequality as a factor of motherhood as argued by the then named Skillset. It then looks at how this problem relates to the wider social theories that show the link between creative work and the epochal social changes that have taken place as a result of industrial change in society. This provides the context for understanding the links between work and identity, how the idealization of a certain type of labour practice within a creative media context actually reinforces traditional gender divides when you add the multiple roles linked to individual social actors. Finally, I turn to the question of class by outlining my 'appropriation' (Moi 1991) of Pierre Bourdieu's social theory as a framework to think about the link between the social composition of actors that occupy the creative industry workforce and a consideration of how identity contributes to the modalities of power that currently govern the sector.

1.2   Women's employment in the creative media industry

"I believe that the Report adds immeasurably to our knowledge of the concrete position of women in our industry. It explains in meticulous detail the patterns of discrimination which exists and its roots in the class structure and ideology of our society and in the way in which those are reflected in the operation and assumption of the employment structures in film and television" (ACTT 1975).

The opening quotation is taken from Alan Sapper's (the then General Secretary for the Association of Cinematograph, Television and allied Technicians, (ACTT[3])) introduction to the ACTT's 1975 report *Patterns of Discrimination*. This report was commissioned to investigate the reduction of female union members from a peak in 1963 where women represented 19% of the membership to a drop to 14.8% at the time of the report. *Patterns of Discrimination* exposed the overt and covert barriers to female employment in the then film and television industries ranging from the existence of blatant discrimination, denying women access to particular jobs and the undervaluing of jobs primarily done by women and the wider social structures which linked women to their domestic / care-giving role. The report outlines a list of recommendations for collective bargaining by union members to ensure "greater equality for women" (ACTT 1975, pp.52-3). Comparing the exposure of gender inequality in 1975 to today begs the question 'what has changed?' According to more recent research as discussed below the answer is 'very little'.

Valerie Antcliff (2005) provides an excellent overview of the historical context of women and employment in the television industry referring to a number of reports and studies addressing the question of gender inequality within the sector published during the 1980s and 1990s (Robarts 1981; Sims 1985; Gallagher 1986; Dex & Willis 1999). Many of these historical reports responded to the contemporary context of employment and attitudes to women at that

---

[3] The ACTT union was merged with the Broadcasting and Entertainment Trades Alliance (BETA) in 1981 to become the current Broadcasting, Entertainment, Cinematograph and Theatre Union (BECTU).

time, but this body of literature provides an interesting context which can be compared to the situation of inequality today. Antcliff describes how equal opportunities policies for women in the 1970s and 1980s that were created in response to the research and lobbying by women's groups at that time where made within the institutionalized fordist regime of the BBC and ITV and have been to a great extent overturned since the deregulation of the television industry following the 1990 Broadcasting Act (see also Born 2002, 2005 and Ursell 2000). In essence, this literature suggests that the continued deregulation of sectors within the creative industries that has taken place since the Conservative government under Margaret Thatcher has had a negative impact on diversity figures amongst its workforce. Within a regulated, institutionalized organization the application of employment legislation is implemented into a context of accountability. Within a growing independent sector of small and medium-sized enterprises (SME's) reliant on a freelance workforce it is harder to implement this legislation, even when the need is acknowledged by those within the sector. Holgate and McKay have looked at this issue from the point of view of ethnicity describing equal opportunities policies in the contemporary UK audiovisual industry as "empty shells" with regards to the employment of black and ethnic minorities particularly in the context of the freelance market (Holgate and McKay 2009). Both Antcliff and Holgate and McKay's papers reveal the relationship between institutional structure and employment demographic. Their research suggests that implementing a more diverse workforce population was manageable in a centralized production system (although it is important to stress here that this does not imply that there was equality in terms of gender, race or ethnicity and a lack of available employment data from this period makes comparisons problematic see work by Gallagher 1981 and Baehr 1981). The point I want to draw from this literature however is how the de-regulation of the creative media sector which was part of a wider social / economic shift termed as 'neoliberalism' (see section 1.4 for definition) has affected diversity

numbers of those employed in the industry today. As I have mentioned before it is hard to compare this quantitatively due to a lack of monitoring of film and television workers in the 1980s and 1990s however literature has suggested that the shift to a fragmented, independent sector has not resulted in a positive impact on the social composition of the creative workforce and instead brought with it new conditions that create barriers for marginalized groups (Dex et al. 2000; Gill and Pratt 2008). What can be observed however is how attitudes towards these structures of employment have changed. When Channel Four was established following the 1981 Broadcasting Act it made a public commitment to women (Gallagher 1985 in Antcliff 2005) and the independent sector was predicted as enabling the previously established working cultures of organizations like the BBC and ITV to be challenged, thus contributing to the predicted opportunities that work in the individualized, information age would ensure (Antcliff 2005; Baehr 1981; Born 2002, 2005). What is emerging from current literature is how little the diversity of those employed within these sectors has changed. In section 1.4 I discuss in more detail the relationship between neoliberalism and individualization in relationship to working practices and cultures in the creative media workforce as these are concepts that frame how this emerging status of inequality has for many years gone unnoticed. However, it is important to state current knowledge of the gender inequality in the industry as will be discussed in the next section with reference to the Creative Skillset data.

1.3 The Creative Skillset data

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter employment data has exposed the consistent under-representation of women from leading creative roles in the creative media industry (Cobb et al. 2016; Creative Skillset 2002, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010(a), 2010(b), 2012; Director's UK 2014; Follows et al. 2016; Lauzen 2015). Creative Skillset's 2010 report on women in the industry found through a review of their survey with members of the creative media workforce that despite reporting a higher level of educational qualifications, women reported as being paid less than their male counterparts for the same job (Creative Skillset 2010b). This question of equal pay was exposed from a Freedom of Information request to the BBC on 26 May 2011 on the gendered comparison of BBC employers in salary bands which exposed that male employees outnumbered female in all but one of the salary bands (£20-30k) with men earning an average salary of £41816 compared to women's £36827 (BBC 2011). Factors such as unequal pay for the same job, gendered employment segregation, barriers to creative lead roles therefore persist in the creative media sector, no change from 1975. How is this consistent gender inequality rationalized in the current post-industrial society? How are the patterns of discrimination different today?

In 2010, Creative Skillset formerly known as Skillset[4] released the report *Women in the Media* (Creative Skillset 2010b). The conclusions of this report were based on a number of studies both quantitative and qualitative compiled by the organization relating to trends of women's employment across the UK's creative media sector since they started their monitoring of the industry in 1999 (Creative Skillset 2000). The report revealed that a significant number of women had left the industry between the period 2006 – 2009,

---

[4] Skillset changed their name to Creative Skillset in 2012 and the research reports published prior this date where released under their original title, Skillset, however I have decided to refer to the organisation using its current title throughout this document.

predominantly from production roles within the UK's television sector. It was found that there was a consistent under-representation of women in the 35 plus age group across all segments of the workforce and that fewer women in the industry had dependent children than men (Creative Skillset 2010b). It was the results of this data that led the organization to conclude within the report that:

> "it has been impossible to avoid the hypothesis that women have been leaving the industry because of difficulty reconciling managing a career in the creative industries with raising a family." (Creative Skillset 2010b, p.1).

Creative Skillset's research initiated this PhD project. The project had been advertised as a collaboration between the organization and Bournemouth University's Centre of Excellence in Media Practice (CEMP) in April 2009 with the original topic titled as: 'The widening gender gap in the UK's Creative Media Industries (CMI)'. I found out about the project via Creative Skillset's e-newsletter which I was signed up to as a result of my professional experience within the creative media industry. At the time of my application I was on maternity leave with my first child. To clarify my background, I have worked both in the UK television and film industry, starting as a runner[5] where I worked on a variety of screen productions across the film, television and advertising sectors before predominantly working in television documentary production. I then worked as a fundraiser for a women's film festival which advocated for more support for women to take lead creative roles in the film industry. I took a career break in 2007 to complete a masters in Gender and the Media from the London School of Economics. When this project was advertised, I saw it as an opportunity to bring together my professional and academic interests and in chapter three I discuss the impact that my own personal identity has had on this research project.

---

[5] In Appendix 2 I provide a glossary of job roles referred to in this thesis with a brief description of associated job description.

At the start of this project I inherited both this hypothesis and the body of research conducted by Creative Skillset. This led to some initial questions: When did this widening gender gap take place? When did women enter the industry in the first place? What other factors could have caused the reduction? I queried what was meant by the term 'creative media industries'; what job roles and working cultures are included in that definition? Does the gender gap in terms of production have an impact on the types of images that are available for consumption? What is specifically unique about working in that sector when compared to other sectors in the UK? Is a gender gap more likely in creative or media work? Could this research be considered in an international context, and if so how? I wanted to consider what value I could bring to this project that an established, well-funded organization could not. Finally, I wanted to examine this hypothesis that motherhood was the most significant factor in causing women to leave the industry. These questions have driven this research, shaped the literature consulted and the methodological approach undertaken.

1.3.1 How motherhood has been understood as a barrier to creative work

That motherhood is a particular issue for women in the creative media industries has been indicated through the available employment data. Creative Skillset's 2009 workforce survey found that 23% of the women in their study had dependent children living with them compared to 35% of men (Creative Skillset 2010b, p.5). There has been no recent analysis specifically addressing the employment of mothers by Creative Skillset since their 2010 report, however their 2012 census data reveals the continued under-representation of women reported at 39% compared to the wider UK labour market workforce where women comprise 51% of the population[6] and 47% of the workforce (Creative Skillset 2012). Compare this to the latest UK population data which shows that 74.1% of women with dependent children are

---

[6] UK 2011 Population Census (Office for National Statistics, in Creative Skillset 2012, p.2)

participating in the labour market compared to 75% of women with no dependent children (ONS 2015, p.7). This thesis does not mean to underscore inequalities experienced by women across the labour market. The high levels of representation of mothers in the workforce do not signify gender equality and there have been a number of studies that reveal gender inequality in other workforce sectors and the particular impact that motherhood has on women in the workforce (Costa Dias et al. 2016; Crompton 2003, 2006; Campbell and Childs 2012; Cahusac and Kanji 2013; Crosby et al. 2004; Fawcett society 2009; Savigny 2014; Smithson and Stokoe 2005; Stone 2007; Wajcman 1998; Williams 2005). That these inequalities persist despite the overturning of many structural and overt barriers that operated in the 1960s and 1970s is an important question for feminist scholars today.

The equating of care as being a predominantly female responsibility, one that is linked to biological concepts of maternity is a subject that requires detailed analysis. In the next chapter I review literature that charts the conceptual development of motherhood as a site of female repression to being understood as a multiple, socially constructed practice. In this chapter I want to introduce the themes that explore how these social changes have worked on individuals, producing agents who are subject to social processes. The theories that I review in this chapter produce the context for my discussion on how the social construction of the mother relates to workers who operate within the creative media workforce. By unpicking this theoretical framework I am able to develop my argument that inequality in the creative media industries is gendered according to women's biological maternal function through a complicated, social process.

1.4   Emerging industry, emerging theory

In my opening chapter one of the initial research questions that I posed is what is meant by the term 'creative media industries'? Which sectors does it incorporate and how has it been created? How does this relate to the concept of individualism as outlined in my opening section? The term 'creative media industries' is one adopted from Creative Skillset to refer to the predominantly audiovisual and digital sectors of the creative industries. In fact, Creative Skillset appear to be the only institution that explicitly refers to the 'creative media industries' adopting the term for their 2009 census and applying it to all research reports produced since then (Creative Skillset 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2012). The majority of scholarship or political documents on creative and or media work refer to either the creative or the cultural industries.

The term 'creative industries' was noted as regularly adopted by politicians following the creation of the Department for Culture, Media and Sports (DCMS) in 1999 by the then New Labour government who conducted a mapping exercise to define employment sectors within the arts which were rebranded as part of a 'creative industry' rather than 'cultural sector' (Garnham 2005; Oakley 2011; Townley et al. 2009). The sectors that fell under the 'creative' label included the audio-visual and digital sectors as well as architecture, advertising and publishing but not music, theatre, visual arts as these were deemed 'cultural' and not 'creative'. The mapping document defines creative sectors as:

> "… those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (DCMS 2001, p.5).

There are a number of theorists writing today who are interested on the relationship between economics, politics and the newly identified creative industries (Belfiore 2002, 2009; Bilton 2010; Garnham 2005; Hesmondhalgh 2005; Hesmondhalgh and Pratt 2005; Hesmondhalgh et

al. 2011; Oakley 2011). Political economist Nicholas Garnham has been particularly influential in the shift in terminology from cultural to creative industries and his 2005 paper discusses the growing status particularly amongst policy makers of the creative industries as a labour market, rather than as a personal experience. Garnham regards this change in language as a signifier of a shift to a marketized economic value driven concept of creativity (2005 see also Townley et al. 2009). The newly branded creative industries represented a driver for commerce in the Western world in the new economy, providing a solution to de-industrialization within the growing precariousness of globalization and its effects on the economy (Garnham, 2005). Hesmondhalgh and Baker cite an excerpt from a speech made by the then New Labour British Prime Minister Tony Blair shortly after his party's victory in 1997,

> "Britain was once the workshop of the world … It was defined by shipbuilding, mining and heavy industry … Once again Britain can claim to be leading the way. We can say with pride that we are the 'design workshop of the world' – leading a creative revolution." (quoted in Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011, p.4).

Thus the status of the creative workforce, in political terms, was raised to that of the drivers of economic growth.

> "the New Labour Party, under the leadership of Tony Blair, refined the now globalizing creative industries policy framework, which sought to join together the value-adding promise of symbolic production, the intellectual property imperative, and the enterprise culture of Thatcherism." (de Peuter 2014, p.264).

How then to relate the structural changes that have taken place in the creative media industry to the status of creative workers and the particular problem of female representation? As discussed in section 1.2 these structural changes which accelerated the development of the independent sector in the industry and the increased reliance on project-based labour have not resulted in increased female participation. In order to understand the relationship between these structural and social processes as manifested in the individualization thesis I discuss how they are emblematic of neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism is the term applied to describe the economic sphere that emerged following the Thatcher and Reagan political eras of the 1980s which incorporated "privatization, deregulation and a rolling back and withdrawing of the state from many areas of social provision" (Gill and Scharff 2013, p.5) and evolved into an ethical mode in itself, one that incorporates notions of economic autonomy, individual choice and responsibility. Angela McRobbie demonstrates how the process of neoliberalism was extended and accelerated in the democratic Clinton / New Labour Blair administrations through a concept of increasing welfare reform through a marketized framework drawing from Lisa Duggan's conception of neoliberalism as

> "… the implanting of market cultures across everyday life, the relentless pursuit of welfare reform, and the encouragement of forms of consumer citizenship which are beneficial only to those who are already privileged" (Duggan 2003 in McRobbie 2009, p.29).

Neoliberalism is a term that explains the relationship between structural, economic reform and "the lived realities of people's lives" (Gill and Scharff 2013, p.7). Ros Gill and Christina Scharff state in their introductory chapter to their edited collection of essays for *New Femininities: Postfeminism, Neoliberalism and Subjectivity* that they were driven by an interest in exploring the relationship between neoliberalism and postfeminism, calling for an understanding of how the processes that relate to these two concepts come to be internalized psychologically (2013; see also McRobbie 2009). In the next chapter I provide a detailed summary of postfeminism as a framework to understand the acceptance of oppressive gender regimes in relationship to motherhood. In this section I want to draw out how the structural changes that have taken place in the context of neoliberal reforms have both informed and are related to the individualism framework that drives reflexive modernity and explains how new labouring subjectivities have emerged in the context of the creative media industries. The

construction of the 'ideal' creative worker (Allen et al. 2013) that operates today has emerged through the neoliberal / individualized framework and scholarship from the developing body of literature on the creative and media industry workforce has exposed how the self-regulating forces of neoliberalism mask the exploitative and precarious working conditions of the industry (Banks 2007; Gill and Pratt 2008; McRobbie 1998, 2002; Ursell 2000). What I add to this literature is the impact of other subjective demands on the creative worker, the pressures placed on mothers who are, following Stephanie Taylor "other-oriented" (2010, p.368) by an alternative subjective construction. It is an exploration into the construction of this other maternal subjectivity, a subject I discuss in detail in the next chapter and in my empirical discussion that I expose the wider social processes that exclude women from creative work. In order to do this through I need to develop the relationship between individualism, neoliberalism and subjectivity thinking about how these concepts are exemplified within the context of creative labour.

1.5 Risk culture and precarious labour

I started this chapter with a reference to Anthony Giddens's inaugural lecture on *What do Sociologists Do?* (1987). The theoretical framework put forward by Giddens along with Ulrich Beck, Elizabeth Beck-Gernsheim and Scott Lash is fundamental to understanding the masking of new forms of inequality that operate in contemporary society. As I outlined in my opening introduction to this chapter the institutional processes associated with second modernity require that the individual social agent self-manage and self-monitor their own biographies (Giddens 1991). Reflexivity according to Beck and Giddens is individual's awareness of the consequences of their action and behavior (ibid, p.20). Linked to their concept of reflexivity was the notion of risk. Risk culture is seen as an organizing factor of the social world (Giddens 1991, p.4). The concept of the risk society explains the procedure whereby risk rises out from the obsoleteness of industrial society via the process of modernization shifting both responsibility and agency from the institution to the individual (Beck et al. 1994; Deuze 2007). How to then apply this concept of risk to the practices of labour and subjective demands within the creative media industries? There are a number of theorists engaged in the topic of how precarity operates within the creative sector (de Peuter 2011, 2013, 2014; Gill and Pratt 2008; McRobbie 1998, 2002; Ursell 1998, 2000). This literature is interested in the consequences of neoliberalism such as the political breakdown of large institutional organizations such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), the development of an unregulated, independent sector and the transference of risk from the institution to the individual (Antcliff 2005; Born 2005; de Peuter 2011, 2014; de Peuter and Dyer-Witheford 2006; Dex et al. 2000, Ursell 1998, 2000, 2003). In essence what I am describing is how the macro structures of creative production part-responded and part-constructed the shifts in modernity that have created the conditions of existence that creative media workers operate within today. On the micro level there are a number of studies that

have looked at how these structures have affected the creative media workforce. Gillian Ursell (1998, 2000) considers the impact of flexible labour on the TV production workforce in the UK defining the working conditions as deteriorating and exploitative. Helen Blair (2001, 2003) mirrors this theme in her work on labour processes and markets in the UK film industry and similar descriptions can be found in Angela McRobbie's work (2002, 2004) on the working conditions of the music and fashion industries. What these empirical studies reveal is how the flexible working culture of the creative industries takes responsibility and risk away from the employer and hands it over to the individual workers with significant effects to that workforce contributing to this association between creative work and the reflexive, risk society but exposing it as a subjective process that operates on the individual. Work-based employment across these sectors is marked by its precariousness and instability, a lack of unionized official support which leads to 'bulimic' working patterns (Gill and Pratt 2008) producing subjects who are constricted within an "addictive environment" (Rowlands and Handy 2012, p.657). Thus the construction of the ideal creative worker is one that performs a "pragmatic adjustment of behaviour to the rigours of flexibility" (de Peuter 2014, p. 264)

The rewards of creative and media related work are the process of self-realization that creative work is said to achieve (Banks 2007; McRobbie 1998, 2002; Rowlands and Handy 2012; Ursell 2000). McRobbie has described this relationship as the "pleasure pain axis" (quoted in Gill 2014, p.514) to account for the celebration of the expressive and social possibilities and pleasure associated with creative work and the precarious, vulnerable position that creative workers are placed in the context of the un-regulated, un-unionized precarious sector (Banks 2007; Gill and Pratt 2008; McRobbie 2002; Taylor and Littleton 2013). Thus the requirements and demands of the ideal creative worker have increased within a neoliberal framework which places economic drivers as a key factor of creative value and

developed through intensive working patterns whereby impossible deadlines known as 'crunch times' are now normalized across creative production (de Peuter and Dyer-Witheford 2006).

The theoretical concept that many of these theorists engage with in order to understand how creative workers continue to participate in precarious working practices is the framework on psychological internalization drawn from Nikolas Rose (1989). Rose, influenced by Foucault's concept of 'technologies of the self' describes how a range of practices or technologies including science, psychology, self-help, personal management that emerged in contemporary society ensure that individuals construct and manage their own biographies (Rose 1989 and 1992 in Skeggs 2004, p.21 also McRobbie 2009 p.18 and Walkerdine 2003, p.240). Rose provides a framework to think about the internalization of self-management. Walkerdine refers to his concept that subjects in late modernity are self-governed through an "obligation to be free" which is built on values of autonomy and self-realization, in which "each individual must render his or her life as meaningful as if it were the outcome of individual choices made in furtherance of a biographical project of self-realization" (Rose 1999 in Walkerdine 2003, p.240). Gill and Scharff draw from Rose along with Wendy Brown to think about the psychosocial process of neoliberalism. Rose does not refer to the creative sector but rather how a range of different technologies and knowledge systems deployed across science, education, personal management "have been designed to produce a self that not only fits the capitalist system, but provides it with new resources and services from which profit can be extracted" (Skeggs 2004, p.21). Thus from Rose, Foucault's concept of governmentality can be adopted to understand how certain processes and practices "get inside us" to show how "modes of power [operate] increasingly on and through the making and remaking of subjectivities" (Gill and Scharff 2013, p.8). Rose provides a concept that enables

an understanding of how exploitive and precarious employment procedures that operate within the creative media workforce are accepted, internalized and even contributed to by the 'new labouring subjectivities' (Banks 2007; Conor 2010; McRobbie 1998, 2002; Taylor 2010). Although there has been an acknowledgement that women within the creative media sector are subject to other demands of the self (Taylor 2010) this body of literature has not explored in detail how mothers are a particular victim of these labour driven subjective processes. In the next section, I look at the concept of subjectivity in relationship to both second modernity and its operation through the example of creative labour.

1.5.1   Subjectivity and the ideal creative media worker

> The ideal creative worker is willing to do anything for the 'love' of their work including working overtime or for free. Such practices produce an ethic of self-reliance and personal culpability whereby those who do not – or cannot – 'give everything' risk being read as not committed enough, a vulnerable subject who allows factors to come between themselves and success. (Allen et al. 2013, p.437).

The literature on the motivations and experiences of those that work in the creative media have been divided between those that are celebratory (Florida 2002) and those that expose discourses of self-exploitation and precarity (Gill and Pratt 2008; McRobbie 1998, 2002; Ursell 2000). Stephanie Taylor and Karen Littleton in a chapter titled 'Negotiating a contemporary creative identity' (2013) explore these different contemporary constructions of creative workers' identity and propose a more "complex form of identification or subjectification" which they link to "the multiple positionings and meanings in play around creativity and creative work" (2013, p.154). They draw on both Giddens and Beck's concept of individualization and Rose's theory of subjectification to explain how the difficulties and exploitative conditions of precarious labour are accepted internally in the pursuit of creative fulfillment and argue that creative work can been seen as a "site of subjectification" (p.157)

but one, following Ian Burkitt that needs to take into account "the relational contexts of everyday life with its various cultures and subcultures, social networks and groups, out of which emerge fully-rounded, if always unfinalized selves" (Burkitt 2008 in Taylor and Littleton 2013, p.157). Subjectivity is a concept that explains the social practices that call a subject into being. Burkitt cites Foucault as providing the best description of the term's dual nature of being "subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to [our] own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge" (1982 in Burkitt 2008, p.237). Feminist scholars have drawn on the concept of subjectivity in relationship to the construction of gender and gender roles; for example Judith Butler who describes subjectivity as "the means by which cultural forms and interpellations (or dominant social processes) call women into being (Butler 1990, 1993 in McRobbie 2009, p.13). The term is useful therefore in connection both to the creation and understanding of creative workers' subjectivities but also that of mothers. Subjectivity also allows an understanding of how contemporary practices alter the construction of the self. Burkitt looks specifically on the how neoliberal discourses have shaped the everyday world and how subjects have responded to this (2008). He refers to Valerie Walkerdine's explanation of how neoliberal discourses, tied up with these notions of individualism, self-actualization and reflexivity are producing contemporary subjects:

> "… there is a form of economic rationalism now dominating many regions of the world that demands an autonomous subject that can cope with any conditions thrown at it" (Walkerdine 2002 in Burkitt 2008, p.239).

This concept of subjectivity can be readily applied to the creative worker. Burkitt draws from Richard Sennett's work on work conditions in the contemporary neoliberal individualized society whereby "the long-term disappears and is replaced by short-term contracts and flexible work routines" which following Sennett's argument, Burkitt claims, "eats away at the networks of intercorporeal and intersubjective relations in which life narratives are embedded" (Sennett 1998 in Burkitt 2008, p.239). Mark Deuze applies Sennett's theory

directly to that of the short-term, portfolio lifestyle associated with media work (2007) and although not directly related to Sennett, Grieg de Peuter's paper on the convergence between the creative economy and labour precarity explores the subjective demands on the creative worker and their resources for agency (2011). However, none of these examples look in detail at how these processes are gendered. Gender as a factor of exclusion, and the other subjective demands placed on women are acknowledged (Conor 2010; Gill 2002; O'Brien A. 2014; Taylor 2010) but there is no specific focus on how alternative subjective demands that women are subject to intersect and clash with those of the creative worker. Nor is there a consideration of how the production of the individualized creative worker is enabled through the intersubjective work carried out by women both within the industry itself and in the domestic sphere. This is the argument presented in Lisa Adkins's critique of the individualization thesis where she uses the term 'retraditionalization' to expose both women's limited opportunities in the modern labour market and how the emergence of traditional gender divides enable the participation of men (Adkins 1999). Drawing from a study on Italian-American families by California Leonardo and her own empirical work on the UK tourist industry Adkins shows how reflexive production is based on a gendered dichotomy with women framed (drawing from Lash 1994) as the "reflexivity losers" (Adkins 1999, p.125) excluded from knowledge-intensive occupations and also responsible for the continuation of a sense of community through their work in the home and wider social networks. Thus:

> "Individualization in terms of the labour market – becoming an individualized worker – may therefore be said to be a gendered process which relies on, or is founded on the appropriation of women's labour in the private sphere" (Adkins 1999, p. 128).

Adkins applies how gendered labour can be detected through her empirical work on the UK tourist industry where she identified how companies within that industry employed a number of "married teams" comprising of a husband and wife couple to manage an establishment. Her

observations on the labour processes within the "married teams" exposed how the male partner's ability to operate within the labour market was based on the appropriation of the female role (Adkins 1999, p.130). In chapters four and five of this thesis I look in more detail at this concept of 'married teams' and female labour appropriation as it emerged as a key finding in my own empirical study (see also chapter three and Appendix 1 for participant information revealing the number of interviewees who were employed in a similar sector to their partner). Here I apply Adkins' concept of 'retraditionalization' to this body of literature that looks at how the identity of the creative worker is subject to certain demands of control and regulation as a means to explores this as a gendered process, one that is based on traditional gender divisions of labour and a notion that women have alternative identity constructions that they are subject to.

Looking in detail therefore at what the subjective demands of the mother in contemporary society and how that identity intersects with that of the creative labourer is where I make my original contribution to this body of literature on creative work. As previously stated it has been acknowledged that framing motherhood as the issue of gender inequality in creative work masks wider processes of sexism and sex-based discrimination that operate within the industry (Gill 2014) but my approach is to look at how. Thinking about motherhood as a constructed practice, one that is itself governed by neoliberal subjective demands on the individual provides one aspect of how motherhood acts as a catalyst for female withdrawal from the sector but my approach has been to take this concept further. I have found through this study that reviewing the literature on the fluid, multiple subjective constructions of motherhood exposes the dominant, normalized constructions of maternal practice that the participants referred and were subject to. It was this recognition of a dominant and classed construction of motherhood that enabled a consideration of other identity based inequalities

that operate within the creative media industry resulting in a particular link between social class and gender that related to women's participation in the workforce. In chapter six I develop this relationship through a framework based on value.

This concept of motherhood as a socially constructed practice emerged from a review of the literature on motherhood going back to the second wave feminist movement up to today (Baraitser 2009; Blair-Loy 2003; Butler 2006; Chodorow 1978; Hill Collins 2000; Jeremiah 2006; Kristeva 1986; Oakley 1981; Parker 2005; Rich 1986; Ruddick 1995; Snitow 1992 - see the next chapter for the full discussion). What emerged from my own empirical research was the link between mothering practice and social class. This finding was initially an observation from my pilot study of interviews with nine women from the industry where I observed that all the participants had similar educational and social backgrounds. The relationship between how social class informs attitude towards parenting was then extended to the question of class and the social composition of the creative media workforce. As I mentioned in my opening introduction, within the emerging knowledge of inequalities in the sector there has been an acknowledged recognition of the part that social class has played with regard to access into the industry and career progression (Grugulis and Stoyanova 2012; O'Brien, D. et al. 2016; Randle et al. 2014). In the case of my research motherhood practice has become a construct through which to explore the relationship between women, social class and creative labour. In the next section I briefly discuss how social class has been recognized as having a significant impact on the social composition of the creative media industry, how this relates to the wider discussion on subjective identities and how Pierre Bourdieu's framework on how social agents are arranged in society becomes a useful platform to understand the relationship between the creative worker and the mother.

1.6   The problem of social class

Social class as a theoretical concept was for a period of time during the 1980s and 90s a diminished concept in the academic community[7] (Dorling 2014; Savage et al. 2013; Skeggs 2015). According to Giddens and Beck the influence of social class in relation to employment opportunities was redundant in the context of individualization with Beck defining class as a "zombie category", irrelevant in the current age and yet kept alive by persistent academic interest in the subject (Beck 1992 in Skeggs 2015, p.206 see also Reay 2006). Beck's argument on class irrelevance was grounded in concepts of self-actualization whereby:

> "..the individual himself or herself becomes the reproduction unit for the social in the lifeworld…[and] class loses its sub-cultural basis and is no longer experienced" (Beck 1992 in Skeggs 2004, p.52).

Thus individual agency and reflection forms the basis of employment opportunity, albeit governed by risk, and class based identity is no longer a factor in labour market participation. Many scholars (Savage 2000; Crompton 2002, 2006, 2010; Skeggs 1997, 2004; Reay 1998, 2006; Walkerdine and Lucey 1989 in Lawler 2000; Walkerdine 2003) have challenged this concept. Crompton labels this thesis as a 'pseudo-debate' arguing that the proposal "proves to be an argument about the end of class *consciousness*, (or specific class identities) rather than the end of class-related inequalities" (Crompton 2010, p.11 emphasis in original). Crompton asserts that the relationship between class and employment is still firmly operational whereby social class determines employment opportunities available to social agents but what has contributed to a notion of class as redundant is the criticism around how class is measured (2010). Crompton summarizes the varied definitions of class from the Marxist / Weberian inspired occupation based classed schema developed in the 1980s by John Goldthorpe and his associates which informed the creation of the National Statistics Socio-Economic

---

[7] Although Sociologist Bev Skeggs argued that she along with other feminist scholars including Val Walkerdine, Rosemary Crompton and Diane Reay continued to fight for and apply class narratives to their theoretical work (see Skeggs 2015, p. 206).

Classification (NS-SEC) framework deployed in the UK (Crompton 2010 see also Savage et al. 2015) to Skeggs's focus on class as a cultural process (2004 in Crompton 2010). What Crompton argues is that the concept of class will vary according to both the questions asked and the theoretical framework adopted by different authors. She recognizes that changes brought about via neoliberalism and in the welfare state that question older class schemas but advocates for a continued acceptance of the link between class, the family and employment stating;

> "… for most people, 'class' outcomes are in large part a consequence of the kinds of employment available to them, which is itself closely linked to the kinds of employment available to the adults in their families of origin" (Crompton 2010, p.10).

Thus the family is constructive of the subjective class based labour opportunities available to the individual. This can then be applied to a relationship between background, social class and access to the creative media industry. Awareness of the growing level of employment based inequalities across the wider labour market has been one of the factors that has inspired a renewed interest in social class inequality. This renewal of interest fed into Mike Savage and Fiona Devine's construction of the Great British Class Survey (GBCS), a survey constructed in collaboration with the BBC's online "class calculator" developed in reaction to the recognized failings of the occupational based class schema that informed the NS-SEC (BBC 2013; Savage et al, 2015). The creators of this survey sought to develop a framework that would incorporate the "multi-dimensional" aspect of class construction, one that recognized that "classes are not merely economic phenomena but are also profoundly concerned with forms of social reproduction and cultural distinction" (Savage et al. 2015, p.223). Skeggs summarizes the criticism of the GBCS and, in particular, its methodological framework and relationship with both a public and private corporation in the generation of its data (Skeggs 2015). What is relevant to this discussion is how the authors of the GBCS developed their categories following a Bourdieusian framework which enables a concept of class as not

related to just the economic, but the interplay between the economic, social and cultural factors as manifested in the individual actor. Bourdieu's framework on class distinction has become a popular framework to understand how class facilitates social agents' entry and experience within the creative media industries (Benson 1999; Blair 2009; Grugulis and Stoyanova 2012; Hesmondhalgh 2006; Lee 2011; Randle et al. 2014) and chapter six explores in detail the consequences of class distinction and the symbolic operation of value linked to identity. Bourdieu's framework however as argued by many feminist theorists (Moi 1991; Skeggs 1997; Skeggs and Adkins 2004; Lovell 2004) does not sufficiently account for how these class based practices are gendered. Thus in order to develop Bourdieu's framework I apply feminist "appropriation" (Moi 1991) of his work to explore the relationship between class and gender (Moi 1991; Adkins and Skeggs 2004; Skeggs 2004; Lawler 2000, 2004; Lovell 2004; Reay 2002, 2004, 2006; Reay et al. 2008).

Bourdieu's concept of class distinction developed over a canon of literature a selection of which has been consulted for this thesis (1977, 1990, 1993, 2010; Bourdieu and Passeron 2000; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Influenced by Marx's concept of material consciousness, however in contrast to Marx, Bourdieu's conceives that class cannot be reduced to economic materialism and access to the means of production (1977). Class is more complicated, more dispersive and linked to different practices, strategies, characteristics that make individuals distinct from each other:

> "It is only on condition that it poses the question which the *doxic* experience of the social world excludes by definition – the question of the (particular) conditions making that experience possible – that objectivist knowledge can establish both the structures of the social world and the objective truth of primary experience as experience denied *explicit* knowledge (Bourdieu 1977, p.3 emphasis in original).

'Doxa' is a term used by Bourdieu to describe the phenomenon in which the natural and social world appear self-evident (1977, 1993). How does Bourdieu's framework of social

class distinction relate to gender inequality within those that work in the creative media industries? Bourdieu's theory provides a platform through which to consider social power and how it is dispersed, internalized and reproduced in society. This concept is important to my study on how individuals conceive of themselves as both the 'creative worker' and the 'mother'. Bourdieu's framework provides what Toril Moi described as a "*microtheory* of social power" (1991, p.1019 emphasis in original), a framework to think about how identity is socially constructed and then reproduced within both those 'roles' but then how the factor of gender exposes the social powers that determine what roles are available to the male / female subject. I return to Bourdieu's concept throughout this thesis but in particular in chapter six as a way to understand the relationship between the two roles that my thesis explores that of the ideal creative worker and the intensive mother. I use Bourdieu to understand the subjective construction of the creative worker / mother and also to show how the practices of one are symbolically inscribed on the other. In order to support my appropriation of Bourdieu's theory the next section outlines the key concepts that this work has drawn upon.

1.7   Appropriating Bourdieu

Bourdieu's theory provides a conceptual framework to think about how power operates within society not through a ubiquitous Foucauldian concept but through the practices that structure everyday life (Bourdieu 1977). As Moi explains, his concept allows a consideration of the microcosms of power, how aspects of everyday life become socially significant in an understanding of the construction of power (Moi 1991). His theory of power is therefore different from concepts developed by Marx or Gramsci – economic, through modes of production or produced through cultural hegemony (Moi 1991, p. 1019). What Bourdieu provides according to Moi is a "*microtheory* of social power" (ibid.) a means to think how social practices are linked to social constructions.

Bourdieu's actual work on gender as already mentioned was found to be lacking (Moi 1991; Adkins and Skeggs 2004 Lovell 2004) however Moi recognized a comparison between Bourdieu's framework of social power and the feminist claim that gender is a social construction. She then developed a paper which set out her claim of appropriating Bourdieu's theory for feminist research which she defines as:

> "By "appropriation" I understand a critical assessment of a given theory formation with a view to taking it over and using it for feminist purposes. Appropriation, then, is theoretically somewhat more modest than a full-scale critique and has a relatively well-defined concrete purpose." (1991, p.1017).

Thus I apply Moi's concept of "appropriating" Bourdieu's theoretical framework to a feminist study on the practices that are linked to social agents who operate within the creative media industries. Bourdieu's work on the media industry has also, like gender been found to be lacking (Couldry 2003 and Hallin and Mancini in Hesmondhalgh 2006). As such there is a double appropriation operating in this thesis, applicable to both practices associated with gender and those associated with the creative worker within the context of strategies that are available to social actors within modernity as outlined in the previous section. In the next section I discuss how Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and capital can be applied to the creative media industries.

1.7.1   Bourdieu's framework: field, habitus and capital

The first key 'Bourdieusian' term is his concept of the field. The term field refers to a social space, sphere or setting within which human practices take place. It can be conceived of as "a social universe with its own laws of functioning" (Bourdieu 1993, p.14). The field sets the parameters for human interactions with each other and the institutional structures, Bourdieu often referred to the field as the space where a "game takes place" and as "a field of objective

relations between individuals or institutions who are competing for the same stake" (1984 in Moi 1991, p.1021). In his work with Jean-Claude Passeron, Bourdieu used the example of the French education system as a field showing how the structure of the education system generated social inequalities (1990). Bourdieu and Passeron argued that the structure of the education system had been developed by social agents from the upper and middle classes producing a system or field that was geared towards those classes tastes and practices. As such, working class students felt alienated by the system and turned away from higher education through the perception that it was "not for the likes of us" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, p.157). This internalization or rejection of the system is how Bourdieu explores power. For him, social power is linked to the concept of the field – the aim of the game is to rule the field and power is achieved through the concept of legitimacy. Bourdieu defines legitimacy as:

> "An institution, action or usage which is dominant, but not recognized as such…. that is to say, which is tacitly accepted, is legitimate" (1984 in Moi 1991, p.1021).

According to Bourdieu (and Passeron if applied to the school system example) power works when it is tacitly accepted. As such the level of academic achievement of students from different class backgrounds is 'taken for granted' without a critical examination of how the field either enables or limits participants. The alienation experienced by certain groups of social actors is understood through Bourdieu's concept of 'symbolic violence'. Symbolic violence is described as "soft violence – once has been legitimated it is then unrecognizable as violence" (Moi 1991, p. 1023). These terms 'field', 'doxa', 'symbolic violence' have been used by a number of social theorists to understand gendered processes of power in society (McRobbie 2002; Skeggs 1997) and others have applied Bourdieu's concept of the field to consider social exclusion from certain institutional sites for example informal science education institutions (Dawson 2014). In chapter six, I look at the symbolic violence that women in the field of creative media production are subject to which is legitimized through

the construction of the "intensive mother" (Hays 1996, see next chapter for discussion on motherhood).

Bourdieu's theory can be conceived of as a general framework through which to analyze the microcosms of power as they are enacted in everyday life (Moi 1991; Hesmondhalgh 2006). Interestingly, Bourdieu's writing that related to the field of cultural production (1993) specifically on television and journalism (1998/1996 in Hesmondhalgh 2006) was found insufficient through his failure to take into account "large-scale, 'heteronomous' commercial cultural production" and its "significance in determining conditions in the sub-field in which he is clearly much more interested" (Hesmondhalgh 2006, p.217). Bourdieu's concept of cultural production as a field therefore offers a theoretical framework to understand how the production of cultural commodities are made in an everyday action and how they related to wider power structures in society for example politics and the law, but according to Hesmondhalgh he does not consider the relationship between the structure and the production of symbolic goods. This relationship between those that influence the production of creative and cultural commodities and the goods produced is not a subject that I have specifically addressed in this thesis, my focus being on the practices that limit women within the workforce. However, it is a subject that I consider in my concluding chapter when I discuss the legacy of gender inequality in the production of creative media commodities. For now, I want to acknowledge that Bourdieu's theory can be felt as a useful platform to think about the subjective workings of power and how the concepts: 'field' 'doxa' and 'symbolic violence' are reproduced and internalized by social agents. In order to do that I will look at Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' and 'capital'.

Bourdieu conceives of habitus as the ritualized practices, strategies, dispositions deployed or displayed by the social agents within the field. Each field is constructed of individuals who draw from a habitus that is "adjusted to the game [of the field]" (Moi 1991, p.1021). As such, the concept of 'habitus' is interdependent with that of the 'field' in that the objective structures of the field require agents with certain dispositions. Moi defines habitus as "the totality of general dispositions acquired through practical experience in the field" (p.1021). Habitus is not biological or passive, it is "an active generative set of unformulated dispositions" (Moi 1991, p.1022). In his study on the generative nature of taste outlined in *Distinction* (first translated publication in 1984, this thesis draws from the 2010 publication) Bourdieu shows a link between cultural taste and social position. *Distinction* is the product of Bourdieu's empirical research on French society undertaken in the 1960s but his approach has influenced sociological constructions of class differentiation today (Savage et al. 2013). For Bourdieu this concept of 'distinction' is linked to this notion of legitimacy and the acceptance of dominant forms of taste is a form of symbolic violence (2010; see also Bourdieu and Wacquant 2007). Applying this to their example of the French school system, Bourdieu and Passeron argued that participation and academic achievement in the system was based on the habitus of the social agents within the field. Supposedly open and meritocratic systems which actually maintained the existing social order concealed the practices of social inequality (not having the right taste, social or cultural knowledge for example) and thus masks how class inequality is reproduced: symbolic violence. Habitus thus ensures power within the field. It is dynamic and fluid, actors can deploy habitus strategically according to the rules of the field (Bourdieu 1977; Moi 1991). What differentiates Bourdieu from either an economic-materialist consideration of power (Marx) or cultural hegemonic theory (Gramsci) is his breakdown of the measurements of distinction, the four types of 'capital': economic, social, cultural and symbolic. These concepts of 'capital' although generic are made distinct,

50

according to Bourdieu, in direct relation to their relative field (2007, p.101). In fact, Bourdieu

claimed that

> *"capital presents itself under three fundamental species* (each with its own subtypes), namely economic capital, cultural capital and social capital…. To these we must add symbolic capital, which is the form that one or another of these species takes when it is grasped through categories of perception that *recognize* its specific logic or, if you prefer, misrecognize the arbitrariness of its possession and accumulation." (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2007, p.119 emphasis in original).

As Moi interprets, each field has a particular structure which relies on the distribution of a

certain type of capital and that "[t]he right to speak, legitimacy, is invested in those agents

recognized by the field as powerful possessors of capital" (1991, p.1022). The system of

capital therefore drives mechanisms of exclusion, those who have access to symbolic capital,

their relationship to the habitus of the field, power and symbolic violence. This is an

important point to note when thinking about the nature of gender exclusion in the creative

media workforce. In chapter six, I consider how the practices of mothering are symbolically

inscribed onto the female creative worker. This has an impact on how female workers are

valued within the field, whether they have a child or not. This concept of symbolic value is

then converted into symbolic capital, which explains why despite female workers having

access to the same cultural (understood as the individual's access to cultural knowledge,

educational achievement)[8] and social (understood as the individual's social connections with

others) capital their gendered embodiment of an alternative female habitus inscribed with the

potential of motherhood impacts on their economic capital (access to financial worth or the

economic worth of their identity). Thus, female workers are devalued within the industry both

economically and symbolically, a position that I later explore leads to a "forced choice" of

withdrawal from the industry (Stone 2007, p,111).

---

[8] This point on educational value can be supported with the Creative Skillset data which shows that despite women's higher economic achievement, they are still paid less than their male counterparts (Creative Skillset 2010b).

Bourdieu defines the relationship between these concepts in a formula: "[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice" (2010, p.95). Practice is a result of the relationships between habitus and capital within the specific field. This framework allows for the exposure of symbolic violence when it is applied to what types of 'capital' are valued in a certain field. My thesis is about gender and as Moi points out Bourdieu does not consider gendered capital in his theoretical conception. However feminist appropriation of Bourdieu's theory has applied this framework to certain gendered fields (Skeggs 1997; Reay 2004a, 2004b; Lawler 2000, 2004). In my research I look at the gendered nature of symbolic violence in the doxic construction of the creative worker. The figure of the mother and the 'taken-for-grantedness' assumptions of mothering practice (which I outline in the next chapter) is classed and this classed impression is inscribed on the female creative worker. This has an impact on how women are valued within the industry. My thesis examines how women carry this maternal inscription of symbolic violence from the moment they enter the field of creative media production. In the next section (1.7.2) I will summarize how Bourdieu's concept of field, habitus and capital have been applied in the study of the media industry and what new knowledge has emerged through a consideration of the subjective examination of the creative worker.

1.7.2 Applying Bourdieu to the field of creative media production

As stated, although Bourdieu's work on the industry was found lacking (Couldry 2003 and Hallin and Mancini 2004 in Hesmondhalgh 2006) a number of empirical studies relating to the social composition of the creative media industries have applied a Bourdieusian framework (Benson 1999; Blair 2009; Grugulis and Stoyanova 2012; Hesmondhalgh 2006; Lee 2011; Randle et al. 2014). David Hesmondhalgh in an article about Bourdieu, the media and cultural production states that Bourdieu's work was received with "some ambivalence in Anglo-American media studies" (2006, p.211) particularly in those theorists whose theoretical focus was on the cultural text as opposed to the construction of cultural production. Hesmondhalgh refers to Nicholas Garnham and Raymond Williams' 1980 paper which sought to inject Bourdieu's structuralist approach back into a field which at the time had shifted its scholarly focus to the text:

> "the problem of ideology away from the economic and class determinants, seen as vulgarly economistic or sociologistic, and towards the 'text' as the privileged site for relatively autonomous signifying practice and for the deciphering by means of symptomatic readings of the ideological effectivity of those practices." (1980, p.210).

The value of Bourdieu is recognized even then as bringing back classic empirical social research into questions of ideology and power which the post-modern influences school of cultural studies had moved away from. However, as Hesmondhalgh argues, Bourdieu's own conception of the specific media industry was too generalized, lacking in its incorporation of the wider economic practice and structure of creative production and consumption (Hesmondhalgh 2006). Hesmondhalgh reminds readers that Bourdieu's conception of the field of cultural production was broad, incorporating science, law and religion as well as "expressive-aesthetic activities such as art, literature and music" (2006, p.212) and thus different to the construction of the creative media industry that I refer to. However, academics within the critical media industry studies / production studies paradigm are drawing from

Bourdieu's theories to consider the relationship between the social agents within the field of creative work and the objective structures that define the rules of the game in order to produce a deeper understanding of the dynamic nature of inequality within the creative media industries. This literature is linked to the understanding of how precarious labour conditions as discussed in section 1.5.1 work reflexively on creative subjects. As I discussed, the acceptance and reproduction of certain exploitative working practices and the continued participation in an unstable labour market has been linked to theories drawn from neoliberalism, reflexive modernity and governmentality. The concept of class adds another dynamic, showing how social identity becomes an enabling factor, one that allows certain actors to participate within this creative culture and acting as a barrier to those who do not possess the necessary social, economic and cultural capital.

This concept can be understood when looking at the entry requirements into the creative media industries and the industry-wide reliance on unpaid work experience placements. David Lee comments on how the "working for nothing" culture currently predominant in the independent television production sector serves as a class filter, enabling only those with external financial support to gain the experience necessary to bargain for paid work (Lee 2011b, p.558). The requirement of unpaid internships as a necessary entry requirement for creative and media related occupations has been discussed in detail by a number of scholars interested in the classed composition of the creative industry and also the relationship between creative work and Higher Education (Ashton 2013, 2015; Ashton and Noonan 2013; Noonan 2013; Allen et al. 2012; Eikof and Warhurst 2013; Perlin 2011). The reliance on early entrant's unpaid labour across the creative sector is symptomatic of the individualized, neoliberal reflexive economy (Perlin 2011; Ross 2009) and also contributes to its reproduction. Keith Randle and colleagues' study into the social composition of the UK film

and television industry describe a "practice-acceptance-internalization-practice cycle" (2014, p.5), which operates within the sector whereby practitioners are socialized into and then reproduce the rules of the game. Thus the social limitation of entrants through unpaid working practices serves to restrict access from wider social groups. This is coupled with a geographic dynamic with creative employment clustered in urban centres including London with rising living costs making it hard for those from low incomes to afford the creative lifestyle (Higgs et al. 2008). This knowledge directly attacks the meritocratic and regeneration concept of the 'creative class' as put forward by Richard Florida (2002) and instead shows how economic and geographical barriers operate within the sector from the moment of entrance.

Coupled with barriers of entrance to the creative professions are other factors that contribute to the 'rules of the game'. These factors include how identity is linked to employment within a project-based labour market. Networking and the reliance on personal contacts as a means to secure employment have been exposed as having an active effect on the social composition of the creative workforce (Randle et al. 2014). Helen Blair uses the term 'active networking' which she defines as integrating "objective position in social structure with the embeddedness of actors in networks of personal relations to provide a causal explanation for the resources and opportunities that accrue to individual network members" (2009, p.116). This concept is applied to the British film industry labour market but she makes the point that this process of active networking is something within which social actors "knowingly and instrumentally engage" (ibid). Blair applies Bourdieu's concept on the subjective relationship between the agency – the social actors involved in the structure of the network. She then uses Bourdieu to criticize the concept of 'network theory' developed by Manuel Castells to understand the status of "information and knowledge intensive products in the emergence of a new phase of capitalist development" (Castells 1996 in Blair 2009 p.116). What her empirical research

found was the impact of the individual participant's position in wider social structures – family, friends, wider contacts and their ability to secure work. She states that they are not mere 'bearers of social relations" (p.132) due to the strategic and conscious engagement with this process.

Susan Christopherson used the term 'exclusionary networks' (2009) to describe the reliance on networking and employing who you know to manage the risk associated with creative and media work. Building on Richard Caves' 'nobody knows' (2000) description of the production process and its outcome in creative work, Christopherson talks of how "defensive exclusionary networks" are a means within the industry that results in the persistent dominance of white, middle class men (2009, p. 75). This mechanism of networking which is considered "crucial" (Lee 2011b) to the process of securing work in certain sectors of the creative industry, particularly film and TV, has provoked some interesting empirical research on its particular impact on women. A large qualitative study with workers from the UK's film and TV industries (86 interviews) carried out by Irena Grugulis and Dimitrinka Stoyanova (2012) revealed networking as a gendered process that limited the opportunities available to women and members from ethnically diverse or working class backgrounds. Applying a Bourdieusian framework, Grugulis and Stoyanova discuss how social capital influences the "type and quality of resources network members have access to" (2012, p.1312), channeling media professionals who were male, white and middle class into higher paid, more quality work which would increase their reputation and ensure further career success. Building on theories of social capital outlined by Dalton (1966 in Grugulis and Stoyanova 2012) and Granovetter's concept of 'weak ties' (1995 in Grugulis and Stoyanova 2012) they found that "middle class educational experience and cultural capital" (2012, p.1312) have become synonymously linked with 'creativity' and that social capital is used as a "distribution

mechanism rather than a value generator" (2012, p.1313). This research revealed profound effects on women, working class and Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) workers in the creative industries whose networks were of decreased value when compared to their white, male, middle-class counterparts.

1.7.3 Subjective resistance within the field

Within the emerging literature on how power operates within the field of creative media production and the structures and practices that social agents are subject to has been a recognition of acts of resistance. Greig de Peuter's 2014 paper reviews collective and aggregate action of creative workers across a number of urban locations. He cites Isabell Lorey's remark that

> "In insecure, flexibilised and discontinuous work and living conditions, subjectifications arise that do not wholly correspond to a neoliberal logic of exploitation" (Lorey 2010 in de Peuter 2014, p.277).

De Peuter's research is not tied to a particular sector within the creative industries because he is interested in the issues that cause resistance and collective action. His concern is that these wider collective movements will be overlooked in research focused on one particular sector. de Peuter refers to campaigns and groups across the US, France, Italy and the UK who actively recognize the impact of precarious labour conditions within their chosen professions and have set up practices to counter their effects. Some of these campaigns have been responses to local issues such as the New York Freelancer's Union infrastructure set up to protect members "unmet need for medical insurance" (p.268) or the UK's Musicians Union 'Work not play' campaign launched after members reported being asked to perform at the 2012 London Olympics for free. What de Peuter's article exposes is that conditions of precarity are not passively accepted and reproduced by subjects and that they are responding to the structural limitations associated with creative labour for example lack of union support

for collective bargaining, limited policy or a legal infrastructure by aggregating and setting up collective actions based on specific precarious related activity. De Peuter makes the point that "intern activists have broached the taboo topics of labour exploitation and workers' rights among the children of neoliberalism" (p.269) suggesting that this next generation of entrants into the industry are not passively accepting the conditions of employment that they are inheriting and finding ways to challenge them.

1.8   Conclusion

Within de Peuter's article there is no mention of gender-related resistance to creative structures however the emergence of campaigning groups within the UK such as Raising Films (www.raisingfilms.com), a group that calls for the recognition and support of parents and carers within the film and television industries along with wider support networks including Women in Film and Television suggest that the means of resistance are forming.

What is lacking from this literature in relation to gender however is how other social roles linked to women within the creative media industry impact on their ability to develop and progress. Appropriating Bourdieu provides a framework to think about how these roles operate symbolically. In my research project what emerged from the interview data was how motherhood was described as a relief from the pressures of creative and media work. Women would describe how motherhood gave them a legitimate way out of the profession which then caused them to reflect on the unfair and exploitative conditions that they had previously participated in. This is problematic because what also emerged is how the option to "opt-out" (Belkin 2003) was enabled because of their social class standing. This is how I link the problem of gender inequality to that of class based exclusions that operate within the sector and use the figure of the creative worker / mother as a figure that exposes the intersection of these inequalities. I have not addressed the issue of race/ ethnicity in this study because very few of my participants came from a BAME background (four in total) and of those that I spoke to despite some reference to a working class background subscribed to a middle class ideology of both work and parenting (Lawler 2005). As I have stated my original research addresses the specific barrier faced by mothers in the industry and how motherhood has become the go-to reason behind gender inequality across the industry. Like Gill, I argue that framing motherhood as "the issue" that defines the unequal representation of women in the

creative media industries masks a whole series of gender and identity based discrimination that women face whether they have children or not. However, my research uncovers a relationship between the classed symbolic presence of motherhood and gendered employment in the industry which I argue warrants an in-depth exploration into how classed constructions and practices of motherhood operate within the field of creative media production. This chapter has introduced some of the key theoretical frameworks that my research critically engages in and reviewed the literature on work within the creative / cultural industries that they study contributes to. In order to frame my own original research however a discussion on how motherhood has been conceived of as a multiple, fluid and socially constructed practice one that is itself subject to neoliberal discourses which vary according to social class is necessary and this is the subject that I turn to in my next chapter.

Chapter two: why mothers?

2.1   Introduction

The previous chapter discussed how changes in the contemporary creative media industries have mirrored and potentially driven wider social changes that have taken place in the second half of the twentieth century (Deuze 2007; Banks 2007, Garnham 2005). I discussed the theoretical discrepancy between those that celebrated the creative workforce as embodying the traits valued in neo-liberal societies such as flexibility, meritocracy, individual autonomy, freedom from the traditional ideological constrains of gender, class and ethnicity (Conor 2010; Davis and Scase 2000; Florida 2004; Gill 2002) to the emerging literature that exposes the impact of precarious working conditions and the endemic, widespread inequalities across the workforce (Blair 2000; Gill 2002, 2014; Gill and Pratt 2008; Grugulis and Stoyanova 2012; Holgate and Mckay 2009; McRobbie 2002; O'Brien, A. 2014; O'Brien, D. et al 2016; Ross 2004; Ursell 1998, 2000, 2003). As discussed, the problem relating to the under-representation of women in the creative workforce has been commonly associated with women's childbearing capabilities (Creative Skillset 2010b; O'Brien, A. 2014; Gill 2014) reframing inequality as either a result of women's reflexive 'choice' to mother (Hakim 2006) or through the industry's inability to support women's responsibility for childcare (Creative Skillset 2010b; see Gill 2014, p.510). Rosalind Gill argues that the rationalization of gender inequality in the context of creative media work as a factor of motherhood masks the "processes and mechanisms" of "unspeakable inequalities" within the creative media industry (2014) and claims that rather than focusing on motherhood as "the issue" (p.510) more attention should be paid to new forms of sexism that operate within the industry. Whilst I agree with her point that a focus on motherhood reinforces the notion that childcare is a

woman's responsibility my thesis explores *how* motherhood impacts on women's experience of work in the creative media industry. The focus of this chapter therefore turns to motherhood with a review of the literature on motherhood as a discursive field in itself. The development of feminist thought on maternity since the mid end of the twentieth century has produced an ideological framework that enables an understanding of motherhood as a fluid, multiple and constructed activity. Charting the literature from second wave feminist discourse until today exposes how concepts of the 'mother' have evolved from being a fixed, passive site subject to overt patriarchal control to a framework that incorporates divergent and multiple concepts on what a mother is (Jeremiah 2006). This enables a consideration of what concepts of motherhood and mothering practice are being drawn on when we speak of the creative media worker. If we can conceive of motherhood as a multiple and constructed activity one that is linked to an individual's identity, we can think about how the exclusion of mothers from the creative media workforce relates to wider inequalities in the industry. This chapter therefore starts with a historical review of the literature on motherhood from the second wave feminist period up until today, exploring how modern concepts of motherhood operate in relation to the concepts of individualization and reflexivity as explored in the previous chapter. As I mentioned in my introduction, Rosemary Crompton (2006) acknowledges the shift from overt control over maternal behaviour that many second wave feminist writers were reacting against to the inverted, covert mechanisms of reflexive modernity today.

2.2   Second wave feminism and motherhood

Second wave feminist constructions of motherhood have been historically presented as evolving in three stages[9]: repudiation, recuperation and the third act which is "characterized by a sense of impasse" (Hansen 1997 in Jeremiah 2006 p.22 see also Snitow 1992). Stage one, repudiation or according to Ann Snitow the period of 'demon texts' which she defines as the books 'for which we have been apologizing ever since' (1992, p.34) is credited as emerging from Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* published in 1963. Friedan's study of housewives in mid-century, suburban America revealed women's unhappiness with their position as middle-class, white mothers. Drawing both from her own experience and of other middle-class, educated women that she interviewed she challenged an ideal of femininity that was based on women's supposed fulfillment in their role as a wife and a mother, exposing the deep-felt psychological and physical repercussions of female discontent with their situated position (Friedan 1963). The book has been widely criticized by a number of feminist theorists including Friedan herself (1981 in Snitow 1992) but Snitow argues that the text was a "breakthrough" because of its focus on "women alone" (p.35), contributing to the development of feminist criticism of objective research that had previously ignored or excluded from mainstream research (see discussion in chapter three on feminist criticism of dominant research paradigms). The 'repudiation' or 'demon texts' period included Shulamith Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (1970 in Snitow 1992) and Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (ibid.) who used the biological oppression of women through maternity to contest patriarchal control. Both works have been heavily criticized, particularly for their radical nature (Firestone calls for the end of pregnancy and the nuclear family as a

---

[9] The purpose of highlighting this schema is to show how the key trends of feminist thought on maternity has developed in response to each other however Jeremiah refers to Hansen's point to be "wary of glossing over differences between feminists" (2006, p.22). Much of the emergence of this literature is contextual, responding to political conditions of the current period however it is not within the limits of this thesis to include all the contextual detail.

means to subvert patriarchal control) but Snitow makes the point that much of this criticism takes their work out of context (see her discussion 1992, pp.35-38). These radical texts sought to break the taboos on maternity and how female biological reproduction is a factor of female oppression in a patriarchal society and although their historical and political context should be acknowledged elements of their argument are relevant to my discussion on how the biological experience of reproduction, pregnancy and breastfeeding, are problematized in the physical experience of creative work (see discussion in chapter five).

2.2.1   Motherhood as an experience and institution

This relationship between biology and sociology is developed in the second stage of feminist literature on motherhood labeled by Jeremiah as 'recuperation' (2006). The work produced in the aftermath of radical feminist repudiation of motherhood sought to explore the actual experience of motherhood and think about its social and psychological construction (Snitow 1992). Work produced on motherhood during this period by writers including US poet Adrienne Rich, and British Sociologist Ann Oakley sought to reflect the wider social and cultural context they were responding to. Both writers bring their own experiences of motherhood into their work contributing to the contextual feminist slogan of "the personal is political" (Jeremiah 2006, p.23). In *Of Woman Born* (1976/1986) Adrienne Rich explores the concept of motherhood as both an institution and an experience and their relationship to each other which, she argues, is controlled by a patriarchal society:

> "the potential relationship of any women to her powers of reproduction and to children; and the institution, which aims at ensuring that that potential – and all women – shall remain under male control" (Rich 1986, p.13).

Rich considers the temporal experience of motherhood as "one part of female process; it is not an identity for all time" (Rich 1986, pp.36-37) and yet it is an experience that comes to

dominate, ghettoize and degrade "female potentialities" (1986, p.13) through the mechanisms

of institutional control of women that she defines as:

> "marriage as economic dependence, as a guarantee to a man of 'his' children; the theft of childbirth from women;…the laws regulating contraception and abortion;…the denial that work done by women at home is part of 'production': the chaining of women in links of love and guilt; the solitary confinement of 'full-time motherhood'; the token nature of fatherhood, which gives him rights and privileges over children toward whom he assumes minimal responsibility; the psychoanalytic castigation of the mother…that she is inadequate and ignorant…all these are connecting fibbers of this invisible institution." (Rich 1986, p.276).

As I discuss later on in this chapter elements of these mechanisms can be identified in

women's experience of motherhood today albeit reframed in a reflexive context signifying the

shift outlined by Rosemary Crompton (2006) from overt to covert control.

Rich proposed that women reclaim motherhood from patriarchal institutionalization as only

then would they be able to re-assert their rights over their bodies, their children and their

practices of mothering (1986, p.276). She was criticized for both her essentialism of the

experience of motherhood (see discussion in section 2.3) and for her concept of maternity as

"pristine"; one that "lies beneath patriarchy's overlay" (Jeremiah 2006, p.23). What I find

relevant for the purpose of this study is Rich's notion of how the temporal position of

motherhood comes to symbolically dominate women's identity and is then used as a factor of

patriarchal control. This is a point that I draw from in my discussion in chapter six on how the

constructed practice of mothering is symbolically inscribed onto the female creative worker

whether or not she has children and operates to limit her potential for career development.

Rich's claim that women cannot be separated from their bodies and that the ideological

idealization of motherhood to "the serenity of madonnas" (1986 p.35) reiterating the

Victorian era's 'Angel-Wife' legacy on 1950s middle-class women masks the "psychic crisis

of bearing a first child" (ibid) becomes a useful concept in this question of covert control.

Although her focus was on this explicit "psychic crisis" her point was that an idealization of motherhood masks the actual lived and arguably oppressive experience.

Rich did not conduct empirical research for her work, basing her theory as previously mentioned on her own personal experience of being a mother. The transition to motherhood was the focus of British Sociologist Ann Oakley's empirical study on what it was like to become a mother in 1970s Britain. Like Rich her research focus was on the "institution of motherhood [and] the way women become mothers in industrialized society today" (Oakley 1981, p.11). It is a study that focuses on the social meaning of becoming a mother for the first time which Oakley defined as,

> "a turning point, a transition, a life crisis: a first baby turns a woman into a mother, and mothers' lives are incurably affected by their motherhood." (1981, p.24).

What both Rich and Oakley provide is this question of how the transition to motherhood provides a new identity / subject position for women and it is this position that is then the object of wider social control. This is a concept that has been applied in more recent accounts of motherhood (see Baraitser 2009; Lawler 2000). How that position and the subsequent control it is subject to is variable as other theorists from different perspectives later argue exposes the fluid and multiple practices that are available to the mother and how they are the condition of their situated identity (see discussion in section 2.3). Before I discuss this fluidity / multiplicity in more detail I want to first review literature on the psychological reproduction of motherhood and how a psychoanalytical approach has contributed to this question of the dominant symbolic representation of motherhood.

2.2.2 Feminist psychoanalysis and motherhood

Neither Rich or Oakley address the realm of the subconscious in their work although Oakley comments on the personality change that women undergo when they become a mother and criticizes Freud's notion that "motherhood is an escape route from the handicap of female inferiority" (1981, p.13). US feminist academic Nancy Chodorow's *The Reproduction of Mothering* asked the question "how do women today come to mother?" (1978, p.4). It looks at the psychological processes that reproduce the ideological construction of the mothering role for women and how that role has come to define women's identities. Chodorow draws from object-relations theory developed by mid 20th century psychoanalysts Melanie Klein and Donald Winnicott, an approach that explores the development of the psyche in early childhood significantly through the mother/child relationship. The conceptual drive of this approach can be detected in more recent policy discourse and literature on 'attachment parenting' as discussed later in this chapter and Ellie Lee provides a useful discussion on how current practices and standards of parenting have been influenced by a historical range of 'expert' driven concepts (2014). Chodorow draws from objects-relations theory to account for a pattern of female mothering that has been transferred along the female line from mother to daughter. She also applies Gayle Rubin's 'sex/gender system', a concept that considered how the social organization of gender governs each society by establishing:

> "a set of arrangements by which the biological raw material of human sex and procreation is shaped by human, social intervention and satisfied in a conventional manner….Sex as know it – gender identity, sexual desire and fantasy, concepts of childhood – is itself a social product." (Rubin 1975 in Chodorow 1978, p.8).

Chodorow locates the reproduction in the psychological and the social, a process that "demonstrates that women's mothering is a central and defining feature of the social organization of gender and implicated in the construction and reproduction of male dominance itself" (Chodorow 1978, p.9). Like Rubin, she explores the relationship between

human activity and pleasure which in turn construct biological assumptions, that social personalities are developed through the interaction between the child and the mother and gender enables either an identification in the case of girls or dis-identification in the case of boys. French feminist theorist Julia Kristeva conceives of this process as an abjection, drawing from Lacan's psychoanalytical theory but developing the process through her concept that the human subject first experiences abjection through separation from the mother. In Lacanian terms, 'the Symbolic' refers to the universalizing construct of language as the realm of law and the realm of the father, the paternal (Kristeva 1980). Abjection is a process that describes the child's necessary rejection of the mother in order to enter the realm of the father. In chapter four I apply this concept of maternal abjection within the creative media workforce. One of the emerging findings from the study was how motherhood is stigmatized in the creative media industry and how mothers who remain in the industry apply strategies such as hiding their maternal identity in order to continue performing the requirements of the ideal creative worker or finding their careers suffer from their failure to do so (see chapter four). Kristeva's concept of 'abjection' can be applied when conceiving the realm of creative work as that of the 'father' one which requires subjects themselves to reject the maternal realm.

Kristeva's essay *Stabat Mater* first published in the French *Tel Quel* journal in 1977 criticized her contemporaries for not addressing "women's continued desire to have children" (Moi 1986, p.160). *Stabat Mater* considers the implication that the symbolic or ideological definition of the maternal identity – the Madonna / Virgin Mary is in decline. This decline as explained by Moi in her introduction to Kristeva's essay exposed second wave feminist's failure to provide "a satisfactory discourse on motherhood" (Kristeva 1986, p.160). According to Moi, Kristeva claimed that the cult of the Virgin had offered a solution to "the problem of

female paranoia" something she claimed Freud did not tackle (ibid). Kristeva's criticism of

Freud, similar to Oakley, is that for him, "motherhood was a solution to neurosis and, by its

very nature ruled out by psychoanalysis as a possible other solution" (Kristeva 1986, p.178).

Kristeva agrees with the notion that this consecrated, religious representation of femininity is

a "*fantasy* that is nurtured by the adult man or woman" (p.161) but she criticizes feminist

desire for a new representation of motherhood without producing an understanding or an

alternative.

What this middle period of recuperation produced was work that exposed the ideological

control of the maternal subject (Jeremiah 2006, p.23). Much of their literature is based on

their own personal experience of motherhood or in Oakley's case research conducted with

women who were largely from white and middle class backgrounds[10]. This limitation of

centering the discussion of motherhood on the experience of white, middle class feminists

would later prove to be problematic and in section 2.3 I discuss the criticism of white second

wave feminism from marginal standpoints. They were also criticized for their conception of

the mother figure as a passive, pre-cultural entity and thus failing to adequately articulate the

construction of maternal subjectivity (see Hirsch 1989 and Daly and Reddy 1991 in Jeremiah

2006, p.23). Thus the third stage of feminist thought on maternity incorporates this critique

of the essentialist conception of the oppressed mother and the concept of the mother as an

active, fluid, multiple and relational site (Jeremiah 2006).

---

[10] Oakley makes point that her study participants were largely drawn from white, middle class backgrounds and were not demographically representative of the UK population yet she does little to account for this exclusion (1981).

2.2.3   Moving towards the third stage: motherhood as practice

Both Snitow and Jeremiah refer to Sara Ruddick's text *Maternal Thinking* first published in 1980 as representing the shift towards conceptions of motherhood as a relational and active practice. According to Ruddick, mothering produces something new and she provides her definition of 'maternal practice':

> "Maternal practice begins in a response to the reality of a biological child in a particular social world. To be a "mother" is to take upon oneself the responsibility of child care, making its work a regular and substantive part of one's working life" (Ruddick 1989, p.17).

Like her predecessors, Ruddick separates the experience of mothering from the biological, rooted in the social but that practice should be seen as a discipline in its own right, one that has the capacity to develop intellectual capabilities. Ruddick argued that this practice of the maternal or maternal thinking is separate from biological determinism and can be adopted by either sex. Her celebration of what maternal practice produces provides her rationale as to why women are committed to motherhood despite its repression of their contribution in other social spheres. It is interesting to apply Ruddick in the later discussion on contemporary constructions of motherhood and writers who consider the neo-liberal celebration of maternity (Adkins 1999; Hays 1998; Lee et al. 2014) but also how women experience pleasure in their experience of maternal practice which leads them to question their experience of work (see Stone 2007 for a detailed study on highly successful professional women who 'opt-out' of the workforce when they become mothers). For this section, Ruddick's work provided a framework to think of mothering as a relational activity, one separated from the female body and a position that could be occupied by either gender. Her work however, did not adequately account for the contextual experience of motherhood or how the subject position of the woman relates to her experience of motherhood (Everingham 1994 in Jeremiah 2006, p.24). Thus I turn to literature from black and third world feminism that exposes the relational

experience of motherhood and the concept that motherhood itself is a socially constructed

practice, drawn largely from the work of Judith Butler.

2.3   Motherhood from the margins

''Mother' in its very definition is a relational category'' (Lawler 2000, p.157).

The emergence of marginal feminist epistemologies meant that motherhood became a

contested terrain, one used by feminists from black and third world epistemologies to criticize

second wave feminist discourse's failure to recognize the multiple, culturally variable

positioning of motherhood. Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Grace Cheng and Linda Rennie Forcey

produced a collection of essays that revealed alternative, marginalized constructions of

motherhood occupied by women who have existed and to a large extent enabled second wave

maternal experiences through activities such as domestic labour or childcare (1994). Glenn

critiques writers including Chodorow, Rich and Ruddick for their failure to recognize the

variable struggles of the mother from different standpoints:

> "Mothers of all races and classes have been subjected to patriarchal control, but they
> have experienced that control differently. Poor women, especially women of color,
> have been subjected to particularly invasive forms of control. Thus, while middle-
> class women have had to struggle for the right to limit pregnancy through birth control
> and abortion, poor women especially women of color have contended with assaults on
> their rights to have babies at all." (Glenn 1994, p.17).

Patricia Hill Collins argued that racial domination and economic exploitation alter the context

of motherhood. In her essay 'Shifting the center: Race, class and Feminist theorizing on

motherhood' (1994) Hill Collins looks at the economic model and relationship between

women and work thinking about how concepts of choice or exclusion are relative to the

assumptions of physical survival. For white, middle-class women that survival is assumed,

but Hill Collins points out that this is not the case for women of colour (1994). Work and

motherhood for women on the margins is about survival for the individual and the community. She develops this argument in *Black Feminist Thought* (2000) drawing from standpoint theory (see discussion in the next chapter on the epistemological contribution of this literature) to look at the culturally specific location of the black mother in US discourse who is both exonerated by her peers and challenged in wider society for her failings to raise her children. As I discuss in chapter three, the majority of my interviewees came from white, middle class backgrounds with only four out of the total 33 participants (see Appendix 1) reporting as having a black or minority ethnic background. Thus my theoretical contribution is based on the relationship between gender and social class rather than an intersectional approach to oppression (McCall 2005). My purpose of referring to literature by writers such as Hill Collins is to demonstrate the development of feminist thought on motherhood as a situated practice, one that exposes the multiple constructions of motherhood as linked to an individual's identity. This theme is continued in the following section which reviews the contribution to this field by Judith Butler.

2.3.1   Judith Butler and performativity

Another criticism of the second wave feminist discourse of motherhood came from post-structuralist philosopher Judith Butler. Butler developed a concept of gender as a performative act, one that could be inhabited and parodied and therefore undermined and exposed. In *Gender Trouble* (first published in 1990), Butler criticizes early feminists' concepts of 'woman' as a homogenous and universal group. Butler therefore separates the sex/gender distinction by conceiving of gender as a discourse, one that is constructed through perceptions of what is 'natural'. In particular, Butler's aim was to expose how certain preconceptions on gender were foreclosed by "certain habitual and violent presumptions" (2006 preface, p.viii). In her opening to the original book Butler references the concepts on

the construction of 'woman' that she develops including Simone de Beauvoir's "One is not born a woman", Foucault's "The deployment of sexuality…established this notion of sex" and Monique Wittig's "The construction of sex is the political category that founds society as heterosexual" (Butler 2006, p.1). She challenges the notion that there is a pre-conceived notion of identity that equates women to their gender and creates a blueprint for the destabilization of the category 'women' through her concept of performativity. Her theory of gender performativity argues that gender is a compulsory performance one that binds the individual subject through daily, iterable practices.

Butler is particularly critical of Kristeva's conception of motherhood as rooted in the semiotic describing it as a "self-defeating theory" through her description of the maternal body as "bearing a set of meanings that are prior to culture itself" (2006, p.109). Butler instead draws on Foucault's framework outlined in *The History of Sexuality Volume 1* that the body is not 'sexed' prior to discourse and that the sexed body or sexuality is understood as a "historically specific organization of power, discourse, bodies and affectivity" and this concept of sexuality produces the 'sex' (Butler 2006, p.125). Following this framework Butler argues that the maternal body should be understood as:

> "an affect or consequence of a system of sexuality in which the female body is required to assume maternity as the essence of its self and the law of desire" (ibid).

She then reconfigures the 'institution of motherhood' as a 'compulsory' act for women in contrast to Kristeva's concept that the existence of a biological maternal identity exists pre-culture and pre-entry to the Symbolic realm of paternal law (2006, p.126).

What this literature on motherhood, both from marginal standpoints and the post-structuralist thought of Judith Butler contribute to is an understanding of the mother figure as a socially and culturally constructed role. Thus the experience and practice of mothering is relative,

malleable and fluid; fixed to a subject's social location. This framework exposes the multi-dimensional experiences of women as mothers so when we speak of motherhood as a barrier to employment within the creative media industries we need to question what practice of mothering is being referred to and how does this relate to those subjects who occupy, following a Bourdieusian framework the field of creative media production.

Butler's concept of performativity and the production of gender roles through discourse and political, socially located structures rather than naturalized, psychologically based foundations offers the possibility for agency (2006, p.201). However Butler's performativity has been exposed as problematic when applied to motherhood in two relevant areas. Emily Jeremiah refers to Elaine Tuttle Hansen's criticism of Butler's failure to acknowledge the "relational, ethical aspect of mothering behaviours" (Hansen 1997 in Jeremiah 2006 p.21) and explicitly the "fear that no one will take care of our children if we don't makes it difficult to go forward, even as it seems impossible to go willingly back" (Hansen 1997 in Jeremiah 2006, p.22). Diane Reay similarly considers the realm of the emotions in mothering practice in her expansion of Bourdieu's concepts of capitals to include "emotional capital" which she argues can be understood as a particularly gendered form of capital in her application of the term to mother's investment into their children's education (2004). Lois McNay criticizes Butler's conception of gender as an abstract structure which she argues can only be revealed and understood as a '*lived social relation*' (McNay 2004, p.175 emphasis in original). McNay's essay addresses the debate between materialist feminists and cultural feminists on this question of agency particularly in relation to experience. She uses Bourdieu's framework to think of agency in a relational sense, one that returns to the subjective experience of agency as a means to make visible the existence of repression (2004). Thinking about gender as a "lived social relation", one that is constructed but not rooted in the abstract allows a consideration of

the continued development of the performance, extending Butler's concept to think about the evolving identity that is constantly negotiating "conflict and tension" in its social construction (McNay 2004, p.185). McNay uses Skeggs's 1997 study on working class mothers as an example of how the negotiation of the conflict and tension surrounding the individual results in the development of the subject. In the case of Skeggs's study the working class mothers were positioned as marginalized constructions of both class and femininity and yet were able to occupy and form a set of "contradictory subject positions…. as a means to accrue some symbolic value" (McNay 2004, p.186). Class and the structural location of the mother therefore become an interesting site to consider how an identity is both created and then re-negotiated but conceiving motherhood as a performative phenomenon cancels out how emotions operate as a form of governance and the multiple daily interactions that the individual is subject to. As such, like Skeggs (1997) and McNay (2004) Bourdieu's concept of field, capital and habitus becomes a framework through which I can consider how identity is formed within a fluid and living social relation.

What happened to the feminist accounts of motherhood in the 1990s? The period following the second wave feminist movement saw an exponential rise of women into both education and the professional workforce (Crompton 2006). In 1997 the political success of the New Labour party in the UK saw the number of women in the House of Commons double to 120 thereby representing 18.2 per cent (Mackay 2001, p.38). Such was the assumed success of feminism and inevitable female equality at that time UK Journalist and Feminist Natasha Walter wrote in her book *The New Feminism* that "feminism had become part of the very air we breathed" (2010, p.8). Twelve years later she admitted that she "was entirely wrong" (ibid). The next section discusses the social shift away from feminist concerns that took place in new modernity creating a culture where covert mechanisms of oppression could develop.

Outlining this shift provides the context to explore the problem of motherhood and creative work today.

2.4 Postfeminism, 'feminism dismantling itself' (McRobbie 2009)

The second wave feminist movement separated the biological determined concept of femininity from the socially constructed and the concept of motherhood was a key focus point to consider the continued repression and control of women in a patriarchal society. The interrogation of second wave feminism from a number of different standpoints as previously discussed explored multiple experiences of motherhood and how concepts of subjectivity developed by dominant social processes called women (and mothers) into being (Butler 2006 see also McRobbie 2009, p.13). What followed is that in the period after the second wave feminist movement loosely defined as from the late 1980s through the 1990s to the early 2000s the original feminist arguments and concerns were 'undone' or seen as no longer necessary. The term used to describe this concept is postfeminism. Postfeminism is a contested term and has been understood as representing both the historical shift and the epistemological break with the arguments put forward by second wave feminism which were found to be inadequate (Adkins 1999; Gill 2007a, 2007b; McRobbie 2009). The epistemological shift incorporates the wider 'turn to culture' taking place in academic literature where postmodern theories took the focus away from the domain of social science to culture and cultural studies (Barrett 1990, 1992 and Adkins and Lury in Adkins 1999). There is also a third concept associated with the term post-feminism that of 'backlash' (Faludi 1992 in McRobbie 2009). The concept of backlash incorporates the repudiation of feminism in the late twentieth / early twenty-first century, the idea that "all the battles [relating to gender inequality] have been won" and even framing white middle-class men as the new victims in modernity (Gill 2007b, p.253). An example of this shift is summarized in Vicky Ball's article

on the "feminization of television" where the increase of female genre content led to a belief within the context of the creative media industry that during the 1990s there had been a "'massive and mighty takeover of television by female producers and viewers" (Brown 2003 in Ball 2011, p.3).

This concept then that the concerns put forward in the second wave feminist period had been achieved and were no longer relevant were a factor in the failure to understand new modalities of feminine symbolic violence that emerged during the 1990s (McRobbie 2004, p.102). Writers including Vicky Ball, Angela McRobbie and Ros Gill turn to popular culture to expose the operational effect of postfeminism. Gill addresses the ambiguity around the meaning of postfeminism by conceiving it as a 'sensibility' made up of a number of inter-related themes which she lists as:

> "the notion that femininity is a bodily property; the shift from objectification to subjectification; an emphasis upon self-surveillance, monitoring and self-discipline; a focus on individualism, choice and empowerment; the dominance of a makeover paradigm; and a resurgence of ideas about natural sexual difference." (Gill 2007, p.147).

The location for discovering and exposing these themes was found in popular and mediated representations of femininity. McRobbie uses the fictional character of *Bridget Jones* who first emerged in a newspaper column authored by Helen Fielding in the mid 1990s and then developed into a novel and successful film franchise (the third film was released in the UK in September 2016) as an example of the operation of this new female subjectivity. Gill's 2007 book *Gender and the Media* explores the existence of a postfeminist media culture through an exploration of gender representation in media texts including advertising, television and magazines. What their work reveals is the dependence that this postfeminism sensibility has on the shift driven by neoliberalism and individualism (as discussed in section 1.4).

The relationship between neoliberalism, individualization and postfeminism has been explored as producing new, specifically gendered identities. Gill and Scharff's edited collection of essays explores the production of new feminine subjectivities that expose the relationship between these three concepts. The collection includes Imogen Tyler's article on new maternal femininities where she explores how the sexualization and fetishization of pregnancy in popular and celebrity culture masks entrenched inequality faced by mothers in the public sphere. Tyler points out that:

> "despite a raft of equal opportunity legislation 7 percent of all pregnant women lose their jobs each year as a result of becoming pregnant and women with children under 11 are the most discriminated group in the British workforce" (Equalities Review 2007 in Tyler 2013, p.29).

Her concept and criticism of 'pregnancy beauty' therefore explores the conflicting forces placed on women who have children and the widening gulf between popular representation and lived realities. She also exposes how idealized representations of motherhood are based on white and youthful pregnant bodies; those are the bodies that are deemed as having the necessary social capital to display their pregnant beauty. Women from lower class backgrounds including certain lower-class celebrities are exposed as "trashy and sluttish if they bare their bumps" (2013, p.27) thus contributing to the class based element of neoliberal discourse.

How does this contradictory position of the maternal subjectivity as constructed in neoliberal, postfeminist and individualist discourse relate to mothers in the creative media industries? McRobbie points out that women's participation in the workforce is a necessary factor of neoliberalism and yet this presents a problem for patriarchal control.

> "work and wage-earning capacity come to dominate rather than be subordinate to women's self-identity and this inevitably has a ripple effect within the field of power. The Symbolic is then faced with the problem of how to retain the dominance of phallocentrism when the logic of global capitalism is to loosen women from their

prescribed roles and grant them degrees of economic independence" (McRobbie 2009, p.61).

McRobbie considers why in an age when women are theoretically no longer dependent on men and are their own individualized agents with capabilities to support themselves economically through increased access to the labour market and emotionally through therapy and counseling (another factor of individualization) they continue to conform to symbolic practices (for example heterosexual desire, marriage and procreation) which ensure patriarchal dominance. She introduces the concept of the 'double entanglement' which is comprised of a "co-existence of neo-conservative values in relation to gender, sexuality and family life …. with processes of liberalization in regard to choice and diversity in domestic, sexual and kinship relations" (2009, p.12) that contribute to the acceptance and then repudiation of feminist politics. In the next section I look in more detail in the exposure of this 'double entanglement' as a form of patriarchal control that has emerged in late modernity and is bound and subsequently masked within notions of freedom and choice.

2.4.1   Female individualization and the retraditionalization of gender

McRobbie is deeply critical of the sociological theories of Beck and Giddens and uses the position of women to expose the failing of the individualization theory in her book *The Aftermath of Feminism* (2009). She draws from Judith Butler's application of Lacan's concept of the Symbolic to understand how patriarchal authority has shifted in the context of a neoliberal / postfeminist / individualist culture. Her point is that as women have entered the workforce, rather than the existence of actual equality what has emerged are new forms of regulatory control that operate to covertly undermine women in society. McRobbie refers to Rosemary Crompton's concept of the "social compromise in the field of work and employment" to explore the operation of this covert regulation (Crompton 2002 in McRobbie

2009, p.79). This concept of "social compromise" describes women's position when they

return to the workforce following the birth of a child where they find themselves re-positioned

as both worker and mother with support from the welfare state. The social compromise is

related to the concept of the 'do-it-all mother'; the expectations placed on women as both

mother and worker in a neoliberal society which abandons all critique of masculine

hegemony:

> "Government thus acts to protect masculine hegemony by supporting women in their double role, while the media and popular culture endeavor to re-glamourize working wives and mothers through post-feminist styles of self-improvement, hypersexuality and capacity" (McRobbie 2009, p.80).

So despite the appearance of equality in the public sphere, the expectation placed on women

to manage the dual role of both mother and worker limits their ambition and potential for

career success if they attempt to combine both roles. Women are celebrated as mothers in the

public domain and offered welfare support through paid maternity leave but channeled into

subordinate roles in the workplace which both Crompton and McRobbie argue is "facilitated

in the form of work-life balance" (McRobbie 2009, p.80). This social compromise is one of

the key elements in what McRobbie determines is a "new sexual contract" that operates

within neoliberal society:

> "what the social compromise now suggests is that the Universal Breadwinner Model requires of women a joint responsibility which also, more or less, guarantees subordinate status in terms of wage earning capacity in the realm of work and employment over a lifetime. At the same time the coming forward of women into work offers government the best opportunity of cutting the long-term costs of welfare" (McRobbie 2009, p.81).

McRobbie's construction of the 'new sexual contract' is comparable to Adkins's

identification of a 'retraditionalization' of gender roles within knowledge intensive economies

as introduced in the previous chapter (Adkins 1999, p.119). Developing this further, Adkins

looks at Lash's concept of 'reflexive accumulation', his term for knowledge-intensive

production synonymous with late modernity which he acknowledges incorporates "pre-modern and communal-traditional forms of organization" in contrast to the individualization thesis proposed by Beck and Giddens (Lash 1994 in Adkins 1999, p.124). Lash also talks of the existence of reflexivity winners and reflexivity losers with the latter being those who are excluded from the new labour market spaces in reflexive economies (Adkins 1999, p.125). Lash places the continued under-representation of women in these spaces as an example of 'reflexivity losers' suggesting that the forms of labour associated with knowledge-intensive production exclude women and other minorities. Adkins criticizes Lash for not considering how these new economies themselves construct gender relations along with his failure to address the nature of women's exclusion from the reflexive economy (p.127). She instead looks at the appropriation of traditionally labeled female labour in the new knowledge economy as discussed in the previous chapter. Adkins then develops the concept of appropriation of women's work as being inscribed in individualization with men rather than women 'achieving individualized worker status' in the new, reflexive production sites (1999 p.129). This process of appropriation as inscribed in the new forms of work in the reflexive economy represents, according to Adkins:

> "A process of *retraditionalization* both in terms of the labour market and the family: the exclusion of women from reflexive occupations and an intensification of the appropriation of family labour." (Adkins 1999, p.129 emphasis in original).

This notion, that the experience of work in reflexive modernity is gendered produces a 'new sexual contract' which results in the retraditionalization of gender roles in the knowledge economy can be evidenced through research conducted by Arlie Hochschild on the domestic division of labour in dual earning couples with children in the US (1989/2012). Hochschild found that women did significantly more of the domestic work and childcare than their male partner even in the case where the woman was the higher earner. This pattern led to Hochschild's definition of 'the second shift' undertaken by working mothers to represent how

their time is divided between work and the home (Hochschild 2012). Judy Wajcman's study with female workers in corporate management found that women who rose to high management positions in US corporations did so by adopting a process of 'managing like a man' in order to achieve professional success and not having children became a necessary factor in order to achieve this status (Wajcman 1998). Rosemary Crompton refers to Wajcman's study in her 2006 book on gender and employment with the comment "it is depressing to note how little seems to have changed" (2006, p.72). The concept that women face a 'maternal wall' in the workplace was identified by Joan Williams as replacing the concept of the glass ceiling and there has been an abundance of literature that exposes the inability of mothers to occupy the role of the 'ideal worker' in an individualized, reflexive economy due to the gendering of work cultures (Blair-Loy 2003; Bould et al. 2012; Crompton 2002, 2006; Hewlett 2002; Hewlett and Luce 2005, Kanji 2011; Kanji and Cahusac 2014, 2015; O'Brien A. 2014; Stone 2007; Williams 1991, 2004, 2005). Thus there is an extensive body of literature that repudiates claims that feminism is a thing of the past, going back to McRobbie's call for studies that develop our understanding of the new modalities of symbolic violence that operate within society today (2004).

2.5   The maternal wall and regimes of inequality

Joan Williams (as noted above) has argued that the concept of the 'glass ceiling' be replaced with that of a 'maternal wall' which "inhibits women's progress [within the workplace] once they become mothers" (Williams and Segal 2003, in Williams 2005, p.91). Williams applies this research to women working in academia but studies have emerged as already mentioned from the banking sector (Crompton 2006; Smithson & Stokoe 2005) politics (Campbell and Childs 2014), Information Communication and Technology (Kelan 2008) as well as research that considers how the gendering of organizations in the new, reflexive and individualized

economy "push mothers out" (Cathusac and Kanji 2013; Williams. et al. 2012; Blair-Loy 2003; Stone 2007). Many of the more recent papers who use this framework refer to Joan Acker's concept of 'inequality regimes' the "interlocked practices and processes" which operate within work cultures to ensure "continuing inequalities" (Acker 2006, p.441). Acker's construction of how work cultures exclude women's duties of care through masculine working cultures that promote "aggressive, competitive and self-promoting" attributes at the senior levels (Martin and Meyerson 1998 in Acker 2006, p.446) had an impact on mothers' ability to perform within the workplace as well as the concept of time and presenteeism within the workplace – the fact that "Eight hours of continuous work away from the living space, arrival on time, total attention to the work and long hours if requested" were the expected requirement of the "unencumbered worker" (2006, p.448).

Individualized concepts of free will and choice have been applied to mothers' participation and withdrawal from the paid workplace notably in work by Catherine Hakim. Hakim has produced a number of theoretical claims that "women's commitment and orientation to work is different to that of men's" (Hakim 1995-6 in Wajcman 1998, p.36) and the trend of notable professional women's exit from the workplace is a result of women's preferences (2006). What Hakim's claims fail to acknowledge are the wider social practices that operate both within the workplace and the domestic sphere to limit women's position. What this wider extensive research on the inequality regimes that create a maternal wall within the workplace expose is how women are forcefully removed from the workplace through gendered practices. Wajcman's study on managers in high-technology multinational companies that claimed to support equal opportunities revealed that significantly fewer women managers had dependent children than men and that women managers were more likely to be single, divorced or separated than their male counterparts 27% compared to 7% (Wajcman 1998, p.83). She

observed that female success within the industry under study was based on the expectation that women would "manage like a man" (p.160) but that the domestic situation of both male and female managers varied with male managers supported by a female partner in the home and women managers more likely to be single or without children. The domestic status of the female manager was then exposed as operating with how women were perceived in the workplace, applying Kanter's description of how "token" women in the workplace are divided into four categories: "the mother/madonna, the seductress/whore, the pet and the iron maiden" (Kanter 1977 in Wajcman 1998, p.110). Successful women who were classed as "iron maidens" were then de-feminized, classed as "not .. real women" (Wajcman 1998, p.111) which had a further impact on their career progression within the workplace. In chapter four I discuss categories of mothers that emerged from my data drawing from Wajcman's study to show how identities of mothers who work in the creative media industries are stigmatized and contribute to women's decision to leave the industry. What I want to combine with the literature that looks at how workplaces are gendered and operate along lines that exclude women is literature that considers how practices of parenting have changed in the context of reflexive modernity.

2.5.1 Parental determinism and intensive mothering

Pamela Stone's 2007 study on high-achieving women who left paid employment following the birth of a child has been highly influential to my own research. I have noted a number of parallels between my own research findings with women who worked within the UK creative media industries and her study with high-achieving women in the US. The majority of Stone's study participants worked in traditionally male-dominated workplace sectors including banking, law, the financial / corporate sector although included women from some more traditionally feminine sectors including healthcare and education (2007). My study is focused

on women in the creative media sector (see chapter three for discussion and Appendix 1) however the parallels between mine and Stone's work relate to the participant's demographic background and social status. Many of Stone's participants had been to an Ivy League University and had received some form of postgraduate qualification and were married or had a partner who had also achieved a high level of education and worked in a similar or comparable professional location (see Stone 2007, pp.240-247). Very few of her participant's came from a minority background and not one African-American mother was included in her sample. Stone does not conceive of this as a failing as the purpose of her study was to expose the specific forces that operate to exclude these high-achieving women from the workforce and she acknowledges that "[h]istorically, women of color have not had the same economic opportunity as their white counterparts to evolve an exclusively domestic role" (p.242)[11]. The women Stone bases her research findings on are those that represent the 'opt-out generation' a term coined by US journalist Lisa Belkin in *The New York Times* who reframed women who left the workplace following children as the ultimate feminist version of having it all through a proactive 'opt-out revolution' (Belkin 2003 in Stone 2007, p.4). Educated women's rejection of the workplace has been a recognized discourse within the media (Stone 2007, p.4 see also Akass 2011; Orgad 2016) however Stone explains that official labour monitoring in both the US and the UK confirms that the majority of professional women are combining careers with motherhood (Stone 2007, p.5, see also Bould et al. 2012 for an international comparison and ONS 2013). What Stone explores in her book are a specific group of elite women who represent the 'opt-out generation'; those that are able to enter the traditionally male-dominated workforces and then face the maternal wall which results in their exit from the workplace. Socio-economic status is the platform used to bridge both the group of women

---

[11] In chapter three I outline the process of recruiting participants to this study. I had hoped to recruit an ethnically diverse sample however found that the majority of participants were white. In chapter seven I discuss the need for further in-depth research into the question of race, ethnicity and representation in the creative media industries.

who are enabled to enter these professions in the first place and the type of mothering practice that they are subject to in order to account for women's withdrawal from professional work as a result of motherhood. Stone refers to Annette Lareau's work on parenting behaviour (2003) where the term 'concerted cultivation' was produced to explain the modeling of parenting favoured by parents from middle and upper middle class backgrounds (Lareau 2003 in Stone 2007, p.43). 'Concerted cultivation' was marked by a parental obligation to focus on the needs and development of the child, mirroring Sharon Hays's concept of 'intensive mothering' (1996).

That the demands of parenting and parenting practice have intensified in the reflexive neoliberal economy has had particular implications for women informs part of Stone's argument and is a subject that I discuss in the next section. The maternal wall emerges through the inequality regimes that operate in the creative media workforce. My argument is that these regimes are intensified through the nature of project-based work and through the inscription of identity on the individual worker. Like Williams, I have found that middle class mothers participating in the creative media workforce "get caught between the prescriptive image of the ideal worker and the prescriptive image of the ideal mother" (Williams 2005, p.91) and that the relationship between gender and childcare has a specific impact on women's rather than men's careers (Williams 2005; Crompton 2006; Wajcman 1998).

As mentioned, Stone draws from Sharon Hays's concept that a new ideology of intensive motherhood has emerged in the late modern period (Stone 2007; Hays 1996) to reveal how the practice of child-rearing have become more intensified and demanding. Hays coined the term 'intensive mothering' following her study of working mothers and text analysis of parenting manuals in the early 1990s. Her analysis revealed a prevailing set of cultural norms

that prescribed mothers should "expend a tremendous amount of time, energy and money in raising their children" (Hays 1996 in Stone 2007, p.42). Hays's understanding that the intensification of parenting demands coincides with the neoliberal demands that mothers remain in the workplace results in a cultural contradiction (Hays 1996). Hays made the point that mothers from all different social and cultural locations were aware of and subject to the ideology of intensive mothering but that it made the biggest impression on women from middle and upper class backgrounds as these are the women who have the necessary educational and financial resources to perform the requirements of intensive mothering. Identity and class therefore becomes an interesting factor in the relationship between motherhood and work. Drawing from Bourdieu's framework as outlined in the previous chapter, women who have the necessary social, cultural and economic capital to enter the field of creative media production are then subject to doxic forms of gendered behaviour that limit their ability to perform once they become a parent. In my later discussion I go further with this theory to argue that this concept of the intensive mother is marked in the female creative worker whether she has a child or not and thus informs how she is valued and subsequently progresses within the industry (see chapter six).

Such is the significance in shifts in parenting culture that the research centre, the Centre for Parenting Culture Studies was founded by a group of social policy scholars at Kent University in 2011. The book produced from the research centre *Parenting Culture Studies* edited by Ellie Lee, Jennie Bristow, Charlotte Faircloth and Jan Macvarish published in 2014 brings together a series of chapters that explores how the everyday experiences of parenting have come to dominate parts of the public sphere including public policy and popular culture. The concern that there is a 'right' way to parent and that failure to parent effectively results in the development of socially unacceptable children was developed in Frank Furedi's book

Paranoid Parenting (2002) and Ellie Lee's introduction draws from both Furedi and Hays's frameworks. Furedi introduced the term 'parental determinism' (Furedi, 2002) to describe the causal link between parenting style and child behaviour that emerged from this public anxiety.

Jan Macvarish's chapter in this collection looks at how the increased anxiety and intensification of parenting was a result of UK political intervention in the family. She refers to Mary Daly's work on parenting reform and family policy that took place within the New Labour administration. Daly points out that the New Labour government under Tony Blair introduced "the most extensive architecture of services to engage with parents" (2013, p. 159) and that the underlying drive behind this policy was, 'to engage parents in activities that seek to affect their awareness, knowledge of and competence in their childraising abilities' (ibid). Daly describes how New Labour invested in parenting as a means to combat child poverty and social exclusion (2013, p. 169) and she makes the point that despite the gender-blindness in the parenting framework the purpose of this policy drive is the "preservation of family life and family-functioning" to which she adds "family gender arrangements" here for mothers are the main "audience'' (Daly 2013, pp.171-2).

The increased interest or "politicization of parenting" (Macvarish 2014, p.77) has been linked to the emergence of reflexive, neoliberal and individual discourses that emerged in this late modern period. Macvarish refers to Rose's connection between children and the future nation state when he makes that point that childhood is linked to, "the destiny of the nation and the responsibility of the state.. [and therefore becomes] the most intensively governed sector of personal existence" (Rose 1999 in Macvarish 2013, p. 77). Anxiety over the development of children therefore is not just a fact for parents, but for politicians who want to ensure the production of good and productive citizens and therefore accountability to the production of

children rests on the family. Richenda Gambles' research discusses how the policy shift on the family during the New Labour administration referred to children as 'social investments', implying their production took place along neoliberal discourse (Gambles, 2011). Macvarish's chapter considers the language of the 2003 *Every Child Matters* report the recommendations of which set out five key outcomes that family services in the UK would help children achieve: 'being healthy, staying safe, enjoying and achieving, making a positive contribution to society and achieving economic wellbeing (DfE 2003 in Macvarish 2013a, p.87). The final three aims appear to reinforce this concept that the production of 'good' children related to their economic value.

As family policy developed, theorists interested in this subject noted the increase reliance on 'brain claims' particularly in the early years of child development as a factor in the development of intensive mothering. In a separate chapter Jan Macvarish refers to how neuroscience has been appropriated in political discourse to advocate for early intervention into parenting-child relationships (Macvarish 2013b). She refers to work by Canadian Psychiatrist Dr Jean Clinton who claimed that babies' brains are "literally sculpted" by their parents and so ineffective or incorrect parenting would have serious repercussions on the development of the child (Macvarish 2013b, p.168). This notion that the intensive relationship between the infant and the parent was an important factor for optimal child development fed into both government policy and parenting manuals such as William and Martha Sears concept of 'Attachment Parenting' (2001) and Sue Gerhardt's *Why Love Matters: How affection shapes a baby's brain* (2003). Both of these texts explicitly link the mother as the ideal parent to ensure optimal child development thus feeding into this concept that the mother is the biological and natural carer of young children. The fact that concepts of attachment parenting fed into policy show the structural location of the mother. This however

is revealed as being a classed position. Research conducted by Beverley Skeggs (1997) and Imogen Tyler (2008) reveals that the location of the middle class mother within the home shifts when applied to women from lower classes. Mothers who remain out of the workforce and are from lower class backgrounds rather than perceived as the embodiment of individualised choice become the subjects of "middle-class disgust" (Tyler 2008, p. 20). Tyler looks at the depiction of working class mothers in popular cultural representations of the 'chav mum' as an example of how the "fetishisation of the chav mum within popular culture has a contemporary specificity and marks a new outpouring of sexist class disgust" (Tyler 2008, p.26). Steph Lawler uncovers a similar depiction of working class mothers in her chapter on the representation of mothers in UK broadsheet press (2004). What this research reveals is how the occupation of intensive mothering is informed by class position; that women outside the dominant idealized conception of the intensive mother are to a large extent unable to perform its requirements and therefore less controlled by it. A lot of research has looked at how these women outside the dominant idealisation are positioned or how following Skeggs they develop their own alternative identity (1997; Skeggs and Wood 2008). However my interest is in the women who are positioned as the dominant; women who occupy middle class social locations and like Stone's work struggle to negotiate the double demands from their position as creative worker and mother. Thus class becomes an important framework to consider the position of the women in my study.

2.6   Conclusion: symbolic violence of the creative mother

As I mentioned at the start of this chapter my interest in this research project is to address what are the 'processes and mechanisms' that operate and exclude mothers from employment within the creative media industries. Thus, my work builds on Ros Gill's concept that there are new forms of sexism which contribute to the existence of 'unspeakable inequalities'

within the industry (2014) but my research focuses explicitly on how motherhood is a factor of these inequalities. As such, my study is looking at how a particular type of motherhood has emerged within a neoliberal and individualised framework and is attached to women who occupy middle and upper class positions within UK society. The creative media industries is therefore an interesting location to analyse how this classed construction of motherhood acts as a barrier to women's employment not only because of the paradox pointed out by academics on the apparent meritocracy of the sector alongside precarious working conditions (Banks 2007; Blair 2000; Gill 2002, 2014; Gill and Pratt 2008; Holgate and Mckay 2009; McRobbie 2002; O'Brien, A. 2014; O'Brien, D. et al 2016; Ross 2004; Ursell 1998, 2000, 2003) but also because it exposes a double inequality, that not only is the sector driven by gender based inequalities but class based inequalities that have a further limiting effect on women.

In the previous chapter I discussed Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'symbolic violence' which operates as 'soft violence' i.e. the violence that is legitimized and unrecognisable and therefore is able to work covertly. In my introduction, I referred to Crompton's summary of gender inequality in the modernized, individualized workforce as driven by three factors:

1) The character and 'choice' of the individual women themselves,

2) The working practices and cultures of organizations and the qualities of the worker that they require and;

3) The 'wider context of employment and care' (Crompton 2006, p.65).

To this summary I add the importance of social class and access to affluence in the modern, individualized workforce as a factor of gender inequality. Introducing the factor of class into my discussion on gender inequality highlights the relationship between class and gender which many feminist scholars have argued as an important factor in social research

(Crompton 2010; Skeggs 2015). Bourdieu's framework allows a consideration of how concepts such as 'choice', and following Acker, inequality regimes that operate within the creative media industries coupled with the wider context of care which attribute child-rearing as a specifically gendered and classed location contributes to the symbolic violence against women working in the creative media sector. Thus I outline here a set of statements that inform my research focus:

1) That the construction and working cultures celebrated within the creative media industries rather than offering freedom and individual autonomy are inhospitable for any subject with caring responsibilities.

2) That parenting in the UK remains a gendered occupation but also a classed practice and that the anxieties that surround parenting practice produce a double bind for women who work in the creative media industries.

3) That the impact of both a self-reflexive and postfeminist sensibility make it very hard for women to react to or identify oppressive regimes and act against them.

4) That the appropriation of female labour in the domestic sphere enables masculine domination in the field of creative media production.

5) That motherhood is both a socially constructed but also emotional and ethical form of labour and thus cannot be reduced to one abstract concept.

These statements inform the ensuing discussion chapters which explore how these combining factors operate within the creative media industries. The findings for this study were driven inductively following a series of 33 interviews with women who worked or had worked in the creative media industries. The majority of the study sample were mothers however a pilot round of interviews included four women without children and their views on motherhood

were recorded and included within the discussion. In the next chapter I outline my research methodology and the process that led me to my focus on the subjective relationship between motherhood and creative media work.

Chapter three: methodological approach and research methods. A journey

3.1   Introduction

> "I came to theory because I was hurting - the pain within me was so intense that I could not go on living. I came to theory desperate, wanting to comprehend - to grasp what was happening around and within me. Most importantly, I wanted to make the hurt go away. I saw in theory then a location for healing." (hooks 1994, p.59).

On the 15th December 2009 I became a mother. I was thirty years old. Prior to that I had spent the majority of my short working life in the creative media industries occupying various roles within television production and as a fundraiser for a women's film festival, Birds Eye View[12]. I had been consciously aware of a 'gender-below-the-line' (Banks, M.J. 2009) inequality that operated within parts of the industry through my personal experience of creative labour. I had seen how women were clustered into certain job roles within television and how rare it was to work with a female Director[13]. After the birth of my son I had access to employment based maternity leave but I was aware that returning to my former position as Development Manager at the Birds Eye View Film Festival as a mother was going to be challenging due to the fact that as a small charity the organization was in an unstable funding position, I was on a low salary and childcare costs in London were incredibly high. This led me to reconsider my realistic prospects and my identity as a creative worker and a mother. It was during this period of contemplation that I was alerted to a PhD studentship at Bournemouth University.

---

[12] Birds Eye View was founded as an annual film festival solely programming films directed by women. The festival ran from 2002 until 2014 but stopped due to lack of funding. The organization continues to advocate and provide training support for women in film (www.birds-eye-view.co.uk).

[13] Birds Eye View was set up in direct response to the under-representation of female film directors. At the time of its formation only 4% of the top 250 highest grossest feature films were directed by women (See Lauzen 2015). This number has risen to 7% in 2014. The number of female directors, writers, producers, executive producers, editors, and cinematographers working on the top 250 (domestic) grossing films was 17% in 2014, which was the exact figure from 1998 when the organization started monitoring feature film production (Lauzen 2015).

As previously mentioned (section 1.3) the project had been advertised as a collaboration between Skillset and Bournemouth University's Centre of Excellence in Media Practice (CEMP) in April 2009 to address a perceived 'widening' gender gap in the creative media industries. The project was devised in response to the then named Skillset's (now Creative Skillset see previous rationale for choice of phrase when referring to the organization) monitoring of the creative media workforce who identified a significant reduction of the number of women employed within the industry between 2006 and 2009 (Creative Skillset 2006, 2009, 2010a, 2010b). Along with this discovery was the finding that there was a consistent under-representation of women beyond the age of around thirty-five in all segments of the workforce and that far fewer women than men working in the industry had dependent children. In section 3.3 of this chapter I provide further detail about the scope of Skillset's data but I refer to it here as it was the Skillset research which led to their hypothesis that women were leaving the creative media industry, "because of [the] difficulty reconciling managing a career in the creative industries with raising a family" (Creative Skillset 2010b, p.1), that instigated this project. Originally the project was advertised as a three-year full time studentship but due to my situation of being a mother with a small child and my commitment to continue to work in the creative media industries I negotiated conducting the research on a part-time basis.

I have explained the context of how I came to this topic because of how much my own personal trajectory has influenced the experience of research and subsequent research design. The sub-heading for this chapter, 'a journey' represents two meanings. The first is in relation to my experience of combining the roles of mother / creative media worker / researcher / student that this project required of me. The closeness of my own identity and personal situation to that of the subject I am researching has created a tension that has driven me to locate my research within a feminist epistemological framework, one that accounts for and

celebrates the values and perspective of the researcher to the process of inquiry (Brooks 2007; Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2007; Harding 1991 and Jaggar 1997 in Brooks 2007; Haraway 1988; Lawler 2000; Oakley 1981, 2016; Skeggs 1995; Fonow and Cook 1991; Acker at al. 1991). The second meaning behind 'a journey' is its relationship to the methodological process that informed this project. As I have stated in my introduction to this thesis, this project started with a hypothesis, inherited from Creative Skillset, that linked women's withdrawal from work in the creative media industries to motherhood. This hypothesis led to a series of initial questions: when did women enter the industry in the first place? What other factors could have caused the reduction? I queried what was meant by the term "creative media industries"? What job roles and working cultures are included in that definition? What is specifically unique about working in that sector when compared to other sectors in the UK? Is a gender gap more likely in creative or media work? Could this research be considered in an international context, and if so how? I wanted to consider what value I could bring to this project that an established, well-funded organization could not. Finally, I wanted to interrogate the hypothesis that motherhood was the most significant factor in causing women to leave the industry. I did not realize at this early stage that asking questions of an already given situation was an act of feminist research. Fonow and Cook describe the process of looking at an already given situation and interrogating the ''taken for grantedness' concepts of everyday life" as a key trend of feminist methodological praxis (1991, p.11). Adopting this concept, what follows in this chapter is a sequential summary of the process and reflection that led to the discovery of a methodological approach and the epistemological framework that informs this thesis. It was, as I state, a journey.

Bev Skeggs made the claim that much research is a long procedure; one that is "difficult, messy, fraught, emotional, tiring" but that researchers rarely show that process, instead

masking it behind a final "clean, crisp and neatly finished product" (Skeggs 1995 in Lawler 2000, p.6). This chapter outlines the 'messy' research process that informs this study. I start with an account of how I reviewed and understood the Skillset data inherited at the start of this project and the process and reflection that led to pursuing a qualitative approach. I then describe the process and early research findings from a series of nine qualitative interviews that I conducted with women working in the field of creative media between 2011-2012. It was reflecting on these early research findings that led me to a focused field of inquiry and informed my methodological approach. It was at that point that motherhood and its complicated impact on creative women became my primary research focus and the desire for more diverse experiences of motherhood and creative work was fueled by a sense of anxiety that the research data I had until that point gathered did not represent women from a diverse range of cultural, social and ethnic backgrounds. In order to discover and recruit more participants I sent a survey compiled via Survey Monkey (see Appendix 6 for the survey design) to different organizations across the UK. The survey received 75 responses and by following up with those who had indicated they were happy for further correspondence along with other contacts, acquaintances or random encounters (some participants were mothers that I met when talking about my research in the playground) I was able to interview a further 24 women. It was through analyzing the data from both rounds of qualitative interviews following a grounded theory methodological approach (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Charmaz 1983, 2005, 2008, 2014) that I was able to develop the research findings that have emerged from this project. Thus I weave into this chapter a narrative of "exploration and discovery" (Acker et al. 1991 p.135) one that is committed to "finding out" (Lawler 2000, p.5) what women have to say about their experiences of motherhood and work in the creative media industries. Crucially, following hooks (1994), I found this process healing. I found within the literature a means to account for my own subjectivity and the relationship that I had with my

topic as well as a framework through which I could legitimize and celebrate my own knowledge claims.

3.2   Epistemological framework

"It is imperative … to recognize that most feminist views and perspectives are not simply ideas, or ideologies, but rooted in the very real lives, struggles, and experiences of women" (Brooks and Hesse-Biber 2007, p.3).

Theorists that bridge both feminist research and the production studies paradigm have called out for studies that interrogate the under-explored inequalities within the creative sector which they account as being a reflection of the postfeminist assumption that gender inequality is a thing of the past which has fed into the academic research priorities (Gill 2014, p. 513 see also Conor 2010; McRobbie 2009; Taylor 2010; Wreyford 2015). As discussed in chapter one, Ros Gill's critique of hypotheses that relate gender inequality to motherhood like that one generated by Creative Skillset is that they imply "change could be relatively easily achieved, with perhaps the introduction of some "family friendly" policies and an injection of good female "role models"' (Gill 2014, p.515). Creative Skillset's claim on the link between gender inequality in the creative media industries and motherhood potentially inadvertently, subscribes to a knowledge claim of objective truth or epistemological framework that is linked to the positivist paradigm (Guba and Lincoln 2005). The concept of positivism that emerged in the 19th century was committed to the production of knowledge via rational, objective observation free from subjective human influence (Brooks and Hesse-Biber 2007, p.6; Creswell 2009). The methodological approach favoured by 'positivist' sociologists was quantitative as a means to produce findings that could be measurable and generalizable (Brooks and Hesse-Biber 2007 p.7). Part of the feminist criticism of positivist knowledge claims that emerged with the second wave feminist movement in the 1960s and 70s was the

realization of their failure to include and represent women's experiences (Smith 1977 and Westkott 1979 in Acker et al, 1991). This provided a platform to challenge the notion of neutrality required of the objective, positivist researcher and instead called for acknowledging the subjective role of the researcher as contributing to the process of knowledge production (Blumer 1969, Hughes 1980 Habermas 1972, Bernstein 1978, Westkott 1979 in Acker et al, 1991; Smith 1977; Oakley 1981). Thus concepts such as reflexivity, subjectivity, the nature of the relationship between the researcher and the researched, celebrating emotions such as empathy and tenderness within the research process (Jaggar 1997 in Lawler 2000, p.10) become fundamental aspects of the feminist epistemological framework (Lawler 2000; Fonow and Cook 1991; Brooks and Hesse-Biber 2007; Hesse-Biber 2007a). These concepts are embedded within and inform my own research design and I shall refer to them throughout this narrative.

My own research starts from the 'taken for granted' assumption that motherhood is primarily a woman's responsibility and that within the context of creative work (see discussion in 1.4 and also section 3.3 for the scope of this study and the particular 'creative' sectors that are included) the demands of motherhood are incompatible with the demands required of a creative labourer. I acknowledge that this phenomenon is not unique to the creative sector (Blair-Loy 2003; Crompton 2006; Hewlett and Buck Luce 2005; Kanji and Cahusac 2015; Stone 2007) however a detailed focus on what is unique about creative work and creative workers as discussed in chapter one allows me to explore this complicated relationship between the two roles of mother / creative media worker. However, I am faced with the tension of recognizing that this project would not have been created were it not for the Creative Skillset data. So any criticism of the construction of their hypothesis and the impact that it has throughout the wider industry is coupled with the knowledge that the organization

made the decision to develop their results with a funded PhD. Creative Skillset have provided me with full access to their available data (see discussion in 3.3 on data formats), introduced me to members of the organization and participated in supervision meetings. I have felt a strong commitment from the organization to developing a better understand of the issue of inequality across the industry. The context of how research is conducted and what knowledge is produced is therefore an interesting consideration and rather than in engaging in a discussion on paradigmatic controversies (Guba and Lincoln 2005) I want to acknowledge arguments that call for recognizing the positives of 'paradigm proliferation' (Lather 2006) whilst also placing my own framework as adhering to the principles that guide feminist research (Acker et al, 1991). In my concluding chapter I outline a series of recommendations where I call for more joined up investigation between academia and the industry in order to develop the findings from deeper, in-depth qualitative research such as this project. In the next section I provide a review and critical reflection of the Creative Skillset data in order to show how it contributed to the development of my methodological framework.

3.3 The Creative Skillset data

Creative Skillset started tracking the industry as it was from 1999[14] so at the start of this project in 2010 I inherited a series of data spreadsheets in different formats containing information on the creative media industry population as measured and defined by Skillset. Appendix 7 lists the data files received from the organization and the format they were available in. It is worth describing Creative Skillset's role within the UK to provide clarity on the terminology used to describe creative media workers in this thesis. Skillset (as it was then named) was set up in 1998 with a specific remit to identify and provide the training needs for

---

[14] Creative Skillset's scope of audiovisual sectors has evolved representing the growth of the creative sector. The 2000 survey reports on those that worked in the television broadcast, film, video and interactive media industries.

the UK's audiovisual industries. Their research programme was developed because they recognized that official employment data in the UK did not realistically represent the unique and varied nature of creative work (Creative Skillset 2000). The term 'creative media industries' is one adopted by Creative Skillset to sub-define those sectors that are primarily concerned with the production of audio-visual material; film, television, radio, gaming, online / digital thus separating these particular sectors from other industries that can be labeled as either 'creative' or 'cultural'. The organization fits within a group of institutions part government and part industry funded who have emerged into the UK's public domain since the late 1990s and together support and represent its creative and cultural industries. In chapter one (section 1.4) I described the significance in the changing terminology around what constitutes creative/ culture work and how the shift in political terminology to the term 'creative industries' represents the economic significance of these sectors in the knowledge economy (Banks 2007; Garnham 2005; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011; Townley et al. 2009). Throughout this thesis I refer to the creative or creative media industries in line with Skillset's terminology and to represent the primarily audio-visual sectors that my research participants contributed to (see Appendix 1 for participant information). In 2012 Skillset was renamed 'Creative Skillset' and increased its scope of representation by adding the fashion and textiles industry to its remit. Currently, Creative Skillset claim to represent and support those that operate in the film, television, radio, fashion and textiles, animation, games, visual effects, publishing, advertising and marketing communications sectors. Thus their research and monitoring programme is meant to reflect those employed within and across those sectors. My study has gathered data from individuals that have participated in the advertising, animation, film, television, gaming, interactive media and visual effects industry and so when I make the reference to the 'creative media industries' I do so with the acknowledgement that

this is a contentious term (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011) and that my own research is not

representative of the entire industry.

3.3.1 The problem with the data

In their first published census Creative Skillset's then chair Roger Laughton introduces the

report with the following statement:

> "For far too long our industry has been hampered by a lack of reliable
> employment data. We have guessed how many people work in the industry, and
> formed conclusions on the basis of that guess. That changes with the publication of the
> first census of the audio-visual industries." (Creative Skillset 2000, p.1).

This problem of reliable employment data continues to haunt the creative media industries.

As already mentioned Skillset's research programme was created in response to the failing of

standard industrial and occupational classifications, known in the UK as 'SIC' or 'SOC'

codes to realistically represent employment roles in the creative sector. The SIC code

framework is used by the Office of National Statistics (ONS) to classify business

establishments by the type of economic activity in which they are engaged. The problem with

standard classification units as outlined by Creative Skillset in a briefing paper submitted to

the UK Commission for Employment and Skills (UKCES) is that much creative labour

activity is spread across unrelated SIC codes or not represented at all, particular in emerging

digital media areas such as content for computer games and interactive media (UKCES 2012).

The tensions around adequately mapping and defining what is 'creative' work appear as being

ongoing and unrealizable. Creative Skillset along with the National Endowment for Science,

Technology and the Arts (Nesta), the Creative and Cultural Skills and the National Skills

Academy have collaborated with the Department for Media, Culture and Sports (DCMS) to

develop a new approach to mapping and classifying the creative and cultural sector (Creative

Skillset 2013; Bakshi et al, 2013) to provide updated labour market intelligence on this sector.

The academic literature has reflected on the continued ambiguity of what is the cultural / creative sector and what is meant by the term cultural or creative economy (Arsenault and Castells 2008; Banks 2007; Bilton 2010; Caves 2000; Hesmondhalgh 2007; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011; Pratt 2009). A problem with defining and measuring creative and cultural work is its variety and fluidity. One argument is that activity associated with creative work could be seen as all-encompassing making monitoring boundaries opaque. Andy Pratt explores this question in his discussion on the 'cultural economy' in the context of reflexive modernization whereby "everything is 'cultural'…. in the sense that it has a cultural dimension" (2009, p.408). And yet variance clearly exists on an economic level between those who operate and perform within global conglomerates and those who operate as individual freelancers within a project based individualized and precarious labour market and it is the varied and extreme experiences of these different workers that contributes to debates within academic literature on communications research (Arsenault and Castells 2008; Meehan and Wasko 2014).

Whilst I acknowledge the existence of this debate and ambiguity, my own research framework has emerged partly through my critique of the limitations of the Skillset data and partly through a realistic review of my own capabilities. A detailed quantitative exploration of the available Skillset data required regular access to the available analytical software. As a researcher with limited time (see section 3.5.1 for a discussion on motherhood and time) who was not based near my University (at the time I was living in London and travelling to Bournemouth was a timely and costly process given I would have to secure extensive childcare to support the additional travel time) I found it hard to find out how to get access to both the training support and software (in this case the SPSS programme) that I needed to analyze the data files. When I did get access to the available Creative Skillset data I spent

time comparing which approach had been taken to inform the research reports that had been produced in the public domain in particular the statistics that informed their hypothesis surrounding gender, motherhood and creative work. I found that much of the data included in the Skillset reports is purely descriptive. Descriptive statistics provide information on a survey's sample and is a useful first-stage procedure in a quantitative research project (Pallant 2010). What descriptive statistics cannot do however is produce information on relationships between different variables or relate the survey to a wider population. In order to do that, a statistical technique should be applied to either explore the relationship between different variables[15] or the differences between groups (Pallant 2010, p.103). Most quantitative studies are designed with a specific research question in mind (Pallant 2010). The Creative Skillset data, as already discussed has a remit to track and monitor the industry so did not design their surveys with a specific question related to gender and employment. An additional problem with their data is that each different survey is a random sample with no control measurement to account for variances over time. This challenges Creative Skillset's claim that there has been any shift in numbers between certain data sets given each survey is a random sample from different voluntary organizations or individuals. So Creative Skillset's claim that the number of women had decreased to 27% from 38% between the years 2006 and 2009 is problematic, as is all of their comparative statistics between their historical surveys. This questions their hypothesis relating to motherhood and creative work as other factors could have contributed to the under-representation of mothers in their census and workforce surveys and as I discuss later in this chapter, a key finding in the research process was how hard it was to secure mothers as research participants because they had so many demands on their time. A comparative example of effective tracking studies includes the British Film Institute's (BFI) Television Industry Tracking Study conducted between 1994 and 1998 which collected data

---

[15] In statistics, a variable refers to any number or characteristic that can be measured or counted. Types of variables differ depending on what is being studied and measured (see Pallant 2010).

twice each year from a panel of the same 450 TV creative workers (Paterson et al, 2001). The study was then able to effectively monitor the impact of changing conditions of the television industry over a four-year period on those included in that panel. Another effective study is the 'Celluloid Ceiling' study conducted under Martha Lauzen at the Center for the Study of Women in Television and Film, University of California San Diego, which has annually tracks the employment of crewmembers of the 250 highest grossing films in the global market through their content analysis of credits since 1998 (Lauzen 2015). In both these examples the validity of the research is ensured through a constant control. As such the Creative Skillset data can only be understood as what it claims to be – a snapshot of indicators that suggest trends of clusters and employment across the industry at a given point in time. In my concluding chapter I list a series of recommendations that have emerged from this report one being an effective review of monitoring creative workers through smaller yet consistent samples of creative workers from the time they enter the industry (see chapter seven) to specifically address some of the issues relating to diversity and inequality that have emerged from an in-depth qualitative approach. This type of research is timely however given the ambiguity and unreliability of current data monitoring I argue that it is a necessary step to develop solid quantitative monitoring of the experience of creative work. My own approach was developed in response to the problems that I uncovered with the Creative Skillset data coupled with the reflective recognition of my own skills gap and capacity. These factors led to a qualitative focus, using the hypothesis of the Skillset data as a springboard to develop a more in-depth understanding of the relationship between gender and creative work.

3.4   Shifting to a qualitative approach: the pilot interviews

"Qualitative approaches share a similar goal in that they seek to arrive at an understanding of a particular phenomenon from the perspective of those experiencing it" (Vaismoradi et al. 2013, p.398).

The purpose of this early round of interviews was to test some of the initial questions derived from the Skillset research and my review of the wider literature through a qualitative approach given the problems of validity associated with the Skillset hypothesis. My primary focus at this stage was that of finding out what women themselves had to say about their experiences of work in the creative media industry (Lawler 2000). Motherhood and its impact was an important question within that context but it was not then my primary focus. At this stage however I was also personally experiencing how being a mother to a young child myself was a barrier to the research process. As previously discussed I found that my limitations regarding time, my distanced location to the services and support offered by my university restricted my capacity for quantitative research. This limitation related to the gathering of qualitative data in a different manner. I found setting up meetings with women in person problematic due to both their limited time and mine. An emerging factor of this project is that women and in particular mothers who work are hard to capture in the research process. In section 3.5.1 I reflect on this phenomenon in more detail for I describe its impact on the scope of research participants that I was limited to interviewing at this stage due to time / location barriers and the application of alternative methods of internet mediated communication that my study drew upon. All the women I interviewed in this pilot round lived in the same geographical proximity as me, which at that time was North-East London, not in itself a barrier to finding women who work in the creative media industry given the dominance of London as a location for creative work (Chapain et al. 2010) but as I shall discuss later having

an impact on the diversity of the research participants which subsequently contributed to my methodological framework.

In the pilot round I interviewed nine women. The interviews took place from 2011 to 2012 and specifically targeted women within the age group who were identified via the Creative Skillset data as withdrawing from the industry (i.e. 35 plus). Participants were recruited through a snowball technique; a mixture of my own personal contacts and then further recommendations. The interviewees came from a number of different creative sectors (Appendix 1) including drama and factual television, film, digital media and gaming which as I mention above was intentional as I wanted to uncover the range of experiences across the creative sector (de Peuter 2014). Of the nine women, five were mothers. Of that group one was at the time of interview on maternity leave with a second child although intending to return to work in the industry after her period of leave, one had left a highly paid job to start up her own company within her sector taking a significant cut in salary in order to do so and the remaining three had, at the time of interview decided to leave the industry altogether due to motherhood. Of the four women who did not have children, three spoke of their desire to do so at some stage and were at the time of interview considering strategies of how to manage motherhood with a creative career. Only one participant stated that she had made a conscious decision not to have children informing me that this choice was not a result of her career in television. In Appendix 1, I provide a profile list of the study participants across both qualitative rounds with references to their age, number of children and sector. I do not in this table include their geographical location in order to ensure anonymity. A key cause of concern from many of my participants was the assurance of anonymity particularly due to the highly personal nature of the research and many women, especially over the course of the interview indicated that they didn't want to be identified by the industry as having spoken out

against it[16]. This emerging finding related to the literature on identity and reputation as a contributing factor to personal value within the creative media industries (Grugulis and Stoyanova 2012; Blair 2001, 2003, 2009; Lee 2011a, 2011b). Such is the personal nature of creative identity and the scarcity of mothers that operate within the industry that many women in this pilot round did not want me to include any details that could then reveal who they were. All were provided with consent forms (see Appendix 3) which assured them with anonymity but the concern that some women in this round expressed informed my ethical approach to this research. Appendices 4 and 5 provide the updated information and consent form sent out to participants recruited in the second round of the study.

---

[16] Appendix 1 provides a profile list of the women who took part in this study and which stage of the research process (pilot or second round) that they contributed to. I have decided not to include a more detailed participant profile list or provide an example interview transcript due to the personal information that was shared in each interview discussion. Providing a full interview transcript could potentially jeopardize an individual participant's anonymity.

3.4.1 An emerging ethical approach

My research was informed by Bournemouth University's ethical code of practice (2009) and ethical approval was granted via the university's online Research Ethics Checklist in June 2014. Participants in both interview rounds were fully informed about the nature of the research in order to achieve informed consent (see Appendices 3, 4 and 5). However, an ethical concern with anonymity was a particularly relevant consideration due to the personal nature of my study. Bournemouth University's code states:

> "Issues of anonymity and anonymisation of results should be fully considered, and where personal disclosure or identification is likely, this must be discussed with the participants and their specific consent to this obtained. Pseudonyms do not always protect anonymity and researchers need to ensure other personal information is not given that could make the participant identifiable." (Bournemouth University 2009, p.4).

The question of transparency and anonymity was challenging in the context of creative work whereby simply stating an individual's job title even with a pseudonym would jeopardize her anonymity. In order to ensure anonymity, pseudonyms have been used for each contributor and although I refer to women's ages and the number of children they have I have not used women's actual job title, using in some cases a fabricated but related job description in the narrative. This is a procedure that was adopted by Pamela Stone in her research with former elite career women who were stay at home mothers in the US and who acknowledged similar issues around identity (Stone 2007). I have also not included a participant's geographical location or provided detailed information on their partner's profession as again this detail of information could reveal an individual's identity. This fear of transparency is another factor I return to in my concluding chapter as there were certain themes that emerged from the data relating to sexual harassment and unfair dismissal that I was unable to develop due to direct requests from the contributor not to do so. I feel however that further research into the legal

framework that surrounds women's employment in the creative media sector would be an important area for further research (see recommendation in chapter seven).

3.4.2   Interview technique: pilot round

I was drawn to using in-depth, qualitative interviews as a tool to gain information into women's experiences of work as interviewing has been recognized as a valuable method for feminist researchers to gain insight into the world of their respondents (Hesse-Biber 2007a; Oakley 1981, 2016). Techniques of interview style have been defined in methods literature as following either a structured, semi-structured or unstructured style (Kvale and Brinkermann 2009) but I was drawn to Sharlene Hesse-Biber's concept of interview formats as running along a continuum from "formal" to "informal" (2007, p.115). I developed an interview guide that included a mixture of structured and unstructured questions that I put to each participant in order to collect background information about their education, upbringing and entrance into the industry but also open-ended questions. As the project developed, particularly in the second round and my data collection was informed by a more developed methodological approach and I have included the schedules used at the different stages in the research process in appendices 8 and 9. In this pilot round, rather than thinking about a specific research framework I was primarily focused on exploring what these women had to say. Rather than applying a formal research process I wanted to get a deeper understanding of different women's lives and experiences. This I later discovered is a form of feminist research praxis as described by Hesse-Biber:

> "What is feminist about each of these interview styles, however, are the *types of questions* feminists ask. Research that gets at *an understanding of women's lives and those of other oppressed groups*, research that promotes *social justice and social change*, and research that is mindful of the *researcher-researched relationship* and the *power and authority* imbued in the researcher's role..." (Hesse-Biber 2007a, p.117 emphasis in original).

I met each participant in person either in an agreed public location or in their own home to conduct face-to-face interviews. Each interview was recorded initially using a tape recorder then using the recording application on my iPhone and downloaded onto my computer. I then transcribed each interview. I decided not to include every pause, verbal mannerism in the transcription process partly due to issues of time and capacity but also because the purpose of this stage of the research was primarily to comprehend a sense of, "the world from the subjects' points of view and to unfold the meaning of their lived world" (Kvale 2006 p.481) in relationship to the importance work played in their life and how they had experienced it. I had not at this stage identified a specific interpretive method.

It was during this early phase of transcription that a process of reflection occurred. Although I had anticipated that participants' background and social status would have an impact on their relationship to work it was the similarity across financial status, lifestyle, attitudes towards work and education that emerged as an interesting focus of investigation. All the women lived in London, were White British or White European, had benefitted from either a private or progressive secondary school education (six had gone to single sex schools). Each participant had attended a Russell Group university, four had been to Oxbridge and four had a postgraduate qualification. What emerged from the data was how social class and ethnicity linked the participants to each other and to myself. It was this recognition of the proximity of my own subjective identity to that of my research participants that drove my review of reflexive feminist research praxis which situates the identity of the researcher and the values that he or she bring to it as a factor of knowledge production (Oakley 1981, 2016; Lawler 2000; Acker et al. 1991; Haraway 1988). This is something I discuss in more detail in section 3.4.3. At the time of this discovery, class as having a bearing on the experience of work in the creative industries had not been a primary focus in the wider literature relating to inequality

within the industry workforce and there was no mechanism or variable to account for social class within the Skillset data. The women that informed this stage of the research had already built relatively successful careers in the industry and their gender was not largely spoken of as a barrier to securing employment or progressing in their early stage careers. For many, the barriers to their continued employment in the industry, or in some cases the factor that changed their attitude towards work was this question of how to realistically combine the demands of motherhood with the normative demands of work in the creative media industries. During the process of transcribing the interviews I started to consider a means of how to articulate the relationship between social class, gender and inequality in the context of career retention in the creative media industries. This was partly a factor of the emerging findings from the data I had gathered but also driven by my anxiety that I would be guilty of selection bias (Collier and Mahoney 1996) which could challenge the legitimacy of my research claims. Thus I now describe how this experience of anxiety led to a reflective practice that situated my own identity within the research but also drove the future research process.

3.4.3   Anxiety and reflexive practice

Separating the values and subjectivity of the researcher from that which is researched was one of the key principles of positivist objective inquiry (Durkheim 1938/1965 in Brooks and Hesse-Biber 2007). It was the criticism of academic scholarship that emerged through the second wave feminist movement to actively represent women's experiences and perspectives that contributed to an alternative feminist epistemological framework, one that exposed how the lived experiences of women were absent from research that followed a positivist approach (Smith 1987 in Brooks and Hesse-Biber 2007, p.5; Oakley 1981). Feminist researchers have called for research that is grounded in reflexivity which Fonow and Cook define as;

> "The tendency of feminists to reflect upon, examine critically and explore analytically the nature of the process" (1991, p.2 see also Hesse-Biber 2007a, p.129).

Thinking about how my own identity reflected that of the research participants I had thus far interviewed created this question around the relationship between the creative media industry, social class and mothering practice. A clear pattern was how these women had, like myself a middle-class[17] background. I started to consider how my own 'situated knowledge' (Haraway 1988) and particularly my own experiences, tensions and fears around being a mother / creative media worker coupled with the knowledge that I was supposed to be 'privileged' could be thought of objectively.

Sandra Harding, one of standpoint theory's founders, calls for a feminist approach to epistemology, one that is rooted in the objective relationship between the research and subject:

> "strong objectivity requires that we investigate the relation between subject and object rather than deny the existence of, or seek unilateral control over this relation" (Harding 1991 in Olesen 2005, p.251).

Haraway and Harding's concepts of 'situated knowledge' and 'strong objectivity' provide a space for women to claim an objective version of reality from their subordinate place in society (Brooks 2007, p.66), providing a space that celebrates women's "limited location and situated knowledge" (Haraway 1988, p.583) and allowing them to be answerable for that position. Whereas I found this concept useful as a way to conceive of my own location and in part that of my participants (and at points in the discussion I refer to their situated location), I found standpoint theory a problematic framework for this study on two accounts. The first being that although the research uncovered themes that suggested that the realities faced by women within the creative media sector and particularly mothers as unjust, that question goes

---

[17] In chapter one I acknowledge the tensions around definitions of class.

beyond the actual data that has informed this thesis. Many of the women that I spoke to would not and did not consider themselves as repressed. Notions of injustice did emerge from their interviews however they were complicated. Although there were utterances of regret when it came to their withdrawal from the industry and many highlighted the pleasure that they derived from creative work, there was not a strong sense that they considered their existence as one of injustice and would acknowledge their power and pleasure in the status of motherhood that they occupied. Similarly, they would struggle to articulate their positions of privilege in society as having an impact on either their relative career success or as a factor in their experience of work in the industry. In the section of this chapter where I discuss the findings that emerged from the grounded methodological framework that this journey of reflection led me to I describe in more detail the process that developed the theme for this thesis. Here I mention the experience of searching for a framework that subscribed to feminist research principles as outlined by Acker et al. (1991) but also acknowledged that I was using the experiences of these women to illustrate a question that I have imposed on them, one that I had determined the focus of enquiry to be. I found that my questions on objectivity and social justice problematize the extent to which my research can fit within the standpoint feminist paradigm.

In order to account for this dual commitment to feminist research praxis, reflexivity but also acknowledging the power that I have as a researcher to impose on how I interpret and present my research findings I have been drawn to feminist research on motherhood including Skeggs's research with working class mothers (1997) and Lawler's research on the mother/daughter self through interviews with middle class women (2000) for guidance. Skeggs criticizes the standpoint claim that women's experience of oppression provides them with a valid source of knowledge and challenges the notion that experience can be a fixed

state (1997, p.27). Skeggs uses alternative constructions of motherhood and selfhood that emerged from her research with working class women who found ways to re-interpret and bypass concepts of oppression showing how "motherhood may be experienced differently from the existing categories and representations that are available" (Skeggs 1997, p.21). Lawler talks about the values that she brought to her research on the relationship between the mother and daughter within the singular self and how her own anxiety around how she appeared to her research participants influenced her epistemological approach. She refers to a comment from Kelly et al's chapter 'Researching women's lives or studying women's oppression?' which states:

> "Simplistic notions of participation and empowerment … mask other aspects of the power and responsibility of the researcher. It is we who have the time, resources and skills to conduct methodical work, to make sense of experience and to locate individuals in historic and social contexts" (1994 in Lawler 2000, p.9).

It is this literature that allows me to consider my interpretation of women's experience of oppression, an experience that I found reminiscent with many of the second wave feminist constructions of motherhood as outlined in chapter two but one that was unrecognizable to many of the participants themselves. Lawler also refers to Skeggs's call to "make the research process as transparent as possible; to take responsibility for the process of knowledge production, and to expose the conditions in which knowledge is produced" (Skeggs 1994, 1995, 1997 in Lawler 2000, p.11) in order to avoid falling into the same paradigmatic pitfall of making 'pure' knowledge claims (ibid). Like Steph Lawler I wanted to develop a project that both accounted for my own subjectivity, took into account the power of interpretation that I had over my research participants yet stuck to the feminist principle of producing research that contributes to the knowledge of women's oppression (Acker et al. 1991; Lawler 2000). It was through this process of anxiety and reflection that led to a choice of grounded theory as a methodological approach that application of which I discuss in section 3.6.

3.5   The second round of qualitative interviews: a focus on mothers

In response to my anxiety of selection bias and as a means to secure more diverse experiences of motherhood and creative work I sent out a survey created through Survey Monkey, calling for research participants. The survey was sent to a number of different film and media groups across the UK – some women specific, some with a minority focus - as well as identifying contacts through my Facebook and Twitter accounts and asking members of my networks to pass the survey on to others who might be interested. I targeted organizations based across the UK to ensure that my study did not consist primarily of participants based in London and covered a national cohort. I received a total of 75 responses from the survey and followed up with the majority of women who had agreed to further contact. 19 of the interviews included in the second round of qualitative interviews came from the survey. Most of these women were based in the South-West, either Bristol or Oxford but included participants based in Norwich, Leeds, Hull and Birmingham although it should be noted that this response does not represent the geographical spread of the industry (Chapain et al. 2010). Because I wanted to broaden the geographical spread of the sample I used further personal contacts to obtain interviews from participants based in the North of the UK and Scotland. Despite attempts at connecting with organizations and women based in Wales and Northern Ireland I had no responses from either area and due to factors of time limitation I was forced to cease from pursuing contacts in those areas although that would remain an area for future research. In total I interviewed 26 women for the second phase of qualitative research. Two of those interviews have not been included in the study. In one case the interview was conducted over the telephone and didn't produce data of the same quality as the others and in another case, the interview (which took place on Skype, see discussion in 3.5.1 for the effectiveness of this communication tool) had so many technical difficulties that I was forced to abandon and couldn't find a time for a follow up interview thus 24 interviews are included in this study.

All of the women interviewed in this second round are mothers and all have either worked or at the time of interview worked in the creative media industries. Respondents come from a variety of sectors including television drama, documentary & factual, film production, radio, animation, gaming, visual effects and advertising (Appendix 1). As before, I have used pseudonyms, fabricated job titles and not attached a geographic location or ethnicity to the individual participant information.

3.5.1 Women's time (Kristeva 1986) and emergent methods

During the survey stage of the research process when I was gathering potential interview candidates (Autumn 2012) I was pregnant with my second child. I attempted to conduct interviews with participants before giving birth but similar to my experience in the pilot round found the process of setting up the interviews problematic due to factors of available time. The project was put on hold when I went on maternity leave in January 2013. In May 2013 I started contacting potential participants who had responded to the survey again via email explaining my absence due to maternity leave and asking if they would still be happy to talk to me.

Because of the limitations I had encountered in the pilot round regarding finding a suitable time I decided to offer the option of the Internet communication programme Skype as an alternative to a face-to-face interview. In total, 22 interviews included in this study were conducted on Skype. Skype was a suitable tool that enabled me to include participants from a distant geographical location but I also found that Skype was a particularly useful for conducting feminist research on women's lives. As mentioned, a key issue in securing interview participants that I had encountered in the pilot round was finding time. As my research focus was on mothers and mothers who were or had been creative labourers I found

that factors relating to their identity as a mother and / or creative worker meant that their time was unstable and unpredictable. On three occasions an individual responded that they would like to take part in the research and an interview was arranged but either a child's sickness, a change in their work schedule, a sudden job opportunity meant that they had to cancel last minute and rearrange the interview. On three occasions this resulted in potential study participant's complete exclusion from the project through an inability to secure a mutually available time. Lisa Baraitser refers to Karen Davies' *Women, Time and the Weaving of the Strands of Everyday Life* and the notion that women's subjectivities are linked to their participation in different social spheres the consequence of which is women's "contemporary temporal consciousness in structuring these identities" (Davies 1990 in Baraitser 2009, p.74). Jennifer Lois in her article on mothers who home-school their children talks about the temporal and emotional relationship that her participant's had with the concept of time (2010). The concept of women's subjectivity having a different concept of time is part of Julia Kristeva's influential essay 'Women's Time' first published in 1979 where she describes the temporal, monumental and cyclical time of the female compared to the linear of the dominant male ideology (1986). Feminist writers and academics (Rich 1986; Hochschild 1983, 2012) have talked about the alternative demands that motherhood places on women's time, demands that can be understood as subjective, emotional and oppressive. This I would argue would have an impact on women and in particular mothers' ability to both conduct and participate within social research. Using Skype as a research communication tool enabled me to offer greater flexibility regarding time availability and location to these women. As a research tool, Skype has been identified as allowing for the necessary conditions for a synchronous environment within which an in-depth face-to-face interview can take place (Berg 2007 in Sullivan 2013, p.55.) Jessica Sullivan provides a rationale for defending Internet research methods in qualitative research projects where subjects are geographically dispersed (2013)

and Paul Hanna writes of the benefits in using Internet technologies including Skype from an ecological point of view (2012). I want to extend that to including groups who due to their multiple responsibilities would not be able to take part in formal social research in the case of this study, mothers.

There are issues regarding the use of Internet technologies in social science research, one being reaching women that do not have access to technology. This was the case in my project with potential candidates contacted via the survey and as stated I attempted to conduct one telephone interview in order to be more inclusive but found the quality of both the interview and my ability to engage with the participant lacking despite claims that telephone interview can be a suitable format for securing narrative interviews (Holt 2010 in Hanna 2012, p.240). I found the quality of communication did not enable me to develop the trust and rapport to gather the data that was necessary for this project. I also experienced technical difficulties with Skype including sudden loss of connection or that I was unable to run a coherent interview with both audio and video at the same time so would have to turn the video off which meant I couldn't engage in a face to face conversation for parts of the interview. Hesse-Biber has described the Internet as a research tool in the context of emergent methods as 'Frankenstein's Monster' a metaphor to the possibility for "things to run out of control" (2005, p.522) however I found the benefit of gaining access to these women at a time that was suitable to them outweighed the technical difficulties. Creswell talks of the importance in conducting qualitative interviews in a natural setting as a means to make participants comfortable (2003). Rapport and trust have been identified as important parts of the qualitative research experience (Kvale and Brinkermann 2009; Maykut and Morehouse, 1994; Oakley 2016; Hesse-Biber 2007a). Because of the video element Skype enables synchronous face-to-face interaction and there is a growing recognition in the academic community that

the Internet is a viable qualitative research medium (Evans et al. 2008 in Hanna 2012, p. 241). Along with Skype I was able to install a programme that recorded the conversation (additional software enables recording the video as well but I decided not to include this as I was interested in the themes that emerged from the women's narrative) which meant that I could talk directly to the women and not stop or look down to make notes but allow the conversation to flow. Most of the Skype interviews took place in the evening after 8pm (interviews could go on up until midnight) as this was the only time mutually agreed between the participant and myself as free from the demands of either work or childcare. I would send an email or text message at the agreed time of interview to make sure the participant was ready to talk to me and only when they responded and said they were available would I contact them via Skype. All of the Skype interviews were conducted in the participant's own home often in a bedroom, study or in an open family space occasionally with their partner listening or contributing to the exchange. I noted that contacting women in their own home in the evening contributed to a relaxed exchange and they would often talk to me about their day including general chat about their children and domestic life before I officially started the interview. I found that the process of setting up these interviews often created a sense of awareness of who I was and an interest in my research. Many asked about my own professional background and were interested in the fact that I had children. The nature of my research in many ways set the tone for the interview and the fact that I had a shared background in the industry and had children myself created the rapport that provided the rich data.

This rapport has created ethical difficulties and I refer back to my previous section on an emerging ethical approach. As in the first round many participants would reveal information that they then asked me not to include in this project. Accounts of direct sexual harassment,

120

unfair pay, unfair dismissal, ageism were referred to and emerged as strong themes in the coding procedure however due to my agreement with the various participants I was unable to include these themes in the discussion. Many also asked that I did not mention the companies that they had worked for as they did not wish to be identified in the research and in some cases where women had left the industry were hopeful that they would one day be able to return and did not want to jeopardize their reputation (see discussions in sections 1.7.2 and 3.4 on identity, reputation and creative work). I was also consciously aware as already stated that some of the participants might not agree with my interpretation of their data. This is a common issue for feminist researchers (Acker et al.1991). Like Hesse-Biber, as a feminist researcher I was interested in the "subjugated knowledge" of women's realities "that often lie hidden and unarticulated" (2007, p.113). Acker et al. warn of the "unarticulated tension between friendships and the goal of research" (1991, p.141) which I experienced when reviewing the transcripts. On occasions, I would uncover contradictory statements in an interviewee's narrative, moments when they would state how they did not experience gender inequality at work and then provide an example of oppression. Following this, it is clear to me that the power relationship between the researcher and the researcher cannot be eliminated (Acker et al. 1991; Lawler 2000; Skeggs 1997) even in feminist research that is committed to contributing to women's liberation from oppression. What emerged from this process and the review of the literature on feminist methodology was a commitment to embedding the findings from this study in the participant's narratives and following Skeggs (1997 and in Lawler 2000, p.11) making the research process as transparent as possible. I found that the rapport and closeness that I had developed with participants added to my sense of "obligation" (Acker et al. 1991, p.141) that I needed to finish this project and get their stories out in the public domain. This sense of obligation contributed to my commitment to this project which waned when either personal issues including pregnancy, health, my children's

health, financial hardship or the many institutional barriers that I experienced within academia (Castenedo and Isgro 2013; Savigny 2014) meant that I strongly considered abandoning the project. It was the commitment to ensuring that the findings from this project would emerge from and be grounded in the participant's narrative that led to the rationalization of a grounded theoretical framework in the data analysis process.

3.6   Data analysis: applying a grounded theory methodology

"[G]rounded theory is not a description of a kind of theory. Rather it represents a general way of generating theory (or, even more generically, a way of having ideas on the basis of empirical research)." (Atkinson, Coffey and Delamont 2003, p.150).

As I have discussed, the findings from my pilot interviews uncovered a link between social class and employment within the creative media industries. It was this discovery that led to my development of a framework that would examine the relationship between employment in the creative media industries, class and motherhood thinking about class as a social practice as defined by Pierre Bourdieu but applying a feminist appropriation of Bourdieu's theory to show how social practices are gendered (Moi 1991; Skeggs and Adkins 2004). It was my desire to test this relationship between class, the creative worker and the mother in further detail that led to the expansion of the qualitative data in order to see how a broader demographic pool of participants would contribute to that discovery. I had my assumptions on this relationship based on the wider literature as discussed in the first two chapters but I wanted to develop this relationship further and see what other knowledge could be drawn from a qualitative study. This is what has led me to situate my methodological approach within a grounded theory framework but one that is committed to a socially constructed feminist epistemology (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz 1983, 2005, 2008, 2014; Clarke 2005; Olesen 2005).

Before I develop my application of the grounded theory methodology it is necessary to acknowledge the contextual emergence of this approach and the debate that surrounds its use. The grounded theory approach to analyzing qualitative data was created by sociologists Barney Glaser and Anton Strauss in the 1960s. Glaser and Strauss generated this approach from their field research into different medical establishments dealing with patient mortality comparing the relationship between the medical staff, the patients and the relatives. Their research led to the book *Awareness of Dying* (originally published 1965) but it also established an approach to conducting fieldwork which generated qualitative data through which phenomenon relating to human behaviour could be analyzed systematically which they published two years later in *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967). At the time, Glaser and Strauss wanted to make the case for using a systematic qualitative approach to understanding social phenomenon as an alternative to the dominance of quantitative approaches and pragmatist philosophical traditions that they had both been trained in under (See Byrant and Charmaz 2007, pp.32-36 for a detailed discussion on the historical emergence of grounded theory).

More recent discussions on the emergence of grounded theory (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2006) describe the methodological break between the founders which took place in the 1990s with Strauss developing a different approach to the data analysis process in the grounded theory application referred to as the "Straussian break" (Charmaz 2000, p.524). Along with his student Julia Corbin, Strauss developed an additional procedure that should be included in the already formulated process which they labeled 'the conditional matrix' which was seen to take the approach into a further positivist framework (Charmaz 2000). Their method was heavily criticized by the other original founder Barney Glaser and the antagonism

between these two different approaches has contributed to the confusion of applying this process (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz 1983, 2005, 2008, 2014; Clarke 2005; Glaser 2007; Olesen 2005). Alongside this difference between the original developers of the theory there are discrepancies in how Glaser himself describes the nature of the research method. In a paper that considers the contribution of reflexivity to grounded theory sampling Sara Neill points out that in his early approach Glaser appears to value reflexivity in the development of theoretical sensitivity (Neill, 2006). Indeed both Glaser and Strauss had lost a parent before starting the fieldwork that would lead to the *Awareness of Dying* publication (Bryant and Charmaz 2007) and Neill points to occasions where Glaser talks of the role of the researcher's own "knowledge, understanding and skills which foster his generation of categories and properties and increase his ability to relate them into hypotheses" (Glaser 1992 in Neill 2006, p.258). She then goes on to show how in a later publication Glaser discredits reflexivity as "paralyzing, self-destructive and stifling of productivity" (2001 in Neill 2006, p.258).

The divide and animosity between Glaser and Strauss creates a situation where any researcher adopting a grounded theory methodology must acknowledge the different approaches and place their stand in relation to how they analyze their data; whether or not it can be considered as a 'real' grounded theory method. I had not considered adopting grounded theory as a methodology when I started my research process and was considering a mixed methods approach whereby the results of the qualitative data could be merged with the original data supplied by Creative Skillset. However, as discussed in section 3.3.1, I found that the discrepancies within the inherited quantitative data meant that I abandoned incorporating it into my analysis and focused instead on the qualitative. Like Bryant and Charmaz I argue that even though grounded theory is a contested concept it is a valuable approach to qualitative data analysis (2007, p.4). In keeping with the epistemological framework of this study I have

124

consulted theorists who have demonstrated how the approach can be used for feminist

research projects and reflexive practice (Charmaz 2005; Clarke 2005; Olesen 2005).

3.6.1   Grounded theory method, social constructivist epistemology

> "The task of sociology is, 'to uncover the most profoundly buried structures of the various social worlds which constitute the social universe as well as the 'mechanisms' which tend to ensure their reproduction or their transformation." (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2007, p.7).

As indicated, philosophical tensions will emerge with any study that adopts the use of a

grounded theory method. Grounded theory emerged out of a pragmatic philosophical canon

and was conceived of creating a positivist qualitative method (Glaser 1978; Clarke, 2005).

Following the theoretical framework of Bourdieu, a framework that I found emerged from the

data, I am applying a socially constructed epistemology to understand how certain classed

attitudes towards mothering can act as a barrier to career progression within the field under

analysis – the creative media industries. My personal relationship with my subject and my

proximity to my research participants meant that I have adopted a reflexive approach to

analyzing the qualitative data one that following feminist research praxis includes a

'reflection' of the research process and accounts for my own self-reflexivity (Fonow and

Cook 1991; Acker at al. 1991; King 1996). My adoption of the grounded theory approach is

influenced by the body of researchers who have moved grounded theory on from its positivist

roots towards social constructivist (Bryant 2002, 2003; Charmaz 2000, 2006) and

postmodernism (Clarke, 2005) frameworks. Glaser continues to criticize this move (Olesen

2005, p.420) but he also criticizes Strauss and Corbin's revised method of conducting

grounded theory as shifting its purpose from the discovery of theory to "full conceptual

description" (Olesen 2005, p.420) thus the practice of grounded methodology applied in this

thesis has followed the procedure outlined by Kathy Charmaz (2014).

Charmaz makes the claim for using a grounded theory approach with a social constructivism epistemology in studies that are based on social justice. She cites Bryant and Clarke about the need to "reground grounded theory" to take other epistemologies and postmodern sensibilities into account:

> "Not only are justice and injustice abstract concepts, but they are, moreover, *enacted processes*, made real through actions performed again and again. Grounded theorists can offer integrated theoretical statements about the conditions under which justice or injustice develops, changes or continues." (Charmaz 2005, p.508, emphasis in original).

Virginia Olesen points out that this socially constructed / situational application of grounded theory is prominent in feminist research methodologies (2007, p.420). This movement fits with other feminist accounts of methodological practices of feminists and the need according to Hesse-Biber to reinvent the method to fit the goal (2008). Applying a constructivist approach to the grounded theory method fits with the feminist epistemological framework on knowledge production that informs this thesis. Charmaz also makes the claim for applying a reflexive approach to knowledge production through the grounded theory approach:

> "Constructivist grounded theorists take a reflexive stance on modes of knowing and representing studied life. That means giving close attention to empirical realities and our collected renderings of them - *and* locating oneself in these realities." (2005, p.509, emphasis in original).

Like Glaser's earlier work she describes how:

> "our conceptual categories arise through our interpretations of data rather than emanating from them or from our methodological practices (cf Glaser, 2002). Thus our theoretical analyses are interpretive renderings of a reality not objective reportings of it." (2005, pp.509 - 510).

This group of researchers has moved grounded theory as a means to consider the situated / socially constructed elements of knowledge production that can emerge from an inductive approach to qualitative data analysis. This enables me to both incorporate my situated knowledge but also avoid the pitfalls of objective claims of oppressive experience as

knowledge that Skeggs and Lawler criticize in relation to standpoint theory (Skeggs 1997; Lawler 2000).

3.6.2 Analyzing the interviews

The process of analyzing these interview narratives was arduous, time-consuming and emotional. In total I had recorded 34 interviews. Each interview last between 1 – 3 hours and because I had followed a loosely semi-structured approach adhering to Hesse-Biber's concept of the "continuum" (2007, p.115) there was a combination of both structured and open-ended unstructured questions. This enabled the participants to talk openly, freely and at length in response to a question that I had put to them. I wanted to get a sense of who these women were, what their journey into the creative media industries was, what their experience of motherhood was like and how these two worlds of creative work / mothering impacted on them. I had been influenced by Charmaz's research on the experiences of chronically ill sufferers whereby she applied a grounded theory approach to uncover subjective changes that had taken place in the patient's concept of themselves as a result of their illness (1983, 2014). As such I have relied heavily on her practical guide to grounded theory from a constructivist perspective (2014). Charmaz recommends transcribing interviews in full and using the full transcripts for the data analysis (2014, p.136) along with observation notes in order to develop your observations. I transcribed each interview myself and included any alterations of tone or irony that accompanied a statement so I could account for that during the coding process which I discuss in more detail in the next section. I used the computer software programme, Nvivo (version 10) for the coding process. Glaser has been reported as critical of the use of computer software programmes for a grounded analysis (Olesen 2007) but others including Fielding and Lee defend the use of software making the claim that it supplies researchers with "tools [that] support analysis but leave the analyst firmly in charge" (1998, p.167). Hesse-

Biber describes the usefulness of computer-assisted software in her chapter on teaching grounded theory; "[g]ood qualitative software makes good research easier" (Blank 2004 in Hesse-Biber 2007b, pp.327-8). In my case, the fact that I conducted this study from home in a small flat with two children meant that I didn't have access to the physical space that would enable me to conduct a 'pure' grounded analysis of the transcripts (the shortest transcript consisted of 14 pages, the longest 30 with the mode being 19) so conducting my coding through a software programme enabled me to manage the amount of data within my physical/geographical limitations.

3.6.3   Doing grounded theory

> "What are grounded theory methods? Stated simply, grounded theory methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories from the data themselves. Thus researchers construct a theory 'grounded' in the data." (Charmaz 2014, p.1).

As stated the process of drawing a theoretical claim on the relationship between creative work, class and motherhood was a timely and arduous process. I started coding the data in October 2015 and finished in April 2016 although this timeframe wasn't based on an 8-hour working day as I had many other demands on my time including part-time paid work and childcare. Most of the coding (and subsequently writing) of this thesis took place in the evening between the hours 9pm until midnight. I had already read through and checked the transcripts, particularly the pilot round on multiple occasions and drawn out themes that linked to my question about the relationship between class, creative work and motherhood but I wanted to be able to produce theories that were saturated in the data. Charmaz writes critically about the qualitative researchers who make clams about sampling and saturation but do not follow the logic of grounded theory (2014, p.197).

I started the process of line-by-line coding each interview in turn. I kept a daily diary of my progress noting down not only what I had done but thoughts and reflections on what the data had revealed, notes to myself about any issues or concerns I had relating to my project and my own personal responses to how I was feeling that day with the research process. Following Charmaz I labeled this first round of coding 'initial coding' which was recorded and organized in a specified folder within Nvivo 10. I went through each transcription line by line and put chunks of texts into codes that reflected my interpretation of the text. Following Lincoln and Guba (1985 in Maykut and Morehouse 1994) I thought of these chunks of texts as units of meaning, a word or phrase that provides the essence for the unit of meaning. In the early stages of initial coding I was setting up new codes every session (Nvivo uses its own terminology and the programme labels 'codes' as 'nodes') and whenever a new code emerged from the data I would note in my diary why I thought it was relevant and further reflection on what it revealed about the data. As I went through and created new codes with the next transcript I would review the interviews already coded to see if any of the narrative could be coded in the newly created initial code. As I went on the process became faster as more and more initial codes were created and tested against previous interviews. In the diary I started to write reflective thoughts or 'memos' which Charmaz labels "informal analytical notes" (2014, p.162). Memo writing is an important part of the grounded theory process (Glaser and Strauss 1967, Maykut and Morehouse 1994) as it is the memos that record the path of theory construction (Charmaz 2014, p.164). I was able to record why a new code that emerged from a specific interview was important, how it related to the previous codes. Coding brought back memories of the interview process and particular instances or thought that I had had when I spoke to the interviewees. As I continued through the interview transcripts I would go back and rename certain codes if I felt the meaning within them altered in some way due to the increased data. I also during this process started to see patterns between related codes. This

process of continuous coding and going back over the data already coded is what Glaser and Strauss defined as 'the constant comparative method' (Glaser and Strauss 1967 in Maykut and Morehouse 1994, p.134) and is a fundamental procedure in grounded theory analysis. By the time I had finished coding all the interviews I had produced 66 initial codes. There were crossovers between codes and chunks of text could be coded into multiple units of meaning. At that point and again following Charmaz I started arranging the initial codes into the second stage of coding that she labels, focused codes (2014).

Focused coding "requires decisions about which initial codes make the most analytic sense to categorize your data incisively and completely" (Charmaz 2014, p.138). The process of focused coding relied heavily on the memos. It was by looking at the memos and reflective notes that I could see patterns emerging from the data and could identify which initial codes I could group together to develop that pattern. Focused codes also caused me to go back to do more initial coding. For example, a comment one participant made about pay, a jokingly delivered passing remark about the irony that her salary was higher when she was younger than after many years of experience reminded me of similar comments from previous transcripts relating to pay. I had already set up an initial code labeled 'financial status' but I found that this comment had a different meaning. I looked through that code and at my memo notes which led me to develop a new initial code labeled 'how you are valued'. Initial codes could be grouped multiply into different focused codes. For example, 'how you are valued', 'age', 'financial status', 'inequality in the industry' were put together to look at the links between pay, age and status in the industry. I also put 'how you are valued' together with 'pregnancy and motherhood', 'how they describe motherhood'. Some initial codes became so large they were sub-divided into 'child nodes' following the Nvivo terminology. After a process of grouping different initial codes together into focused codes, creating new or sub-

dividing large initial codes following the observations and thoughts that I had recorded in the memos I identified five key focused codes that could be framed as categories which emerged from the data:

1: Impact of gender on experience of work.
2: The demands of creative work.
3: Female role models in the industry.
4: The experience of motherhood.
5: Why and how they went into the creative industry or access to the industry.

These were not the only categories that emerged from the interviews but they were the ones that I felt had a significant level of data to justify an emergent theoretical construction. Initial codes were grouped under these themes but I found them too broad, containing too much data. I went back over the initial codes included in these categories and the analytical process that had enabled their development (as recorded in my memo diary) and decided to structure the three themes of the focused coding into the chapters that informed my emerging theory. I was also influenced by the wider literature that I was reading during this process that related to women's subjective experience of work and motherhood. Charmaz talks of identifying "action codes" by which she means quotes or other pieces of data "that won't leave you alone"[18] and found I was drawn to certain key quotes within these categories which enabled me to further develop focused codes. I decided to divide the data into three sections linking the themes that emerged from each section to the wider literature that I had consulted on motherhood and creative work. These three areas, or themes, formed the framework of each discussion chapter included in this thesis. I found that focusing on three distinct areas led to further consultation of the relative literature, Charmaz includes a section titled "the disputed literature review" in her 2014 text (p.306) as the timing and place of the literature review in a

---

[18] Charmaz is actually referring to a process defined by Jennifer Lois who used a grounded methodology in her paper on mother's experience of time and provided this information through personal communication (2014, p.194).

grounded theory study is subject to debate.[19] Charmaz lists scholars who reject a notion of "pure induction" (ibid) and states:

> "The disputes over when to conduct the literature review miss a crucial point: any researcher should tailor the final version of the literature review to fit the *specific* purpose and argument of his or her research project" (Charmaz 2014, p.307 emphasis in original).

As such the inductive process that informed this thesis built on scholarship that had already been consulted but also raised areas for further consultation. The three themes that were developed and provide the framework for the discussion chapters are:

> Theme 1 – The stigma of motherhood.
> Theme 2 – Motherhood as a 'choice'.
> Theme 3 – Loss of one valued self, gain of another.

The concept of 'stigma' emerged from interview data and led to a consultation of Erving Goffman's concept of 'stigma management' in *Stigma: Notes of the Management of Spoiled Identity* (first published in 1963) as defined in section 4.1.1. The theme of how motherhood was framed as a choice led to a revised review of the literature on motherhood, choice and work and led to the developed discussion on the processes that inform women's choice to leave the industry as discussed in chapter five. Finally the theme relating to the loss of a valued self / gain of another led to a consultation of literature on how women are valued as both workers and as mothers in the wider context of the subject under analysis as discussed in chapter six. The empirical data led to the inductive framework that drives this thesis and the literature that supports my argument fits, following Charmaz, its specific purpose.

"How do we move from analytical processes to producing grounded theories?" (Charmaz 2014, p.227). What makes the application of a grounded methodological process distinct is its claim for theoretical construction. Charmaz observes that disagreements between grounded

---

[19] In their original description of the theory Glaser and Strauss advocated delaying the literature review until after the analysis to avoid the conflict of "received theory" clouding the process of inductive research (1967 in Charmaz 2014, p.306).

theorists use of the methodological process are in part caused by different conceptions of what theory is (p.228). Here I return to the debate between positivist definitions of theory that separate fact from value as discussed earlier in this chapter and feminist epistemological criticism of positivism for filtering out value and reflexivity in the research process (Hesse-Biber and Brooks 2007). Feminist epistemology fits into the wider interpretivist concept of theory construction along with social constructivism, symbolic interactionism, phenomenology processes that:

> "assume emergent, multiple realities: interdeterminacy, facts and values as inextricably linked; truth as provisional; and social life as processual" (Charmaz 2014, p.231).

In her book, Charmaz contrasts the theoretical processes that inform both objectivist grounded theory as carried out by Glaser and Strauss / Corbin and a constructivist approach to producing theory. Where the objectivist assumes the impartiality of the researcher, that the data pre-exists the researcher's discovery of theory (p.237) a constructivist approach to grounded theory thinks about the how and why "participants construct meanings and actions in specific locations' (p.239). She adds that "theory *depends* on the researcher's view; it does not and cannot stand outside of it" (Charmaz 2014, p.239 see also Clarke 2005). Mirroring processes outlined by Bev Skeggs, Charmaz calls that constructivist grounded theorists "take a reflexive stance towards the research process and products." (Charmaz 2014, p.240).

Thus, Charmaz's concept of constructivist grounded theory in relation to a feminist epistemological framework has provided me with a methodological process that accounts for my own reflexive proximity to the research study undertaken. Applying the systematic coding procedure to the interview data with a focus of units of meaning and action allowed me to draw out and unite concepts that emerged from different participants. Rather than looking at each individual participant as a discrete unit of analysis I uncovered the actions and concerns

that were shared among them. These emerging codes were then viewed in relationship to the wider literature that I had consulted and my own reflective observations as noted in the coding diary. Drawing out three themes from the data and looking at the relationship between them led to the process of theorizing on how motherhood as a constructed practice related specifically to the experience of work for women in the creative media industries.

3.7   Conclusion

I found the methodological journey of this project incredibly rewarding. I started this project from a position of anxiety that I didn't have anything of value to contribute, concern that my wider responsibilities would make conducting the research challenging, mindful that I didn't have sufficient skills to analyze the data that had been passed on to me and fearful that I did not have the capacity to conduct this research at a doctoral standard. The early stages of research were problematic particularly as I uncovered the issues with the quantitative data and struggled to conduct this research whilst also subject to the pressure and challenges of raising a small child. Shifting the focus of this study to a qualitative research process under a feminist epistemological framework provided me with the tools through which I could make my knowledge claims. Celebrating a process of reflexivity on the research process (Fonow and Cook 1991), questioning the power relationship between the researcher and the researched (Oakley 1981, Lawler 2000), acknowledging the situated knowledge (Haraway 1988) subjective values that a researcher brings to a study (Acker et al. 1991, Lawler 2000) and making the process of research as transparent in order to account for that value (Skeggs 1997) have framed how this journey has developed. Discovering grounded theory as a research process that would provide a systematic method to analyze the data which would then be embedded in the emerging theory but that could be done from a socially constructed epistemology, one that is committed to concepts of social justice research has given me

confidence in the knowledge claims that I make and my original contribution to knowledge. The following three chapters present the findings from this process but as stated there were other themes and questions that emerged from this data which due to issues of time, capacity and also through the agreement of confidentiality that was made with the research participants I have not been able to include. These matters remain as areas for future research and in my concluding chapter I discuss the need for more detailed in-depth exploration into the question of gender inequality in the creative media industry. The next three chapters of this thesis however develop my theory on the relationship between classed concepts of motherhood and gender inequality in the creative media industries as drawn from the empirical data. The chapters build on each other, I start with the description of role models of motherhood available to women in the study, to an application of Joan Acker's 'inequality regimes' (2006) to the culture and practices of work within the creative media industries to a final consideration of how a classed concept of motherhood is symbolically inscribed on the female creative worker and has an active impact on how she is valued within the industry.

Chapter four: the stigma of motherhood

4.1 Introduction

> I was going to tell you about this anecdote actually about this, I worked with a male series producer and, and he was ranting at some point completely unconnected to me about APs[20] and female APs and he said he'd been talking to his friend about why there are no female directors and he said "yeah it might be the case that women are a little bit less creative than men that might be the case but the real reason is that you know female APs you give them all this time and they work their way up and it takes you know it takes them a long time and they get there and then they fuck off and have kids" (laughs) and then he said "from that perspective everyone knows this so why put in all of that effort like why encourage people to do that if they are just going to drop out?" (Maddy, television sector, no children).

This chapter is structured through a discussion on the role models of creative worker / mother that were encountered and experienced by the women interviewed in the study. It outlines the modelled behaviour of creative worker / mother that were perceived as operational within the industries by the women in the study, drawing from the related literature on the ideal creative worker as discussed in chapter one and the concepts of ideal / intensive mothering developed in chapter two. What an inductive, grounded approach to the empirical data produced was three distinct identities of creative mother / worker that were perceived as available within the industry. Drawing from the wider literature on the topic of women and work (Wajcman 1998; Stone 2007; Crompton 2006; Kanji and Cahusac 2011, 2014, 2015) I labelled these identities as:

1) Manage like a man.

2) Occupational downgrade.

3) Disappear / absent mothers.

The concept of 'stigma' was developed following Erving Goffman's *Stigma: Notes of the Management of Spoiled Identity* (1963/1990). I found this framework (though dated) valuable

---

[20] APs = Assistant Producer. See Appendix 2 for glossary of job roles.

to understand how motherhood is seen as a negative attribute in the context of creative media work, one that exposes the normative acceptance of work for the ideal creative worker (Allen et al. 2013 see discussion in chapter one). In this chapter I discuss the construction of each stigmatized position and the impact they had on the women that perceived them. What emerged from the data was how this concept of stigma is two-fold, representing the wider stigma of how mothers are expected to behave in society and also how certain types of mothers were in turn stigmatized by the women in the study. The data that informs this chapter emerged from both the pilot and second round of interviews and I noted when coding that this category draws heavily (but not exclusively) from interviewees who did not at the time of interview have children. It was their impressions of the available role models of motherhood that operated within the industry combined with the more reflective discussion drawn from women who were mothers already that contributed to my identification of the three 'types' or 'identities' of mothers that are perceived as operating within the industry.

4.1.1 Definition of stigma

"…the stigmatized are not persons but rather perspectives" (Goffman 1990, p.138).

Goffman defines stigma as "an attribute that is deeply discrediting" but going on to describe the fluidity of stigma, how it can transform depending on context and therefore what he calls for is a "language of relationships, not attributes" (1990, p.13). In terms of sociological features for the application of stigma within a certain context Goffman outlines the process:

> "an individual who might have been received easily in ordinary social intercourse possesses a trait that can obtrude itself upon attention and turn those of us whom he meets away from him, breaking the claim that his other attributes have on us. He possesses a stigma, an undesired differentness from what we had anticipated. We and those who do not depart negatively from the particular expectations at issue I shall call the *normals"* (Goffman 1990, p.15 emphasis in original).

Goffman's concept of stigma and stigma-management has been applied to motherhood in more recent research primarily to explore certain groups of mothers' experience of society for example single mothers (Macvarish 2006). Within the emerging field of parenting culture studies (Lee et al. 2014) Macvarish makes the point that all mothers experience some kind of stigma within the context of the working world (2006, 2014). As I have already stated, female withdrawal from participation within paid work following the birth of a child is not a factor that is unique to the creative media industry. Shireen Kanji and Emma Cahusac's study of professional women's retrospective accounts on their decision to leave paid work after motherhood describes how this notion of 'choice' does not occur as a result of motherhood but is "a process that is extended over time" (2015, p.1416). I build on their notion of "process…extended over time" by considering the situated practice of stigma. I also contribute to the discussion (as referenced in chapter two) on motherhood as a fluid and multiple construction. Motherhood, in the context of creative labour, becomes an attribute that questions women's commitment to work, turning them into vulnerable subjects. However, work in the context of 'intensive mothering' (Hays 1996) has become an attribute that questions women's commitment to their child (Akass 2011; Belkin 2003; Stone 2007) and as I later discuss it is this competitive, ideological clash between the ideal creative worker and the intensive mother that exposes the fragile position of women in the creative media industry.

The constructions of mothers who are actively present within the context of creative labour, that of manage like a man or experience occupational downgrade, are seen as having specific negative consequences on the maternal self and in turn motherhood was seen as a barrier to creative labour. In the context of the creative media industries having an undesirable self was deemed particularly abject where the self is so subjectively inscribed with the work produced

(Banks, 2007; McRobbie 1998, 2002; Taylor 2010; Taylor and Littleton 2013). As such, motherhood becomes stigmatized within this context, creating certain myths or expectations on the career options available to women once they have a child or family. For those that had left the industry, experiencing this stigma could have contributed to a search for strategies to maintain a positive self-conception (in chapter six I develop this question further through a discussion on how women are valued as mothers outside the creative workplace). Karl Weick describes this process within Organization Theory as 'sensemaking' which he applies to mothers leaving workforce cultures as a means to maintain a positive self-identity and provide a coping strategy for any sense of loss to the self relating to their employment status (Weick 1995 in Kanji and Cahusac 2015). I found that this concept of 'sensemaking' could then be linked to the women who had left the industry's judgment and stigmatization of those that continued to operate within it. As such, this chapter starts with the first identity that emerged from the data, that of 'manage like a man' (Wajcman 1998) in order to account for this process of sensemaking and dual stigmatization. I then go on to explore the other constructed identities that emerged from the data, that of 'occupational downgrade' and 'disappeared / absent mothers' to talk about how those positions had an active impact on other women operating within the industry.

4.1.2 Perceived and stigmatized identities

This process of perception that emerged in the data was two-fold. The first was how women who I interviewed talked about the mothers that they had encountered in the industry, their experience and opinion of them. The second is their perception of wider representations of mothers within the creative workforce by others working across the industry. This secondary level of perception was often provided through anecdotal examples of conversations like the example given by Maddy referenced at the start of this chapter or a reflection about preconceived notions of mothers that they understood as operating within the industry. This category on how mothers are perceived and spoken about was not a subject I had accounted for when constructing my interview guide. I asked interviewees questions about any support they had had in their careers but I didn't ask a specific question on role models of women that they had experienced in the industry (see appendices 8 and 9 for interview guides). As such, the theoretical construction that informs this chapter emerged entirely from the data through the application of a grounded theory approach. The comment by Maddy that I include at the beginning of the chapter was an "action code" (Lois in Charmaz 2014, p.196). It was a comment I kept returning to and I used it to develop the initial code 'how women are perceived'. For a long time when reading that comment I focused on the unknown male speaker. I was concerned about why this individual had made such a remark to a young, female television worker who was at the time of interview herself an Assistant Producer (AP). When I listened to the interview again I could hear the shock in my voice as I asked the next question:

Tamsyn: So he vocalized a sentiment out loud?

Maddy: Yeah to me obviously thinking that I wasn't of childbearing age or I don't know what he probably thought I was too young.

I wondered if he was giving her a warning or if he was threatened by her and wanted to assert his power by informing her of a preconceived pattern of female employment within the sector. I then shifted my attention to think about what this comment had meant to her, the interviewee. In chapter one I discuss Rose's framework on the relationship between internalization and self-regulation that operate within reflexive modernity (Rose 1989 and 1992 in Skeggs 2004). Thinking about the power of this anecdote following Rose's framework enabled me to consider how the participant had internalized this comment, how it had an active effect on how she perceived her position within the industry. In chapter six I discuss a related category to this question in a wider discussion on how women are valued within the industry however it was Goffman's theory of stigma and stigmatization that enabled me to understand how wider perceptions of mothers within the industry are internalized and affective on the self. I started to see a relationship in the data between the role models of mother / creative worker that were available to the women I interviewed and how this created a sense of rejection, that women's withdrawal from the industry could be attributed to normative perceptions of mothers within the industry and the negative role models that were available to them. However, as I continued to look at the data and think critically about this concept of stigma I realized that there was a dual process of stigmatization going on. The women were experiencing and internalizing how mothers who work in the industry are stigmatized but they were also engaged in an act of stigma in their attitudes towards these role models themselves.

4.2   Identity one: 'manage like a man'

The first identity is a strategy perceived by participants of mothers who are able to continue in work and progress to senior roles, women who continue to fulfill the demands of the ideal worker. I've labeled this as 'manage like a man' following Wajcman's discussion on women

who succeed in corporate management roles are ones who achieve honorable man status (Wajcman 1998). In Wajcman's research, the majority of women who rise to positions of power in corporate management are childless (in chapter two I refer to her data) and suffer as a result of the apparent violation of the conventions of female subordination to men, finding that they risk being de-feminized for exercising power (Wajcman, 1998).

This consequence of female power as having a detrimental impact on how those individual women were perceived emerged from the interviews I conducted. In this case, this discussion is related to the group of women who had managed to achieve positions of power or risen to a certain level within the industry and had children. It is not possible to provide a statistical figure to determine how many senior women in the industry have children as an analysis of senior management and dependent children is not available in the Creative Skillset data although research conducted between Skillset and Women in Film and Television with successful women in the industry in 2008 revealed that out of the twenty women interviewed only nine had children (Creative Skillset and WFTV 2009). Successful women who were known to have children that were perceived by my research participants were often described as having unattractive and unappealing attributes. Katrina who was interviewed in the pilot round was asked how she thought women could manage to combine motherhood and work in her field (television) and her response was that they must: "strategically plan or be driven and pushy". She further clarifies her perception of working mothers as "driven" and how this process has a certain consequence on how they are perceived:

> Erm however it seems to me there's a lot of women quite high up in TV who are Series Execs, there are SPs[21], Execs that work as Commissioners, Commissioning Editors and most of those seem to have families and children and I think those are the more driven people the ones you don't want to get on the wrong side of so to speak some of whom might not have the sort of the nicest reputation or people who just managed it at the right time because if you have kids just when you're a Series

---

[21] Series Producers, see Appendix 2.

> Producer you can be there and stay at home or you have the money to have a nanny and you can go back after a couple of years. (Katrina, television. No children).

Achieving success within the context of creative work alongside motherhood was described by another non-mother, Maddy aged 32 who at the time of interview was in a stable relationship, expressing a desire to have children with her partner and going through a process of considering what her options would be in the industry if she were to have children. Maddy defined her job role as predominantly an Associate Producer for factual television although in her interview she spoke about how she was taking on freelance projects in another unrelated sector as part of her strategy to leave the media industry. Here she talks about the role models of mothers in the creative industry that are available and like Katrina she perceives that a lot of them occupy a higher occupational level but she adds a perceived wider criticism on their ability because they were not able to gain the similar levels of skill that their male counterparts had access to:

> Yeah I mean you see women with children in a television environment tend to be extremely rich presenters or extremely rich executive producers a lot of whom have never directed and this is something that is often used by male employees against female executives they just go "Oh what's she doing being an exec she doesn't know the first thing about filmmaking she's never made a programme" yeah that's probably because she was at home bringing up your kids. She's now come back and she's gone up through the ladder not directing because she can't work those hours because you're out working those hours. Um so there's a tradeoff.

This "trade off" that Maddy mentions I understood as the subjective sacrifice that women make to their worker identity as a result of having children. They are denied access to the more creative lead roles because of having children and therefore occupy the more management style roles like Executive Producer because it is those positions of power within, in this case, the television production hierarchy that are deemed more compatible with motherhood. The problem they face, the trade off, is that because they haven't had an opportunity to work in certain creative roles, in this case, directing they are criticized for lack of experience. The role of the director within television and film has consistently been

143

exposed as a particular barrier to women (Creative Skillset 2010b; Lauzen 2015; Follows et al. 2016). Following this comment I asked Maddy if she felt the barriers for mothers to work as directors in television were structural and if there were structures in place giving the example of assistance with childcare did she think women would be able to direct? I asked if she would direct and this was her response:

> Yes I would do it. I would definitely do it and it isn't a case of, I might have given the impression that it's not possible, it's not possible at the moment but yes of course it's possible for women with small children to direct absolutely possible but they need to be given jobs like the first hurdle is actually being employed as a mother. You just won't get employed. It will be a closed door people won't reply to your emails that's it your career's over.

Maddy acknowledges that there is no biological element that makes women less able to direct than men, the problem is related to the structural processes that create barriers to women. Maddy is an example of a women who had until that point had a successful career in television. She was at the stage of Assistant Producer which is one level below directing (see Appendix 2) and a role that appears to be more accessible to women[22] but her age, relationship status plus her experience of female role models within the industry were contributing to her strategic maneuvering to withdraw from the industry. I return to Maddy's narrative in the next section when I talk in more detail about the limited opportunities for mothers under the theme 'occupational downgrade'. In this section I found Maddy perceived that the only role models of successful women within the sector were those that had special circumstances, she gives the example of "extremely rich presenters or extremely rich executive producers" but even within that group women were perceived as being subject to wider criticism for their lack of experience. She notes the structural barriers that create this situation whereby women are denied the opportunity of working at the level of director

---

[22] There is no available data on this specific role within television. Creative Skillset's latest census states that women occupy 50% of production roles across the creative media industries, not just television (2012) and Directors UK 2016 survey of the film industry revealed that 25.7% of producers on UK films are women (Follows et al. 2016 p.27). These figures are problematic however as the term 'producer' can be applied to a number of varied roles within the sector. See Appendix 2 for a glossary of roles referred to in this study.

stating "you just won't get employed". As I have mentioned, her perception and experience of

mothers in the industry has had significant impact on Maddy's decision-making process

relating to her career.

Kim was a participant who had made it to the position of director within television. At the

time of interview, she had one child and was pregnant with her second and hadn't had a job at

the level she had been at since she had become a mother. Echoing Maddy she refers to the

group of successful mothers in the industry as 'hard core women' and implies that their

devotion to their job overrides their maternal instinct. She talks about her perception of how

they manage work with the help of "round the clock help", which she suggests admiration for

but articulates she is unwilling to follow this example of motherhood with a small child. She

also talks about the minority of this group of women, how they are singled out through their

identity as "hardcore",

> what you see throughout all the production companies and at the BBC and everything
> there's a lot of young people and then from about mid 30s onwards suddenly you've
> got a lot of men working there or you've got the few sort of there are women there but
> they're the sort of hard core women who are so devoted to their job and as I say I take
> my hat off to them because I couldn't do it with a little one and they just have round
> the clock help with nannies and live in people. But typically the more senior people
> are male, gay, don't have children and there's this huge loss, this huge drop-out rate
> amongst the female sector who when they sort of hit their mid 30s because they can't
> do both.

Goffman describes stigmatized identities as those who don't conform to ideals of what is

considered to be 'normal' (1990). In her interview Kim suggests that women who leave the

industry do so because of their "maternal need to be with their children". In doing so she

implies that there is something not normal about the "hard core women" who rely on wider

childcare support and although she expresses admiration for them she implies that is they who

are 'other' and that she is the one conforming to the normal concept that a woman is naturally

suited to motherhood "I couldn't do it with a little one". I asked her in the interview whether

she feels her withdrawal from the industry is in any way a loss and this was her response:

> I don't know, bigger picture it's such a young business, you've got your older lot who will be there until they die and who either have families but have decided that their job is their priority or more often don't have families or are the dads and don't have that sort of maternal need to be with their children quite so much and then you've got all these people coming up the ranks the whole time so I'm not sure whether we are particularly missed.

In chapter six I talk in more detail about how the above comment by Kim fits into a bigger

discussion on how women internalize their sense of value within the creative media industry.

Kim states in this section that she doesn't think mothers are 'missed' and yet looking at her

career trajectory it is clear that she had an incredibly successful career. She also later

contradicts herself, talking about the impact that the loss of experienced workers has on the

content produced (chapter seven). In the comment above she reveals an internalized rejection

of the 'creative media worker / mother' because of her perception of how they are regarded

and her experience of their personalities within the industry which she deems as a rejection of

this 'maternal need'. Yet she also exposes this question on how women's skill and creativity

is valued, a subject that will be explored in more detail in chapter six.

This rejection of the 'maternal need' as a stigmatization of successful mothers who are

creative workers is also articulated by another participant. Flora was interviewed in the

second round had two children under 5 years old and had previously worked in television

production in a role she describes as 'Senior Researcher and uncredited AP' (Assistant

Producer)[23] for Factual Television. She had had been out of work in the industry since the

birth of her second child (over 2 years). Here she describes how creative media workers /

---

[23] It is common practice with television for researchers to work at a higher level but to be denied the official 'AP' credit in order that the company can avoid paying them a higher weekly rate.

mothers adapt the competitive processes of the industry and apply it to their return to work

following childbirth:

> but I really feel like that in TV the message is like I did it so you should do it you know very much so like with being a runner you know you have to start at the bottom you have to go and get production staff their cigarettes for them in the middle of the show and stuff like that and you're doing it in your own free time because you have to because it's almost like a rites of passage and sort of moving on to the being a mum working in TV I'm getting the same message now from some people that really they went back to work and left their children when they were three months old or whatever it seems to be like a competition on how young their children are when they went back to work and if they did it then so should I you know?

Framing work and motherhood in competitive language was articulated by another

participant, Susan a mother of three children interviewed in round two who had been a

director in television but had not returned to that role since becoming a mother and was at the

time of interview working on jobs for free. She describes the process of her attempts to re-

enter the industry after taking time out to raise her children:

> I went out for lunch with the Series Producer and she admitted to me that she had two children that she didn't normally tell people that she had two children and she'd gone back to work like a month after each one was born or something and I just remember sitting there thinking "oh god...this is what the industry is like and do I really want to be here" and you know it's when people say things like "oh I couldn't have stood at home looking after children I had to get back to work" and it's almost like an insinuation that you're not as interesting as them or as intelligent because you've made that decision to stay at home and be bored by your children.

Like Flora and Kim, the message that is internalized by Susan is that in order to maintain the

image of the 'ideal' creative worker (Allen et al. 2013) you must deny a perceived natural

maternal instinct and instead attributes such as competitiveness, a separation from the

domestic are valued and deemed necessary if you want to succeed in the industry as a mother.

Flora's perception of the competitiveness around the length of time a mother takes as

maternity leave following the birth of a child is mirrored in Susan's conversation with a

Series Producer who admits that she used a strategy of quick return and secrecy, "she didn't

normally tell people" in order to remain in the field of television. What I interpreted from this

narrative was how Susan responded by internalizing this conversation as a critical reflection

of her choice to mother linking with the concepts of self-management and self-reflection put forward by both the individualization theorists (Beck et al. 1994) and Rose's concept of governing the self (1989). Along with this internalization however is a stigmatization of the Series Producer that went back to work a month after the birth of her children "oh god...this is what the industry is like and do I really want to be here". Susan's narrative reveals a double process of stigma both of the mother who left and the mother who remained. Pitting women's choices to either leave or remain in the workforce has emerged in the literature on the 'mommy wars' (Akass 2011). Kim Akass has reviewed the phenomenon, attributed in part to US Journalist Lisa Belkin's New York Times article titled 'The Opt-Out Revolution' published in 2003 (Belkin 2003) and becoming a trope in print journalism to create the perception that an antagonistic relationship is emerging between mothers that work and mothers that don't (Akass 2011). Akass points out that this claim within media portrayals that women who 'opt out' of work as a result of motherhood are then using their decision to criticize women that do not masks a whole series of structural inequalities relating to gender, employment and motherhood in the US. Pamela Stone also discusses this phenomenon of opting out in her study of high-achieving women who leave their workplace following children using a concept of 'forced choice' and the phrase "between a rock and a hard place" (Stone 2007, p.111) to describe the position of mothers in the workplace. So in this extract I can see how both Susan and the Series Editor she was meeting are reproducing this concept that a mothers' choice links to an apparent 'war' between women without accounting for the multiple structural and situational conditions that force some women to leave the industry following the birth of a child and enable others to stay. In the next chapter I discuss some of these conditions in more detail through the concept of 'inequality regimes' defined by Joan Acker (2006).

The reported stigma management of the Series Producer, that of hiding / denying her maternal role as a strategy to remain within work emerged from other interviews. This comment below comes from my interview with Kate a mother of two older children who had returned to work following a seven-year career break and worked in management and administration in the visual effects industry. As one of the older participants (52 at the time of interview) she was able to offer her reflective perception on mothers working in the industry today:

> Kate: …what I've noticed about women with children in the creative industries is they're afraid to talk about their children openly. They behave like men and they don't come in and tell you stories about what their child did because they're afraid of being seen as weak and they behave like men really because they feel they have to compete which I think is a shame.
>
> Tamsyn: So motherhood is sort of quite absent you would say people don't talk about it or experience it that much in the creative media industries?
>
> Kate: I think the women themselves are afraid that if they talk about their families then they're not as committed as maybe a man in a full time role you know they're worried about being deemed to be unreliable if the child is ill and they have to leave so you know things like better laws about having breaks for dealing with care issues should be standard really because you know if you have a child and you're a working mother you will have you know they do get ill and you have to juggle your work and your life.

It was Kate's comment "behave like men" given twice in her narrative that led to my consultation of Wajcman's (1998) study on women in senior management where she identified 'managing like a man' as a key requirement for women to succeed in the business world. Her study was conducted however in the early to mid 1990s and here we see an example of a similar concept emerging from a study conducted in 2015, over ten years later in an industry that has been celebrated as representing the new cultures of work in reflexive modernity (Deuze 2007; Beck et al. 1994; Giddens 1991). As I discussed in my literature review a key criticism of the individualization thesis was how it continues to appropriate women's labour both in the domestic sphere and within the workplace (Adkins 1999) and how it was men who were able to perform the requirements of the reflexive, individualized

labourer. Following this, it would appear that women are able to occupy that place, if they 'manage like a man' (Wajcman 1998) but by doing so, by rejecting, denying or hiding their maternal 'self' they are subject to criticism by other women as the earlier comments from Kim, Flora and Susan suggest. In the chapter five I talk in more detail about the actual practices required of the creative media worker using the theories of Judith Butler (2006) and Raewyn Connell (2005) to frame my discussion. Here I want to continue to present data that supports my theory that in order for women to succeed in the contemporary context of the creative media industries they must do so by denying their maternal identity, 'manage like a man' and be stigmatized for doing so.

One of the older participant's Caroline aged 59 who had continued to work in the industry following the birth of a child reporting that she only took "about a month" of leave talked about the strategies that she used to contain her maternal identity and remain in work:

> I had a part time share in a nanny so I shared another nanny with another girl and then I would book her for [text removed for confidentiality] and then anything else that came up I would ring her up and say can you cover this and if she could I would say yes and if she couldn't I would say to the company I'm sorry I'm booked so when they rang me I would say ooh I've got a pencil on that day let me check it which was a complete lie and then I would check with my nanny and if my nanny could do it I'd ring back and say oh the pencil has gone away I can do it or I'd ring them and say terribly sorry the other people have confirmed because I was hiding the fact I had a child.

Caroline's strategy of hiding her maternal identity and presenting commitments as work focused, not care focused suggests that motherhood is seen as abject, stigmatized and therefore must be managed and denied by the worker in order to maintain the image of the ideal creative worker. In chapter two I referred to Kristeva's conception of abjection, the process within a Lacanian/psychoanalytical framework which describes a child's necessary rejection of the realm of the mother in order to enter the realm of the father, the dominant ideological realm in Western society (1980). Here I attribute how concepts of mothering as

secretive, other, boring, hidden that have emerged from the data support this argument that work in the creative media industries has been constructed around a masculine ideological framework which places the maternal in an abject, other position (Kristeva 1980). In order for women to thrive in this environment they must reject the maternal realm but in doing so they are judged and stigmatized for being unnatural. This places women in a double bind, neither option is satisfying and by shifting the conflict to women themselves a process that has been spearheaded by the media (Akass 2011) women are left without a unifying consciousness also in part produced by the undoing of feminist arguments as articulated in McRobbie and Gill's concepts of 'postfeminism' (see chapter two).

This section has described the position of one concept of 'mother / creative worker' that emerged from the interview data. It was based on their wider perceptions of how mothers are discussed by others across the industry and their direct experience of mothers who they encountered. This was not the only type / position or identity of 'mother' within creative work that emerged from the data. The other creative mother who was perceived and encountered by research participants were those that had returned to the industry but at a downgraded level or a devalued job role.

4.3   Identity two: occupational downgrade

> Tamsyn: At the time you wouldn't be able to go 'oh' but it's just when you look back did you, what did you think of older women with older children when you worked in the industry?
>
> Rosalind: Well there just weren't any I mean there really weren't. I mean the only in the more successful jobs I remember hearing about Jana Bennett and finding out she's got a family and saying 'wow that's amazing' I had a friend a good friend who is at the BBC who is a women and she had a baby and managed to keep her job there and she's now had two children and she's still there producing but I know that she's had to go down to being an AP[24] but so to hear these stories so I've also had a huge admiration for anyone who is doing that because I remember actively looking for those kind of people and not finding them or that there were doing development roles or they didn't have boyfriends or partners but there was no question that the work didn't come first for anybody.

The term 'occupational downgrade' has been taken from Emma Cahusac and Shireen Kanji's article (2014) 'Giving Up: How Gendered Organizational Cultures Push Mothers Out' who like Stone (2007) question the concept that women's exit from paid work is a result of preference (Hakim 2006) or choice. Cahusac is a television producer / psychologist and a selection of the participants in this study came from the creative media industry even though that specific sector was not their main focus. Their study looks at women's experiences of masculine working cultures and they also look at the strategies mothers apply to continue within that culture i.e. either accept occupational downgrade or "mimic successful men" (2014, p.57). My work builds on their conclusions to show how these choices are perceived and internalized by other women within the sector.

During the process of initial coding, a significant amount of data was included within the code 'working in development'. References to development and the opportunities for mothers particularly in the television sector became a key emerging factor and I found as I was reading through the data within this code that women often spoke of working in development in

---

[24] AP = Assistant Producer. See Appendix 2.

negative, derogatory even fearful terms. 'Development' in the context of film, television and radio production describes the process of creating and developing ideas for future content. I have had personal experience of working within a development department in a television production company and my experience of it was as a holding position, a way for the company to keep me employed whilst waiting for a suitable production role to become available. My understanding of development within the factual television sector therefore was that it was temporal, a space to strategically place people they wanted or had to hold onto. Natalie Wreyford's work on screenwriting considers the gendered nature of the development role within film production, uncovering a gender binary between the economically valued male / screenwriter and undervalued female / development role (Wreyford 2015). Linked to Wreyford's thesis, one of my participants Christine had worked in development within film and in this extract I found she articulates how the role is devalued economically despite recognizing its value:

> It's a very weird area because it's very badly paid because it's always been regarded as entry level but the fact is that you know you are in quite an important position because you're the sort of first contact for anything to get you know get to the people who actually have the money and umm I think if it's done well it is quite a skilled job because recognizing talent is not necessarily as obvious as you might think particularly when you're talking about scripts which is not the finished project obviously.

In chapter six I look more closely at concepts of value and worth within creative media thinking through how motherhood acts as a devaluing mechanism for all women across the industry, whether they have children or not. Being in the position of 'devalued' worker enables gendered areas of production (Banks, M.J 2007) to remain under-paid, under-valued like that of development. In this chapter I want to focus on the perception of working in development and its relationship with motherhood.

In my study the majority of participants that spoke of working in development were mothers themselves or referred to development as an area that was predominantly occupied by mothers. Linked to my comment on abjection in the previous section many women perceived working in development as something abject, that of a dumping ground for women with children. Maddy, who's narrative I referred to in the last section about successful women, describes working in development as a 'step down' labeling it as being "put out to pasture":

> Tamsyn: In your mind do you think it's possible to combine working in your sector with raising small children?
>
> Maddy: Um at the moment no because you're not allowed to work flexibly um and I think … I don't know how to put it …. I think you can work in development but it's like being put out to pasture really but you do see lots of APs and PDs who've had kids who've then ended up in development and telling you that they'd always wanted to development and it's a brilliant career and they love it and you just think… you are really just kidding yourself. I mean it is great career to be in development at the BBC or at Channel 4 or any other independent company but I always slightly think when I see women who are sitting on development you are there because you've had kids. Why are there no men on development? That's because they carry on working as directors once they've had kids. There's just a mysterious division of labour that develops where male directors go on with their careers whereas female directors step down and do development or leave altogether. Um and I've seen that unfold time and time again and it's so depressing and that has yeah that really puts me off staying in the media industry having kids.

This perception of development therefore is of downgrading / devaluing women's creative contribution following the birth of a child whereas fathers are considered able to continue with the more apparently interesting / creative and better work of directing. The work of development itself is described by Sophia a former television director as "soul destroying":

> The other thing is I'm sort of remembering the only other job where one used to meet women with children was Development there were quite a few that had development job shares but development is soul destroying I can't do it for more than about 6 months before losing the will to live

For many, working in development was either perceived as a good option for women, one that was compatible with motherhood, but as a stigmatized devalued position. Other roles that

were spoken of as compatible with motherhood were those on the administrative side of production.

> Maddy: Yeah I think the working mums that you do see at the BBC tend to be in production manager roles um not in the creative side and a lot of those women will have given up creative roles and become production managers in order to have kids because media is so incestuous there are lots of media couples so you do see a lot of media couples where they've started off roughly in the same place and then somehow the bloke is a director and then the mother is a mother and a production manager, or a production coordinator or you know development producer and it's awful because they will tell you that's where they want to be because there's a pride element isn't there? There's a denial as well, that you didn't both start off with the same hopes and dreams but they did start off with the same hopes and dreams because you knew them. And then I know people who've had those hopes and dreams and who've now gone to say I'm perfectly happy being a whatever being a production coordinator and I don't quite believe them.

> … thinking about the mothers who are production managers and so in its just the occasional comments that you hear made about them which I remember which are things about their capability, again it's a cliché thing about being so capable like being a mumsy type.

Maddy's reference to the 'media couples' resonated both with Adkin's concept of 'married teams' (1999) and was a factor of my own study as I discuss in chapter six. Maddy's perception, that the female member of the 'married team' returns to work following the birth of a child in development or production; roles that are perceived to involve practices of administration, nurture and support defined by Hochschild as "emotional labour" (1983, 2001) whereas men are in the more creative lead roles is a factor that relates to the Creative Skillset data. Creative Skillset's 2012 census shows that the occupational groups which contain a high representation of women are production (50%) make-up and hairdressing (81%) and costume / wardrobe (73%). Miranda Banks considers the subjective experience of costume design as a form of gendered labor in her research into how women's work within the creative media industry is "defined, valued and articulated" (Banks, M.J. 2009, p.90) and I return to this notion of 'value' in a chapter six. In this context, I want to consider the impact of how the segregation of women into certain roles whereby their creativity is both

'appropriated' a term taken from Lisa Adkins (1999) and then subsequently devalued contributes to this perceived stigmatization of motherhood within the industry.

As I discuss in both chapter one and two, Adkins' criticism of theories associated with reflexive modernity expose their failure to recognize the gendered nature of labour in the new knowledge based economies (1999). Adkins uses Lash's argument of reflexive production to show how women's roles and women's labour participation are traditionally clustered into certain roles which are then, building on the work of Michaela di Leonardo (1987) 'appropriated' by reflexive production. In her wider argument Adkins describes how this appropriation takes place both in the public and private realm. In the private realm it is the reliance on the unaccounted for domestic labour carried out by women which enables men to participate in the individualized labour market (see also Acker, 1990 and Pateman 1988). Within the labour market, the gendering of certain roles, how women are ghettoized into certain areas which are simultaneously appropriated and devalued. Adkins describes this as an example of how women are 'reflexivity losers', building on Lash's term that their work is "key in the construction of community the products of this work – a sense of identity and belonging" but that they cannot claim ownership to this sense "because they do not own their labour through which it is constituted in the first instance" (Adkins 1999, p.128). In this instance Adkins points out the irony of how much of the 'work' in reflexive modernization is built on gendered notions of work – for example the emotional labour of identifying the self within work (Hochschild 1983). This theme will be returned to later on in the discussion of gendered clustering in the industry specifically and the relationship between work in the creative media industry, gender, motherhood and value but building from Adkins argument that work is built on a 'retraditionalization' of gender roles in work as a model to think through the gendered division of labour in media production. How women are ascribed to

roles in gendered terms and the normalized accounts as women = producer / mother; male =

creative lead / father.

This process was alluded to by a number of participants and cut across the different industries

that the interviewees had worked within. Polly, a mother of 2 interviewed in the second round

had worked across the film and advertising sectors stated:

> Polly: so in terms of the producer role, producers tend to be women, Directors tend to
> be the men that's more common. Directors earn more money and they probably do the
> nice part of it whereas the Producer has to deal with the, it's kind of the same in that
> the Director's go off and do the nice bit of it and the Producer's the one that does the
> housework and that tends to be the balance so yeah there's a lot of women in
> production.

In this comment Polly genders the differences between the director and producer, stating that

the "producer does the housework" and that the "directors earn more money". This sense that

women are natural 'producers' was repeated by Pippa, a director for film and television:

> a producer is like being a mother. You have to multi-task, set boundaries, state what
> can be done with the amount of money there was etc. whereas a director is more like a
> stubborn child wanting it their way. I think you have to be childlike to be creative its
> where all the playfulness and excitement is where things happen I think that's what
> children have … as long as you have a nice producer mummy to slap your bottom
> when you are naughty.

So within the construct of 'occupational downgrade' women's options of work were limited

to their role as caregivers, administrators, work that according to Adkin's argument is

'appropriated' by the individualized community. Adkins goes on to point out that women's

contribution is not recognized as work at all, rather caught up in the traditional gendered

binary of care thus within the context of the individualization thesis there has been, "a process

of *retraditionalization* both in terms of the labour market and the family" (Adkins 1999,

p.129). Adkins was not specifically referring to the creative media industry although her

research was based on the tourist industry and has been used by others to define the gendered

segregation in creative media (Ball 2011; Banks and Milestone 2011). My use of Adkins in

this section is to highlight that the gendered segregation of roles was perceived by participants and seen to exacerbate following motherhood. For many aspiring creative leaders this was a deterrent to continuing work following motherhood as this was not a position they wished to engage in. This theme will be returned to in more detail in this discussion of motherhood as a choice by creative workers and how women are valued in the industry.

4.4   Identity three: disappearing / absent mothers

Maddy: No they just disappear I don't know where they go.

Women in the study talked of how women who had worked in the creative industry would just disappear following the birth of a child. This was a concept that was both perceived and directly experienced by some of the contributing mothers in this research, they had left work following the birth of their child and not returned. Rosie, a former television director and mother of two children had occupied both these positions, she had noted that women "would drop off" and then fulfilled this phenomenon herself by never returning to television directing following the birth of her first child:

> Rosie: I definitely noticed in television that there was a point where women that you worked with would drop off so like I said unless you had already been able to get to the position where you could take a series producer credit there were definitely women that just dropped off because they weren't able to commit to television in the same way once they'd had children.

Rosie didn't attribute her decision to leave the industry because other women had, in the next chapter I return to her interview to explore the different construction that led to her decision to leave but the notion that motherhood was an end point for many women within the industry was a common theme in the data. Some women talked of it in relation to lack of realistic role models, linked to the earlier discussion on the constructions of women that were available and here I return to the comment made by Rosalind a mother who had left the industry:

> Rosalind: Well there just weren't any I mean there really weren't. I mean the only in the more successful jobs I remember hearing about Jana Bennett and finding out she's got a family and saying 'wow that's amazing'.

Disappearance following parenthood was perceived as being a specifically gendered phenomenon:

> Maddy: There's just a mysterious division of labour that develops where male directors go on with their careers whereas female directors step down and do development or leave altogether. Um and I've seen that unfold time and time again and it's so depressing and that has yeah that really puts me off staying in the media industry having kids

As I have discussed earlier, Maddy was at the time of interview actively building contacts in a different working sector because of her conscious decision to leave the industry before she started a family. I asked her directly why she was managing herself out and her response was:

> Because at the moment what makes me disillusioned is I can't see anyone who is where I want to be. There's nobody there. I don't want to be an executive I don't want to be a production manager I don't want to be a development producer but those are the only avenues that are visually available to me at the moment…..And what really worries me is that I am not going to find that alternative career before I have a kid because once I have a baby I have this idea that when I come out of the baby mode a year later I'm gonna have an identity crisis because I'll be thinking "who am I? I don't have a job anymore it's not just that I've left you know for a while to have a baby and I'm going back in it's that I can't go back in I have to find a completely different career and I'm a mother you know how am I gonna I do that?" You know that's the terrifying thing is that you have to find a career quickly before you leave.

What I draw from Maddy's situation was how the dual operation of stigmatization around motherhood and creative work was having an active effect on the self. In chapter one I refer to feminist criticism of both Rose's concepts of self-regulation and Giddens's, Beck's and Lash's individualization theory for their failure to consider the psychological process of neoliberalism (Adkins 1999; Walkerdine 2003; Gill and Scharff 2013; McRobbie 2009). The bi-product of the psychological regulation of the individual, the inward self-gaze are the "constantly failing subjects" who are described by Walkerdine as essential for the construction of neoliberalism (Walkerdine 2003, p.241). In a pilot study on such 'new' workers Walkerdine provides an example of how individuals draw upon a psychological

narrative to conceive oppressive working regimes as being the result of an individual failure rather than through a discourse of exploitation (Walkerdine 2003, p.240). However in Maddy's case she doesn't lay the cause of her withdrawal on her personal failure, it is an internalization of the inability of the industry to support her, and others, as the mothers that they want to be. This she acknowledges is in direct contrast to the situation of fathers who appear to be able to thrive.

Ironically, disappearing mothers was considered as an advantage to one of the interviewees. Helen who had stopped working as a director following the birth of her child talked about how she regarded mothers in the industry when she was a younger early entrant:

> Helen: Younger definitely wouldn't in fact I would admit that when I was younger like ambitious AP I would actually look at women who were coming to childbearing age and think "you will be out of the way soon" (laughter). Honestly
>
> Tamsyn: quite cut-throat?
>
> Helen: Yeah because you would just think "it's fine they're gonna go have kids." And you knew that once they had kids they wouldn't be back or they would be back but they wouldn't be the same and I just thought that was all to my advantage when I was a young kid I didn't think oh that's going to be me one day because I was 22 and I just thought… so I don't think there's a good supportive culture in that way.

I found it interesting to reflect on Helen's situation, her early career ambitions were based on the fact that mothers were stigmatised in the industry and by relying on their withdrawal for her own career progression she contributes to it. But she then left the industry following the birth of a child and hadn't, at the time of interview returned. In the next chapter I talk about the gender working cultures that contribute to women's decisions to leave. Drawing from Acker's concept of 'inequality regimes' (2006) and apply it to the working practices within the creative media industries. I also think about the subjective construction of the 'ideal creative worker' and refer to concepts of masculinity developed by Connell (2005) and performativity (Butler 2006) to think about how women are able to operate and perform

within these working cultures before they become mothers. The comment by Helen above is a taster of this discussion, she was able to utilise the stigmatisation of mothers within the industry for her own career progression but then become a victim of it herself. What both Helen and Maddy are doing in this category are contributing to the construction of the stigmatised creative working mother. By leaving the industry they are fulfilling a prophecy but like the women in Stone's study on women in corporate management they have limited options (2007). In the next chapter I discuss in more detail the operation of these inequality regimes and how they contribute to this 'forced choice' that women in the industry are faced with.

In this final section I want to refer to a related identity within the 'disappearing mother' category that of 'absent mother'. These were the women who had been encountered by participants who had not had children and focused on their creative careers. Jenny, a former television producer talks about how she had experienced such women;

> This is a terrible thing to say but I have always known that the women and this is I'm talking about because I worked in television for 14 years and I used to particularly in London look at the older women that were very successful exec producers, commissioning editors top of their game, and they were all single women they were all single they all worked all the hours and they all worked weekends and it used to make me feel really quite sad because I used to think I don't want that, I do want the family and the women that I did, the various women that did get pregnant or were dating somebody or going on to get married yes I did I noticed absolutely that suddenly they were not part of television any more.

Like Maddy and others referred to in this chapter Jenny attaches a stigma to these 'single' working women "I don't want that". She also contributes to the concept of the 'forced choice' in that for women it is either to work all hours, weekends, deny themselves romantic love and motherhood or have a family and leave the industry which is the path Jenny took. Jenny then goes on to provide an anecdote about an encounter with one of these women:

> I was at a wedding, a good friend of mine got married in London in January and my good friend was marrying a girl out in LA and she's very high up in her company she's

vice president of a TV company and her two sisters are extremely successful, one's [deleted text for confidentiality] in some form and commissions all the brilliant things that are on … and her other sister's very high up at the … and everybody got very drunk and at the night the two sisters ended up sitting up beside me one of them in tears saying "I just want what you have I just want now what my little sister has I just wanted a husband I wanted a family I'm now 46 I'm never going to have a family I've put everything into my career and I now hate my career and I wish I had known that 10 years ago instead of wasting my life like this".

By providing me with this anecdote Jenny is suggesting that she felt her choice had been the 'natural one'. That the rewards for women who chose to pursue the career over the family are to feel dissatisfied, that their decision had been a 'waste'. In my section on 'manage like a man' I referred to Wajcman's discussion on women in corporate management who find themselves labelled detrimentally because they exercise power used to suggest an unnatural position (1998). I was reminded of that concept when reading Jenny's transcript, despite the obvious empathy she felt for these women her sense of their despair seemed to contribute to her satisfaction that she had made the right 'natural' decision to leave the creative workforce and concentrate on her family.

4.5   Conclusion

What is the legacy of this dual process of stigmatization that is operating within the creative media industries? As I look over the codes that contributed to this theoretical construction my sense is that the concept of stigma creates a discourse where it would appear that women are fighting against each other rather than looking at the structural processes that are creating the different options available to them. This discourse is then picked up and represented within the media (Akass 2011). Part of the argument put forward by theorists interested in postfeminism including Gill and McRobbie is how it works against women in a neoliberal society. I referred to McRobbie's concept of the 'double entanglement' (McRobbie 2009, p.12) to describe the dual processes of traditional, conservative values which position women

within a traditional gendered subjective identity alongside the apparent postmodern concepts of multiplicity, liberalization and freedom of choice. What became apparent in this chapter is not only that choice is never free from judgment and stigma, but how the internalization of the stigma becomes for many women a self-fulfilling prophecy. In the next chapter I look in more detail at these structural processes that are contributing to the production of this 'forced choice' through a discussion of the 'inequality regimes' (Acker 2006) that operate within the creative media industries and how they are particularly destabilizing for women with children.

Chapter five: why mothers leave the creative media industries

5.1   Introduction

"Male time, though currently the dominant temporal consciousness in the West, has according to Davies (1990) become distinctly dysfunctional for the majority of men *and* women in the current economic structure." (Baraitser 2009, p.74 emphasis in original).

Tamsyn: It's quite a controlling industry.
Kim: Yeah it is a bit, but it's equally the life we've chosen.

The previous chapter explored how mothers in the creative media industries are marginalised through an application of Goffman's framework of stigma to the emerging findings from the qualitative interviews with women in the industry. As discussed, the theoretical construction was based on how this concept of stigma was two-fold, relating to the wider stigmatisation of mothers who work in the industry whose choices appear to limited to either 'managing like a man' (Wajcman 1998) denying their maternal self in order to fulfil the demands of the 'ideal creative worker' or experience either occupational downgrade or complete withdrawal from the industry. Drawing from participants who had either left the industry following the birth of a child or who were considering to do so I was able to explore how this stigmatization of the creative worker / mother is internalized by participants who do not wish to compromise their maternal identity for their worker identity, or be penalized for doing so. I also then considered how this phenomenon of stigma, internalisation, action was masked by postfeminist discourses of choice, free will and apparent individual autonomy which resulted in women judging and stigmatising each other's choices rather than looking at the structural conditions which produce their limited options. This chapter therefore focuses on those structural conditions, the processes and mechanisms within the industry (Gill, 2014) that contribute to mothers' withdrawal. Rather than subscribing to Creative Skillset's hypothesis that women were leaving the industry "because of difficulty reconciling managing a career in the creative

industries with raising a family" (Skillset 2010b, p.1) or the wider consensual opinion that mothers withdraw from the workforce through their own individualised 'choice' (Hakim 2006) this chapter argues that mothers reject the normative working conditions of the creative media industry and the subjective working identity required to fulfil these roles. The title of this chapter is a reference to Ursell's journal article on issues of exploitation and subjectivity in the UK television sector where in a section titled "Why do they do it?" (2000, p. 816) she examined the compliance of television workers with the exploitative regimes of the industry. As discussed in the literature review, Ursell's paper fits into a growing body of literature interested in how the experiences of the creative media workforce provide an example of a major epochal shift that has taken place in contemporary society. This literature is making sense of the "new labouring subjectivities" (Gill 2014, p.514) that have emerged as representing the "brave new world of work" in second modernity (Beck, 2000 in Deuze 2007, p.21) and this subject provides a platform to discuss and debate the relationship between creativity, work and identity.

The available data that monitors the creative media workforce has revealed an uncomfortable awareness of widespread inequalities and a critical under-representation of practitioners from different classed (Sutton Trust 2006; O'Brien, D. et al. 2016), minority ethnic (Holgate and McKay, 2009), disabled (Creative Skillset 2009) and geographical backgrounds (Higgs et al. 2008). There is a recognized complicated relationship between gender and employment within the industry as discussed in the literature review (Creative Skillset 2010; Gill, 2002, 2014; McRobbie 2010; O'Brien, A. 2014; Allen et al. 2013; Conor 2010; Gill 2014; Taylor 2010). This discomfort is intensified by the critical inability to explain these inequalities with empirical evidence and the fact that this emerging pattern of inequality contradicts the positive predictions put forward by theorists promoting the individualization thesis in

reflexive modernity (Beck at al. 1994) With regards to the issue of gender as discussed in my introduction, the conventional understanding of women's withdrawal from creative work is linked to the issue of motherhood and childcare but as Gill states this "constant reiteration of mothering as "the issue" is problematic, reinforcing rather than challenging the idea that children are women's responsibility" (Gill 2014, p.511). Referring to the issue of unspeakable inequalities Gill makes the point that a focus on motherhood covers endemic sexist patterns of exclusion within the creative industry which are masked within a "postfeminist, individualist and neoliberal climate" (2014, p.517). The issue of inequality is present across the debates and literature on the creative workforce but there has been a neglect of exploring the processes and mechanisms that create such inequalities (Gill 2014, p.515 see also McRobbie 2010).

My aim in this chapter is to consider these processes and mechanisms that contribute to mother's vulnerable position within the creative media industry. The data that constructs this chapter has emerged predominantly from the interviews with women who had worked in the creative media industry and either left or had their careers significantly altered following the birth of a child. The chapter is divided into three main sections and following the grounded methodological approach the categories that inform these sections emerged from the coding procedure applied to the qualitative data. Section one applies Joan Acker's concept of 'inequality regimes' (2006) to the working structures and cultures of the creative media industry with a reflection on what type of subjective worker these regimes both rely upon and subsequently produce drawing from Raewyn Connell's concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' (originally published in 1995). The next section, 'why mothers leave', discusses how participants actively rejected the subjective identity required of the ideal creative worker once they had had a child. This theme emerged from data gathered on this question of choice

showing how motherhood became, for some of the participants, an escape route or relief from working conditions that they had deemed unacceptable a finding that complicates previous concepts of mothers' withdrawal from the workforce as being 'pushed out' (O'Brien, A. 2014) or of 'choice' (Hakim, 2010). The final section considers the impact of the emergence of an alternative maternal subjectivity (Baraitser 2009) and what it exposes about the normalized subjective demands of the creative worker. This question emerged when looking at how the women in this study struggled to find a way to match their two identities: that of the ideal worker and the mother and how the consequence of that struggle was a withdrawal from the industry. Not returning to work revealed the limitations of the industry unable to incorporate these new maternal identities but, as I discuss, the decision to leave is framed internally, seen as an individual problem and so the action to remain in the domestic field or seek employment in another more 'family friendly' industry masks the unequal and sexist mechanism that produce this choice, a concept linked to Stone's construction of 'forced choice' as discussed in the previous chapter (2007).

5.2   Inequality regimes: the processes that promote inequality

As discussed in the previous chapter, this thesis draws heavily on concepts and models of how gender is operational in working cultures and organizations. Much of that theory has been drawn from management and business studies and is now being applied to the newly emerging fragmented and flexible working culture of the creative media industry. Acker uses the term 'inequality regime' as a way to understand "the interlocked practices and processes that result in continuing inequalities in all work organizations" (2006, p.441). In a detailed definition of these processes within an organizational structure she states that they operate:

> "as systemic disparities between participants in power and control over goals; workplace decisions such as how to organize work; opportunities for promotion and

interesting work; security in employment and benefits; pay and other monetary rewards; respect; and pleasure in work and work relations" (Acker 2006, p.443).

In this chapter I explore how inequality regimes are operating within the context of creative media work and how these processes impact on a woman's subjective experience of her own identity as a worker.

5.2.1 The practice of hegemonic masculinity

"Without treating privileged men as objects of pity, we should recognise that hegemonic masculinity does not necessarily translate into a satisfying experience of life." (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005, p.852).

Throughout this thesis, I have referred to the definition of the ideal creative worker (Allen et al. 2013) an appropriation of the ideal worker model as being an individual willing to sacrifice elements of the self for their creative ambition in work. This model was perceived by study participants as necessary for a woman if she wanted to continue her career following the birth of a child. Role models of women who were both mothers and successful creative workers were regarded as sacrificing their maternal identity in order to 'manage like a man' (Wajcman 1998). In this section I take this point further to explore how the subjective construction of the creative worker has been modelled on a certain type of masculinity, one that has an active effect on a woman once she has a child.

There is an emerging body of empirical evidence that reveals the gendered nature of work specifically in the creative media sector. Anne O'Brien's study on women employed in the Irish television industry criticises the assumption that women choose to leave the industry as a result of motherhood and argues that the gendered working culture "characterized by the informalisation of work practices and by gendered networking …act[s] to push women out" (2014, p.1208). O'Brien's focus is on the structural conditions of the industry; long working

hours, the reliance on personal networks as a means to secure employment, direct gender discrimination over matters such as pay alongside a de-regulated, de-unionised industry that fails to provide or facilitate support for women or indeed any workers' rights (O'Brien 2014). What O'Brien doesn't consider is how these regimes subjectively work to disadvantage women. A study conducted by Sean Nixon and Ben Crewe (2004) on identity in advertising and men's magazine companies explores how the culture of these work organisations privilege a masculine identity. They provide examples of how this identity is entrenched and performed by individuals looking at aspects of the worker's clothing and appearance; how they socialise, how working identities are linked to specific roles within the sector. Their approach considers how "strident forms of masculinity" are enabled to "flourish" in these particular organizations:

> "In its more benign form this might include male practitioners playing football down the office corridors, while more problematic manifestations included horseplay such as decorating the office Christmas tree with condoms and sanitary towels, having Barbie dolls in bondage pinned to an office door and deploying derogatory and highly sexualized epithets for female colleagues" (Nixon and Crewe 2004, p.135).

Taking these accounts further I want to explore how we can understand this concept of masculinity and some of its effects on women who participate in creative media work cultures.

In the text *Masculinities* (2005 edition) Connell argued that masculinity should be seen as a social construct, one with a historical and culturally located context. Connell's work on masculinities emerged in the 1980s from studies of social inequality within education conducted by Australian academics on construction of male roles and identity. The concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' was the recognition of an emerging hierarchy of masculine behaviours. It was understood (at that time) as "the pattern of practice (i.e. things done, not

just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men's dominance over women to continue" (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005, p.832).

> Hegemonic masculinity was distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinated masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative. It embodied the currently most honoured way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men'. (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p.832).

The term 'hegemony' was derived from Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony; how "one group claims and sustain a position of power in social life" (Connell 2005, p.77). Connell exposes how entrenched patterns of hegemonic masculinity dominate certain sectors or institutions stating that "top levels of business, the military and government provide a fairly convincing *corporate* display of masculinity still very unshaken by feminist women or dissenting men" (Connell 2005, p.77). Connell argues that the practice of hegemonic masculinity is not fixed; it is multiple, accomplished in a particular social setting and can be enacted by women (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p.836) but that like Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony it relies on a strategy of acceptance and complicity.

Related to this argument of the practice of hegemonic masculinity as a construction is Butler's work on gender as a performance. When reading *Masculinities* I was struck that Connell made no reference to Butler's influential book *Gender Trouble* (original edition 1990) because both writers rely on post-structural concepts to think of gender as a socially constructed category. Building on writers including de Beauvoir, Irigaray and Foucault, Butler argues that normalizing 'regimes of power' enforce performative routines or habits that construct what is deemed 'natural' sex/gendered bodies and identities. Butler's answer is to think of identity and particularly gendered identity as a site of political contestation, one that is habitually performed and can be challenged by parodic performances (Butler 2006). Using

both Connell's concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' and Butler's argument of 'parodic performativity' as tools to consider how the performance of the creative worker within the contemporary creative media industry is modelled on an ideal of masculinity that celebrates a certain subjective identity, one that can be occupied by either gender but one that is rejected by women once they have experienced an alternative maternal subjectivity (Baraitser 2009).

My use of hegemonic masculinity was applied when looking at the data within the initial code 'description of worker'. When asked in the interview what sort of qualities you needed to get jobs, Katrina who worked in the television sector responded:

> You do really need to be thick-skinned, persistent, really super-confident. You need the gift of the gab so it's not about actually what you can physically do it's more about, it's about how well you can sell yourself basically how well you can convince people. Execs want to hear certain things they want to hear that you can do it and that you'll be safe rather than necessarily the truth unfortunately.

Here, the participant articulates what is needed in order to succeed in the industry; 'thick skinned', 'persistence' and 'super confidence', but also how this constructed identity is more valued that actual creative ability; "it's not about actually what you can physically do it's more about…. how well you can sell yourself". Part of the reflexive modernity thesis is how in an individualized society people can no longer rely on external institutions like the state, the church or the employer for guidance in how to construct their identity but must "construct their own narrative" (Deuze 2007, p.7). In this excerpt, the speaker has articulated how progress in her sector is based on an ability to 'sell' the self, and 'that you'll be safe' insinuating previous success rather than education, creative or technical skill.

This description of career progression as built on personality over skill and talent is repeated by another television director Rosie who had left the industry following the birth of her first child:

> "[I]n television you kind of you have to push yourself and if you decide that you probably well you have to have a certain few credits I would say on your CV before people will consider you for the next wrung but once you'd reached that point it's really up to you to put yourself forward for jobs that matched that job description."

When looking at these and other descriptions of what was required of the individual to succeed in work I was interested in this notion that career progression relied on having a certain type of personality. Often when describing the conditions of work the participants would reference how this often appeared to them as a masculine world. Pippa a mother of two who at the time of interview was on maternity leave with her second child but planning to return to work as a director described the impact that the culture of securing work in the industry had on the self, making a reflection on the gendered implications of this culture:

> For every success there are a hundred hidden rejections… you just have to keep on pulling yourself up. Maybe men are better at it they just keep on going and it becomes almost like a sick game.

One participant, Samantha a former assistant director spoke about how she recognised but enjoyed this masculine culture:

> I quite enjoyed the male environment and at the time I didn't feel that as a threat.

I found her comment resonated with Helen's description of her opinion of older women within the industry when she was a younger, ambitious early entrant used in the previous chapter. Helen recognized that the stigmatized / marginalized position of women with children would be an advantage to her career when she was a younger woman but then fell victim to this marginalization when she herself had a child. Like Helen, Samantha spoke of enjoying her work in a primarily male environment and using her femininity, as an advantage. At one point she described her position as being a 'mascot' the token female (Kanter 1977 in Acker 1990 and Wajcman 1998). Her position changed dramatically when she had a child and she responded to my question on how her attitude to work changed once she had a child with the comment:

> Yeah I suddenly became a raging feminist (laughs).

For both Helen and Samantha becoming a mother produced something new, a new identity that questioned their sense of their worker self (Blair-Loy 2003, Stone 2007). In section 5.4.1 I describe the construction and impact of the maternal self in more detail however returning to this question of identity I was interested in how participants articulated an individualized process of progression which places responsibility for job security on the individual worker and also the blame for failure. In her article 'Clubs to Companies' McRobbie (2002) cites Bauman's description of the 'new capitalism' which "seems to absolve itself from responsibility by creating invisible structures, and by melting down or liquefying the old social order" (Bauman 1999 in McRobbie 2002, p. 521) to show how a process of self-blame puts the focus on the individual worker and in doing so ensures "the absence of social critique" (ibid).

This notion of personality as a means to secure employment progression was a strong category in my data. It linked initial codes such as 'networking', 'personal contacts' and 'description of worker'. I noted how traits linked to an aggressive identity were habitually referred to when describing a typical worker in the industry. In addition many women talked of being criticized for having characteristics such as being 'nice' or 'sensitive'. One former television director, a mother of three was told: "you need to not be too sensitive" as that was deemed not "terribly good for telly". Another spoke of how she was told her personality was holding her back:

> I was told by my exec producer that I had to toughen up and I know I was too nice I was told I was too nice and that kind of thing stuck in my mind um and I've always felt if I'm too nice to work in production in TV then I don't want to work in TV because you know I don't believe that you can't be nice (laughs) that's not a flaw in somebody's personality that they're too nice. (Flora, former television worker, two children).

Elizabeth Kelan's study on work in information communication and technology (ICT) companies exposed how women are systematically discredited for displaying skills that are deemed to be 'feminine' (Kelan 2009). In Kelan's research she argues that feminine traits are used as a means to segregate women within the sector or belittle their skill by attributing certain characteristics for example good communication as being 'natural' for women rather than a skill in a man (2009) In the previous chapter I referred to Hochschild's concept of "emotional labour" (1983, 2001) and how motherhood was seen to spearhead a particular gender divide between media couples or 'married teams' (Adkins 1999) with the female partner occupying roles that dealt with managing, nurturing the emotional needs of others in the industry. In the comment above I found it interesting how more feminine attributes such as niceness or sensitivity were actively rejected by a senior member of the industry. In this case the speaker recognizes the paradox, "I don't believe that you can't be nice" however in her case, linked to a pattern that threads throughout this thesis, rather than fighting the system her action is to leave the industry.

In her theory of gendered organizations (1990) Acker refers to business management theorist Rosabeth Moss Kanter's argument that "gender differences in organizational behaviour are due to structure rather than to characteristics of women and men as individuals" (Kanter 1977 in Acker 1990, p.143). According to Kanter, it is women's segregation in certain areas within the organization (in this context structurally at a lower level with a few as 'tokens' making it to the top) that allows a dominant 'masculine ethic':

> "A "masculine ethic" of rationality and reason can be identified in the early image of managers. This "masculine ethic" elevates the traits assumed to belong to men with educational advantages to necessities for effective organizations; a capacity to set aside personal emotional considerations in the interests of task accomplishments; a cognitive superiority in problem-solving and decision making" (Kanter 1977 in Acker 1990, p.143).

I found Kanter's description of a 'masculine ethic' parallels Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity as a process that can become entrenched within certain organizations or sectors (2005). Connell argues that women can enact the practice of hegemonic masculinity and applying Butler's conception of identity as a socially constructed performance allows me to consider what sort of worker identity these women occupied before they had children. Susan a former television director discussed in detail how her identity changed after having children and recognized her ability to behave differently in certain roles:

> I'm not sure that I'm as kind of go-getting with sharp elbows as maybe I was before, I don't even know if I was before really I've always been quite meek but I think you know you put on a hat when you're working in a particular role.

Susan had had a successful career before she had children and I discussed in the previous chapter her struggles to return to the industry despite her desire and repeated attempts to do so. I used her encounter with a female series producer who had told her how she had returned to the industry a month following the birth of her two children and how she used a strategy of secrecy regarding her maternal identity to remain within the industry as an example of the dual stigmatization that works to place women against each other. Here I suggest how both Susan's realization of how she parodied (applying Butler) a different role for her director identity and her encounter with the female series producer provide examples of how the practice of hegemonic masculinity in the creative media can be appropriated and performed by women and reinforce a culture which relies on personalities that are pushy, driven and competitive. I include Helen's recognition of her advantage over older women who were of child-bearing age as a younger entrant within the industry in this theoretical construction. Helen's story is interesting as she articulated to me throughout her interview that her decision to leave the industry following the birth of her first child was an act of choice and that she had never experienced discrimination or felt pushed out. However, as I discuss later on in this chapter and the next, in her particular case her narrative suggested otherwise. My point here is

that she revealed an ability to draw upon a 'masculine ethic' in order to develop her career, one that divided her from other women but that her identity altered when she had a child (see section 3.3 for the discussion on how this has a significant consequence for her own worker identity). What this section has considered is how the concept of hegemonic masculinity drives the performance of the creative media worker. It is an identity that is dependent on certain subjective factors. Women can occupy this position and their ability to perform this persona can be highly affective before they have children but proves to be problematic after as I discussed in section 4.3.

5.3   Gender discrimination

Many writers that are interested in the experience of creative workers have considered the deregulation of the industry, particularly in television and how the emergence of an independent sector has left a gap of institutional support for workers' rights (Antcliff 2005; Banks 2007; Gill 2002, 2014; Gill and Pratt 2008; Holgate and McKay 2009; McRobbie 2002; O'Brien, A. 2014; Pratt 2002; Ursell 1999, 2000). There are support bodies available to creative workers; The Broadcasting, Entertainment, Cinematograph and Theatre Union (Bectu) and the Producers Alliance for Cinema and Television (PACT) however their influence in the sector has been noted as diminishing alongside the rise of the independent sector (Antcliff 2005; Garnham 2005). As a result, the fragmented and unsupported nature of the sector contributes to the lack of collective action and the endemic internalization and self-blame that has emerged as a factor of reflexive modernity (McRobbie 2002, 2009; Gill 2014; Gill and Scharff 2013). As I was interviewing women who had worked within this working culture I did ask if participants had had any experience of direct discrimination to which there was a mixture of responses. Some had experiences of gender discrimination over matters of

pay and promotion and there were some instances of sexual harassment which as I discuss in my methods chapter I was unable to develop in detail due to matters of confidentiality. In the majority of cases, no formal complaint was made and in the one instance where a complaint was made no action was taken, (this participant did not request that I withhold this information) a fact the interviewee was aware of because, due to her assailant's position, she could see that he remained in employment:

> So you know I kind of just think oh well no one's really done anything about that and I did go to the right person so it kind of feels a bit pointless really.

A critical problem for women in the industry is this lack of institutional support for such grievances and the personal impact on worker's sense of self. Many women who had experienced grievances remarked that the impact of making a complaint would have a profoundly negative consequence on their reputation and ability to secure further employment. The relationship between a creative worker's identity as a means to secure employment has a direct relationship with the gendered discriminatory practices that operate within the industry. In the next section I consider the system of networking and reputation as a means to gain employment within the creative media industry and refer to research that exposes how these processes further disadvantage women.

5.3.1 Exclusionary networks

> Flora: I think in production it's who you know, it's being in the right place at the right time it's putting as much into it as you can putting your life on hold being completely dedicated and yeah a little bit with some people especially, having contacts you know making sure you've got contacts and perhaps not so much your degree and what you've done before because like you say some people in TV have got degrees that are completely unrelated. I think sometimes it is the kind of person that you are that lends yourself production you know and I have been a bit annoyed by that in the past where it's competitive and you know when you're [not] getting work and other people are you sometimes kind of question why they're getting it over you.

In Anne O'Brien's (2014) critique of the structural conditions that create gendered working cultures which push mothers out of the industry the practice of networking, the highly individualized process of securing employment is discussed as particularly problematic for women. In chapter one I reviewed the empirically based literature on the operational effect that networking and identity had in the creative media industries (Blair 2001, 2009; Christopherson 2006; Grugulis and Stoyanova 2012; Lee 2011; Randle et al. 2014). This literature supports this discussion on how it is situated identity that produces job opportunities within the creative media industries which is exposed as being temporal, linked to the most recent work related activity and not based on long-term holistic review of skills and experience (Blair 2001). This culture proves to be particularly discrediting to women who have taken a period of leave from the industry. Kim who had had an incredibly successful career in television rising up through the job hierarchy to become a director under the age of 30 talked me through the process of how despite the fact that she had built up a series of "good solid terrestrial credits rather than something that no-one's ever going to watch" whilst developing her career this temporal system works against her when she takes time out of work to raise her family:

> Yeah people see your credit go up on the TV and they go "oh yeah Kim of course she worked for us a few years ago we should give her a ring shouldn't we." Whereas I've not had any credits go up for a year, over a year so I'll write to people but because I … because they don't know that I've just been working on some great programme with X company or Y company then… By the time I think when she's older then sadly I don't know and also I've got number two on the way so that's another year and a half out so I think god that's me effectively ruled out for three years.

Returning to Flora's comment used at the start of this section I was interested in her observation that personality and contacts are more than a degree and "what you've done before". Flora had an industry specific degree but throughout her interview she questions the value of her degree within the profession, noting that her education has not facilitated her

progress to the level she was trained to do. She remained as a researcher[25] in television until she decided to leave the industry. It was Flora who had been told that she was "too nice" for television and that her personality and niceness were a factor for her failure to progress. Data from Higher Education shows us that there are more women leaving university with a creative media specific degree (HESA 2014) and surveys conducted by Skillset have revealed that across the sectors women have been educated to a higher level and received more training than men (Creative Skillset 2008, 2010, 2014). Training was traditionally seen as the strategy to increase the number of women working at senior levels in the creative media industry (Antcliff 2005) so this paradox between the educational achievements of women and their continual segregation at lower levels of the industry remains as problematic. In *Distinction* Bourdieu discusses the effects of both the "inflation of qualifications and their associated devaluation" (2010, p.137). Within this discussion Bourdieu frames the 'victims' of academic devaluation as a generation who have been encouraged into education, contributing to the devaluation of the degree and showing how this is of "direct advantage to the suppliers of jobs" (2010, p.139). For Bourdieu, it is access to cultural and social capital that provide the means for individuals to 'make up' for the devaluation of their formal qualifications (2010, p.143). It was interesting to apply this concept to the relationship between education and creative work. As I state in my methodology chapter an emerging finding from the pilot round interviews was how many of the participants had attended a Russell group university[26]. In the total interview sample, five participants had been to either Cambridge or Oxford University however this figure was skewed to the pilot round. In the next chapter I discuss in more detail this relationship between class, education and gender.

---

[25] See Appendix 2.

[26] The Russell Group are a self-selected group of the UK's leading universities. The 24 institutions represent 15% of the total number of UK universities but are awarded 75% of funding from the UK Research Councils (Russell Group 2016).

5.3.2 Opposing structures: childcare and work

In Acker's definition of inequality regimes, she makes claim that "work organizations are critical locations for the investigation of the continuous creation of complex inequalities because much societal inequality originates in such organizations" (Acker 2006, p.441). Acker talks about family friendly policies as being only able to provide temporary relief from "male model of organizing" (2006, p.457). In chapter two I summarized the shift in the UK policy landscape under the New Labour government (1997-2010) towards developing a more family-friendly workplace and how this has contributed to a new ideological approach to parenting which has been argued to have significant consequences for women (Crompton 2010; Daly 2010; Lee et al. 2014). This topic is discussed in more detail in the next chapter when I consider the social construction of motherhood and implications for the creative media industry however for the purpose of this section it is interesting to note that these policy initiatives that were introduced into the wider economy do not appear to have taken root in the creative media industries. The particular problem of childcare with its combined issue of high cost and limited hours, within the construct of the hegemonically masculine driven creative media work culture meant that many women struggled to find sufficient support to continue with their roles. This respondent talked of the childcare cost involved to continue with her work.

> She goes to daycare which is available 8 till 6. C [husband] normally drops her off and I pick her up at 5. Costs us £900 a month. That's a mortgage. For one kid.

This issue of childcare was articulated by Mae who also had one child as one of both cost and hours:

> I said that you know I'll get a babysitter and then I looked at the numbers and I thought what am I doing like with D's [child's name] nursery fees are like 790 pounds a month so when you add 120 pounds on to that for one filming trip, two filming trips would break me I couldn't pay our council tax any more …. my nursery is private because I couldn't do the hours ok so the local council nurseries that are the nurseries

that you can afford most of them offer part time places or hours of 9.30 to 4.30 the extended hours what I would consider a normal day for them are classified as extended hours so I couldn't get D [child's name] a place with anyone I think the best I got for him was three days a week at a council run nursery that was 9.30 to 4.30 which is impossible, I can't leave in the middle of the day to pick him up and take him somewhere else so I had to put him in a private nursery and the ones in this side of [city] all average about 47 pounds a day and I'm still trying every year I apply for a council place for full time hours I'm in the process of doing that just now hoping that something will come through to me but it probably won't.

In the above excerpt, Mae describes how her 'normal day' within the television industry is what the state run childcare providers describe as 'extended hours'. This reveals a gap between the expectations of the media worker and the institutional child care support available. The hours provided by the local nursery are not sufficient for the mother to fulfill her role as a creative media worker and so she is caught between two institutional structures; the workplace and state supported childcare, which, ironically were set up in order to encourage more women back into employment (Crompton 2006).

This challenge of managing both the cost and hours of available childcare was a strong theme in the data. The problem is exacerbated by a cultural resistance within the industry towards flexible working (job shares, remote working from home and compressed hours) which I discuss in the next section. An interesting exception is Amy a participant who had continued to develop her career in the visual effects industry alongside motherhood who explained that she was able to do so because she could continue to work from home after the birth of both her two children. The nature and structure of her work meant that she could employ nannies who came to her house and continue to breastfeed both children in the infant stage a situation that she revealed legitimated her status as 'mother' as well as 'worker':

I think the key has been being able to work from home because if I didn't work from home then I would have to have done things like have the children in care full time, stop breastfeeding and that would have made me feel really guilty and then I would

have you know I wouldn't have felt happy about my choice and I think being able to work from home has made me feel like I kind have both worlds.

Although there were other situated factors that enabled her 'choice' which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, it was the flexibility and combination of both motherhood and worker identity that she celebrated as a factor in her continued employment. This case was an exception, the majority of participants found that there was an almost systemic rejection of flexibility towards working patterns in the industry that clashed with the wider institutional support for childcare and education. Anna a participant who had worked across the interactive media, television and gaming sectors spoke about the challenges of breastfeeding at work:

> Tamsyn: You pumped?
>
> Anna: Yeah twice a day and they would send me down into the first aid room in the basement and I was allowed in there but I had to get it especially unlocked by security so I went down and then the only fridge that was available because we didn't have public fridges we had little baby fridges in all the meeting rooms where they kept champagne in ... and I had to put it in there so I had to barge into somebody's meeting every time with my bottles of breast milk saying excuse me (laughter) … oh it was excruciating.
>
> Tamsyn: But that links back to the institutional practices you know this idea of work being just not being you know that's something that …
>
> Anna: It's ridiculous. Why isn't there a breastfeeding room? It's a massive building and there's an entire half empty top floor all the time you know it's just add in all that stuff from the get go.

Gatrell (2013) talks about how the maternal body is unwelcome in the workplace a situation which following my argument could be related to the widespread stigmatization of motherhood within the creative media industry and devaluation of women as creative commodities. Anna eventually left her position to start her own business and she refers in her narrative to a number of the institutional regimes that make it hard for women in the creative sector:

the fact of the matter is that you know that there is a system. I don't know what is going to happen when she goes to school and she's out at 3 o clock in the afternoon. So this is part of the reason why I want to go and start my own business because I have to have that flexibility.

Anna uses the term 'flexibility' as necessary for her to combine her dual roles of mother and creative worker. I found in the literature that the concept of flexibility produces different meanings. For those inspired by the individualization thesis flexibility and fluidity are factors of the new regimes of work that operate in the current economic order (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001; Beck et al. 1994; Burkitt 2008; Deuze 2007). Richard Sennett however has exposed how these new forms of individualized, flexible based labour have had serious negative effects on individual lives and biographies (Sennett 1998 in Burkitt 2008, p. 239 also Deuze 2007). What emerged from my data was the cultural resistance to flexibility that would support a mother for example working from home, providing facilities for childcare and breastfeeding, flexibility around working hours whilst systematically enforcing the individualized concept of flexibility which limits the rights of the individual worker.

5.3.3   Cultural resistance to flexibility

One participant that worked for a large visual effects company stated that the company she was employed by had made a formal ban on any employee (note not contractors) claims for part time working. This goes against official statutory guidance which states that "[a]ny employee with at least 26 weeks of employment service has a statutory right to request flexible working" (Acas 2014).

> Amelia: I certainly know in commercials now that they haven't put a ban on requesting but I know that in commercials that they won't let anyone work less than a five-day week now. They had a whole load of people doing part time work and I do understand that from their point of view as well you can't have an entire department working part time but I also think there's a lack of willingness to properly try job

sharing and role sharing and I think that that could work and there's just a bit of resistance towards it.

The official legal legislation on worker rights is confusing and this contributes to the insecurity felt by many workers in the creative media industry for which official guidelines fail to match up to the reality of their working regimes (in chapter seven I refer to the mismatch between the legal framework to support workers' rights and the culture of work in the creative media industries see also Barmes and Ashtiany 2003). An emerging category in my data was a perceived resistance by employers to consider flexible options for women with children. This theme emerged from a code initially labeled 'jobshares' then re-named 'resistance to flexible working patterns'. Many participants in the study described this resistance as cultural. Teresa a producer who worked predominantly in the visual effects industry and was a mother to three children describes the impact of this culture:

> Teresa: [T]hey want you to be around if anyone comes in, they want people they want faces in the office I've heard this so many times in various companies they like to see bodies in there and I guess if one of us goes, we're quite a small department that's the other thing so I guess it might seem unfair to some of the others if I'm working predominantly from home. If it was the general culture it would be different but I think it just seems unfair or I don't know that I'm copping out in some way.

Teresa reveals the relationship between presenteeism, "the practice of being present at one's place of work for more hours than is required, especially as a manifestation of insecurity about one's job"[27] and work in the creative media industry. In this example she internalizes this resistance negatively feeling that working from home to support her dual roles of both creative worker and mother would be perceived as 'copping out in some way' rather than a positive celebration of her ability to manage work at home. In recent years there have been a number of public dismissals of homeworking by influential women in the creative media industry including Yahoo CEO Marisa Meyer who in 2013 banned employees at the company

---

[27] https://www.google.co.uk/webhp?sourceid=chrome-instant&ion=1&espv=2&ie=UTF-8#q=presenteeism
[Accessed August 1, 2016]

from remote working and the UK Editor of fashion magazine *Vogue* Alexandra Schulman who stated in an article printed in the British Newspaper *The Guardian* that working from home was not "an adequate alternative" (Schulman 2010, online). Both Meyer and Schulman base their argument on the grounds of 'creativity' and the need to be in the office to contribute to the creative environment. However, empirical evidence has shown how this presenteeism culture impacts negatively on care-givers (Blair-Loy 2003; O'Brien, A. 2014; Stone 2007). What is particularly interesting is that Meyer and Schulman are mothers so their lack of support for mechanisms that would support other parents and care-givers in their respective organisations can be linked to this discussion of hegemonic masculinity, parodic performativity that operate within a postfeminist reflexive society and how stigmatised identities have produced a discourse of competition between women (see chapter four).

The impact of this cultural resistance to job shares is a recognized loss of largely female talent as articulated by Eleanor who had left her role in animation because of her struggle to find adequate childcare to match the working patterns demanded of her:

> It's not rocket science you know it's not, there's no life and death situation. I think it's difficult and not without obviously there is going to be some ups and downs but I think the number of women that I know who can do massively incredible things I don't think a job share is out of the realms of possibility for what people could do.

Many participants talked of hearing about specific examples or providing instances where flexibility, job shares and remote working was practised and proven to be successful however these instances were described as exceptions and that the overall culture of the industry was to reject flexibility. The following comment from Kate a participant who had had over 30 years of experience within the industry was able to expose this cultural resistance to flexibility as a contemporary issue:

> Kate: Wow job share that's a word I haven't heard for years do they still have them? Ha no see again that was something people used to do in the public sector and at the BBC but wow I've never heard of that in the independent creative industries no way

> Tamsyn: Do you think it would be possible?

> Kate: Oh it should be but it it's just not something that seems to be part of the culture but it definitely should be and I think flexible working should be open to everyone and not just mothers but to everyone.

I was interested in how 'job shares' are described as something people 'used to do' but that in the current de-regulated independent sector they were not considered 'part of the culture'. This asks the question what has changed in the nature of producing creative goods that prevents job shares from being celebrated? The participant states that she thinks 'flexible working should be open to everyone and not just mothers' and the paradox is that as mentioned before, the right to request flexible working is available to everyone through legislation such as the Equality Act of 2010[28] which was created to legally protect people from discrimination in the workplace however it would appear that this legislation is not implemented or practiced in the creative sector. The outcome of this is the loss of female talent:

> Kim: It's really frustrating because as I say I'd kind of worked my socks off to do what I did but it's difficult because essentially my job is a creative one and essentially to try and find someone who works on the same you know who has the same way of thinking of you or me or someone else, it's very hard to you know in theory you should be able to job share like any other industry but it's like someone doing a painting and then someone else coming along to sort of carry with the painting for 3 days a week you kind of think that doesn't really work. Um I mean they say 'Oh yeah we're really open to job shares' but people aren't ultimately when it comes to it.

I've drawn from Kim's interview a number of times in the previous chapter and in this one. As already discussed she had had a particularly successful career before stopping to have children and there is a sense of contradiction that runs throughout her narrative. In the chapter I discussed how her rejection of the role models of mothers within the industry the 'hard core women' who she identified as sacrificing a maternal identity that she wasn't prepared to do contributed to her decision to leave. In this extract she talks about the cultural resistance to

---

[28] https://www.gov.uk/guidance/equality-act-2010-guidance [Accessed September 15, 2015]

job sharing but also seems to internalize this resistance when she describes the individual process of directing. Stephanie Taylor describes how the image of the creative artist is based on the "masculine selfishness of the conventional creative artist" (2011, pp.376-8) and I mention it here as it seems to resonate with her belief that she could not share a directing role. What I find interesting is the paradox between this notion of aesthetic autonomy or the selfish creative artist and the requirement that creative workers be physically present in the workplace for the sake of creative collaboration as argued by figures including Marisa Meyer and Alexandra Schulman. These two claims would appear to contradict each other but both work against women with caring responsibilities.

Relative to this question of the cultural resistance to flexibility, remote working and job shares is the impact of technology as a means to bypass inequality. Many theorists interested in the development of new working paradigms celebrated technology as a means to increase access to employment. Autonomist Marxist scholars Hardt and Negri stated that "the computer and communication revolution of production has transformed labouring practices in such a way that they all tend toward the model of information and communication technologies" (2000, p.291). This question was particularly salient in my study as the majority of interviews conducted in the second round were carried out on Skype (see methodology chapter). One participant stated how she used Skype in her work:

> Tamsyn: Do you use technology a lot, things like Skype today?
>
> Caroline: Yes I do and I think it's brilliant because what I've found with a lot of companies now there are a lot of small companies that you know basically one man and his dog and for them, a lot of them don't have offices any more I mean I have an office here at home I mean at the moment I'm working on three productions for people and I'm finding that Skype and all modern technology is fantastic I can run an office from home and do everything that I can it's brilliant I love it.

Caroline like Amy whose ability to work from home meant that she was able to breastfeed her children and thus positively combine the roles of mother and worker, were both exceptions.

Their access to technology and ability to work from home was not shared by other participants within the industry. It would appear that the 'inequality regimes' that operate within the industry are endemic and that the opportunities that new technology offers to labourers has not resulted in the predicted shift. This resistance to change could be framed as gendered with mothers exposing the cultural resistance to flexible and remote working in the creative media industries. Grace a former television director made this comment:

> It will be it will be the men who will start saying oh let's jobshare and then all of a sudden all the Exec males will say 'yeah let's do that' whereas if a woman suggested it it wouldn't you know well you know need to be a mum, there would still be some stigma attached to it.

Looking at this comment I was interested in her use of the word 'stigma'. She reaffirms the discussion in the previous chapter on mother's stigmatised position within the industry. This led me to the question, why? What is it about motherhood that creates a stigma around working remotely or job sharing and how is this specifically linked to the creative media industries? This is a question that runs throughout my thesis, that motherhood is a fluid and socially constructed practice and its performance is related to a subject's identity. In chapter two I talked of the new modern demands of 'intensive mothering' (Hays 1996) that were attached particularly to women who occupied affluent, classed subjectivities. My argument is that this intensive ideological construction of motherhood has had a particular impact on women who work in the creative media industry because the industry's workforce is drawn largely from a middle class, privileged labour pool using Bourdieu's framework to explain the link between class and creative labour. Does this cultural resistance to enabling a specific group of creative workers, mothers, to work from home reveal some of the normative expectations of motherhood in contemporary society? Are mothers considered untrustworthy to combine the roles of the ideal creative worker with motherhood as such is the assumed intensity of the practice of motherhood there is an assumption that mothers won't be fully committed to 'work'? This is a question that I return to in more detail in the next chapter. In

the next final section I consider the particular subjective change that is attached to motherhood and how it exposes the constructions of hegemonic masculinity attached to the ideal creative worker.

5.4   Why mothers (and not fathers) leave

My thesis contributes to a body of research on the subjective relationship between individuals and work in the context of the creative media industry. I have been influenced by theorists who have considered this relationship as a means of identity location and control. Stephanie Taylor, building on Ian Burkitt's notion of subjectivity argues that these accounts of subjectification fail to take into account "the relational contexts of everyday life with its various cultures and subcultures, social networks and groups, out of which emerge fully-rounded, if always unfinalized selves" (2008, p.242). In order to understand inequality we need to consider the different constructs of identity that an individual is subject to. In the case of women, Taylor argues that they are subject to a "'other-directedness' that is part of a more conventional feminine identity" (Taylor 2010, p.354).

As I discuss in the introduction to this section Gill claims that focusing on motherhood as the cause of women's withdrawal from the creative media industry is a convenient smokescreen to distract from entrenched forms of sexism and discrimination which are accepted and performed within the industry. The problem with framing gender inequality as an issue of motherhood renders it as a women's issue reinforcing the idea that children are a women's responsibility and she notes; "[s]uch claims obscure the fact that men as well as women are parents, yet are able to thrive in the world of media work even after they become fathers" (Gill 2014, p.511). In her study on management Wajcman observed that men benefit in the workplace once they are married and have children due to a cultural assumption that they

have a wife or a partner who will manage their domestic needs (1998). This point resonates with Acker's claim that a job is a 'gendered concept' and that

> "[t]he closest the disembodied worker doing the abstract job comes to a real worker is the male worker whose life centers on his full-time, life-long job while his wife or another woman takes care of his personal needs and his children." (Acker 1990, p.149).

An interesting observation of my data was the number of women whose partners also worked in either the creative or creative media industry. Of the 33 participants 24 had a partner who also worked in the creative industry (see Appendix 1) and 8 of those worked either in same company or at same job role as partner but in every single case it was the female partner that left the industry following the birth of a child. There are a number of theories that relate to this division of labour, the assumptions of gender performance in the heterosexual matrix (Butler 2006), the concept of the 'second shift' enacted by women in the household (Hochschild 2012 see discussion below) and the consistent devaluing of women's skill within creative work (Kelan 2009). In the next section I want to discuss how motherhood creates a new identity for a woman and how this new identity exposes the problematic construction of the creative worker's identity.

5.4.1   A new maternal identity

> "that ambivalent principle that … stems from an identity catastrophe that causes the proper Name to topple over into the unnamable" (Kristeva on the 'maternal' 1977 in Baraitser 2009, p.5).

In her book *Maternal Encounters* Baraitser uses her own experiences and anecdotes of motherhood to theoretically think about maternal subjectivity. Her book is an attempt to consider this shift from the female subject position to maternal arguing that "motherhood produces something new" (2009, p.7). Drawing on both Levinas's concept of subjectivity as

190

emerging after an encounter with otherness (she labels the 'other' as the figure of the child) and Alain Badiou's concept of subjectivity as an event named after the event (2009, p.8-9). She claims that the maternal subject can only be discovered retrospectively, defining it as "the remainder that is returned to the self through the encounter with the Other" (Baraitser 2009, p.36). In my literature review I refer to Kristeva's work on the maternal self and her criticism of second wave feminists' inability to locate women's continued desire to have children given their exposure of the oppressed maternal subject (1986). I also include Butler's criticism of Kristeva's conception of motherhood as a pre-cultural identity and her failure to locate the mother as a constructed practice (2006). Baraitser draws heavily from Kristeva's theorising of maternal subjectivity but she also refers to Butler's application of a Hegelian dual self-relationship between the mother and the child (Butler 2000 in Baraitser 2009, p.34). She sees in Butler's philosophy the transformation that takes place within the maternal self through its encounter with the child 'Other':

> "It is in this sense that I understand Butler's notion of the self that 'never returns to itself free of the Other.' It is 'transformed through its encounter with alterity, not in order to return to itself, but to become a self it never was" (Butler 2000 in Baraitser 2009, p.35).

As I've mentioned Baraitser is concerned with the new subjectivity that is produced by the maternal self. It is useful however to consider in conjunction with how motherhood operates subjectively within creative work. Taylor describes the impact of women's "other-directedness" (2010, p.354) to the subject's awareness of different subjectivities. Taylor's work focuses explicitly on the creation of a creative subject and in her article on the negotiation of oppositions and uncertainties in the construction of a creative subject she uses an interview with a young female creative worker, not a mother who talks about her domestic role in comparison to her partner, describing how she is subject to the "extra stuff on top" (Taylor 2010, p.364).

There is a considerable body of literature on how women who occupy the masculine world of work are still expected to manage the domestic sphere. Hochschild coined the term the 'second shift' to define the double shift occupied by professional women who also carry out the majority of domestic work in the household and manage childcare (2012). Hochschild interviewed couples in North America and she found this feminine double shift was apparent even if the female partner had jobs at an equal level or out-earned their partner. The continued expectation that it is women who will take responsibility for childcare as defined institutionally through parental leave legislation and culturally through popular representations of mothers (see discussion in chapter two also Feasey 2012) contributes to feminist critique of the individualisation thesis (Adkins 1999; Crompton 2006, 2010; McRobbie 2009). Here though I want to consider what the experience of a maternal subjectivity reveals about both the creative worker and creative work as it emerged in my study. For many of the women I interviewed, entering this new maternal subjectivity provided them with something new and this caused them to reflect on their former worker identity:

> Flora: After I had my daughter for all mothers you know you just have that realisation that there's more to life than your career and I just couldn't leave her you know.

Part of the governmental approach towards creative work has been the pleasure derived from work and the status of creative workers (Banks 2007; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011; McRobbie 1998, 2002, 2007). However, my data suggested that the pleasure derived from the maternal identity was superior to the creative. Becoming a mother for many women in the study exposed the deficiencies of creative work and enabled them to self-reflect on how they had been governed by their attachment to creative work in the past. Sinead a former animation director and mother of two articulated the impact of motherhood on her identity and reflected on how it changed her attitude to her work:

I think it was quite a shock physically and the whole birth thing and what it does to your sense of self I was quite surprised about but I was also quite blown away by the depth of emotion you can feel. Like a whole new world opened up to me in a positive way as well so it's kind of a really mixed bag. It sort of connected me with family in a different way, with my family and it made me think about stuff that was not just me a lot more which is probably really healthy so by the time I had my second child I felt like I was achieving all the stuff I had hoped for with work but I was more concerned about my kids at that point and I just didn't really give a crap about all the stuff I had really cared about; about success and stuff I don't think I cared so much. I didn't gage myself by that stuff as I had because I had discovered this other world of creativity. I guess intense engagement with another human being on that level is just kind of amazing and rewarding in a way that maybe making Coca-Cola commercials at weekends isn't you know it's rewarding on a whole different framework, different world.

In these two passages there is a realization that there was more to life; that childbirth evoked a new sense of self that connected the individual to family in a way that had been alienated in the reflexive, individualistic notion of work. Also motherhood according to Sinead provides another "world of creativity" which was deemed more rewarding than "making Coca-Cola commercials at weekends", following Hesmondhalgh and Baker creative work is reduced to being just 'work' (2011). I drew from the data a parallel between the mothers' relationship with their child / children and the creative workers' relationship with their work. Both require long intensive hours, fragmented routines, intense dedication and precarity as discussed in the two literature chapters however many of the women I spoke to claimed to derive more pleasure from their maternal identity. This, in some cases created a sense of rejection for the industry like Carol a radio producer who used the phrase "I'm done" a number of times in her interview to articulate the importance that her work played in her life after she became a mother:

I thought well what's the point in working your arse off and ending up where you're not really bothered about ending up anyway. So I thought that's it I'm done I've you know I've achieved what I wanted to.

Part of the academic interest in subjective experiences of creative work have looked at how the notion of work in this sector has been transformed into a concept of fun, 'work as play'

(Ross 2003) or how it is based on a certain type of cultural lifestyle as McRobbie discusses in her 2002 paper. With these mothers I noted a rejection of this lifestyle, that there is a limit to the amount of pleasure that an individual can experience. There is also an awareness that this lifestyle is tied with a notion of youth and frivolity and that contributes to how motherhood becomes a site through which creative work is devalued and rejected.

5.4.2 Rejecting the industry

The next comment, also taken from Carol's narrative shows how the experience of motherhood exposes women's fragile position when participating in the masculine 'game' of creative media work:

> …you could call me a staunch feminist looking at the whole issue of kind of the glass ceiling and why there aren't that many women in the board room and stuff and I think partly it's because they just don't want to play that game. They have their children they all have their children and they don't come back well it's not that they don't want to come back it's just they think well what's the bloody point why am I slogging my guts out when I could be at home enjoying my child. These are years that I'm never going to get back why would I want to go and play this sort of ridiculous corporate game that doesn't seem to have, just doesn't seem very really after you've had a baby when you've started your own family it all just feels a bit yeah I'll let them fight it out I don't really I'll don't really I'll totter along here and do my hours and go home.

Note that she states "it's not that that they don't want to come back it's just they think what's the bloody point". This leads again to this question of how women are valued in this sector. She implies that for women, even if you do fight, your position is precarious and there's no guarantee of success leaving her and others with the question 'what's the point?' In the next chapter I talk about how these particular women are valued as mothers but that value is dependent on specific classed and cultural constructions of motherhood which celebrates one type of mother over another. Here however I apply her comment to the rejection of the industry that entering a new maternal subjectivity produced for participants within the study.

Many of the participants in the study framed their rejection of the industry because of the demands of work. Grace in the comment below articulates how it was becoming a mother that led her to question the expectations of her job as a television director:

> I think I was happy to take time out I had been working for a long time and it is quite intensive work because of the nature of it because you are away a lot and you're either living with your contributors and your constantly filming somebody else you're constantly living somebody else's life and then the hours as well were really long hours I mean I would I would get up at 6, 6.30 to drive all the way up to Scotland to do a shoot up there to come back and then maybe stay up overnight editing it to make sure it was ready for the delivery the next day and I would just do that and not consider it and that was just part of the job which again when I started thinking about going back to work that was the part that bothered me I thought that you know this isn't it's not the same thing my life isn't the same I'm not going to want to stay and work all hours I'm not gonna want to fly off 5 days for a shoot and not see my kids that was all you know.

Before she had children Grace talks of how she accepted the conditions of her work without consideration, "that was just part of the job" but it was motherhood that caused her reflection "I thought that you know this isn't it's not the same thing my life isn't the same". She was happy to perform the expectations of the ideal creative worker before motherhood and didn't think to question them even though the extreme conditions of work she describes could have consequence on herself in other ways, but that motherhood caused a change. Before motherhood her experience resonates with this notion that she was 'self-exploiting' her sense of self for the demands of work (Ursell 2000; Banks 2007; McRobbie 1998) but motherhood creates a reflection "when I started thinking about going back to work that was the part that bothered me". It is not the process of creating a film but the extreme demands of the self and the potential impact on her relationship with her children and maternal identity that spearheads her rejection of the industry.

The next comment linked to this theme was interesting because the participant frames her decision to get pregnant as an escape route from the industry.

> Rosie: I think maybe my decision to get pregnant was partly because having been really focused on working in television since I'd left uni I actually got to the point that I had been working so hard to get to which was Producer Director level and I didn't feel massively fulfilled by it and I felt it was quite a cut throat place to work and yes you have great stories to tell and some of the jobs that you did were fantastic but you know and you got paid ok but actually you would be doing crazy hours and there was a lot of stress with constantly having to look out for the next job so I think maybe my decision to get pregnant as well was that I was ready for a change in scene and for something else to take up my time as well as obviously wanting to be a mum and wanting that to happen in my life. Anyway, I think it couldn't be ignored that I really wasn't very happy in television.

Like the comments before, she defines the working culture as 'cutthroat' with 'crazy hours' and 'stress' and 'constantly having to look out for the next job' and she admits that she 'didn't feel massively fulfilled by it' despite having 'great stories'. I have referred to Rosie's narrative in the previous chapter on stigma as she talked about the lack of mother role models within the industry. But here I was interested in the comment, "I think it couldn't be ignored that I really wasn't very happy in television". For Rosie then it would appear that her withdrawal from the industry following motherhood was a combined process of her internalisation of the lack of role models / awareness of mothers stigmatized position in the industry along with a rejection of the normative conditions of creative labour and the masculine working cultures. Sophia a former television series producer also contributes to this concept:

> Well I think as I implied I was falling out of love with television anyway so it definitely you know one has a lot less patience with things like commuting because why would you do that? But I was already getting sick of both the way television was going and because like you said it's just this thing if you're not going to do the fun stuff which is really running around and filming things and editing things then kind of what's the point? So there's also an element of it hey I've got a child let's stop this madness for a bit

Like the previous comment she seems to internalize the realization that she wouldn't have access to the 'fun stuff' after having a child which for her was filming and travelling and so for her the subjective experience of work is devalued. I asked Sophia about whether she thought women could return to the industry after having her child and her response was:

Yes but would you want to? It's interesting because E's [child's name] now getting to an age where I am more dispensable and um I still don't think I could do that kind of insane director job because I've just sort of lost the heart for it (laughs) you know and you get other priorities that no job is ever going to be as all absorbing as it was when I was 29.

The sense that women were actively rejecting the conditions of work associated with the media industry after they became mothers raised a question of their agency. It could be argued that motherhood created a sense of agency for the 'exploited' creative worker, a valid and accepted escape route. However, this masks the continued inability of the industry to support workers' subjective identities. The lack of structures to enable complaint, changes to cultural expectations the inequality regimes that operate to push mothers out are then not addressed because rather than remaining within the industry and working towards a cultural shift, the option these women take is to leave. There is also the question of how their situated, classed identity contributes to their ability to leave the industry. Teresa, a mother of three, who had left the industry after her younger children were born described how she had to return to work when her partner was made redundant**.** Kim articulated how her ability to remain at home was enabled through her financial position but she also recognized the precarity of her situation:

… we're not in a position where I absolutely have to be bringing that money in, fortunately very fortunately at the moment. Things could change because again my husband's freelance and if he broke his leg today I'd have to go back next week full time.

In the next chapter I explore these situated locations of identity and their relationship to both these women's choices and their value within the industry. I also noted a link between creative work and youth in this category. The link between youth and creative work becomes entangled whereby women's appropriation of the hegemonic masculine identity necessary to perform creative work is linked to their age and is something that they move beyond once they have children. This raises an interesting link between gender, age and creative work. This question has been considered by cultural studies theorists who consider questions of

gender and representation in media texts (Mulvey 1975; Tasker 1993; Gill 2007a, 2007b). The relationship between the creative media workforce and the production of media texts and images is not a subject that I have considered in this thesis as my focus is on processes and cultures of employment and identity, however this pattern of employment which links hegemonic masculinity to youth provides an interesting moment to consider how this could relate to the endemic celebration of young, highly sexualized and largely white bodies that are produced for consumption in media texts.

A lot of the discussion that emerged within this category was that motherhood as an alternative to creative work was a healthier, more relaxed option, not just for the woman but for their partners as well (see earlier discussion on media couples and how this relates to evidence that shows how men benefit in the workplace from marriage). Amelia commented that:

> and yes it's funny because we've sort of had those conversations like our home life is a lot better when I don't work (laughs).

Helen commented on how her position in the domestic sphere impacted on both her and her husband's health:

> And it's more healthy. In fact you know we've both lost weight since I stopped working because I now cook you know we got more healthy that way.

In both of these cases the women worked at the same company as their partners and found that following motherhood their value shifted in the work sphere from ideal worker to supportive partner. I discuss this phenomenon in more detail in the next chapter which concentrates on how women are valued in the respective fields of creative work / motherhood and following Adkins (1999) how the appropriation of women's labour both in the home and in the workplace benefitted the male creative labourer at the expense of the female.

5.4.3   Inability to locate former creative identity

> "When I spoke to new mothers, it seemed to me that although a child and new love has been born, something else within them had passed away, and the experience was made harder because at some level, underneath their joy in their babies, these women were quietly in mourning for this part of their earlier selves." (Wolf 2001, p.6).

This quote comes from Naomi Wolf's book *Misconceptions* and connects to a theme that emerged from the data 'loss of one value self, gain of another' which I discuss in chapter six. In this section I want to add to the discussion that a mother's decision to leave paid employment was linked to a rejection of her worker identity through the production of a new maternal subjectivity. Also, what emerged in my data was a sense that women, particularly successful women struggled to reconcile their two selves, the worker and the mother. They couldn't see how they could return to work and perform as they had in their former self. Here I return to Helen's narrative who had parodied the sensibility of hegemonic masculinity and used it to her advantage in work before she became a mother:

> I mean there's no way you can manage the ferocity and intensity of TV Directing job with a child. They are like the same thing. Making a film is exactly like having a child. You, it takes, you need everything that you've got and more. It's not just 24/7 it's more. You know there isn't a moment when you're not thinking about the programme there isn't a second when you're not trying to do something for it you know you put all your everything all your being all your energy everything into it and then the same with a child and you can't do that for two things and I just knew that I would have to go back and not do what I was doing before not be who I was at work you know not … I did well at work and I knew that I wouldn't be able to do it anymore. Not that I wouldn't be able to work at all but I just thought I don't want to do it. I ... you know.

Helen attributes her professional success to her ability to sacrifice all for her work. In her case motherhood created a new identity and a barrier to her ability to perform at work as her former self which produced an internalized effect on how she felt she would be valued at work;

> I just knew that I would have to go back and not do what I was doing before not be who I was at work you know not … I did well at work and I knew that I wouldn't be able to do it anymore.

This sense of change in the worker identity and how it would reflect on an individual's performance as well as how they were valued was repeated by Jenny:

> I do pride myself in the fact that I'm a hard worker and I'm very committed to everything I do so the idea as well of me leaving an office at 5 o clock and being judged like that would have made me very difficult to do the kind of career that I did because I just felt I don't want to be judged I've got a great reputation and this suddenly going off at 5 is not going to work for me.

She suggests that her altered identity and attitude to work would have an impact on her reputation. Going back to the literature on reputation and networking (Blair 2001; Grugulis & Stoyanova 2012) you can see how both these participants have a point. Rather than fighting the system however both their agency is tied up in their decision to leave the industry and thrive in the domestic sphere.

This clash of identity however can be a site of profound inner tension as articulated by Frances, a former production manager for animation and mother of three children. When describing her former self she states:

> I was a complete workaholic I often worked very very late and really nothing got in the way of work I shelved everything for work, I gave everything to work

Like others in this study at the time of her interview Frances was actively looking for ways to get back into her industry. Her attempts to move back into the industry were creating an awareness of conflicting identities, the maternal and the creative and here she describes her internal struggle:

> I've been around the circle 10 million times about what I'm going to do and how I'm going to do it … [deleted text for anonymity] … how the heck to integrate these two worlds this world of being a mother and this industry working in the industry especially feature films are like babies themselves and so I always felt like I don't know how to do that I really don't and I have to own up to a combination of my own personal stuff around you know no work life balance as I said before so the fact that that's how I used to work and trying to re-invent myself in my own head like how do I now work how do I call myself a worker if I can't do that? I need to figure out how to have different boundaries around that but also I think the industry asks it of you I

mean especially as you get older and as a woman you really have to give everything to stand out to get that job.

Like other participants Frances can recognise that there are structural issues that "the industry asks of you" but she internalises how her personal response to these structures places the responsibility of managing intensive work loads and unrealistic time scales on the individual. It was this recognition that was causing her conflict on how to integrate the two worlds of creative labour and motherhood. She even suggests that the demands are greater for women through the necessity to 'stand out'. So it is for women to internalise and problematize how they will manage the demands of the creative worker and the intensive mother with the added oppression that whatever option they chose they will be stigmatised as discussed in the previous chapter. The ability to walk away, to reject the working conditions of the creative media industry and celebrate a new maternal identity is dependent on an individual's situated identity and this is a question I develop in the next chapter.

5.5   Conclusion

Anna: Well of course everybody has the choice to not have babies but why should that be the way to compete to not have babies? It's like wait, what? We should be able to compete and have babies. What the fuck are you talking about?

At the start of this chapter I included a quotation from Baraitser's book on male time as dysfunctional for both men and women in contemporary society. Connell makes the point that hegemonic masculinity does not "translate into a satisfying experience of life" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p.852). McRobbie makes the claim that the new regime of work that operates within the creative media industry places the regulation and management of work into the hands of the individual has created 'new realms of pain and injury' (Gill 2014, p.516). I want to conclude this section by arguing that the construct of the ideal creative

worker is a damaging one. The research that I have conducted with women shows how many frame their decision to leave as a rejection of the industry even though this decision has been constructed through highly gendered inequality regimes which make the combination of work and motherhood incredibly difficult for women. The inability to combine aspects of the worker self and the mother self exposes the damaging conditions of work for the creative worker however, these challenges are masked because they are labeled as a women's issue. Like Gill, I agree that claiming the inequalities in the creative media industry are based on women's childbearing and childcare masks the endemic, entrenched expectations of the new labouring subject.

In the next chapter I look at the situated position of the women in this study and consider in detail the classed and cultural construction of motherhood. The purpose of this chapter is to consider the specific practice of motherhood that the women who leave the industry are influenced by and how their subject position based on their social class, ethnic background and financial status enables their situation. By thinking about the social position of women in this study allows for a discussion on the wider inequalities that operate within the sector and how factors such as gender and class can intersect to expose the multiple axes of oppression and inequality that operate within the industry.

Chapter six: devalued women, valued men. Gender, class and motherhood in the field of creative media production

"We live, breathe and excrete values. No aspect of human life is unrelated to value, valuations and validations. Value orientations and value relations saturate our experiences and life practices from the smallest established microstructures of feeling, thought and behaviour to the largest established macrostructures of organization and institutions. The history of cultures and social formations is unintelligible except in relation to a history of value orientation and their objectifications, interplay and transformations." (Connor 1993 in Skeggs 2004, p.13).

"I guess a law degree from Yale is good for something" (Stone 2007, p.1).

6.1   Introduction

In the final section of the previous chapter I considered the emergence of a maternal self and how in the context of the creative worker becoming a mother produced a rejection of the conditions of work, the structural mechanisms that operated within the industry. Those structural mechanisms were exposed as disadvantaging mothers in the workforce, produced via a series of 'inequality regimes' (Acker 2006) that made combining the role of ideal creative worker / intensive mother problematic. The emergence of a new maternal identity was understood as contributing to a participant's decision to leave the industry in two ways: either through a recognition of a new valued self, one that took precedence over the creative worker identity and rejected the masculinized normative conditions of work or through the subject's internal realization that they could no longer perform at the level of their former creative identity once they had had a child. Performing the conditions of the ideal creative worker were perceived as relying on a denial of the maternal self, an identity which in chapter four was exposed as stigmatized within the industry. In this chapter I consider the social construction of the maternal self, and the relationship between the two constructed positions that I have referred to throughout this thesis that of the ideal creative worker and the intensive mother. Developing the relationship started in previous chapters between mothers'

withdrawal from the industry and their situated identity, the factors that make withdrawal from paid work possible. In this chapter I frame this discussion around concepts that explore social class, looking at how the classed construction of the ideal mother devalues the position of the female creative worker and benefits their male counterparts.

At the start of this chapter I included a comment from Stone's study *Opting Out* (2007). Stone developed her research project in response to the mothers she was encountering as a 'soccer mom' herself, women who had been educated to a high degree, had had successful careers in traditionally male occupations including the financial, business and legal sectors yet had left their careers following motherhood. Stone compared her observation of these women to a media discourse that depicted the trend of women opting out of paid work and returning to the home as a result of their preference or choice. I refer to Stone's study in chapter two as it provided a model to think about the relationship between socio-economic status, employment and motherhood. Stone cites work on mothering practice by Lareau (2003) and Hays (1996) to show how contemporary mothering practice is related to social class location. Both Lareau and Hays observe that it is middle-class families that are subject to intensive and time-consuming parenting practices, practices that are shown to have significant impacts on women. Middle-class mothers' relationship with their children's education has been identified by Reay as another site to explore how class relates to mothering practice (Reay 2002, 2004, 2006; Reay et al. 2008).

This chapter builds on this literature through an examination of the links between social class, work and motherhood in the UK's creative media workforce. Like the highly educated women in Stone's study many of the women in my study had been educated to a high degree, five attending Oxbridge. Many had had successful careers in the industry prior to

motherhood, rising to positions of series producer, director, producer. Like Stone's reflection on her research subject's position my participants were at a professional level where they could afford childcare (although as discussed in the previous chapter unpredictable hours of work meant that childcare was problematic for some) and in theory they would be able to draw on their partner for shared family responsibilities. This chapter explores in detail why this did not happen, why the emerging factor of my research was that it is the creative woman whose career is compromised as a result of parenthood and how that compromise subsequently enhances the career of the creative man.

When analyzing my data I uncovered a pattern that explained the relationship between gender, class, creative labour and motherhood that I label 'the cycle of value-production'. This cycle represents a woman's journey as she enters the industry in equal numbers as her male counterparts but how her experience and progression in the field are altered on account of her gender. Women creative workers in the study provided examples of how they were paid less than their male counterparts, excluded from certain roles, encouraged into the more administrative / management roles within the industry and then experienced the impact of inequality regimes and stigma once they had had a child. They then leave the industry, embrace their new maternal subjectivity and claim their withdrawal from the industry was based on free, empowered choice. Their withdrawal produces a legacy, a myth in the industry that feeds the assumptions and stigmatization of working mothers and is inscribed symbolically on new female entrants who are then paid less than their male counterparts, excluded from certain roles etc. This cycle is legitimized through situated identity and class. This chapter will show how this cycle emerged from the data and how class and concepts of value provide the overarching framework that enables this cycle of value production.

6.2   Social class and the production of value

In my methodology chapter I discuss the emergent finding that many of the women I had spoken to in the pilot round of interviews shared a middle-class background. All were based in London and were sourced through a mixture of my own personal contacts and recommendations. Educationally these women were particularly privileged, six of the nine had attended a private secondary school, they had all attended a Russell Group university and four had been to Oxbridge[29]. The recognized relationship between their class and their employment became a source of anxiety for me as I discuss in chapter three. It also became an interesting platform for analysis, one that drove my further research approach and methodological framework. In the previous two discussion chapters, social class has not been the focus of discussion. Rather I have considered how structures, situations, role models have worked internally on the study participant's concept of themselves. Here my discussion is framed by concepts of class and how the social value inscribed upon the self has an active relationship with the individual's economic value in the industry. In order to explain this framework I want to define how I understand both these concepts of class and value.

As I discuss in chapter two, class is a problematic concept in contemporary academic scholarship. Older mechanisms of employment based class classification were regarded as outdated by many in the academy particularly the creators of the individualization thesis (Beck et al. 1994). Recently there has been an emerging body of literature from the social sciences that has called for revised models of social class which take account of the new economic, social and cultural processes that generate class differences in contemporary society (Crompton 2010; Dorling 2014; Savage et al. 2013; Skeggs 2004; see discussion in chapter one section 1.6). Social theorists interested in new constructions of class have applied

---

[29] In the total sample, five participants had attended an Oxbridge institution at Higher Education. Four out of that five were interviewed in the pilot round.

Bourdieu's framework of class distinction to expose how socio-economic classification cannot be linked to employment but rather the interplay between a social agent's access to the forms of capital – economic, cultural and social, which are inscribed habitually and represent that individual's symbolic capital in society. In chapter one section 1.7 I outline Bourdieu's concept of class distinction based on the relationship that access to capital has on a social agent's ability to enter a certain 'field' a Bourdieusian term that represents a social space one that has "its own laws of functioning" (Bourdieu 1993, p.14). In section 1.7.2 I apply Bourdieu's concept of the 'field' to describe the social composition of the creative media industry, referring to the literature that identifies how the boundaries and systems of the creative field limit entry to only those social actors who have access to the necessary capital in order to play or perform by the rules of the game (O'Brien, D. et al. 2016; Eikhof and Warhurst 2013; Perlin 2011; Randle and Hardy 2016 see also Hesmondhalgh 2006). Women are able to enter the field if they have access to the necessary capital however Bourdieu's framework does not sufficiently account for the gendered dynamics that produce gender inequality within the field. This is where feminist criticism and appropriation of Bourdieu's framework (Moi 1991 see also Adkins and Skeggs 2004; Skeggs 2004a, 2004b; Lovell 2004; Lawler 2000, 2004; Reay 2004) facilitates a discussion on the relationship between gender, capital and habitus within the context of the creative media industry. Gender alters the symbolic capital that the social agent in the field possesses and to understand how that effects women in the field I turn to a discussion on value.

The concept of value that I draw from has been influenced by UK sociologist Skeggs who has developed a body of evidence-based literature around concepts of value and values in contemporary society (1997, 2004, 2010, 2015; Skeggs et al, 2008; Skeggs & Wood, 2011; Skeggs & Loveday 2012). Part of her empirical work has looked at motherhood as a

significant site for value production across class (Skeggs 1997). In her work on value Skeggs applies a Bourdieusian framework to understand how subjects either can or cannot acquire the different forms of capital for exchange which can legitimize their position within certain social fields. This notion of value is derived from economic discourse on exchange (2010). As Skeggs explains, the term value can be split into two constructs: concrete and abstract. The concrete concept of value focuses on the economic relationship between objects and property, labour value and exchange. The abstract is 'slippery' (Skeggs 2010) relating to concepts of morality and what matters to people (Skeggs 2010, p.2).

Much of Skeggs's work on class along with others shows how it is the middle class subject who is defined as the 'subject of value', the "subject of entitlement, acquisition and appropriation who moves across social space with ease constantly entering fields for the conversion and accrual of value" (2011, p. 9). Her research with working class mothers (1997) explores their ability to produce alternative constructions of value as a means to expose dominant mechanisms (Skeggs 1997, 2004, 2010). My research however is concentrated on middle class women or women that occupy a middle class occupational field and thus I appropriate Skeggs's concept of value as a slippery abstract concept to show how middle-class women's value varies depending on the field that she is placed within. In the field of creative media production women occupy a devalued position but as a middle-class mother they are transformed as a subject of value. This position however produces a sense of tension for these women's concepts of themselves and in section 6.5.2 of this chapter I reflect on how women struggle to articulate their devalued / valued position.

In order to provide an example of how these concepts of class and value related to women's marginalization within the industry I return to the anecdote offered by Maddy of her

encounter with a male series producer who told her that the reason female television workers leave the industry was because of their choice to "fuck off and have kids" (see chapter four). As I discussed in chapter four Maddy's anecdote became an 'action code' a code I found compelling and kept returning to (Lois in Charmaz 2014, pp.196-197). As I stated, it took me a while to think about how to code this comment and what it revealed about the wider perception of women in the industry and how that perception is reproduced and reinforced. His point appears to be that investing concrete resources into women in television is pointless, that their abstract value as a mother will result in their withdrawal from the industry. When I looked at this comment I also considered Maddy's situated identity. As I discuss in chapter four I wondered was he giving her a warning? Was her identity (as I state she was a female AP in her late 20s at the time the remark was made) linked to this assumption on female APs and motherhood? Maddy was interviewed in the pilot round and had had the benefit of a privileged education. She had gone to a private school and Russell Group universities for both her undergraduate and postgraduate degrees. She had personal contacts within the industry which facilitated her entry and had been employed on a number of prestigious programmes. And yet despite her background, her success in the industry, her privileged situation she was at the time of interview looking for a route out of the industry because she and her partner were planning to start a family. Her story then represents to me how this cycle of value production operates within the industry and how women's consistent experience of stigma, gendered working cultures and a devalued status leads to a rejection of the industry and subsequent confirmation of Maddy's series producer's concept of women in the industry.

6.3 How this works. Identifying social, cultural and economic capital within the field of creative media

As discussed there has been a recent recognition of the link between class-based inequalities and employment (Crompton 2006, 2010; Savage et al. 2013) with few studies turning their focus to the creative industries (O'Brien et al. 2016; Perlin 2011; Frenette 2013; Randle et al. 2014). Randle et al's study on the social composition of the film and television industries draw from the Bourdieusian framework of field, class and capital, exploring how conditions of entry to the industry are based on subject's access of certain forms of economic, social and cultural capital. Economic, through access to financial support that would enable them to undertake unpaid internships at the entry level (Perlin 2011; Ross 2009; Frenette 2013), cultural through the acquirement of a certain educational background and social through the reliance on contacts and networks in order to secure future work (Randle et al. 2014). Maddy who acknowledged how her own class privilege had enabled her entry to the profession spoke with bitterness about class practices within the industry:

> Maddy: If they really really wanted to teach people how to get into media on these media studies degrees um they should tell them that from day one it's only the privileged and well connected who get it because that is the truth. You know they make a lot of money out of students doing media studies and I think they owe it to them to tell them that.

Kate, who had participated across different sectors of the industry over a 30-year period describes how class based inequalities haven't appeared to change:

> In my opinion the industry has always been very middle class, white male and when I worked in the BBC there was a lot of issues at the time for diversity but it never I mean I don't think the make-up of the industry has really changed that much at all it's still isn't very diverse and the people who work in it tend to have money to fall back on as freelancers or have families that can support them. Even right from the bottom rung of runners taking their first step on the ladder are usually kids from middle class families who can afford to send them up to London and pay for them you know subsidize them because their wages are so low.

The relationship referred to by Maddy between Higher Education and employment within the creative industries is another emerging body of literature that addresses the tensions between political calls for media graduates and the lived realities of creative work (Allen 2013; Allen et al. 2012; Ashton 2014, 2015; Ashton and Noonan 2013; Noonan 2013; Oakley 2013; Pollard 2013; Ross 2011). What emerged from my data however was a specific link between social class and educational background, one that was considered a factor in facilitating the careers of certain subjects within the industry. Donna a mother of one who worked in the television sector recognized that even though she had gone to a good university she did not progress within the industry at the same rate as colleagues who had attended Oxbridge:

> I think there's a lot of frustration around who, you know you try not to think about it as discrimination but then you get to a point when you realise that everyone who is going ahead is male or they went to Oxbridge and you after seeing that for 10 to 13 years you would just have to, you would be stupid not to come to the assumption that it's either something to do with your gender or you're educational background that hasn't given you the confidence to sell yourself in the same way that someone who had went to public school or a first rate university has so I never wanted to think that that was the case but I think experience has taught me that I would be foolish not to realise that that does go on.

I was drawn to Donna's attempt to internalize this and referring back to Kanji and Cahusac's concept of gender inequality and identity change within the workplaces as a 'process extended over time' (2015, p.1516) I apply it to Donna's recognition, developed over time and continued observation that she did not have the same level of cultural capital as colleagues who went to Oxbridge. Donna recognizes though that there is a gender dynamic operating within the industry as those who progress are either male or they went to Oxbridge. This implies women can progress if they have the necessary cultural capital but men are doubly favoured by gender and class.

Going to a prestigious university emerged as an observed factor of career progression by many participants:

Beth: I certainly think if you happened to go to Oxford or Cambridge it doesn't hurt you

Mae: what you have you have these like wunderkinds kind of guys that all of a sudden show up and they're the new Production Executive and they're like 28 or something crazy and then you find out that they all knew each other at Oxford and there's a few of them and you think, 'huh'. And then suddenly a researcher or a work placement lovely young bright kid turns up, recent graduate of Oxford and then you run into him a year later and they're directing and you're just like 'huh! That's interesting'.

I observed that many who spoke of educational background and its impact on employment had worked at the BBC at some point in their career. This was a subject that due to the confidentiality agreement I couldn't develop further as many participants who had worked at the BBC asked that I did not explicitly relate comments on the organization to their narrative. Carol was an exception. She had worked in the radio industry and spent much of her media career within the BBC. She spoke about the class-based practices that facilitated employment progression within the organisation labelling an "old boys network" but stating, "there were a few girls that had the right face too". Like Donna, Carol recognises that access to high levels of cultural capital which are acquired through attendance at a prestigious university can facilitate some women's careers but then men are doubly advantaged by class and gender. Having this educational or cultural capital was not perceived to have an effect on social agent's actual skill or ability and Carol talks of such individuals who were placed in position of power even though they were widely recognised by herself and her contemporaries as being "utterly useless" and how the career progression procedure seemed "totally random", to her related to an individual's educational institution rather than their skill and experience. Bourdieu identifies a hierarchy between social and cultural capital where a subject's access to increased social capital can "make up for their lack of formal qualifications" (2010, p.147) but here I consider attendance at Oxbridge a signifier of cultural, social and economic capital. In chapter one I refer to Bourdieu and Passeron's study of the French school system to show how a system of social processes facilitate which subject's habitual identity, habitus will

succeed in the supposedly meritocratic public school system. In the UK, around 6.5% of the total number of secondary school children are educated at private, independent schools and two thirds of Oxbridge students come from the independent sector (ISC 2016; Boffey 2015). Thus the social composition of the UK's creative media industry does not, as others have argued, represent the diversity of the population but within the field there are further hierarchies linked to heightened levels of capital. This hierarchy I argue is also structured via gender. Gender has a devaluing effect on agents within the field of creative production and in my study I attribute this to the symbolic inscription of the intensive mother.

6.4   Devalued women

In order to support my argument, I present the findings from my data that explore how women are economically devalued within the industry. The following extract is an exchange from my interview with Helen the television director who had at the time of interview completely withdrawn from the industry following the birth of her child. Helen framed her decision to leave the industry as one of free choice and explicitly asserted that she had felt valued by the industry however she also revealed an outright gender divide between her and her partner's pay:

> Helen: so we were both at [name of company removed] at the same time interestingly he always earned more than me even though we were on the same grade.
>
> Tamsyn: Yeah I was going to ask about that.
>
> Helen: Yeah he did he always earned more than me and I actually was slightly ahead of him I was always promoted before him but he was just always we were both researchers but say I'd be on 16 and he'd be on 17 and a half or something.
>
> Tamsyn: Why is that do you know?
>
> Helen: It could have just been a coincidence it could have been because he was male.

She later returned to this subject in the interview:

Helen: I don't know maybe [partner's name removed] was better than me but he was always just slightly better paid.

Tamsyn: That is interesting considering you'd had very similar, I mean you had the same experience same education?

Helen: Yeah

Tamsyn: You go into roughly the same field at the same time and yet he's paid a bit more?

Helen: Yeah.

Helen had met her husband whilst they studied on the same postgraduate course. They had similar class and educational backgrounds so their levels of social and economic capital were equal on entry to the industry. Their key difference was gender. Interestingly, the pay gap that Helen refers to took place before they had had their child and it was the example of how gender had a direct impact on a women's concrete economic value within the industry despite success and experience that led to my theoretical interest in this category. Gender divide regarding pay and progression was noted by many of the interviewees. Naomi who had become a series producer in her early 30s and at the time of interview was working part-time to support her young child noted this gender gap in her career:

> And I don't know if this really counts and I don't know how much of this is real and how much it is kind of in my head or sort of my competitive nature but I think at various times in my career not particularly now but in various times in my career I have felt that if you were male you got more opportunities than if you were female.

She later developed this point and provided concrete examples of how she experienced male progression in the industry in comparison to female:

> Well in terms of promotion, pay is one thing that came up and so somebody that I would have thought that I was on a par with was being paid more than me … and that was a bloke and things like progression there have been times when I've seen that some individuals some males have been promoted to be directors in particular whereas females, me and other females I think have felt overlooked, haven't been given that opportunity.

I was interested in how she framed this inequality as 'in [her] head' or as 'part of my competitive nature'. As I discuss in chapter one part of the argument for the construction of reflexive modernity is the concept of the 'reflexive self' (Giddens, 1991) which is produced through a process of individualization by which the individual is responsible for his or her self-worth and development (Beck et al. 1994). The bi-product of this interiority is the psychological regulation of the individual, the inward self-gaze, the "constantly failing subjects" who are described by Val Walkerdine as essential for the construction of neoliberalism (Walkerdine 2003, p. 241). In Naomi (and Helen's) examples, both were able to recognize and articulate the existence of gender-based inequality within the industry and yet there is a lack of resistance even within the self. Donna's comments about the relationship between gendered and cultural capital as facilitating career progression link to this point. She states that she didn't want to think about it as discrimination. The internalization of a devalued subject position contributes to this cycle of value production whereby women's positions within the industry are so vulnerable that motherhood becomes the attractive alternative a field where, due to their privileged status they are valued. In section 6.5.1 I describe this parallel field of maternal production and how the female creative media worker switches from a devalued subject position to a valued one when she makes the transition from creative worker to mother but first I want to consider how women's devalued position elevates their male counterpart's value at work.

6.4.1 Valued men

> I think when I was pregnant I had a bit of a wobbly and I was saying that I might want to go back to work more you know a lot and he was saying well we'll work something out I think since we've actually had [child's name] it's not really been discussed I think because he's a [job description] it's just mental. But no because I kind of thought that he might offer to do that or maybe do four days a week even one day a week off because you know one of his brothers does that and it works really well for their family and that kind of thing but it hasn't really been offered

In 2014 the UK's Children and Families Act introduced a new system of shared parental leave which enabled fathers to share part of the 39 weeks of previously defined statutory maternity pay. This act would not have been applicable to many of the participants in this study who had had their children prior to 2014 but according to UK legislation all employees have the right to request flexible work (Gov.uk 2016). In the comment above the participant states that her partner had never offered to share the childcare responsibility despite the model of shared responsibility being available in his own family. However at the time of writing this thesis there appears to be a slow take-up by men within the UK for parental leave and flexible work (Osborne 2016) and research on fathers take up of shared parental leave in Norway (Brandth and Kvande 2015) show that their use of equal care quotas alters to women's, confirming their status as secondary carers (p.1). Within my study it was the case that a majority of women had either left, taken time out or had returned to work following the birth of a child rather than their male partners.

> Tamsyn: So how did you manage the childcare and did you split it with your partner at all?
>
> Kate: No my husband also worked in a creative industry and did extremely long hours, so that wasn't possible.
>
> Tamsyn: Have you ever done swaps so he does childcare for a chunk of time?
>
> Eleanor: No no because his wage went up so dramatically that then it became it wasn't really practical for us to swap around for financial reasons and also it was also really tricky because at least for the first year because I was feeding them so I couldn't quite just leave them so yeah it sort of it the shift changed and once you're in that role of being the primary carer it's very difficult to then swap out of it and and yeah I mean obviously I wouldn't have earned anywhere near what he was then earning so yeah.

Eleanor's situation reveals how her husband's value increased following parenthood. Like others in the study, Eleanor worked in the same sector as her partner and at a comparable job level. Like Helen they had met on a Higher Education course. Prior to having children they had a similar wage. It was following parenthood whilst she was on maternity leave with her

first child that her partner's earning power increased and hers decreased as she struggled to find part-time work in her industry that would be both economically viable and compatible with the demands of childcare. This question of how men's economic value increases in the workplace following marriage and parenthood has been widely discussed by feminist theorists (Acker 1990; Adkins, 1999; Wajcman, 1998; Smithson and Stokoe, 2005). As Skeggs states this knowledge that "women's domestic labour has been central to the reproduction of capital but that it has been made invisible, surplus and naturalized" (2010, p.29). Smithson and Stokoe (2005) talk of the "generic female parent" and the "generic he" of the traditional worker (p.156) a symbolic and gendered divide. In the next section I want to discuss how this gendered concept of value is symbolically inscribed into the creative worker and has an operational effect on women's experiences of labour within the industry.

The following extract taken from the data provides an example of how this symbolism operates and is internalized. Flora, whose narrative has been referred to in previous chapters, was a member of a 'marriage team' a concept drawn from Adkin's observation married couples' employment partnerships in the tourist industry (Adkins, 1999). Both Flora and her husband worked in the media industry in different job roles and she described a moment when both partners were offered work by the same media organization, albeit different departments, within the same month. This was following the birth of their second child when Flora was describing a period of time that she was attempting to return to work. Both she and her partner requested flexibility for childcare arrangements. The female partner's request was rejected and she was told that she would be expected to work excessive hours and weekends[30]

---

[30] The European Union Working Time Directive determine the number of hours that workers are required to work within the UK however, individual workers can agree to opt-out of the regulated 48hour week. It is common practice within the creative media industry to sign an opt-out form when negotiating an employment contract and is often a requirement of the employer. This was something I was subject to when working within the creative media industry. Bectu has been campaigning against the individual opt-out clause since it was introduced in 1999. (Bectu 2016)

whereas her husband's request was granted. Like other participants in this study rather than questioning the response that she received for her request through formal mechanisms (e.g. trade unions, senior management) she internalized the situation as one of choice, putting her children and maternal role before her worker identity:

> So that was the hardest weekend I've ever had ever I cried and cried because for me that was a turning point where my career I put myself in that position and they said to me look at it on the positive side because at least you were offered the job and you went for the job and you went for an interview and it gets your confidence back up and I really wanted to do the job but for me it was kind of like the choice of my life where I put my girls, put being a mother over my career which is really hard when all you'd know for your career and I'd worked so hard you know.

At the time of interview this participant had not returned to work. What I was interested in this anecdote was how her internalization of 'choice', putting her children before her career had created a sense of loss in her own valued identity as a creative worker. In addition, her sacrifice enabled her husband's sense of value. As I read her description of events it felt that he had been deemed worthy of accommodating flexibility because he was worthy of investment, whereas the mother was not and therefore no offers for compromise were made. In the last chapter I talked about the stigma attached to a mother requesting flexibility for childcare rather than men and included a comment by Grace,

> It will be it will be the men who will start saying oh let's jobshare and then all of a sudden all the Exec males will say 'yeah let's do that' whereas if a woman suggested it it wouldn't you know well you know need to be a mum, there would still be some stigma attached to it.

I want to suggest here that there is a relationship between stigma and value inscribed on the female body which is related to motherhood and identity. The stigma around motherhood and the expectations that it is the mother who is the natural parent is symbolically inscribed into the female creative worker's 'habitus' and has an impact on how she is valued throughout her career in the industry whether she is planning to have a child or not. This creates a situation

which benefits men within the industry and inscribes onto them a 'person of value' (Skeggs 2010). In the next section I develop this relationship further, framing more examples of how male partners directly benefit from women's devalued place in the industry and valued place in the home.

6.4.2　How men benefit from motherhood within the industry

As previously mentioned there is a body of feminist literature on how capitalism has benefitted from unpaid and unvalued female labour in the domestic sphere (Acker 1973, 1990; Walby 2011; Perrons 2000; Oakley, A. 1976; Wajcman 1998; Skeggs 2010). Part of the individualization thesis that underscores reflexive modernity was the claim that new models of labour produced through technological innovation would free women from traditional constructs of domesticity, enabling equal participation in the paid sphere of work (Giddens 1994; Hakim 2006). However research on organizational cultures has revealed that whereas fatherhood raises a man's status in the workplace because of the wider assumption that a father will have a partner who can manage his domestic responsibilities, translating into promotion and pay, motherhood reduces the status of women (Hodges and Budig in Kanji and Cahusac 2014, p.58 see also McRobbie 2009 and Wajcman 1998). Adkins's term for this is the 'retraditionalization' of gender roles within the individualization thesis to describe the phenomenon of female labour's 'appropriation' in both the home and the workplace within the context of reflexive modernity (1999).

I found this concept of appropriation and the implications for women interesting in relation to my own research. I have already referred to Adkins's concept of 'marriage teams' that operate within individualized organization and applied the concept to Flora's situation referred to above (Adkins, 1999). Amy ran a company with her husband and had been able to bypass

inequality regimes in the creative workplace through working from home and combining her

work identity with her maternal (see section 5.3.2 when she describes being able to continue

breastfeeding and work to reaffirm her commitment to a maternal identity). The following

extract came from her interview:

> Tamsyn: So why did you decide to set up the company together?
>
> Amy: Just because so after I had [child's name] I found dealing with the stress of work really difficult because there was so much work coming in and I just I couldn't manage it all on my own plus taking care of him and so and he was freelancing so we just kind of thought well why doesn't he take some of that stress from me and rather than farming the costs out to getting someone else to help me we can share the income if that makes sense.
>
> Tamsyn: Yeah. And do you share the childcare as well?
>
> Amy: Of course not (laughs)
>
> Tamsyn: Oh right
>
> Amy: No I mean, you know, that's still totally relies on me.

In this case she demonstrates how her husband's career is enabled both through her individual

work but also through the domestic support she takes on with managing childcare. The

naturalization of this situation was apparent by her delivery of this information, "[o]f course

not" representing the double burden (Hochschild 2012) required of her in the home and the

workplace.

Another participant who had had a parallel career in the same sector as her male partner

described his refusal to engage in childcare:

> Sinead: until this point basically he's been the breadwinner and that's our deal I do the childcare if you do breadwinning, traditional set up really because I think I wanted children more than him anyway but also he really didn't like the idea of being, he just didn't want to do childcare at all.

I was interested in how she was able to legitimize her partner's choice not to parent as part of

a deal based on her greater desire to have children. In both examples, the female partner's

labour has been appropriated for the benefit of the male worker with one case resulting in the withdrawal of the female from the industry. In Sinead's case her career is sacrificed for the benefit of her husband and their children. Lois in her article in the temporal emotional work of mothers describes how sacrifice is 'an integral part of the cultural definition of mothering' (Lois 2010, p.424) but in this case this sacrifice is tied up with the neo-liberal project of individual choice (Rose 1990), even desire "I wanted children more than him". As such, maternal sacrifice becomes a naturalized process of individual agency but one that directly benefits their male partner.

Amelia a mother of two was another member of a 'married team' and on maternity leave with her second child at the time of interview. Both she and her husband worked for the same company and she was able to discuss her experience of work following her first period of leave and the altered domestic shift in their relationship:

> I think um part of the reason that we have found it difficult as a family is that my husband works in the industry and he's not home you know … the reality is that I work fewer hours in the office so I do the washing, I do the cooking I do the online grocery ordering um all that stuff it's not like I get home and you know quite often he wouldn't be home until 10 o clock at night so yeah so balancing that is difficult and yes it's funny because we've sort of had those conversations like our home life is a lot better when I don't work.

Amelia had returned to work on a part time contract and like Amy she performed the double shift taking responsibility for the domestic management of the home alongside part-time paid work. She notes that their combined home life is better "when I don't work" not stating that it would be better if her partner shared some of the domestic responsibilities. The domestic division of labour is an ongoing area of research (see Bould et al. 2012; Oakley 1976; Hochschild 2012; Wheelock et al. 2003) and Amelia's failure to recognize the gender divide in her relationship fits a pattern of denial that emerged in Hochschild's study. She did however recognize her devalued status within the company:

like for example I've worked there for 12 years and I have never had just a cost of living pay increase and at my last appraisal I was told that there was nothing else within the role that I was doing that I could do any better but I was given a cost of living increase, not even cost of living. And I was kind of told that because I wasn't a client facing Producer on that particular job that I was doing that it wasn't viewed as a proper Producer role at which point I was like "well hang on a minute". Basically it felt like I was being told that I'd been demoted and I kind of came back and said "just because I've had children it doesn't mean that have no career ambition where do I go from here" and yes money comes into that, it's not just about you know jobs and titles.

Amelia recognizes that her economic capital had been decreased as a result of her new employment status as a part time worker and mother. Her role had changed because of the times that she asked to work and the international nature of the company that she worked for which meant she switched from being a client facing Producer however she expresses her frustration that she wasn't offered any solution to her situation "where do I go from here". In her narrative Amelia refers to situations which confirmed her devalued habitus within the company. One example is her recognition that she was no longer invited to attend events that she had previously been invited to before she had children. She provides an anecdote of a conversation with a colleague where she stated: "I feel like I am more valuable to this company now as my husband's wife than as a Producer". As stated I interviewed her during her second period of maternity leave when she was considering leaving her job:

I think that's why this time around if they're not prepared to meet me where I want to be then I'll just say alright you know what? They'd still get stuff out of me from the advice that I give my husband anyway.

What I found particularly interesting about this comment was how her status as a mother and the double shift that she performs at home and at work is appropriated by her husband and the company that they worked for. Her husband benefits from the work she carries out in the domestic sphere, enabling him to perform the working conditions of the ideal creative worker and thus indirectly benefitting the company, but that company itself benefits from the unpaid advice that she is able to provide via her husband. Her value remains as naturalized and

hidden, legitimizing the economic decision not to give her a pay increase. Within the 'politics of value' (Skeggs, 2011) it is her husband that is attributed with the personhood attached to the worker, he is the 'reflexivity winner' (Lash in Adkins 1999) and yet his value is dependent on his wife's support and advice.

This section has looked at how both men and the industry benefit from women's devalued status as creative workers within the creative media industry. Concrete economic practices such as pay, job progression, support for breastfeeding at work, flexible work are not provided to the undervalued female worker, however job flexibility can be granted to a man for a childcare reasons because the male worker is seen as the 'person of value' and therefore worthy of investment. Rather than exposing the injustice, the strategy that women used to come to terms with their experience was to internalize it and then leave the industry (see last chapter which dealt specifically of how the structures and mechanisms of the industry relied on certain type of person that women rejected) and their withdrawal from the industry into motherhood increases the value of the male worker. Throughout this section I have referred to a specific practice of motherhood as inscribed on the female creative worker and so in the next section I look specifically at what that practice is.

6.5   Motherhood, class and parenting

The relationship between motherhood, class and parenting has been a topic that has received academic interest (Walkerdine and Lucey 1989 in Lawler 2000; Reay 1998, 2004; Lawler 2000, 2004, 2005; Gilles 2007; Skeggs 1997). In chapter two I looked at the literature that exposed the construction of motherhood, looking at how mothering practice had shifted from being a fixed, passive state to an active, fluid and situated identity. In my discussion I looked

at second wave feminist discourse on the oppression of women as a result of their maternal identity and the subsequent criticism of this discourse for essentializing the experiences of white, middle-class women (see discussion in chapter two). Although the criticism of second wave feminist discourse stimulated alternative depictions of situated identity and its relationship to motherhood which has developed feminist epistemology, I have found returning to second wave feminist arguments on motherhood useful to construct my argument on the relationship between class, motherhood and oppression in the context of creative labour. Friedan's concept for example of 'the problem that has no name' (1963) can be appropriated as a platform to think about the cycle of value production that works against women in the creative industry and leaves them without a mechanism of resistance. Applying the arguments about maternal transition, reproduction and oppression that were generated by second wave feminist discourse on motherhood within the context of the contemporary neoliberal reflexive society allows me to consider how mothers' experience of oppression in relation to creative media work has remained silent and unnoticed.

In May 2015 *The Sociological Review* produced a special issue dedicated to sociologies of class and current debates on class theory. Skeggs makes the point in her introduction to the special issue that throughout the postmodern rejection of class she and other feminist researchers (she cites Arnot 1979; Griffin 1985; Walkerdine and Lucey 1989; Skeggs 1997; Reay 1998 see Skeggs 2015, p.206) had fought to "keep the issue of class on the wider British political social science agenda" (ibid.) and much of their research is centered on the relationship between class and motherhood either through how mothers are depicted in the media (Tyler 2008) or through their involvement with their children's education (Reay 1998). Lawler in her book *Mothering the Self* looks at class as a factor in the construction of good mothering and how women who have gone through a process of upward social mobility have

rejected their experience of working class mothering (2000). Their body of work suggests that despite the claim that there are new understandings and definitions of class (Savage and Devine, 2015) motherhood as a classed and constructed act has remained continually explored for being so.

It is by bringing the literature on the oppression of motherhood, the classed production of motherhood together with the emerging scholarly interest on classed based practices in the creative media industry (O'Brien. D. et al. 2016; Perlin; Frenette; Randle et al. 2016) that I place my original contribution to knowledge. Where gender inequality in the creative media sector has been a recognized site for knowledge production, class inequality in the industry is an area in need of further investigation (Randle et al. 2014), and the classed construction of motherhood is a developed literary canon. What my research uncovered was how the position of the female creative media worker is linked symbolically to the classed construction of the intensive mother, and this becomes a site of oppression within the cycle of value production. What happens to the female creative worker who internalizes the consistent gendered devaluing within the creative media industry is that she transfers to a different field, one that is related to the creative media industries but one where her classed based identity is valued, normalized and (following Friedan 1963; Rich 1986; Oakley 1981) oppressed. Her ability to withdraw from paid work and transfer to an alternative field is dependent on her socio-economic status. Once again applying Bourdieu, it is the classed habitus that operates within the field of creative media production that enables women to leave. Their status as middle-class mothers is supported financially (although in some cases precariously as Kim's observation of what would happen should her freelance husband brake his leg) by their valued partners. This is a point I return to in section 6.6 when I consider the experiences of those

participants whose situations provide a counter-example of combining creative work and motherhood.

6.5.1   Motherhood: a related field of maternal production?

In Bourdieu's framework, fields relate to other fields. David Hesmondhalgh in his application of Bourdieu's theory to media and cultural production describes how the two fields that Bourdieu writes most about – the economic and political fields compose the 'field of power' and that other fields, the fields of education, religion, various cultural fields are both autonomous and interconnected to the field of power (Hesmondhalgh 2006). The field is determined by the different levels of capital that operate within it so in Bourdieu's example the field of power is characterized by high levels of economic capital and low levels of cultural capital whereas the field of cultural production has the reverse composition (Bourdieu 1996/1992 in Hesmondhalgh 2006, p.213). The fields of cultural consumption are related to the field of power through the production of goods for cultural consumption. What Bourdieu does not consider is how capital is dispersed via gender. Steph Lawler in a study on broadsheet newspaper representations of two predominantly female-led protests against the housing of sex-offenders in local communities exposes how class and gender can become "incorporated into embodied selves" (2004, p.110). Lawler's study looks at two geographically different protests, one that took place in the London suburb of Balham and led primarily by middle-class mothers in the community the second taking place in Paulsgrove, Portsmouth on a working class housing estate. Lawler exposes how the press coverage constructed the Balham protesters as "devoted mothers, vigilant rather than vigilante" with no reference to their personal appearance, homes or incomes only a recognition of their "solidly professional" jobs (p.114). The Paulsgrove women however were "consistently presented in disgusted and dismissive terms" with Lawler identifying a continued vilification of their

appearance, their ignorance and "their inadequacy as mothers" (p.115). Thus Lawler describes how a middle class media confers a habitual identity onto the subjects it represents "in ways which normalized middle-class identities and pathologized working class identities" (p.114). However, I want to add that the normalization, even celebration of middle-class motherhood as habitually inscribed on the female ironically acts to devalue women's position within the media industry itself.

What differs between the classed experiences of motherhood is the working-class subject is made to feel aware that they are 'other'. The example of the Paulsgrove women in Lawler's study along with other scholarship on how working class women are represented in the media (Skeggs and Wood 2008, 2011; Tyler 2008) the social discourses that set mothers up against each other, making motherhood a classed activity holding middle-class practice as the ideal. In Skeggs's study on working-class motherhood, the women in her study displayed awareness of their marginalized position and used it to construct alternative concepts of value through a process that she labels 'becoming respectable' (1997). For the middle-class women in my study, there was little recognition of oppression of being othered because they are the norm. Any sense of oppression was internalized, linked to the concept of the self-regulating individual. So what emerged in the data were accounts from women who affirmed that their decision to leave the industry was an act of free will. Transitioning to the maternal field led to a sense of empowerment, even pride that the maternal self produced new opportunities for pleasure and fulfillment (Sinead's comment used in section 5.4.1 contributed to this category).

Helen for example talks of how all the intensity that she put into her role in television is now transferred to her role as a mother:

Helen: now all that energy I put into work I put into this. So even though it's not what I thought I'd be doing … I now put all my effort into her making sure she's got everything that she needs, doing stuff with her and then the house the family you know.

Later on she describes the processes of her domestic labour:

But now I try to do everything, I make dinner for [husband's name] you know I do all the housework I try and make everything run smoothly I try and budget, because now we're on one income so I do all of those things that your mum did, you know that mums did that's what I now do and I do get a certain amount of pride and satisfaction in doing it also I don't feel guilty ever about [child's name] and I don't feel stretched that I am running from one place to another so whatever I do it will have to come second to that now for the foreseeable future now I know it will change again as she gets older because the one thing that I know for certain is that you just do not know how you're gonna feel (laughter).

She also frames her value through her freedom from guilt regarding her child. In her sense 'guilt' is associated with not being the ideal intensive or middle class mother and therefore 'running from one place to another' implying managing both work and motherhood. Helen's work in the home also contributes to her husband's valued status as a creative worker as discussed in the previous section her labour is 'appropriated' to enable him to be the 'reflexivity winner' (Adkins 1999).

Some women spoke of the parallels between their work in the industry and their work as a mother. Sadie compared how she managed and operated in the home to her role as a producer:

Tamsyn: How does it compare to motherhood being a producer?

Sadie: I think it's the same. What I've learned from producing is organizing and how to budget like when I was doing up this house those skills I learned as a producer you know get in the builder the architect managing those kind of teams every element in this house.

She goes on to celebrate her position as a mother in comparison to her role within the industry. Like Rosie and Sophia (who's discussion I referred to in the previous chapter)

becoming a mother for her provided an escape route to the conditions of work in creative media:

> Anyway after I had the baby it was like 'oh my god I'm on holiday'. I really felt like work was the hardest thing ever and having a child was the easiest thing ever because I could concentrate on one thing when I was at work I was doing 4, 5 budgets, 2 shoots back to back you know like a shoot a shoot a shoot a shoot when the child came along all I had to concentrate on was the baby and that was it.

Linked however to a recognition of their valued place in their maternal field and their celebration of a new maternal self (see discussion in the last chapter) was a sense of loss that emerged from the data. Stone described this as a "wistful sense of loss" (Stone 2007, p.1) in her study of high-achieving professional women who exit the workplace. In the next section I talk about this sense of loss, regret that emerged from my interviews with women who had left the industry and struggled to recognize the gendered oppression that they had been subject to.

6.5.2   A "wistful sense of loss" (Stone 2007, p.1)

> "When I spoke to new mothers, it seemed to me that although a child and new love has been born, something else within them had passed away, and the experience was made harder because at some level, underneath their joy in their babies, these women were quietly in mourning for this part of their earlier selves." (Wolf 2001 in Baraitser 2009, p. 49).

In her study on chronically ill patients Kathy Charmaz discovered the wider social impact of serious illness that illness affected the sufferer's sense of self and their value of their individual self. Charmaz later labeled this process as a 'transcendence of self' (1991). Like Charmaz, I have used a grounded theory approach to articulate the impact of motherhood on women creative workers. In doing so I have found that women's experience of motherhood is complex, multiple and dependent on a number of social and psychological variables but that

women undergo a similar 'transcendence of self' when they enter a new subjective domain of motherhood.

In the last chapter I discussed how it was women's inability to occupy their former self, to practice the conditions required of the ideal creative worker that contributed to their decision to leave the industry. In this section I want to look at how that loss was the loss of a valued self. Like the reference to Wolf made at the start of this section I have found that for many of the women who either left the industry or experienced 'occupational downgrade' there was a loss of value to their identity which was complicated by the emergence of this newly valued maternal self. This data emerged when I asked women directly if they felt the industry had lost anything as a result of their withdrawal and what they valued the most about their work. When I asked Sinead if she could imagine herself returning to her creative work as her children got older she described herself as a "husk of a person" indicating that she felt she no longer had any value because it had all been invested into her partner and her children (she had been an award-winning animation director before becoming a mother). Kim spoke of her dissatisfaction with her maternal identity:

> And so when I had maternity leave of course I adored my baby and that was always something that I hoped I would have um but I needed to keep my brain going to I started making stuff and selling it and then I ran craft classes for mums so I've done bits and bobs not that that's a career I think it's only earned me about 1000 pounds in a year um it's just keeping my hand in and I've always got lists of things that I'd like to do, courses that I'd like to do. But I do sometimes sit here and think what am I going to do as a career because I need to do something I mean the last year has proven that I can't just sit back, I find her amazing I find being a mother amazing I find the sort of laps to the park and coffees with people tedious, I mean I've met some lovely people but it gets to the point when I think I can't do this anymore I need to be doing something but I think what the other problem with television work and production is that on paper your skills are not transferable. It's very hard for someone who doesn't understand how it works to understand that actually if you've been a producer or a director for a long time that actually, or in my case in my particular job it's not just about making a pretty picture out of what you see it's far more than that it's about dealing with people, managing people managing big teams you know and that's, to try and explain that to someone who hasn't got experience in that field they kind of don't

get that those skills are transferable so in terms of finding something else then I think I'd have to retrain.

This extract from her interview raised a number of interesting points. The first being her dissatisfaction with the valued role of middle class motherhood that she describes – the 'tedious' social network and the fact that she found it dissatisfying to not be creatively productive. The second was how she felt about her lack of transferable skills. That her role as a Producer / Director would not be recognized as project and team management but as a frivolity "making a pretty picture". This added to the sense of precarity in her situation as the ideal middle class motherhood as discussed in the previous section. Her lack of value in the industry bars her from returning to work and yet here she reveals fear that being a creative worker is undervalued in the wider world of work.

Another of the participants that I have drawn from extensively in this study, Helen described how she had felt after meeting a former colleague in her place of work:

> And I went upstairs to the office where we did it, most of it and I honestly wanted to burst into tears when I saw the office because I was like "oh my god I used to be able to you know do this and what did I do? An hour in the toilet with her. You know. So I wouldn't say completely over it but definitely much better than I was.

She spoke of avoiding industry related press or former colleagues because of the feelings they produced which had an active effect on her relationship with her child:

> But as soon as I see it then I feel like jealous because I feel jealous of all these … and if I see people that I've worked with in telly I get jealous and I get annoyed you know with [child's name] the only time I feel annoyed with [child's gender] is when I want to have a conversation with somebody from my old life.

The rejection of the ideal middle class mother came from others in the study and Susan articulated this with a sense of frustration and boredom,

> I mean I had the idea that I wanted to be a stay at home mum to look after my kids for the first year but then I get twitchy and bored and as much as I love my kids I want to identify as myself again rather than as just a mum and that may be a sense of

insecurity I don't know but I kind of feel like I've got all this background in something and I was very proud of it and um so especially coming from the background that I come from where I didn't know anyone in telly, no higher education I kind of felt proud of what I'd achieved and so it was kind of it was hard staying, being in an environment where nobody knew what I'd achieved and my sense of myself kind of wasn't as high as it was when I was working and I felt that I needed that kind of sort of attention is the wrong word I felt I needed to feel like someone .... so I think I am one of these people who can't really be a stay at home mum, isn't quite happy being a stay at home mum, yeah.

Kim, Helen and Susan's references to frustration, boredom the tediousness of children were factors that informed second wave feminist discourse on oppressive motherhood (Friedan 1963; Oakley 1976, 1981; Rich 1986). Susan articulates a need to feel valued as a worker and recognizes that motherhood is a lesser valued position in society when she states "my sense of myself kind of wasn't as high as it was when I was working". Like other participants in the study, she internalizes this situation "may be a sense of insecurity". Later in her interview this internalization has an active role in how she feels in her ability as a creative worker:

> You know there's a part of me that's thinking perhaps I am a bit crap you know perhaps it's just I'm not good enough because it happened and you're thinking well. I don't know, I don't know…

The structural barriers and stigma that prevent her from re-entering the industry (Susan's narrative was referenced in chapter four with the description of her attempts to re-enter the industry) are masked through this process of internalization exposing as McRobbie has argued the psychological impact of self-reflexivity (2009).

What emerged from this data was this sense of ambivalence between the middle class mother who was a former creative worker. That her class, her gender and her identity as a mother trap her and this sense of feeling trapped was having an active impact on her sense of self:

> To be honest Tamsyn it's very timely that you're speaking to me because it's a daily conversation that I have and a real struggle especially this time of year as well just a real January blues where I'm very aware that, so I've got this physical limitation but I

have an emotional need to feel like I'm worth something, I've got something to give that I'm valuable.

In my concluding chapter I consider the legacy of the loss of mothers to the creative media industry and recent data which suggests that this pattern of female withdrawal is not subsiding (Follows et al. 2016; EWA 2016a, 2016b). What I argue, as derived from my empirical evidence is a theoretical claim that women are branded as potential mothers from the moment they enter the creative media industry because they carry with them habitually inscribed symbols of middle-class motherhood. The stigma attached to working successful women, the expectation that the majority of women will 'fuck off and have kids' (Maddy) and the gendered working cultures, inequality regimes that operate within the industry mean that these women are left "between a rock and a hard place" (Stone 2007, p.111). Despite wider myths, assumptions and declarations of 'choice' many of the women in this study attempted to combine creative work and motherhood and proclaimed their desire to return to the industry. Mae, who was fighting to keep her job at the time of interview which was under threat as a direct result of the inequality regimes discussed in the previous chapter articulated this position and indicates the wider implications of her withdrawal:

> It's the only thing that I've ever done in my life that allows me to use every single one of my skills my curiosity for people's stories my skills with cameras um crafting skills, editing them I like doing the rough cuts and the edits I can't even tell you the deep satisfaction I get when I've edited something I've filmed and do you know what? I don't care what anyone says you put me in a room with a camera in an observational documentary I can outshoot any of those guys and I know I will get access to people because I am so friendly and not threatening I get access to people's stories better than other people and I earn people's trust and to be able to use that with the technical skills and then tell people's stories it's an amazing thing and it's sad, it's sad that I'll have to leave it you know?

Mae's self-awareness of her skills and the value that she brings to her profession "I can outshoot any of those guys" and "I can get access to people's stories better than other people" to me contribute to a sense of loss to the industry as a result of these women's withdrawal. The legacy of this loss is something I discuss in further detail in the final chapter but I include

Mae's narrative here as her situation exposes the hard position that women are faced with as a combined result of stigma, inequality regimes and devalued status. Mae had been demoted after motherhood because of the inequality regimes of combining work / childcare (I refer to her interview in the previous chapter) and as I state, at the time of interview was involved in an employment dispute around her contract and her status which if she lost would result in her exiting the workplace. This was not her desire, like the women in Anne O'Brien study (2014) she was being 'pushed out' by the offer of a devalued position. In our conversation she remarks "I'm still hoping for a miracle" and following that:

> even though this is the only thing that I've done unless they can come up with some brilliant strategy to make this work I can't see this working because one thing I won't compromise is my son.

Her comment related to Anna's included in the previous chapter when she states that women should be able to compete and have babies. I would argue that the gain of the valued 'mother' self is problematic and precarious. Mae articulates that she won't compromise her son but still indicates her commitment to stay within the industry. She also shows how "this is the only thing I've done" linking to others who mentioned how little their media skills transferred to other working sectors outside of the industry heightening their precarious position and causing further self-reflection. The frustration and dissatisfaction was apparent in the participant data but much of the discomfort was lost through the pervasive presence of postfeminist discourses of choice. Like Gill (2014) I have found that motherhood masks other operating inequalities in the creative media industries but also motherhood provides a subject through which we can expose intersecting inequalities. That is because the symbolic presence of motherhood is bound up in the female who is subjected to a social construction of the mother, a construction that is based on class and although not discussed racial / cultural constructions of motherhood.

6.6   Counter subjects. The mothers who remained.

Not every woman that participated in this study had either left the industry following the birth of a child or felt that they had to sacrifice either their maternal or creative identity. In this section I want to summarize one participant's experience of combining motherhood and creative work to represent those whose experience provides a counter to this thesis's argument that the demands of middle class motherhood are symbolically inscribed on the female creative value and contribute to a consistent stigmatization and devaluation of the female creative worker.

Amanda worked at a senior level in the games industry had had her first child at the age of 24. She had been abandoned by her partner during pregnancy and had entered the gaming industry after she had become a mother. She identified herself as coming from a working-class background but admitted she currently lived a very affluent lifestyle as a result of her career. She had also remarried and had another child. She describes how her situation as a single mother as driving her desire to develop a successful career.

> And I mean I say all of this to you if I'd have chosen to live a different lifestyle I could have done part time I could have had some sort of support via the benefits system but I didn't want to do that I always wanted to earn my own money and give [child's name] a good what I consider to be a good standard of living.

Amanda articulates her two options as a single mother from a working-class background were to either to get "support via the benefits system" or develop her career. Her career success was built on her strategy of 'managing like a man' as discussed in chapter four. When I asked if she had taken any maternity leave following the birth of her second child her response was:

> I went into hospital, I had [child's name] and I came back out the same day and as I arrived at my house the contract was being faxed through for me to check and to sign and I continued working so no I didn't.

Following the discussion of the stigma of 'hard core women' in the first chapter and how their

perceived commitment to work was rejected by many of the mothers' in this study because it

seemed to them to be reliant on a rejection of the intensive, maternal identity Amanda's need

to go back to work the day after her second child was born could be seen as an example that

supports this stigma. And yet Amanda spoke incredibly positively of her role as a mother,

accounting for feelings of guilt that being a working mother creates:

> Well obviously it was a little bit challenging because when I became pregnant I didn't realise I was going to have to be a mother on my own so that kind of shaped it a little but I loved being a mum. I still love being a mum my two girls are the best things that have ever happened to me in my life. They're the most wonderful girls you know and even though I've found it really challenging at times over the years because of this whole guilt thing and the thing is Tamsyn that might just be me (laughs) I might just be a guilt ridden person but I think a lot of working women with children I think they spend a lot of time feeling torn, feeling like they're not giving 100% to anything because you know it's just difficult but yes so so glad that I was a mother.

Her status as a single mother exposes the precarity of many of the women in heterosexual

relationships whose intensive mothering is enabled by the financial support of their partner.

As Kim recognized in the last chapter however, her situation would change if her husband

broke his leg and she would be forced to go back to work. Thus women who exit the industry

are placed in a precarious position, reliant on their partner's financial support but if their

situation should change, faced with the barriers to employment that taking time out of creative

work and motherhood produce. Like the women in Stone's study, the women I interviewed

who had left the industry remain "between a rock and a hard place" (Stone 2007, p.111).

Another interesting factor about Amanda was her age. Amanda and two other participants in

this study where in the 50+ age bracket and all three had continued to develop their careers

beyond motherhood and were still active in the industry at the time of interview. Statistically,

older women in the creative workforce are significantly under-represented. Skillset's 2010

workforce survey data revealed that the total representation of workers in the 50+ age bracket

was 20% and 16% of which were women. Issues of ageism have been recognized as having an impact on how older women are represented on screen (BFI and U3A 2010; Cumberbatch et al. 1999) and in the workplace. In 2010 Miriam O'Reilly a television presenter was sacked from BBC television programme *Countryfile* because of her age despite being 15 years younger than her male co-presenter John Craven (BBC News 2011). O'Reilly filed a lawsuit against the BBC for both age and gender discrimination and won on the age claim but interestingly not on gender. The legal system failed to acknowledge the intersectional relationship between gender and age in the context of creative media work. One of the participants in this group remarked jokingly that the scarcity of women over the age of 50 was so apparent in the industry they all knew each other

> Caroline: We've all realized that we are in that from that survey we are in that 4% of women over the age I think it was 55 who are still working.
>
> Tamsyn: It's a small percentage
>
> Caroline: It's tiny and I seem to know all of them and they're a great bunch.

What was different between the 50+ women in my study and the women who had younger children was not that the structural and institutional sexism of the industry has changed, but that expectations and pressures of motherhood have changed. This is something that Stone also observes in her study, that demands and expectations placed on parents have increased in the past 20 years related to the emergence of a new regime of governance over parenting which has had specific implications for middle-class mothers (Blair-Loy 2003; Crompton 2006; Daly 2010, 2013; Hays 1996; Lareau 2003; Lawler 2000; Lee et al. 2014; Walkerdine 2003). The situation of older women in the creative media workforce is an area that requires further detailed qualitative research. This was one of the factors that emerged in my data however due to factors including confidentiality (one of the participants who spoke of unfair dismissal practices asked specifically that I did not include detailed information) and also lack

of data (as mentioned only three women in the study were in the 50+ age bracket although other women did mention their experience or lack of experience with older women in the industry) this category did not become my theoretical focus. It is an area I include in my final chapter for further development. For this section however I wanted to include Amanda's story to explore how it is practices of parenting that have changed in the past 20 years and how mothers today are subject to regulating practices that make their participation in the professional and creative workforce difficult.

6.7   Conclusion

McRobbie in her work on the postfeminist regulation of female identity talks of "new modalities of symbolic violence" through how women should act, look and behave (2004, pp.101-2). I want to apply this to motherhood. Middle class motherhood is an ideal which regulates all women. Those that are 'othered' and placed on the margins of this ideal are mocked, criticized and have their children branded (Lawler 2004) and those that are expected to conform to this ideal are valued as mothers but then governed and controlled by this identity. The cycle of value production that I have described which operates within the creative media industry is one way to think about the processes and mechanisms that contribute to new regimes of sexism that operate within the creative media industry (Gill 2014). Stone makes the point:

> "We are witnessing only the second generation of educated women to combine work and family in large proportions. For this group, the combination is relatively recent and potentially most fragile" (Stone 2007, p.15).

The women that I interviewed for this PhD are part of this second generation. How they differed from Stone's participants who all entered traditionally male dominated careers like law and finance, my participants chose to develop careers in the "brave new world" of work

238

(Beck 2000 in Deuze 2007, p.21). What their experience reveals is the pervasiveness of traditional gender roles, they expose the 'retraditionalization' of gender within the new economic sphere. In my opening introduction I stated that there have been changes to the ways in which we work, however my study which has focused on the values, feelings, experiences of women following a feminist epistemological framework has revealed that these technical and economic changes have not resulted in the social changes that were predicted. In the next chapter I want to consider the legacy of female withdrawal on the workforce. Not just on the individual women but for future generations of creative workers in the making. I want to think about the links between female employment within the industry and the wider representation of female subjects in media discourse. Finally, I want to summarize the areas of this study that due to limitations of ethics, time, capacity and word-count I wasn't able to develop and provide a list of recommendations for future research and action.

Chapter seven: the legacy of this loss

> Eleanor: It's tricky because I've got 2 daughters and yeah I think both my husband and I find it difficult because we ... it isn't, it doesn't work as it is for mums, it doesn't. I literally I don't know any mum who is still in it. So yeah it's difficult I want to encourage my daughters to do whatever they want to do but at the same time you know the realistic situation is that it's currently not compatible. I don't want it to stay like that, that's you know, but it is really hard. Both my husband and I both do really genuinely believe that it should be equal opportunities for everyone in terms of as long as you work hard and you have the talent and the ability you should be able to do the job but the industry is not like that it won't allow for differences in circumstances in terms of the mother and father it doesn't work like that. I find it really difficult I'm really torn because I want to encourage my children but at the same time I look at them and I know they're daughters and I know that in this industry it is not great so I would really love them to aim for a job that is really safe (laughs) and that they will enjoy. It's hard it's really hard… I don't know.

In the final stages of writing up this thesis a number of studies emerged which related to the question of gender inequality, employment and motherhood in both the creative media industry and the wider working sector (Costa Dias et al. 2016; Wells 2015; Follows et al. 2016; EWA 2016a, 2016b: 2016; Raising Films 2016). What this data represents is a cohesive, statistical body of evidence that ties gender inequality in the working sphere to the gendered consequences of parenthood. In 2016 Directors UK a campaigning support body for British screen directors produced a research report specifically into the question of female under-representation in the film industry (Follows et al. 2016). The research team analyzed the production credits of 2591 UK films produced between 2005 and 2014 and found that women represented 13.6% of film directors across that ten-year period. In addition, they found female representation was consistently poor in fourteen out of the seventeen identified key creative roles in film production. The roles where women do represent a majority are casting, costume and make-up; the roles identified in the wider academic literature as gendered and devalued within the sector (Banks, M J. 2009). The Directors UK report findings are mirrored in the study produced by the European Women's Audiovisual Network

a Pan-European study of gender inequality in the film industry between the years 2006-2013 and the 'Calling the Shots' project conducted by a team of researchers at Southampton University. *Becoming Invisible: Parenthood in Creative Industries* (Wells 2015) a report commissioned by the Eleventh Hour group ([www.eleventhhourproject.org)](www.eleventhhourproject.org) was written following a survey of 545 creative workers across the film, television and theatre sectors. The report raised the issue of the costs of living and childcare within London compared to the comparatively low salaries for workers in the creative industries. The report also highlighted the impact that the nature of creative contract work was having on parents alongside direct discrimination and gendered assumptions around parenting that led to a systemic barrier for parents in the creative industries. A support network for parents and carers in the film and television industry, Raising Films released the results of their survey with members in 2016 again showing the systemic resistance to supporting parents and carers within the sector (Raising Films 2016). Beyond the sector, a report released by the Institute for Fiscal Studies reveals how motherhood directly increases the pay-gap between genders in the wider working sphere and in June 2015 the London South Bank University hosted the 'Motherhood in Creative Practice' conference, addressing the question of the relationship between contemporary motherhood and creativity.

What my research adds to this growing body of knowledge is an in-depth exploration into how parenting and specifically motherhood has become a marked barrier for career progression in the context of creative work and for many, the factor that results in a woman's withdrawal from the industry. Rather than understanding women's withdrawal from the industry as a factor of choice, my research has uncovered and explored the many barriers both covert and overt faced by mothers in the workforce. Women's situated and devalued position within the creative workforce exposes meritocratic and egalitarian claims made about work in

the creative sector as defined in chapter one. Added to this, I have found that this relationship between motherhood and creative work can be understood through a framework that illustrates how social class constructs practices of mothering that are symbolically inscribed, through the class platform onto the creative worker.

This theoretical concept has emerged inductively, drawn from an in-depth, qualitative study of mothers who work or had previously worked in the creative media industries. Interviews were analysed using a grounded theory approach to qualitative research that originally emerged from a positivist epistemology but one that has been appropriated and evolved for studies that apply an interpretivist / social constructivist framework. As I discuss in my methodology chapter I found that the constructivist approach to grounded theory complimented the feminist epistemological framework that guided my study and my approach to knowledge production. The initial observation from the first, pilot round of interview data identified a relationship between class and gender and further interviews explored this relationship in more detail. A review of the literature on motherhood from the second wave feminist movement considered the constructions and concepts of motherhood that have been applied to mothering practice and how they have emerged as a historical canon of literature on the relationship between gender and motherhood. Thinking about the construction of a maternal subjectivity, the research uncovered how these constructions related to the role models of working mothers available to women within the creative media industry as discussed in chapter four. What emerged was how successful working mothers are seen as unnatural and following Wajcman's study, de-feminised through their apparent denial or submergence of a maternal identity (even though the counter-subject example of Amanda discussed in section 6.6 suggests that successful working women can develop a positive maternal subjectivity particularly through their position of the value that work brings to their

child/children's lives). The other available models of working mothers within the industry were that of an occupational downgrade or total withdrawal from the industry. This led, I argued to a reflexive internalisation of the position that the mother has within the workforce. I discussed in chapter four how this position was then stigmatised (drawing from Goffman 1990) by those mothers who had left the industry.

The consequences of remaining were further limited by the inequality regimes that operated within the industry as discussed in chapter five and how the institutions surrounding childcare and work are in opposition, placing women "between a rock and a hard place" (Stone 2007, p.111). The recognition of a new maternal subjectivity was then understood as offering women a way out of the oppressive inequality regimes that operated within the industry, a sense of relief and yet as I discuss in chapter six, this withdrawal was both enabled through an individual's classed position and had profound consequences on the self. Women felt less valued as a person when denied access to the working world. Their class status and access to financial support (usually through their male partner) facilitated their withdrawal from the industry yet left them in a precarious one. As I discuss in chapter five, the precarious working conditions that were documented in chapter one place women who's maternal, classed identity is reliant on the financial support of their partner who is also a creative worker in a tenuous position (as I discuss the majority of the respondents in this study were a member of a 'marriage team' (Adkins 1999) in that both partners were occupied in the same industry). As one participant observed "if he broke his leg today I'd have to go back next week full time".

My theoretical contribution can be understood as developing over the three findings chapters. A pattern emerged that illustrated women's trajectory through the industry that I labelled the cycle of value production of entry – devalue – stigma – oppressive working culture –

withdrawal – value – devalue. I have also shown how this pattern not only devalues women but enhances the value of their male counterparts and that women's devalued status as a worker / valued status as a mother dually supports men's progression in both the home and the workplace as discussed in chapter six. The women in this study represent the psychological repercussion of the individualization thesis that has been criticised by feminist scholars including McRobbie (2009), Adkins (1999) and through the empirical work on mothers' relationship with the labour market (Blair-Loy 2003, Crompton 2006, Stone 2007 and Wajcman 1998). I have added to this body of criticism through the processes by which women who enter the creative media industries are burdened with the expectation that they will leave once they have a child. This concept was developed by an "action quote" (Lois in Charmaz 2014) when a participant describes a moment when a senior male executive in her sector made a comment about the relevance of investing in women when they "fuck off and have kids". The irony of this scenario was that the comment was made about young women at the same occupation level of the woman he was talking to. I want to suggest that his comment represents the wider process of stigma, unequal gendered working cultures, devalued women and withdrawal from the industry that my thesis has developed. Class provides a platform to think about how motherhood is a particular problem and relates to wider processes of sexism that operate within the workplace.

What is the legacy of this? As I coded the interview data an emerging category was that of legacy. Many of the participants asked what I intended to do with my findings and expressed their interest in reading my final thesis and supporting any future outcomes. Legacy as an initial code was developed originally in response to the project itself but then I noted a similar and related tone in another initial code labeled 'loss'. Loss included comments relating to the individual's lost sense of the creative self following the birth of a child, a code that fed into

the discussion in chapters five and six but also the wider loss to the industry. I began to develop links between these constructions of legacy and loss, thinking about the specific legacy that this loss of female talent has both on the creative media products available for consumption in the public sphere and on future generations of female creative workers. In this final chapter I develop these concepts in relation to my concluding discussion.

Many participants noted how the gender imbalance in the workforce was reflected in the material produced:

> Eleanor: because the thing is I do think it has a negative effect on the end products when women aren't included because in terms of what is produced they are nearly always from the slightly more masculine point of view than if they had more women creatives in the team.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus allows a consideration of how identity linked to taste has an impact on what is considered to be of value (1977, 2010, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Bourdieu and Passeron 2000). The domination of white, middle class men particularly in senior and creative lead roles across the creative media industries therefore, through a Bourdieusian framework can be understood as having a direct impact on what constitutes as taste is reflected in creative media production. Moi talks of subjects who are the "wielders of symbolic power and thus of symbolic violence" (Moi, 1991, p.1022) and Draper's research on production processes in men's lifestyle magazines (2014) explores the link between the perceived preference of superiors contributes to the ideological hegemony of particular textual forms in the magazines produced. As I state in my opening chapter, I place my research as part of the emerging literature that focuses on thinking about the sector as 'work' and the subjective demands that new cultures of work that emerged in reflexive modernity have placed on the individual rather than the relationship between those that operate within the creative media industries and the texts produced. However I acknowledge that there is a body of literature that is interested in this relationship between the producers and that which is

produced including Draper and Wreyford (2015). It is an area that I argue requires further detailed research in order to make sense of how new regimes of subjective control are impacting on the media products available for consumption in the context of this hyper-mediated world. I have also focused my study on formal employment regime in the creative media industries and not included an examination on participatory mediated production as discussed by Henry Jenkins (2008). I acknowledge that these are areas that would benefit from a more focused analysis bring the relationship between employment, participation, production and consumption in the context of 'convergence' (Jenkins 2008) under greater scrutiny.

The link between gender inequality within the industry and impact on media representation was articulated by many who contributed to this project:

> Tamsyn: Do you think it has an impact on the material that's done and the representation of different characters in the games themselves?
>
> Amanda: Oh gosh yes absolutely. I mean look at Lara Croft for example. Do you know any women that look like that really?

In 2012 Anita Sarkessian a Canadian-American writer of the Feminist Frequency blog set up a crowdfunding campaign on the Kickstarter platform for funds to develop a video game she had developed titled 'Tropes vs. Women in Computer Games" which explored damaging stereotypical representations of women in the media. Sarkessian was then subject to a backlash campaign of misogynist harassment and hate crime. She received threats of physical violence, death and sexual assault and an amateur video game titled "Beat Up Anita Sakeesian" was created encouraging users to assault an image of Sarkessian (O'Meara 2012; Sarkessian 2015). The gender gap between those that formally work in the gaming industry and consumers is one that in particular requires more focused research both in terms of its role as a developing platform, the representation of women that are produced (Sarkessian 2015)

and the apparent backlash from consumers on female participation in this sector as the

Sarkessian case illustrates. A number of participants who worked in either the Animation or

Visual Effects sectors crossed into the gaming sector and spoke of it as a distinctly misogynist

environment. One of the participants provided this anecdote:

> Anna: I remember going to a lot of companies that I would go to across my time at the
> Beeb and Channel 4 where the entire room was men in their 20s and possibly 30s and
> I remember one was brilliant I went in and there was maybe 17 of them and I said
> where's the toilet? And there was a moment where they all went and you could see
> that they didn't actually know whether they had a ladies' toilet and then one of them
> went, "No there is ladies opposite the front door" and the other guys went "oh yeah"
> and they used it as a storage room. And it was a perfectly functioning toilet but
> because it had a picture of a woman on the front of it instead as a man they didn't even
> use it as a toilet. Absolutely hilarious. So I had to move you know stacks of loo roll
> and old servers to get to the loo (laughter) and I was you know I don't think their
> natural instinct would be to turn around and make product for girls.

The relationship between media producers and what is produced is a question that links all

issues of inequality across the sector. Anna, who worked across television, interactive media

and gaming talks of her experience of the gender imbalance in the industry and how as a

woman in her particular field she was made to feel excluded, unrecognized through her

anecdote about toilet facilities (interestingly Facebook COO Sheryl Sandberg had a similar

anecdote which she shared in her TED Talk on women leaders and refers to in her book *Lean

In,* Sandberg 2013). Anna also makes a reference in her anecdote about the age of the men in

the room. One key finding from my study was an acknowledged under-representation of

women in the 50 plus category, that the legacy of mother's exclusion continues through their

inability to return to the industry once they are in a position to do so as was the case for

Susan, Flora and Frances. The data produced by Creative Skillset also suggests that women's

withdrawal from the industry in the 35plus age category is a one-way process and that women

are not returning to the sector once their children have grown (Creative Skillset 2010b, 2012).

Related evidence suggests that this is having a direct impact on how older women are either

absent, or stereotypically represented on screen (BFI and U3A 2010; Cumberbatch et al.

1999). Within my study participants spoke of older women being directly forced out of the industry. Examples that were provided could not be developed due to the confidentiality agreement that I had made with the participant's (see chapter three) and also legal dismissal agreements which individuals had made with companies which prevented them from speaking out about unfair dismissal practice but anecdotes that were provided resonated with the public case of Miriam O'Reilly as discussed in chapter six. There are further layers of structural barriers and unfair practice that operate within the creative media sector which remain silenced by the legal framework and warrant targeted investigation.

What about the wider inequalities within the creative media industry? Creative Skillset's 2012 census identified an under-representation within the industry of workers from a Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) background and those reporting a disability (Creative Skillset 2012). The proportion of women was reported as having increased from the previous census in 2009 which had inspired this thesis. As discussed in section 3.3 the approach applied to Creative Skillset's survey data is descriptive and does not reflect the creative population. However, there is a clear need for more in-depth research into the different forms of identity related inequality within the industry looking at the intersectional relationships between gender, ethnicity, class and disability. As I stated in chapter three, very few women in this study came from a BAME background (four in total) and the majority of the participants lived professional middle class lifestyles although with some variance between salary and women's financial status was in part what contributed to their withdrawal from the industry. What this study hasn't reflected is the women whose identity be it ethnicity, class, geographical location had some impact on their ability to enter the industry in the first place (potentially bringing new practices of motherhood with them). I wasn't able to find those women in the course of my research and I believe that inequality within the creative media industry is a complicated

issue, one that requires detailed, in-depth research. In the next section I want to include some of the statements that came from women to further illustrate the legacy of their withdrawal and following that I will state some recommendations for further action.

Women who had left the industry spoke of how they were taking knowledge and experience with them. Kim, who at one point when talking about herself didn't' feel she would be missed because of the younger generation coming into the industry after her and then at the end of the interview contradicted herself through her recognition that experience was being lost and that was having a direct financial impact on production processes:

> I'll tell you what the knock on effect is that the quality of the programmes is becoming worse and it's not just because of parents not working but it's the whole "we can do it for cheaper, we can do it for less time" it's the whole budgetry thing. But you know if you have someone, I'm not necessarily talking about me but who has more experience and you pooh-pooh them because they can only do four days a week and you get your person in and they've told you that they've just shot something albeit on a home camera… I've been in lots of edits where I've had to go in and sort out an edit because it's gone wrong and you just look at it all and you're like "well it's obvious you've employed someone who's about 12 and they've not got any experience so the knock on effect is that you've got to spend more money to correct the mistakes that have been made.

This situation was mirrored by Jenny an experienced Producer who having left the industry following motherhood was called back in:

> …a friend of mine who was a Series Producer was having a lot of problems with a programme and they wanted someone to come in for a month to sort it out and I said no I'm not prepared to do that and she said look we would work around you and I said "well if you mean work around me I'll come in three days and work from home the other two and I'll leave the office at 5 o clock" and I got the job done, I got the programme sorted.

What I found interesting about Jenny's anecdote was how the industry was prepared to meet her working demands in a situation when they recognized and required her skill and experience. It suggests that a lot of the barriers to requests for part-time, regular hours are

cultural or indeed economic. Jenny's experience enabled her to do her job but in a timeframe that fitted her demands as a mother (note that she works regular 9am – 5pm office hours).

Caroline, one of the older interviewees in the study noted this loss of experience and was critical that higher education was not equipping early entrants with the necessary skills:

> Yes I can already see experience going and disappearing and it's not being replaced and I get very worked up over the courses that a lot of people do a lot of the youngsters do I have a son and he's at university so I know how much debt he's piling up, I have youngsters who come and work for me and I discover that they haven't actually been trained properly at all and I get really angry not at them but I think within our industry we should do something about the courses that are offered.

In chapter six I refer to literature on the relationship between Higher Education and the creative media industries (Allen 2013; Allen et al. 2013; Ashton 2013, 2015; Ashton and Noonan 2013; Eikof and Warhurst 2013; Perlin 2011; Pollard 2013; Noonan 2013) in relationship to the class-based processes that limit entrance to the industry for those who do not have the necessary economic capital and particularly the impact that going to a prestigious university has on the cultural and social capital of the creative worker. Here I want to refer to this body of literature on the higher education and media as it is one that requires further development. Kim Allen's paper on how young female students' work experience placements in the industry explores how these role models that stigma and devalue women in the industry work to deter female students from even entering (Allen 2013). This is a serious consequence both to the industry and to future generations. I want to add to this the comment from a participant that I included at the start of this chapter a woman who had been a successful creative worker, had left the industry due to the inequality regimes that operated forcing her choice and then spoke of the consequences of her experience in relation to her daughters'

future. The legacy of this loss therefore extends not just to the industry or to consumers, but to future generations and further research to expose the operation of inequality is required.

Finally, one further factor that I have not addressed in this thesis is the impact on parenthood and men within the context of creative work. The study has focused on gender inequality and how the specific relationship between women and motherhood has become constructed as a barrier to women's operation within the creative media workforce. An emerging finding from my study was how many of the participant's had partners who were also employed within the creative media industries (see chapters three, six and Appendix 1) and whose careers appeared to benefit as a direct result of the devalued status of mothers. In section 5.2.1 I refer to Connell's concept of 'hegemonic masculinity', including the reference:

> "Without treating privileged men as objects of pity, we should recognise that hegemonic masculinity does not necessarily translate into a satisfying experience of life." (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005, p.852).

Connell makes the case that the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' though normalized is not beneficial for women or men. Taking this point, it would be interesting to look in-depth into the impact of gender inequality on men within the industry and in particular how men are subjectively responding to the 'retraditionalization' of reflexive society.

7.1   Recommendations

In this section I have included the recommendations that have been put forward in the

Directors UK, Eleventh Hour and Raising Films reports as they resonate with action that

should be taken by the industry and added to them my own recommendations for wider action

by other stakeholders. The *Becoming Invisible* report (Wells 2015) has three

recommendations (p.3):

> 1. Creative industries need creative childcare solutions. To accommodate the hours that people work and the wages that they earn, these solutions need to be geographically accessible, financially affordable and reliably flexible.
>
> 2. Equal parenting requires equal pay. The pay gap that persists between men and women in the creative sector means that, when both parents are within the sector, the Dad's career is often prioritized.
>
> 3. To include all we have to hear all. The industry needs to do more to understand and accommodate all representatives of domestic culture, inclusive of single parent and would-be parents, whose experiences are currently being marginalized**.**

The Directors UK *Cut out of the Picture* report although not directly focused on parenting as

the issue has three recommendations that related to structural measures that could be

implicated by the industry:

1.   A target of 50:50 gender parity within public funding by 2020.

2.   Amend the Film Tax Relief to require all UK films to take account of diversity.

3.   A coordinated, data-driven campaign for gender equality across the UK film industry. (Follows et al. 2016, p.90).

Directors UK refers to the Swedish Film Institute case study which set a quota of 50:50 ratio

of their funding going to films directed by women. The report shows that:

> "Of the films backed by the Swedish Film Institute in 2014, 50% had a woman director, 55% had a women writer and 65% had women producers. In addition, women now dominate the Swedish film awards, taking 69% of the prizes. Internationally, they take about 40%." (Follows et al. 2016, p.92).

Raising Films has added three structural changes that should be implemented by the industry (2016, p.4)

1. Personal tax relief for child/elder care expenses

2. Greater availability of part time / flexible roles

3. Child care on location/set as line in budget

I found it interesting that all three reports include a balance between both targeted structural changes that could be immediately implemented across the culture and also calls for further research. What I have found from my research is that this question of inequality can't be addressed to just the industry itself. It needs to include stakeholders from both the political, legal and education sectors. An approach that relies solely on change taking place in the industry itself ignores how wider inequalities intersect and the relationship between them. My study has uncovered a particular intersection between gender and class as observed through the position of mothers within the industry. But other identity based discrimination exists resulting in the continued under-representation of individuals.

With regards to the legal framework. In May 2016 I attended the launch of the 'Calling the Shots' report at the BFI in London. The event was attended by a mixture of stakeholders from the industry and academia and was open to the general public. The discussion following the presentation of the research findings was heated, with input from audience members providing examples and anecdotes of unfair practice. At one point an audience member who was not a member of the industry questioned the legality of the employment procedures within the industry. Other audience members responded voicing assumptions that much of the employment practices in the industry are illegal in relation to employment law. The problem is there were no representatives from the legal sector particularly those who operate within

HR law and employment practice that could comment on the structure of the legal framework.

In fact, employment law in the modern age is a very grey area with the question of diversity

and workplace equality subject to both potential and pitfalls (Barmes and Ashitany 2003).

Thus a coherent, change focused discussion about employment in the creative industry needs

to include those that represent the legal sector and union institutions who can bridge the gap

between the legal and creative media industries' framework. There is a wider question here

about the relationship between the current legal framework in place put to address

employment grievances and workplace changes that have taken place in reflexive modernity

as addressed by Lizzie Barmes and Sue Ashitany in their paper on workplace diversity where

they refer to the 2000 Hepple Report:

> [T]he current [legal] framework was designed largely to deal with a model of
> organisations with hierarchical, vertically integrated and centralised bureaucracies.
> This is a top-down rule-making approach which focuses on individual fault-finding
> and depends on retrospective investigation of an act alleged to be motivated by an
> unlawful ground of discrimination. This tends to breed negative, defensive and
> adversarial responses. But today organisations cannot survive and prosper unless they
> are Flexible and adaptable to market changes and technological innovation.
> Organisations are flattening their hierarchies, giving more authority to lower level
> managers, and demanding a high quality workforce, with the active participation of all
> stakeholders, including workers, customers and clients. Equality of opportunity
> increasingly depends, not simply on avoiding negative discrimination, but on training
> and improving skills, developing wider social networks, and encouraging adaptability.
> The present framework places too much emphasis on state regulation and too little on
> the responsibility of organisations and individuals to generate change (The Hepple
> Report 2000 in Barnes and Ashitany 2003, pp.282-283).

Linked to this there needs to be more direct action to tackle the roots of inequality in

education, particularly at the secondary school level. Media literacy and education has already

received academic scholarship however more detailed research into how diversity in

relationship to media producers is taught in schools. Following on from this there needs to be

more detailed research into what is happening to students as they transfer from Higher

Education into the industry. The Directors UK report found that there was no difference in

attitude or intention between genders with regards to their desire to become a director. In section 3.3.1 where I discuss the issues with the Creative Skillset I make a call for more long-term, detailed monitoring of individual's trajectories through the industry. Tracking a sample of students' progression from HE creative subjects into the industry and beyond is a long-term aim but one that I would argue necessary monitoring mechanism to uncover the processes by which gender and other diversity based exclusions operate.

Finally, there needs to be more in-depth sector-specific research to shed light on the emerging quantitative picture. Directors UK, EWA, Raising Films, Cobb et al. (2016) all focus on film and television. Detailed and comparable research into the radio, animation, new media, gaming sectors and research that considers the intersectional nature of oppression (McCall 2005) to uncover more detail understanding of the dynamic, intersectional nature of inequality. My contribution has uncovered a relationship between gender and class and I have been able to articulate this relationship through an in-depth focus on the experiences of mothers within the creative media industries. As stated in chapter one, I have deliberately drawn respondents from across those sectors labelled as 'creative' (see discussion 1.4) and discovered the impact of working cultures and structures on the subjective experiences of those that operate within the sector. This question, of working culture in reflexive modernity is one that extends beyond the creative media industries. As I reference in my introduction, the media industry has been labelled by Bauman as the first workforce sector to represent the "liquefaction of life, work and play" (Bauman 2000 in Deuze 2007, p.44). Thinking about the legacy of this thesis bodes the question how far behind are other working sectors? If the pattern of female employment in the creative media sector is reproduced in other sectors as they embrace project-based, flexible working structures how will this affect gender inequality across the working sphere? This is the question that I wish to end my thesis on with an added

call for further feminist epistemological inquiry into the processes and mechanisms that operate across the workforce.

Appendices

Appendix 1: The women in the study

Name	Age	No. of children	Age of Children	Sector	Former Job Title	Current Job title	Partner's sector CMI or CI
Anna	39	1	3	Gaming	Permanent contract in large organization	Runs own company	CMI
Katrina	36	0	0	Television	n/a	Freelance Producer / Director	n/a
Christine	40	0	0	Film	n/a	Freelance script editor	CMI
Rachel	32	0	0	Film	n/a	Employed Development Producer	CMI
Pippa	33	2	2, 3 months	Television	n/a	Freelance Producer / Director	CMI
Maddy	32	0	0	Television	n/a	Freelance Assistant Producer	CI
Kim	34	1 and pregnant with second child	15 months	Television	Freelance Producer Director	Working part time in development	CMI
Helen	35	1	3	Television	Freelance Producer Director	Not working	CMI
Rosalind	34	1	8 months	Television	Freelance Assistant Producer	On maternity leave but not planning to return to work	CMI
Flora	37	2	2, 4	Television	Researcher	Not working	CMI
Beth	53	1	17	Television	n/a	Freelance Director	CMI
Grace	41	2	4, 3	Television	Freelance Producer Director	Starting own business non CMI	CMI
Susan	41	3	8, 7, 3	Television	Freelance Producer Director	Working for free	Non CMI
Sadie	34	2	5, 3	Advertising	Freelance Producer	Not working	CMI
Sarah	34	1 and pregnant with second child	2	Radio	Employed Manager	n/a	CMI
Carol	38	1	5	Radio	Employed Broadcast Assistant	Runs own company non CMI	CMI
Sinead	43	2	6, 3	Animation	Director	Not working	CMI

Eleanor	37	2	6, 3	Animation	Storyboard Artist	Studying	CMI
Amanda	53	2	29, 21	Gaming	Senior Management	n/a	Non CMI
Amy	34	2	3, 4 months	VFX	VFX Producer	n/a	CMI
Samantha	39	1	3	Film / Advertising	Assistant Director	Works for a Charity but with links to the CMI	Non CMI
Teresa	46	3	16, 8, 6	VFX	VFX Producer	n/a	Non CMI
Kate	52	2	19, 17	Television / VFX	Manager	n/a	CMI
Naomi	33	1	14 months	Television	Freelance Series Producer	n/a	Non CMI
Sophia	48	1	7	Television	Series Editor	Freelance	Non CMI
Polly	38	2	4, 2	Film / Advertising	Assistant Director	Working on own projects	Non CMI
Caroline	59	1	21	Television	Producer	n/a	CMI
Frances	41	3	6, 3, 3	Animation	Production Manager	n/a	CMI
Donna	37	1	2	Television	Development Assistant Producer	Assistant Producer	CMI
Rosie	35	2	4, 2	Television	Freelance Producer Director	Runs own company	Non CMI
Jenny	39	1	4	Television	Producer	Runs own company	CMI
Mae	39	1	2	Television	Assistant Producer	Researcher	CMI
Amelia	34	2	3, 5 months	VFX	Producer	On maternity leave	CMI

Appendix 2
Glossary of job titles and acronyms used in the thesis.

The job roles included in the table below are those that have been referred to within this thesis. The descriptions have been drawn from a range of sources, some explanations from the description provided by the participant herself which, for ethical reasons (see section 3.4.1) some from my own knowledge and experience of the industry and some from websites that provide information on job roles within the industry.

Job Title	Description
Animator	An animator produces multiple images which are sequenced together create an illusion of movement known as animation. The images can be made up of digital or hand-drawn pictures, models or puppets. "Animators tend to work in 2D animation, 3D model-making animation, stop frame or computer-generated animation." (Graduate Prospects Ltd 2016). Animators can work across a number of different creative media sectors including film, television, games design, advertising.
Assistant Director (AD)	An assistant director works on film sets for either film, television or advertising production. The role includes tracking daily progress against the filming production schedule, arranging logistics, preparing daily call sheets, checking cast and crew, and maintaining order on the set. They are also responsible for the health and safety of the crew. There is a hierarchy to working as an AD. Early entrants usually start as a runner, then move up to 3rd, 2nd and then 1st Assistant Director. AD's always work on freelance, project-based contracts. (Wikipedia 2016a)
Assistant Producer (AP)	The role of the Assistant Producer or Associate Producer varies according to which media sector they are occupied within. Creative Skillset describe them as "usually individuals within production companies who have played a significant role in the development of the script or screenplay" in the context of film (Creative Skillset 2016a). In television and in particular factual television the AP assists the Director or the Producer Director (DP) for the execution of the programme. The role of the AP is usually a stepping stone to that of Director or Producer Director in Television and quite often the AP will carry out some of the directing as part of his or her role. however it is not always the case that an Assistant or Associate Producer in Film will become a Film Director. (Creative Skillset 2016a; StartinTV 2016a)
Broadcast Assistant (BA)	Broadcast Assistants (BAs) work within the radio industry to support the Radio Producers and Presenters. Creative Skillset describes their role as: "Performing a wide range of key administrative tasks to ensure the smooth running of radio programmes" and "Helping with research, planning and

	production." (Creative Skillset 2016b).
Development Producer	The Development Producer varies according to which sector of the industry the role is operating within. The role of 'Development Producer' can exist in film, television, gaming, animation, radio and in each case the role has a varying status. In film, the Development Producer is (according to Creative Skillset 2016c) related to the script development, working closely with Screenwriters and Producers. In television, a Development Producer is tasked with getting new programmes commissioned.
Development Researcher	The Development Researcher or Programme Researcher in television broadcasting reports to a Development Producer and is responsible for researching and developing ideas for new commissions. It is primarily a research based role, the Development Researcher has the responsibility for sourcing contacts and contributors for film, television and radio broadcasts. (Graduate Prospects Ltd. 2016b)
Director	Creative Skillset describe the role of the Director as: "Being the driving creative force in a film's production - visualising and defining the style and structure of the film, then bringing it to life". The Director is responsible for casting, script editing, composing, filming and editing a piece of film for broadcast. They can work across the film, television, advertising, music video and even gaming sectors. (Creative Skillset 2016d)
Executive Producer	According to the Producers Guild of America an Executive Director: "supervises, either on his/her own authority (entrepreneur executive producer) or subject to the authority of an employer (employee executive producer) one or more producers in the performance of all of his/her/their producer functions on single or multiple productions. In television, an Executive Producer may also be the Creator/Writer of a series." Executive Producers oversee the creative content and financial aspect of a production. In the contexts of television production in the UK they are usually at the top of the media hierarchy, having full control over recruitment (including the Director) and programme delivery. (PGA 2016; Wikipedia 2016b).
Producer	The role 'Producer' is a confusing, generic term and most Producer roles in the creative media industries will have a further clarifying title for example 'Executive Producer', 'Series Producer', 'Line Producer' or 'Assistant Producer'. Some participants did however identify themselves as a 'Producer' and the generality of the term is useful in questions of anonymity. In general, the Producer is responsible for one aspect of the financial and/or management of either a film, television, or radio production. (Creative Skillset 2016e).
Producer/Director (PD)	The Producer/Director (PD) is a title that is used most commonly in Factual Television. The PD has the responsibility of developing, filming and producing a film production. They often lead a team of

	people, are assisted by an Assistant Producer and answer to the Series Producer. (StartinTV. 2016b)
Production Coordinator	The Production Coordinator serves under the Production Manager or Producer in either film or television. It is predominantly an administrative role providing logistical support to ensure the delivery of a programme from filming to editing. (Wikipedia 2016c).
Production Manager	Production Managers organize the business, finance and employment issues in film and television productions. As a Production Manager, you would be in charge of how the production budget is spent and making sure that everything runs smoothly during filming. Production Managers can work across film and television. (Creative Skillset 2016f).
Researcher	Creative Skillset describe the role of the Researcher as "Originating or developing programme ideas, drawing on knowledge and understanding of industry requirements, and presenting findings to decision makers. Checking facts and briefing writers who write scripts for on-screen presenters." Researchers are commonly employed in television although occasionally in film production. The researcher usually answers to either the AP or Director. It is a stepping stone position towards becoming an AP. (Creative Skillset 2016g)
Runner	The role of Runner is an entry-level position to the film and / or television production industries. Creative Skillset describes the role as: "Runners first and foremost run errands. Their responsibilities vary widely, but usually involve conveying messages, organising props, looking after cast and crew (making tea and coffee can be an hourly task), driving, delivering technical equipment, and following specific requests from the Producer, Director or Assistant Directors.

The overall responsibility of Runners is to complete whatever task is assigned to them as quickly and as efficiently as possible. As even small details may cause interruptions or delays to filming, all their duties must be carried out rapidly, so that the shoot can progress smoothly." Runners can be employed within a number of different departments on a film set or in the production office. (Creative Skillset 2016h). |
| Series Producer | The 'StartinTV' website describes the role of Series Producer as having, "the overall responsibility for making the programme happen, from selecting the production team and presenters, to guiding and motivating them throughout the whole production process". Series Producers usually manage the Producer, the Director and the production team and answer to an Executive Producer. They are predominantly employed in television production. (StartinTV. 2016c) |
| Storyboard Artist (Animation) | "Storyboard Artists illustrate the narrative, plan shots, and draw panels to demonstrate action and maintain continuity between |

	scenes. They work closely with the Director and, possibly, with the scriptwriter, Producer, client or Storyboard Supervisor, to visualize and tell the story." (Creative Skillset 2016i)

Appendix 3
Pilot round consent form

2010-2011

Tamsyn Dent, PhD student:
The Widening Gender Gap in the UK Creative Media Industries (CMI)

Interview Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form

Background of this research
Creative Skillset (the Sector Skills Council for the Creative Media Industries) conducts an industry-endorsed programme of research into the size and shape of the creative media industry and its workforce. Their regular suite of workforce surveys have shown a significant drop out of women aged 35 and over in the UK CMI which is disproportionate to that of men and to women working in other sectors across the UK workforce. In response to the findings from the workforce surveys Skillset have collaborated with Bournemouth University's Centre for Excellence in Media Practice (CEMP) to co-fund a PhD that will explore the reasons why there has been such a disproportionate exodus of women in the CMI and what might be done to remedy this in the future.

Background of the Researcher: Tamsyn Dent
I applied for this PhD in April 2010. I had given birth to my first child in December 2009 and was on maternity leave. I had been working in the TV and film industry since 2003 – starting as a runner in Scotland whilst I was at University and moving to London in 2005 to work mainly in documentaries. I took a break from television in 2007 to take a masters in Gender and Media at the London School of Economics. On finishing my masters I started working for the Birds Eye View Film Festival as its full time Development Manager. When I saw the offer of the PhD I was excited by the opportunity to bring together my personal, professional and academic interests.

Information on the Interview programme
You have been approached as a relevant case study for this project to take part in an interview that will inform the research process. The interviews will take place with myself the researcher at an agreed time and location, or online. The interview will last between 1 – 2 hours. All interviews will be recorded and transcribed and may be drawn from in the PhD thesis.

As a participant, you have the right to anonymity, the right to withdraw from the research at any time, the right to ask questions about the nature of the research, the purpose of the interview and your input into it. If you have any further questions about this project or an issue relating to the way the interview was carried out you can send them directly to my PhD supervisors: Prof. Stephen Heppell and Dr. Shaun Kimber (contact details provided below).

All participants who have been conducted to take part in this study have been asked to do so on a voluntary basis.

If you would like to see a detailed document of Bournemouth University's Research Ethics Policy and Procedures I would be happy to send you one on request.

Signed agreement:

I agree to take part in this research on the Widening Gender Gap in the UK CMI. I understand my rights as a participant to full confidentiality and anonymity and that I have the right to withdraw from the project at any time.

I agree to take part in this study on a voluntary basis.

Signed:

Date:

Contacts

Tamsyn Dent (Researcher)
Email: Tamsyn@cemp.ac.uk
Mobile: 07799 675 587

Professor Stephen Heppell (PhD Supervisor)
Email: Stephen@cemp.ac.uk

Dr. Shaun Kimber (PhD Supervisor)
Email: Shaun@cemp.ac.uk

Bournemouth University CEMP main switchboard: 01202 965646

 I appreciate your time and thank you in advance for your contribution to this project.

Appendix 4
Second round participation information form

Interview Participant Information Sheet

Title of Project
Motherhood and Creative Work. A case study on the widening gender gap in the UK's Creative Media Industries

You have been approached as a relevant case study to take part in an interview that will inform the research process. Before you decide to participate it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please do contact me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Background of this research
Creative Skillset (the Sector Skills Council for the Creative Media Industries) conducts an industry-endorsed programme of research into the size and shape of the creative media industry and its workforce. Their regular suite of workforce surveys revealed a significant drop out of women aged 35 and over in the UK CMI which is disproportionate to that of men and to women working in other sectors across the UK workforce that took place between the years 2006 - 2009. In response to the findings from the workforce surveys Creative Skillset have collaborated with Bournemouth University's Centre for Excellence in Media Practice (CEMP) to co-fund a PhD that will explore the reasons behind this disproportionate exodus of women in the CMI and what might be done to remedy this in the future.

Why have I been chosen?
You have been approached either as a result of a recommendation or from an online survey that was conducted by myself in 2012 because you fit the profile of participants that is being examined as part of this study. No external sources were consulted to obtain participant information everyone approached has been contacted either through a personal recommendation or from a wider call for participants. In total, up to 40 participants will be included in this study.

Do I have to take part?
Taking part in the research is entirely voluntary. As a voluntary participant you have the right to withdraw from the research at any time, the right to ask questions about the nature of the research, the purpose of the interview and your input into it. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign a consent form) and you can still withdraw at any time. You do not have to give a reason.

What do I have to do?
All participants are being asked to take part in an interview with myself, the researcher. The interviews will take place at your convenience at an agreed time and location, or in the case of geographical distance online using Skype. The interview will last between 1 – 2 hours and will consists of a combination of open and closed questions. All interviews will be recorded and transcribed by myself.

Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?

All the information that I collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be able to be identified in any reports or publications. All effort will be made to protect the anonymity of all participants.

How will the recorded media be used?
The audio recordings of your interview will be used only for analysis and for illustration in documents and publications that directly relate to this research i.e. the PhD thesis and any further academic or policy literature or additional research relative to this study.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?
One risk that has been identified in relation to this project is the possibility of identification. As a result, careful consideration of how any information that could identify the participant (e.g. age, location, job description etc) will be taken to ensure anonymity.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
Whilst there are no immediate benefits for those people participating in the project, it is hoped that this work will inform both the Creative Industry and Policy in relation to the Creative Industries on the particular issues facing working women with children and enable future developments and initiatives to support their progress.

What type of information will be sought from me and why is the collection of this information relevant for achieving the research project's objectives?
The purpose of this research is to discuss your experience of work in the creative industries both before and after becoming a mother to investigate whether there are structural and / or cultural barriers that limit women's ability to progress in the industry and what could be done to better support them.

Who is organising/funding the research?
This project is a collaboration between CEMP, the Centre of Excellence at Bournemouth University and Creative Skillset, the Sector Skillset Council for the Creative Industries. This project has received funding from Creative Skillset and the final results will be shared with the organisation however the research is being carried out by myself independently – the organisation will not have access to the transcribed interview data.

Contact for further information

If you have any questions or concerns then please do contact me. I have also provided the contact details of my supervisor's at Bournemouth University should you wish to contact them directly.

Tamsyn Dent (Researcher)
Email: Tamsyn@cemp.ac.uk
Mobile: 07799 675 587

Professor Stephen Heppell (PhD Supervisor)
Email: Stephen@cemp.ac.uk

Dr. Shaun Kimber (PhD Supervisor)
Email: skimber@bournemouth.ac.uk

Bournemouth University CEMP main switchboard: 01202 965646

Thank you for taking the time to read this information. Should you agree to take part in the research you will be asked to sign a consent form. A copy of this information sheet and the consent form will be given to you for your keeping.

Tamsyn Dent

Appendix 5
Second round consent form

Motherhood and Creative Work. A case study on the widening gender gap in the UK's Creative Media Industries

Please Initial Here

I confirm that I have read and understood the participant information sheet for the above research project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question(s) I am free to decline.	
I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.	
I agree to take part in the above research project.	

Name of Participant   Date

Signature_____

Name of Researcher   Date

Signature_____

Tamsyn Dent (Researcher)
Email: Tamsyn@cemp.ac.uk
Mobile: 07799 675 587

Professor Stephen Heppell (PhD Supervisor)
Email: Stephen@cemp.ac.uk

Dr. Shaun Kimber (PhD Supervisor)
Email: skimber@bournemouth.ac.uk

Bournemouth University CEMP main switchboard: 01202 965 646

Thank you for your participation.

Appendix 6
Survey monkey questionnaire

Parents in Media: PhD Research Project

Are you a parent who has previously worked or is working in the UK's TV, Film, Radio, Gaming or Interactive media industry? If so I would like to hear from you…

Hello - I am a PhD student studying at the Centre for Excellence in Media Practice (CEMP), Bournemouth University. I am interested in learning more about the experiences of parents who are currently working in either the TV, Film, Radio, Gaming or Interactive media sectors OR who have left following the birth of a child.

I am looking for people across the UK to take part in my research. If you are willing to take part then I would like to talk to you in person about your experience as someone who either continues to work in the industry or who has left work or switched career following parenthood. The interview would be private and would take place at your convenience. Your identity and personal details will be treated confidentially and any reference to you in the research will be completely anonymous.

To help the organisation of the interviews it would be great if you could answer the questions in this short survey. If you would like to discuss the research in more detail before answering these questions then please contact me via email, phone or in writing. You'll find my contact details at the end of the survey.

Parents in Media: PhD Research Project

* 1. What is your name?

2. What is your gender?

○ Female

○ Male

* 3. What year were you born?

* 4. How many children age 17 or younger live in your household?

* 5. In what city (or nearest city) do you live?

* 6. What is your current occupation? If you work in the creative media industries can you please also state which sector e.g. TV, Film, Gaming, Interactive Media etc.

* 7. If you have left the creative media industries – what was your occupation / job title at the time of leaving? Can you please also state which sector you worked in e.g. TV, Film, Gaming, Interactive Media etc.

8. Are you happy for me to contact you for a follow up interview and if so please write down your email address / phone number (whichever method of contact you prefer)

Email

Telephone

Parents in Media: PhD Research Project

Thank you for taking part in this survey.

If you would like more information on me or would like to contact me with any questions about this project then I have included my contact details below:

Tamsyn Dent, PhD student
Website: http://www.cemp.ac.uk/people/tamsyndent.php
Email: tamsyn@cemp.ac.uk
Telephone: 07799 675587
Address: C/o The Centre for Excellence in Media Practice (CEMP), The Media School, Bournemouth University, Talbot Campus, Poole, BH12 5BB

Appendix 7
List of quantitative data sources supplied by Creative Skillset

Year	Name of Survey	Format	Scope
2000	Skillset employment census	Written report only	
2002	Skillset employment census	Excel spreadsheet	Broadcast TV (Commercial), Broadcast Radio (Commercial), Broadcast TV (Public), Broadcast Radio (Public), Terrestrial Broadcast, Cable and Satellite Broadcast, Internet Broadcast, Transmission, Independent Production, Studio Production, Other Production, Distribution (Theatrical), Distribution (Other), Animation, Digital Special Effects, Post Production, Facilities, Online, Computer Games, Other Multimedia, Commercials, Other, Corporate Production
2003	Skillset employment census	Excel spreadsheet	Producing, Production, Journalism and Sport, Radio Broadcasting, Television Broadcasting, Programme Distribution, Transmission, Broadcast Engineering, Studio Operations, New Media, Traditional Animation, Computer Generated Animation, Art & Design, Camera, Costume / Wardrobe, Library / Archives, Lighting, Make Up & Hairdressing, Post-Production, Special Physical Effects, Runner, All Other Occupational Groups.
2004	Skillset employment census	Excel spreadsheet	Broadcast TV, Cable and Satellite TV, Independent Production (TV), Broadcast Radio, Animation, Post Production, Digital Special Effects, Facilities, Web and Internet, Electronic Games, Offline Multimedia, Commercials Production, Corporate Production, Other
2006	Skillset employment census	Excel spreadsheet	Broadcast TV, Cable & Satellite, Independent Production (TV), Broadcast Radio, Animation, Web & Internet, Offline Multimedia, Computer Games, Corporate Production, Commercials Production, Post Production, Special Physical Effects, Studio & Equipment Hire, Other Services for film & TV, Film Distribution, Processing Labs
2006	Skillset	Excel	Broadcast TV, Cable & Satellite,

	employment census	spreadsheet	Independent Production (TV), Community Television, Television Distribution, Broadcast Radio, Independent Production (Radio), Animation, Web & Internet, Offline Multimedia, Interactive TV, Mobile Content, Computer Games, Corporate Production, Commercials Production, Pop Promos, Post Production, Special Physical Effects, Studio & Equipment Hire, Outside Broadcast, Transmission, Manufacture of AV Equipment, Other Services for Film & TV, Film Distribution, Processing Laboratories.
2009	Skillset employment census	Excel spreadsheet	Terrestrial Broadcast, Cable & Satellite, Independent Production TV, Radio, Post Production, Radio, Post Production, Studios & Equipment Hire, VFX, Other Services for Film & TV, Film Production, Film Distribution, Animation, Commercials and Pop Promos, Corporate Production, Online Content, Offline Multimedia, Other Interactive Media, Computer Games, Archives & Libraries, Cinema Exhibition,
2003	Audiovisual Workforce survey	SPSS	Television (Terrestrial), Television (Cable & Satellite), Independent Production for Television, Broadcast Radio, Animation, Post-Production, CD-Rom and other Interactive Media, Web Design & Development, Computer Games, Commercials, Corporate Production, Other
2005	Feature Film Survey	SPSS	Focused just on film production broke down occupation group profile into: Production, Accounts, Locations, Casting, Assistant Directors, Ast / set decorating, Camera, Script / development, Sound, Video Playback, Costume, Make-up and hair, Publicity / stills, Editing / post production, Visual Effetcs, Special Effects, Stunts / doubles / stand ins, Electrical, Props, Construction, Catering, Transport, Music, Other, Unknown.
2005	Audiovisual Workforce survey	SPSS	Broadcast, Independent Production, Facilities (including post production, digital special effects and studio equipment hire), Film (including

273

			production, facilities, exhibition and distribution), Interactive media (including web and internet and offline multimedia), Computer games, Corporate production, Commercials, Animation, Transmission, Photo imaging
2008	Creative Media Workforce Survey	SPSS	Animation, Computer Games, Facilities (which includes post production, studio and equipment hire, special physical effects, outside broadcast, processing laboratories, transmission, manufacture of AV equipment and other services for film and TV), Film Distribution, Film Exhibition, Interactive Media, Pop promos, Corporate production, Commercials, Radio, Television
2010	Creative Media Workforce Survey	SPSS	Animation, Computer Games, Facilities (which includes Post Production, studio and equipment hire, special physical effects, outside broadcast, processing laboratories, transmission, manufacture of AV equipment and other services for film and TV), Film (including Distribution, Exhibition and Production), Interactive Media, Other Content Creation (pop promos, corporate and commercials production), Photo Imaging, Publishing (books, journals, magazines, newspapers, directories and databases, news agencies, and electronic information services), Radio, Television

Appendix 8
Pilot round interview schedule

Tamsyn Dent
Interview Schedule
April 2010

INTRODUCTION

Many thanks once again for taking part in this study.

Mention:
- Key aims of the study and context of interview
- Need for honest/open responses –no right, or wrong answers
- Right to anonymity / confidentiality issues
- Interview length (1.5 hours approx)
- Recording interview – for own analysis purposes

1. Please state name

2. Would you mind telling me your age?

3. Are you married / in a civil partnership / relationship?

4. If so what does your partner do?

5. Which of you is the main breadwinner?

6. Do you have any children if so how many? What are their ages?

7. Who out of your relationship takes the most responsibility for managing the day to day needs / childcare issues of your children.

8. Do you live in London? Whereabouts?

9. Are you from London originally? If not where are you from?

10. When did you start working in the CMI (ask them to state sector)

11. How many years have you been working in that sector?

12. What's your job title?

13. How did you get to where you are now? Prompts: school / qualifications / work experience / early career?

14. Can you give me details of 'any big breaks' (i.e. any one job responsible for catapulting to next level):

15. Can you tell me about any significant support you have had either from an individual or an organization in your career? Prompt – not family member / partner but someone who has recognized your skills?

16. Can you tell me about any hurdles/obstacles/setbacks to career development
    a. Details of how these were dealt with/ overcome
    b. The biggest hurdle in career and how resolved
    c. Coping strategies

17. What advice would you give to people entering your industry today?

18. Would that advice differ if you were talking to a man or a woman?

19. Do you think women face different obstacles relating to building a career in your industry? Can you give me any examples / personal stories relating to this subject?

20. What do you think the industry needs to do to hold onto women?

21. There are different opinions amongst academics and sociologists relating the situation of women and work. One is that women have gained total equality in the workplace in that they have freedom of choice to follow any career path they chose whereas a counter is that there are structural / institutional forces that confine / limit the opportunities for women within the workplace. Where do you place yourself within that debate on a spectrum?

22. Where do you think they power lies in the CMI or in your industry?

23. Talk me through an average day for you?

24. Is this typical?

25. How do you manage the work / life balance?

26. Do you think this has changed for people from those who were working 30 years ago? *Prompt new media / social networking.*

27. What do you think has changed? Prompt: average time spent working / merge of work and family life.

28. How has this directly affected you? Do you send personal emails at work / work emails at home e.g.

29. What motivates you?

30. What is your attitude towards your work in general?

31. Has this changed in the last 10 years?

32. With the benefit of hindsight – is there anything you would change about your career choices?

33. If you could do /be anything what would that be?

Appendix 9
Second round interview schedule

Tamsyn Dent
Round 2 interviews
October 2012 - 2014

Interview Structure and Procedure

The main key identifiers listed below were collected via survey from all the research participants before the actual interviews.

Name:
Gender:
Year of Birth:
No. of dependent children
Geographical location
Current Occupation:
Former Occupation (if no longer working in the CMI):
Permission to contact for interview

Topic Guide

1) Participant information

- Confirm name
- Date of Birth
- Where do you live?
- Ask to describe ethnicity
- How would you describe your social class
- Number of dependent children and ages
- Married / in civil partnership / relationship
- What does your partner do for a living?
- Which of you is main breadwinner?
- Do you currently own or rent your own home?
- How would you describe your current job role? Occupation?
- (If not working in the CMI) What did you used to do when you worked in the creative industries?

2) Background / early influences

- Where did you grow up?
- Where did you go to school?
- Were you encouraged into creative / media subjects at school? Any career advice in creative work?
- What did / do your parents do?
- Any siblings? Did they go into creative work? Anyone else from your family?
- Any other role models? E.g. friends, parents friends etc.
- Did you go to University?
- What did you study?

- When did you become interested in creative work?

3) Reasons for entering the creative media industries

- What drew them to the industry?
- What was their first job?
- Did they do any work for free?
- Any big breaks?
- Were they member of any support networks or unions? Did they use them?
- Did they receive any industry training?
- Any setbacks in career?
- Any experience of bullying / discrimination in industry?
- Current or last job role – freelance or employee?
- Did they get access to statutory rights e.g. parental leave, sick pay etc. How did they feel about that?

4) How they manage work/life balance

- Before you had children what was your work / life balance like? Describe a typical day
- Did you work at lot at evenings and weekends?
- Has that changed now you've had children
- Do they use much technology in work e.g. skype
- Does that provide more opportunities for parents?
- Do they think it is possible to combine work with being a parent?
- Do they think the industry could be more flexible *prompt* offer job shares? More flexible part time work?

5) Experience of parenthood / relationship / support networks

- Did becoming a parent match their expectations?
- Did they do anything to prepare? E.g. read books / watch parenting television programme / online forum?
- What was the biggest aspect / change in life as a result of becoming a parent?
- How did it affect attitude to work?
- Did they talk to anyone professionally when they were pregnant about how they would manage being a parent in this type of work? Any other women?
- Did they get any statutory leave?
- What is childcare situation?
- What is domestic balance with partner?

Final questions

What did / do you enjoy most about working in the creative industries?

Anything you want to say or expected me to ask that I haven't? Anything you would like to say?

References

Acas, 2014. *The right to request flexible working: an Acas guide*, [online]. London: Acas. Available at: http://www.acas.org.uk/media/pdf/s/7/The-right-to-request-flexible-working-the-Acas-guide.pdf [Accessed October 1, 2016].

Acker, J., Barry, K. & Esseveld, J., 1991. Objectivity and Truth. Problems in Doing Feminist Research. In M. M. Fonow & J. A. Cook, eds. *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, p. 133-154.

Acker, J., 1990. Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations. *Gender & Society*, 4(2), pp.139–158.

Acker, J., 2006. Inequality Regimes: Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations. *Gender & Society*, 20(4), pp.441–464.

Adkins, L., 1999. Community and economy: a retraditionalization of gender? Theory, Culture & Society, 16(1), pp.117–37.

Adkins, L., 2004a. Passing on Feminism: From Consciousness to Reflexivity? European Journal of Women's Studies, 11(4), pp.427–444.

Adkins, L., 2004b. Reflexivity: Freedom or habit of gender? In L. Adkins & B. Skeggs, eds. Feminism After Bourdieu. Oxford and Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing / The Sociological Review, pp. 191–210.

Adkins, L. & Skeggs, B. eds., 2004. *Feminism After Bourdieu.* Oxford and Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing / The Sociological Review.

Albury, S. 2016. The BBC's diversity strategy is not good enough. [online]. *The Guardian*. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/may/04/the-bbcs-diversity-strategy-is-not-good-enough [Accessed May 5, 2016].

Allen, K., 2013. "What Do You Need to Make It as a woman in this industry? Balls!": Work Placements, Gender and the Cultural Industries. In D. Ashton & C. Noonan, eds. *Cultural Work and Higher Education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 232–253.

Allen, K., Quinn, J., Hollingworth, S., and Rose, A. 2013. Becoming employable students and 'ideal' creative workers: exclusion and inequality in higher education work placements, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*. Vol 34(3), pp. 431-452:

Allen, K. & Taylor, Y., 2012. Placing Parenting, Locating Unrest: Failed Femininities, Troubled Mothers and Riotous Subjects. *Studies in the Maternal* 4 (2), 1-25.

Antcliff, V., 2005. Broadcasting in the 1990s: competition, choice and inequality? *Media Culture Society* 27 (6), pp. 841-859.

Arsenault, A. & Castells, M., 2008. Switching Power: Rupert Murdoch and the Global Business of Media Politics: A Sociological Analysis. *International Sociology*, 23(4), pp.488–513.

Asher, R., 2011. *Shattered: Modern Motherhood and the Illusion of Equality.* London: Harvill Secker.

Ashton, D. & Noonan, C. eds., 2013. *Cultural Work and Higher Education*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ashton, D., 2013. Industry Practitioners in Higher Education: Values, Identities and Cultural Work. In D. Ashton & C. Noonan, eds. *Cultural Work and Higher Education*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 172–192.

Ashton, D., 2015. Creative work careers: pathways and portfolios for the creative economy. *Journal of Education and Work*, pp.1–19.

Association of Cinematograph and Television Technicians (ACTT) 1975. *Patterns of Discrimination*. London: ACTT.

Baehr, H., 1981. Women's employment in British television: Programming the future? *Media, Culture & Society*, 3(2), pp.125–134.

Bakshi, H., Freeman, A. and Higgs, P., 2013. *A Dynamic Mapping of the UK's Creative Industries.* London: Nesta.

Ball, V. 2011. The "Feminization" of British Television and the Re- Traditionalization of Gender. *Feminist Media Studies*, 12 (2), pp.248-264.

Banks, M., 2007. *The Politics of Cultural Work*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Banks, M., J. 2009. Gender Below-the-Line: Defining Feminist Production Studies. *In:* Mayer, V., Banks, M., J. & Caldwell, J. (eds.) *Production Studies*. New York: Routledge.

Barasitser, L. 2009. *Maternal Encounters. The Ethics of Interruption.*East Sussex: Routledge.

Barmes, L. & Ashtiany, S., 2003. The Diversity Approach to Achieving Equality: Potential and Pitfalls. *Industrial Law Journal*, 32(4), pp.274–297.

Barnard, C., Deakin, S., Hobbs, R., 2003. Opting Out of the 48-Hour Week: Employer Necessity or Individual Choice? An Empirical Study of the Operation of Article 18(1)(b) of the Working Time Directive in the UK. *Industrial Law Journal,* 32 (4). 223-252.

Baumann, A., 2002. Informal Labour Market Governance: the Case of the British and German Media Production Industries. *Work, Employment & Society,* 16 (1). 27-46.

BBC News, 2011. Miriam O'Reilly wins Countryfile ageism claim [online]. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-12161045. [Accessed August 15, 2016].

BBC Information Policy & Compliance, 2011. Freedom of Information Request - RFI20110614 [online]. Available at: http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/foi/classes/disclosure_logs/rfi20110614_male_female_salary_bands.pdf [Accessed October 1, 2016].

BBC. 2013. *The Great British class calculator* [online]. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-22000973. [Accessed September 1, 2014].

Beck, A. 2002. *Cultural Work: Understanding the Cultural Industries*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Beck, U., A. Giddens and S. Lash. 1994. *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beck, U. and Beck-Gernsheim, E. 2001. *Individualization: Institutionalized Individualism and its Social and Political consequences* London: Sage.

Bectu. 2016. Working Time Regulations [online]. Available at: https://www.bectu.org.uk/advice-resources/get-help/working-time [Accessed July 1, 22016].

Belfiore, E., 2002. Art as a means of alleviating social exclusion: Does it really work? A critique of instrumental cultural policies and social impact studies in the UK. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8(1), pp.91–106.

Belfiore, E., 2009. On bullshit in cultural policy practice and research: notes from the British case. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15(3), pp.343–359.

Bell, D. 1973. *The Coming of the Post-industrial Society* New York: Basic Books

Bilton, C., 2010. Manageable creativity. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 16(3), pp.255–269.

Blair, H., 2001. You're only as Good as Your Last Job: The Labour Process and Labour Market in the British Film Industry. *Work, Employment & Society*. 15 (1), pp.149-169.

Blair, H., 2003. Winning and Losing in Flexible Labour Markets: the Formation and Operation of Networks of Interdependence in the UK Film Industry. *Sociology.* 37 (4), pp. 677-694.

Blair, H., 2009. Active Networking: Action, Social Structure and the Process of Networking. *In:* Mckinlay, A. and Smith, C. eds. *Creative Labour: Working in the Creative Industries*. Basingstoke/ New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.116-134.

Boffey, D., 2015. Oxford and Cambridge condemned over failure to improve state school access [online]. *The Guardian*. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2015/dec/12/oxford-cambridge-state-school-admissions-failure. [Accessed August 3, 2016]

Born, G., 2002. Reflexivity and Ambivalence: Culture, Creativity and Government in the BBC. *Cultural Values* 6 (1&2) 65-90.

Born, G., 2005. *Uncertain Vision: Birt, Dyke and the Reinvention of the BBC*, London: Vintage.

Bould, S., Crespi., I. & Gunther, S., 2012. The cost of a child, mother's employment behavior and economic insecurity in Europe. *International Review of Sociology* 22 (1). 5-23.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a theory of practice.* Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1990. *In other words: Essays towards a reflexive sociology*. Translated by Matthew Adamson. Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. 2010. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. Harvard University Press

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. 1990. *Reproduction in education, society and cultu*re (Second ed.) Translated by Richard Nice. London, Newbury Park CA, New Delhi: Sage.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L., 2007. *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bournemouth University. 2009. *Research Ethics Code of Practice: September 2009* [online]. Available from:
http://portal.bournemouth.ac.uk/sites/Policies%20Procedures%20and%20Regulations/Shared%20Documents/Research%20Ethics%20Code%20of%20Practice%20Sept%202009.pdf
[Accessed July 1, 2010]

Boyatzis, R. E. 1998. *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Brandth, B. & Kvande, E., 2016. Fathers and flexible parental leave. *Work, Employment & Society*, 30(2), pp.275–290.

British Film Institute, University of the Third Age., 2010. Older Women in Feature Films. A Research Guide about Representations of Women over 60. Available at:
https://oldwomaninfeaturefilms.files.wordpress.com/2010/08/bfi.pdf [Accessed 4 Jan 2011].

Brooks, A. & Hesse-Biber, S.N., 2007. An Invitation to Feminist Research. In S. N. Hesse-Biber & P. L. Leavy, eds. *Feminist Research Practice: A Primer*. Thousand Oaks, London & New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 1–26.

Brooks, A., 2007. Feminist Standpoint Epistemology: Building Knowledge and Empowerment Through Women's Lived Experience. In In S. N. Hesse-Biber & P. L. Leavy, eds *Feminist Research Practice: A Primer* Thousand Oaks, London & New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd., pp. 53–82.

Bryant, A. & Charmaz, K., 2007. *The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Bryant, A. & Charmaz, K., 2007. Grounded Theory in Historical Perspective: An Epistemological Account. In A. Bryant & K. Charmaz, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 31–57.

Butler, J. 2006. *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. Second edition. Abingdon: Routledge.

Byerly, C.M., and Ross, K., 2006. *Women & Media: A Critical Introduction* Oxford: Blackwell.

Cady, K. A., 2012. Flexible Labor. A feminist response to late twentieth-century capitalism? *Feminist Media Studies*, 13 (3), 395-414.

Castañeda, M. & Isgro, K.L., 2013. *Mothers in Academia*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Caves, R., 2000. *Creative Industries. Contracts between Art and Commerce*, Cambridge, Massachusettes and London, England: Harvard University Press.

Chapain, C. et al., 2010. *Creative clusters and innovation. Putting creativity on the map*, London: Nesta.

Charmaz, K., 1983. Loss of self: a fundamental form of suffering in the chronically ill. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 5(2), pp.168–195.

Charmaz, K., 2005. *Grounded Theory in the 21st Century: Applications for Advancing Social Justice Studies*. In The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research 3rd Edition. pp. 507–536.

Charmaz, K., 2008. Grounded Theory as an Emergent Method. In S. N. Hesse-Biber & P. L. Leavy, eds. *Handbook of Emergent Methods*. New York and London: The Guildford Press, pp. 155–170.

Charmaz, K., 2014. *Constructing Grounded Theory* 2nd ed., London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Chodorow, N., 1978. *The reproduction of mothering: psychoanalysis and the sociology of gender*. University of California Press.

Christopher, K., 2012. Extensive Mothering: Employed Mothers' Constructions of the Good Mother. *Gender & Society,* 26 (1) 73-96.

Christopherson, S., 2009. Working in the Creative Economy: Risk, Adaption and the Persistence of Exclusionary Networks. *In:* Mckinlay, A. and Smith, C. eds. *Creative Labour: Working in the Creative Industries*. Basingstoke/ New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Clarke, A.E., 2005. *Situational Analysis Grounded Theory After the Postmodern Turn*, Thousand Oaks, London & New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Cobb, S.. Williams, L.R., and Wreyford, N., 2016. Calling the Shots: Women and Contemporary UK Film Culture [online]. University of Southampton, UK. Available at: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/cswf/project/number_tracking.page. [Accessed May 5, 2016].

Code, L., 2014. Feminist epistemology and the politics of knowledge: questions of Marginality. In: Evans, M., Hemmings, C., Henry, M., Johnstone, H., Madhok, S., Plomien, A., and Wearing, S., (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Feminist Theory* London: Sage Publications, pp.9-25.

Collier, D. & Mahoney, J., 1996. Insights and Pitfalls: Selection Bias in Qualitative Research. *World Politics*, 49(1).

Connell, R.W., 2005. *Masculinities* 2nd edition., Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, R.W. & Messerschmidt, J.W., 2005. Hegemonic Masculinity Rethinking the Concept. *Gender & Society*, 19(6), pp.829–859.

Conor, B., 2010. "Everybody's a Writer" Theorizing screenwriting as creative labour. *Journal of Screenwriting,* 1 (1) pp.27-43.

Costa Dias, M., Elming, W. & Joyce, R., 2016 *The Gender Wage Gap* Report. London: Institute for Fiscal Studies.

Creative Skillset 2000. *A Snapshot in Time. Employment census report.* Skillset: London. Available at: https://creativeskillset.org/assets/0000/5997/Skillset_Census_Results_2000.pdf [Accessed October 1, 2010]

Creative Skillset, 2002. *Employment Census report.* Skillset: London. Available at: https://creativeskillset.org/assets/0000/5998/Skillset_Census_Results_2002.pdf [Accessed October 1, 2010]

Creative Skillset, 2003. *Employment Census report.* Skillset: London. Available at: https://creativeskillset.org/assets/0000/5999/Skillset_Census_Results_2003.pdf [Accessed October 1, 2010]

Creative Skillset, 2006. *Employment Census 2006. The Results of the Sixth Census of the Audio Visual Industries.* Skillset: London. Available at: https://creativeskillset.org/assets/0000/5989/Employment_Census_2006_Report.pdf [Accessed October 1, 2010]

Creative Skillset 2008. *Balancing Children and Work in the Audio Visual Industries*. Available at: http://www.skillset.org/uploads/pdf/asset_11941.pdf. [Accessed October 1, 2010]

Creative Skillset. 2009. *The results of the seventh Census of the Creative Media Industries*. Skillset: London. [Accessed October 1, 2010]

Creative Skillset. 2010a. *2010 Creative Media Workforce Survey.* Skillset: London. Available at:
https://creativeskillset.org/assets/0000/6239/Skillset_Creative_Media_Workforce_Survey_2010.pdf . [Accessed November 1, 2010]

Creative Skillset 2010b. *Women in the Creative Media Industries.* Available at:
http://www.creativeskillset.org/uploads/pdf/asset_15343.pdf?3. [Accessed November 1, 2010]

Creative Skillset 2012. *Employment Census of the Creative Media Industries.* Available at:
http://creativeskillset.org/assets/0000/5070/2012_Employment_Census_of_the
_Creative_Media_Industries.pdf. [Accessed October 1, 2012]

Creative Skillset 2014. *The Creative Media Workforce Survey 2014..* London Skillset. Available at:
http://creativeskillset.org/assets/0001/0465/Creative_Skillset_Creative_Media_Workforce_Survey_2014.pdf [Accessed December 1, 2014].

Creative Skillset 2016a. Job Roles: Associate Producer or Assistant Producer [online]. Available at:
http://creativeskillset.org/job_roles/3067_associate_producer_or_assistant_producer [Accessed October 1, 2016]

Creative Skillset 2016b. Job Roles: Radio Broadcast Assistant [online]. Available at:
http://creativeskillset.org/job_roles/269_radio_broadcast_assistant [Accessed October 1, 2016]

Creative Skillset 2016c. Job Roles: Development Executive [online]. Available at:
http://creativeskillset.org/job_roles/3762_development_executive [Accessed October 1, 2016]

Creative Skillset 2016d. Job Roles: Director [online]. Available at:
http://creativeskillset.org/job_roles/758_director [Accessed October 1, 2016]

Creative Skillset 2016e. Job Roles: Producer [online]. Available at:
http://creativeskillset.org/job_roles/757_producer [Accessed October 1, 2016].

Creative Skillset 2016f. Job Roles: Production Manager [online]. Available at:
http://creativeskillset.org/job_roles/3068_production_manager [Accessed October 1, 2016].

Creative Skillset 2016g. Job Roles: Researcher [online]. Available at:
http://creativeskillset.org/job_roles/308_researcher_tv [Accessed October 1, 2016].

Creative Skillset 2016h. Job Roles: Runner/ Floor Runner [online]. Available at:
http://creativeskillset.org/job_roles/3830_runner_floor_runner [Accessed October 1, 2016].

Creative Skillset 2016i. Job Roles: Storyboard Artists [online]. Available at:
http://creativeskillset.org/job_roles/349_storyboard_artist_animation [Accessed October 1, 2016].

Creative Skillset & WFTV 2009. *Why her? Factors that have influenced successful women in Film and TV*. Available at: http://www.wftv.org.uk/sites/default/files/Why%20Her%20full%20report_0.pdf [Accessed October 1, 2010]

Creswell, J. W., 2009 *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 3rd edition. London: Sage Publications.

Crompton, R., 2002. Employment, flexible working and the family. *The British journal of sociology*, 53(4), pp.537–558

Crompton, R., 2006. *Employment and the family: the reconfiguration of work and family life in contemporary societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crompton, R., 2010. Class and employment. *Work, Employment & Society* 24 (1). 9-26.

Crockett, B., D'Arcy, C., Gridley, H. & Turner, C. 2011. "Where's the Feminism in Mothering?" *Journal of Community Psychology* 40 (1). 27-43.

Crosby, F.J., Williams, J.C. & Biernat, M., 2004. The Maternal Wall. *Journal of Social Issues*, 60(4), pp.675–682.

Cumberbatch, C., Gauntlett, S., Littlejohns, V., Woods, S., and Stephenson, C. 1999 .*Too Old for TV?: The portrayal of Older People on Television. A report for Age Concern England*. London: Age Concern.

D'Acci, J. 1994. *Defining Women: Television and the Case of Cagney and Lacey*. Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), 2001. *Creative Industries Mapping Document*. London: DCMS.

Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), 2013. *Making it easier for the media and creative industries to grow, while protecting the interests of citizens*. London: DCMS.

Department for Education and Skills (DfES). 2006. *Every Parent Matters*. London: DfES.

de Peuter, G. 2011. Creative Economy and Labor Precarity: A Contested Convergence. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 35(4), pp.417–425

de Peuter, G. 2013. Confronting Precarity in the Warhol Economy. *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 7(1), pp.31–47.

de Peuter, G. 2014. Beyond the Model Worker: Surveying a Creative Precariat. *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, 6, pp.263–284.

Deuze, M. 2007. *Media Work*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Dex, S. & Willis, J. 1999. Mothers Returning to TV Production Work: Equal Opportunities in a Flexible Labour Market. *Judge Institute Working Paper* WP8/99. University of Cambridge.

Dex, S., Willis, J., Paterson, R. & Sheppard, E. 2000. Freelance Workers and Contract Uncertainty: The Effects of Contractual Changes in the Television Industry. *Work, Employment & Society.* 14 (2). 283-305.

Directors UK 2014. *Women Directors – Who's Calling the Shots?* Report. London: Directors UK. Available at: http://creativediversitynetwork.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/women-directors-whos-calling-the-shots.pdf [Accessed December 5, 2014].

Dorling, D., 2014. Thinking about Class. *Sociology*, 48(3), pp.452–462.

Draper, J., 2014. Theorizing creative agency through "discerned savvy": a tool for the critical study of media industries. *Media, Culture & Society*, 36(8), pp.1118–1133.

Du Gay, P., 1997. *Productions of Culture / Culture of Production.* London: Sage Publications.

Du Gay, P., & Nixon, S., 2002. Who Needs Cultural Intermediaries. *Cultural Studies.* 16 (4). 495-500.

Dyer-Witheford, N. & de Peuter, G., 2006. "EA Spouse" and the Crisis of Video Game Labour: Enjoyment, Exclusion, Exploitation, and Exodus. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 31(3).

Eikhof, D.R. & Warhurst, C., 2013. The promised land? Why social inequalities are systematic in the creative industries. *Employee Relations*, 35(5), pp.495–508.

European Women's Audiovisual (EWA) Network, 2016a. Where are the Women Directors? Report on gender equality for directors in the European film industry. Full Report.
Available at: http://www.ewawomen.com/uploads/files/MERGED_Press-2016.pdf
[Accessed August 5, 2016].

European Women's Audiovisual (EWA) Network, 2016b. Where are the Women Directors? Report on gender equality for directors in the European film industry. UK National Report. Available at:
http://www.ewawomen.com/uploads/Research_reports/EWA_UK_NationalReport.pf
[Accessed August 5, 2016].

Feasey, R., 2012. Absent, Ineffectual and Intoxicated Mothers: Representing the maternal in teen television. *Feminist Media Studies* 12(1). 155-159

Florida, R., 2002. *The Rise of the Creative Class and How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life.* New York: Basic Books.

Follows, S., Kreager, A., & Gomes, E. 2016. *Cut out of the Picture. A study of gender inequality amongst film directors in the UK film industry* London: Directors UK.

Fonow, M. M. & Cook, J. A. (eds.) 1991. *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research*. Indiana University Press.

Frenette, A., 2013. Making the Intern Economy: Role and Career Challenges of the Music Industry Intern. *Work and Occupations*, 40(4), pp.364–397

Friedan, B. 1963. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: WW Norton & Company.

Fries, C. 2009. Bourdieu's Reflexive Sociology as a Theoretical Basis for Mixed Methods Research: An Application to Complementary and Alternative Medicine. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research.* 3 (4). 326-348.

Furedi, F., 2002. *Paranoid Parenting: Why ignoring the experts may be best for your child*. Chicago: Chicago Review Press.

Gallagher, M., 1981. *Unequal Opportunities. The Case of Women and the Media.* Unesco Press.

Gambles, R., 2011. Creating hard-working, responsible parents: A New Labour Structure of Feeling? Thesis (PhD). Open University.

Garnham, N., 2005. From cultural to creative industries. *International Journal of Cultural Policy.* 11 (1). 15-29.

Garnham, N. & Williams, R., 1980. Pierre Bourdieu and the sociology of culture: an introduction. *Media, Culture & Society*, 2(3), pp.209–223.

Gatrell, C.J., 2013. Maternal body work: How women managers and professionals negotiate pregnancy and new motherhood at work. *Human Relations*, 66(5), pp.621–644.

Gerhardt, S. 2003. *Why Love Matters. How Affection Shapes a Baby's Brain.* London: Routledge.

Gibson, B., 2007. Accommodating Critical Theory. In A. Bryant & K. Charmaz, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 436–453.

Giddens, A., 1987 'What do Sociologists do?' University of Cambridge Inaugural Lecture [online]. Available at: http://www.soc.ucsb.edu/faculty/mohr/classes/soc1/Fall%202009/Course%20Readings/Downloadable%20Readings/Week%202-Individualism/Giddens,WhatSociologistsDo.pdf [Accessed August 5, 2016].

Giddens, A., 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity Self and Society in the Late Modern Age.,* Wiley.

Giddens, A. & Hutton, W. eds., 2001. *On the edge: living with global capitalism* London: Vintage

Gill, R. 2002., Cool, creative and egalitarian?' Explaining gender in project based new media work in Europe. *Information, Communication and Society*, 5 (1). 70-89.

Gill, R., 2007a. *Gender & the Media*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gill, R., 2007b. Postfeminist media culture: Elements of a sensibility. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 10(2), pp.147–166.

Gill, R. 2012. Sexism reloaded, or it's time to get angry again?' *In:* Carter, C & McLaughlin, L., eds *Current Perspectives in Feminist Media Studies*. London and New York: Routledge.

Gill, R., 2014. Unspeakable Inequalities: Post Feminism, Entrepreneurial Subjectivity, and the Repudiation of Sexism among Cultural Workers. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 21(4), pp.509–528.

Gill, R., & Pratt, A., 2008. In the Social Factory? Immaterial Labour, Precariousness and Cultural Work. *Theory Culture Society,* 25 (7-8), pp.1-30.

Gill, R. & Scharff, C. 2013. New femininities: Postfeminism, neoliberalism, and subjectivity. Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Gillies, V., 2005. Raising the "Meritocracy" Parenting and the Individualization of Social Class. *Sociology*, 39(5), pp.835–853

Glaser, B.G., 1992. *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis: Emergence Vs. Forcing.* Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.

Glenn, E.N., 1994. Social Constructions of Mothering: A Thematic Overview. In E. N. Glenn, G. Chang, & L. R. Forcey, eds. *Mothering: Ideology, Experience and Agency*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 1–29.

Glenn, E.N., Chang, G. & Forcey, L.R., 1994. *Mothering: Ideology, Experience and Agency*, New York and London: Routledge.

Goffman, E., 1990. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, London: Penguin Books.

Gov.uk. 2016. Flexible working [online]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/flexible-working/overview [Accessed May 5, 20160.

Graduate Prospects Ltd. 2016a. Job Profiles: Animator [online]. Available at: https://www.prospects.ac.uk/job-profiles/animator [Accessed October 1, 2016]

Graduate Prospects Ltd. 2016b. Job Profiles: Programme researcher broadcasting/film/video [online]. Available at: https://www.prospects.ac.uk/job-profiles/programme-researcher-broadcasting-film-video [Accessed October 1, 2016]

Grugulis, I., and Stoyanova, D. 2012. Social Capital and Networks in Film and TV: Jobs for the Boys? *Organization Studies.* 33 (10), pp.1311-1331.

Guba, E. G., and Lincoln, Y.S., 2005. Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions and emerging confluences. *In:* Denzin, N .K., and Lincoln, Y. S., eds *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* Third Edition, 191 – 216. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications.

Guile, D. J., 2010. Learning to work in the creative and cultural sector: new spaces, pedagogies and expertise. *Journal of Education Policy.* 25 (4), pp.465-484.

Hakim, C. 2006. Women, careers and work-life preferences. *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling,* 34 (3). 279-294.

Hanna, P., 2012. Using internet technologies (such as Skype) as a research medium: a research note. *Qualitative Research*, 12(2), pp.239–242.

Hardt, M. and Negri, A., 2000. *Empire.* Harvard University Press.

Hays, S. 1998. *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood*. Yale University Press.

Higher Education Statistical Authority (HESA), 2014. *Higher Education Statistics for the UK 2012/13 | HESA*, [online]. Available at: https://www.hesa.ac.uk/data-and-analysis/publications/higher-education-2012-13. [Accessed January 15, 2015].

Hesmondhalgh, D., 2005. Media and Cultural Policy as Public Policy. The case of the British Labour government. *International Journal of Cultural Policy.* 11 (1), 95-110.

Hesmondhalgh, D., 2006. Bourdieu, the media and cultural production. *Media, Culture & Society.* 28 (2), 211-231.
Hesmondhalgh, D. 2007. *The Cultural Industries*, 2nd Edition. London: Sage Publications Limited.

Hesmondhalgh, D., Nisbett, M., Oakley, K., and Lee, D., 2013. Were New Labour's cultural policies neo-liberal? *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 1-18.

Hesmondhalgh, D., and Pratt, A., 2005. Cultural Industries and Cultural Policy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy.* 11 (1), 1-13.

Hesmondhalgh, D. and S. Baker. 2011. *Creative Labour: Media Work in Three Cultural Industries.* Abingdon UK: Routledge.

Hesse-Biber, S.N., 2007a. The Practice of Feminist In-Depth Interviewing. In S. N. Hesse-Biber & P. L. Leavy, eds. *Feminist Research Practice: A Primer*. Thousand Oaks, London & New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 111–148.

Hesse-Biber, S.N., 2007b. Putting it together: Feminist research praxis. In S. N. Hesse-Biber & P. L. Leavy, eds. *Feminist Research Practice: A Primer*. Thousand Oaks, London & New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 329-350

Hesse-Biber, S.N., 2007c. Teaching Grounded Theory. In A. Bryant & K. Charmaz, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 311–338.

Hesse-Biber, S.N. & Leavy, P.L., eds. 2007. Feminist Research Practice: A Primer. Thousand Oaks, London & New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Hesse-Biber, S. N., and Leavy, P., eds. 2008. *Handbook of Emergent Methods*. New York & London: The Guildford Press.

Hewlett, S.A., 2002. Executive Women and the Myth of Having It All. *Harvard Business Review*.

Hewlett, S.A. & Luce, C.B., 2005. Off-Ramps and On-Ramps: Keeping Talented Women on the Road to Success. *Harvard Business Review*, 83(7), pp.43–54.

Hewson, C and Buchanan, T., 2013. Ethics Guidelines for Internet-mediated Research. The British Psychological Society, Leicester. Available at: http://www.bps.org.uk/system/files/Public%20files/inf206-guidelines-for-internet-mediated-research.pdf [Accessed October 1, 2014].

Higgs, P., Cunningham, S. & Bakhshi, H., 2008. *Beyond the creative industries: Mapping the creative economy in the United Kingdom*, London: Nesta

Hill Collins, P., 1994. Shifting the Center: Race, Class, and Feminist Theorizing about Motherhood. In E. N. Glenn, G. Chang, & L. R. Forcey, eds. *Mothering: Ideology, Experience and Agency*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 45–66.

Hill Collins, P., 2000. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*: Abingdon UK: Routledge.

Hochschild, A. R. 1983. *The managed heart: Commercialization of human feeling*, University of California Press.

Hochschild, A. R., 2001. Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value. In Hutton, W., and Giddens, A. (eds) *On the edge: living with global capitalism* London: Vintage pp.130-146.

Hochschild, A.R. 2012. *The Second Shift. Working Families and the Revolution at Home.* Revised edition. London: Penguin books.

Holgate, J., McKay, S., 2009. Equal opportunities policies: how effective are they in increasing diversity in the audio-visual industries' freelance labour market? *Media, Culture & Society,* 31 (1), pp.151-163.

Holvino, E., 2010. "Intersections: The Simultaneity of Race, Gender and Class in Organization Studies." *Gender, Work & Organization*,17 (3), 248-277.

hooks, b. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom*. London and New York: Routledge.

Howe, K.,1988. Against the Quantitative-Qualitative Incompatibility Thesis or Dogmas Die Hard. *Educational Researcher* 17, 10-16.

Independent Schools Council (ISC). 2016. *ISC Census and Annual Report* [online]. Available at: http://www.isc.co.uk/media/3179/isc_census_2016_final.pdf [Accessed August 1, 2016].

Irwin, S., 2009. Data Analysis and Interpretation: Emergent Issues in Linking Qualitative and Quantitative Evidence. In: Hesse-Biber, S.N., and Leavy, P., eds *Handbook of Emergent Methods*. New York & London: The Guildford Press, pp.415-436.

Jeremiah, E., 2006. Motherhood to Mothering and Beyond: Maternity in Recent Feminist Thought. *Journal of the Association for Research on Mothering*, 8(1,2), pp.21–33.

Jenkins, H., 2008. *Convergence culture : where old and new media collide*, New York University Press.

Kelan, E. 2008. Gender, risk and employment insecurity: The masculine breadwinner subtext. *Human Relations,* 61, pp.1171-1202.

King, E. 1996. The use of the self in qualitative research. In Richardson, J.T.E (ed) *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and the Social Sciences*. The British Pyschological Society (BPS) pp.175-188.

Kristeva, J., 1986. Stabat Mater. In T. Moi, ed. *The Kristeva Reader*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, pp. 160–186.

Kristeva, J., 1981. Women's Time. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 7(1), pp.13–35.

Kvale, S., 2006. Dominance Through Interviews and Dialogues. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(3), pp.480–500.

Kvale, S. and Brinkmann, S., 2009. *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing.* Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Lareau, A., 2003. *Unequal childhoods: class, race, and family life* University of California Press.

Lauzen, M. 2015. The Celluloid Ceiling: Behind-the-Scenes Employment of Women on the Top 250 Films of 2014. http://womenintvfilm.sdsu.edu/files/2014_Celluloid_Ceiling_Report.pdf. [Accessed October 5, 2015].

Lawler, S. 2000 *Mothering the Self. Mothers, daughers, subjects* London: Routledge

Lawler, S. 2004. Rules of engagement: Habitus, power and resistance. In*:* Adkins, L. & Skeggs, B. (eds.) *Feminism After Bourdieu.* Oxford: Blackwell, pp.110-128

Lee, E., Bristow, J., Faircloth, C., and Macvarish, J. 2014. *Parenting Culture Studies*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lee, D., 2011(a). The Ethics of Insecurity: Risk, Individualization and Value in British Independent Television Production. *Television New Media.* pp.1- 18.

Lee, D., 2011(b). Networks, cultural capital and creative labour in the British independent Television Industry. *Media, Culture & Society*. 33 (4), pp.549-565.

Le Gallais, T., 2008. Wherever I go there I am: reflections on reflexivity and the research stance. *Reflective Practice,* 9 (2), pp.145-155.

Lovejoy, M. & Stone, P., 2012. Opting Back In: The Influence of Time at Home on Professional Women's Career Redirection after Opting Out. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 19(6), pp.631–653.

Lovell, T., 2004. Bourdieu, class and gender: "The return of the living dead?" In*:* Adkins, L. & Skeggs, B. (eds.) *Feminism After Bourdieu.* Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 37–56.

Lovell, T., 2000. Thinking Feminism with and against Bourdieu. *Feminist Theory*, 1(1), pp.11–32.

Lunt, P., and Livingstone, S., 2011. *Media Regulation: Governance and the Interests of Citizens and Consumers*. London: Sage Publications.

Mackay, F. 2001. *Love and Politics: Women Politicians and the Ethics of Care.* London and New York: Continuum.

Macvarish, J., 2010. Understanding the Significance of the Teenage Mother in Contemporary Parenting Culture. *Sociological Research Online*, 15(4) 3.
Macvarish, J., 2006. What is "the Problem" of Singleness? *Sociological Research Online*, 11(3).

Macvarish, J., 2014. Babies' Brains and Parenting Policy. In E. Lee et al., eds. *Parenting Culture Studies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.165–183.

Madianou, M., 2012. Migration and the accentuated ambivalence of motherhood: the role of ICTs in Filipino transnational families. *Global Networks* 12 (3), pp.277-295.

Maykut, P., and Morehouse, R., 1994. *Beginning Qualitative Research A Philosophical and Practical Guide.* London: The Falmer Press.

McCall, L., 2005. The Complexity of Intersectionality. *Signs* 30 (3), pp.1771-1800.

McKinlay, A. & Smith, C. 2009. *Creative labour: working in the creative industries* Basingstoke/ New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

McNay, L., 1999. Gender, Habitus and the Field. Pierre Bourdieu and the Limits of Reflexivity. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 16(1), pp.95–117.

McNay, L., 2004. Agency and experience: gender as a lived relation. In L. Adkins & B. Skeggs, eds. *Feminism After Bourdieu*. Oxford and Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 175–190.

McRobbie, A. 1998. *British Fashion Design: Rag Trade or Image Industry?* London and New York: Routledge.

McRobbie, A., 2002. Clubs to Companies: Notes on the decline of political culture in speeded up creative worlds. *Cultural Studies* 14 (4) pp.516-531.

McRobbie, A. 2004. Notes on 'What Not To Wear' and post-feminist symbolic violence. In*: Adkins, L. & Skeggs, B. (eds.) *Feminism After Bourdieu.* Oxford: Blackwell, pp.99-109.

McRobbie, A. 2009. *The aftermath of feminism: Gender, culture and social change,* London: Sage.

Meehan, E.R. & Wasko, J., 2014. In Defence of a Political Economy of the Media. *Javnost - The Public: Journal of the European Institute for Communication and Culture*, 20(1), pp.39–53.

Mertens, D. M., 2012. What Comes First? The Paradigm or the Approach? *Journal of Mixed Methods Research,* 6 (4), pp.255-257.

Moi, T. 1991. Appropriating Bourdieu: Feminist theory and Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of culture. *New Literary History,* 22, pp.1017-1049.

Moi, T., 1986. *The Kristeva Reader*, Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd

Mruck, K. & Mey, G., 2007. Grounded Theory and Reflexivity. In A. Bryant & K. Charmaz, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 514–538.

Mulvey, L. 1975. Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema. *Screen* 16(3) pp.6-18.

Nast, H.J., 1994. Women in the Field: Critical Feminist Methodologies and Theoretical Perspectives. *The Professional Geographer.* 46 (1) pp.54-66.

Neill, S.J., 2006. Grounded theory sampling: The contribution of reflexivity. *Journal of Research in Nursing*, 11(3), pp.253–260.

Nixon, S. & Crewe, B., 2004. Pleasure at Work? Gender, Consumption and Work Based Identities in the Creative Industries. *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 7(2), pp.129–147.

Noonan, C., 2013. Smashing Childlike Wonder? The Early Journey into Higher Education. In *Cultural Work and Higher Education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 133–153.

Oakley, A.,1975. *The Sociology of Housework.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Oakley, A., 1981. *From Here to Maternity: Becoming a Mother*, London: Penguin Books.

Oakley, A. 1999. Paradigm wars: some thoughts on a personal and public trajectory. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* 2**,** pp.247-254.

Oakley, A., 2016. Interviewing Women Again: Power, Time and the Gift. *Sociology*, 50(1), pp.195–213.

Oakley, K., 2004. Not So Cool Britannia: The Role of the Creative Industries in Economic Development. *International Journal of Cultural Studies,* 7 (1), pp.67-77.

Oakley, K., 2011. In its own image: New Labour and the Cultural Workforce. *Cultural Trends,* 20 (3-4), pp.281-289.

O'Brien, A., 2014. "Men own television": why women leave media work. *Media, Culture & Society*, 36(8), pp.1207–1218.

O'Brien, D. et al., 2016. Are the creative industries meritocratic? An analysis of the 2014 British Labour Force Survey. *Cultural Trends*. Available at: http://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/uczdSSsi8UrKkEg8M3QU/full [Accessed April 14, 2016].

Office of National Statistics (ONS) 2011. Full-time working driving up mothers' employment rate. News release.

Office of National Statistics (ONS) 2015. *Participation rates in the UK - 2014 - 2. Women.* London: ONS. Available at: http://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/compendium/participationratesintheuklabourmarket/2015-03-19/participationratesintheuk20142women. [Accessed July 1, 2016]

Olesen, V., 2005. Early Millennial Feminist Qualitative Research. In *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* 3rd Edition. pp. 235–278.

Olesen, V.L., 2007. Feminist Qualitative Research and Grounded Theory: Complexities, Criticisms, and Opportunities. In A. Bryant & K. Charmaz, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 417–435.

O'Meera, S., 2012. Internet Trolls Up Their Harassment Game With "Beat Up Anita Sarkeesian." *The Huffington Post*. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2012/07/06/internet-trolls-online-beat-up-anita-sarkeesian-game_n_1653473.html?utm_hp_ref=uk. [Accessed July 1, 2016]

Orgad, S., 2016. Incongruous encounters: media representations and lived experiences of stay-at-home mothers. *Feminist Media Studies*, 16(3), pp.478–494.

Orgad, S. & De Benedictis, S., 2015. The "stay-at-home" mother, postfeminism and neoliberalism: Content analysis of UK news coverage. *European Journal of Communication*, pp.1–19.

Osborne, H., 2016. Tiny proportion of men are opting for shared parental leave. *The Guardian* [online]. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/money/2016/apr/05/shared-parental-leave-slow-take-up-fathers-paternity [Accessed May 5, 2016].

Pallant, J., 2010. *SPSS survival manual : a step by step guide to data analysis using SPSS*, Open University Press/McGraw-Hill.

Parker, R., 2005. *Torn in Two: The Experience of Maternal Ambivalence* Second edition., London: Virago Press.

Paterson, R., 2010. The contingencies of creative work in television. *The Open Communication Journal*, 4, pp.1–9.

Pearson, A., 2003, *I Don't Know How She Does It.* London: Vintage Books.

Perrons, D., 2000. Care, Paid Work, and Leisure: Rounding the Triangle. *Feminist Economics,* 6 (1), pp.105-114.

Perlin, R., 2012. *Intern nation : How to earn nothing and learn little in the brave new economy*. London: Verso.

Piore, M and Sabel, C.,1984. *The Second Industrial Divide*, New York: Basic Books.

Plano Clark, V.L., Creswell, J.W., O'Neil Green, D., and Shope, R.J., 2008. Mixing Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches: An Introduction to Emergent Methods Research. *In:* Hesse-Biber, S.N., and Leavy, P., eds., *Handbook of Emergent Methods*. New York & London: The Guildford Press, 363-388.

Pollard, E., 2013. Making Your Way: Empirical Evidence from a Survey of 3,500 Graduates. In Ashton, D. & Noonan, C., eds., *Cultural Work and Higher Education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK pp. 45-66.

Pratt, A. C. 2009. Cultural economy. *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, Volume 2. R. Kitchen and N. Thrift. Oxford, Elsevier. 2: 407-410.

Producers Guild of America (PGA) 2016. Frequently Asked Questions [online]. Available at: http://www.producersguild.org/?page=faq [Accessed October 1, 2016]

Raising Films. 2016. *Making it Possible, Voices of Parents & Carers in the UK Film and TV Industry*. London: Raising Films. Available at: http://www.raisingfilms.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Making-it-Possible-Campaign-Report.pdf [Accessed August 1, 2016].

Randle, K., Forson, C. & Calveley, M. 2015. Towards a Bourdieusian analysis of the social composition of the UK film and television workforce. *Work, Employment & Society* 29(4) pp.590-606.

Randle, K. & Hardy, K., 2016. Macho, mobile and resilient? How workers with impairments are doubly disabled in project-based film and television work. *Work, Employment & Society*. [online] Available at: http://wes.sagepub.com.libezproxy.bournemouth.ac.uk/content/early/2016/06/30/0950017016643482.full.pdf+html [Accessed July 5, 2016].

Rich, A., 1986. *Of Woman Born. Motherhood as Experience and Institution*, New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company.

Ridgeway, C.L. & Correll, S.J., 2004. Motherhood as a Status Characteristic. *Journal of Social Issues*, 60(4), pp.683–700.

Robarts, S., 1981. *Account of the Thames Positive Action Project, 1980–81*. London: Thames Television.

Rose, N., 1990. *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*, London: Routledge.

Ross, A., 2008. The New Geography of Work: Power to the Precarious? *Theory, Culture & Society*, 25(7–8), pp.31–49.

Ross, A., 2009. *Nice Work If You Can Get It: Life and Labor in Precarious Times*, New York and London: NYU Press.

Rowlands, L. & Handy, J., 2012. An addictive environment: New Zealand film production workers' subjective experiences of project-based labour. *Human Relations*, 65(5), pp.657–680.

Ruddick, S., 1989. *Maternal thinking: toward a politics of peace* First Edition., Boston: Beacon Press.

Russell Group (the). 2016. *Russell Group Profile* [online]. Available at: http://russellgroup.ac.uk/media/5420/profile-of-the-russell-group-june-2016.pdf [accessed June 5, 2016].

Sandberg, S. 2010 'Why We Have Too Few Women Leaders' [online] TEDWomen https://www.ted.com/talks/sheryl_sandberg_why_we_have_too_few_women_leaders?language=en [Accessed September 11, 2016].

Sandberg, S. 2013. *Lean in: Women, work, and the will to lead* Random House.

Sarkeesian, A. 2015. Gender Breakdown of Games Showcased at E3 2015. *Feminist Frequency.* Available at: http://feministfrequency.com/2015/06/22/gender-breakdown-of-games-showcased-at-e3-2015/.

Savigny, H., 2014. Women, know your limits: cultural sexism in academia. *Gender and Education*, 26(7), pp.794–809.

Schulman, A. 2013. Alexandra Shulman on working from home: it's not an adequate alternative. *The Guardian* [online]. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/money/2013/mar/02/alexandra-shulman-working-from-home [Accessed August 5, 2016].

Sennett, R. 1998. *The corrosion of character: the personal consequences of work in the new capitalism.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Sims, M., 1985. *Women in BBC Management*, BBC Report. London: BBC.

Smithson, J. & Stokoe, E. H. 2005. Discourses of work–life balance: negotiating 'genderblind'terms in organizations. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 12, pp.147-168.

Snitow, A., 1992. Feminism and Motherhood: An American Reading. *Feminist Review*, 40(Spring), pp.32–51.

StartinTV. 2016a Assistant Producer Factual TV [online]. Available at: http://www.startintv.com/jobs/assistant-producer-factual-tv.php [Accessed October 1, 2016]

StartinTV. 2016b. Producer/Director – BBC [online]. Available at: http://www.startintv.com/jobs/producerdirector-bbc.php [Accessed October 1, 2016].

StartinTV. 2016c. Series Producer [online]. Available at: http://www.startintv.com/jobs/series-producer.php [Accessed October 1, 2016].

Stone, P., 2007. *Opting out: why women really quit careers and head home*, University of California Press.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J,M., 1998. *Basics of Qualitative Research.* Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications.

Sullivan, J., 2012. Skype: An Appropriate Method of Data Collection of qualitative Interviews? *The Hilltop Review* 6 (1), pp.55-60.

Sveland, M., 2007. *Bitter Bitch.* Translated by Katarina E Tucker. London: Constable and Robinson.

Tasker, Y. 1993. *Spectacular Bodies: Gender, Genre, and the Action Cinema.* Psychology Press.

Taylor, S. 2010. Negotiating oppositions and uncertainties: Gendered conflicts in creative identity work. *Feminism & Psychology* 21(3) pp.354-371.

Taylor, S., 2012. 'One participant said ...': the implications of quotations from biographical talk' *Qualitative Research*, 12, 388-401.

Taylor, S. & Littleton, K., 2013. Negotiating a Contemporary Creative Identity. In Ashton, D. & Noonan, C., (eds) *Cultural Work and Higher Education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK pp. 154–171.

The Sutton Trust, 2006. *The Educational Backgrounds of Leading Journalists*, [online]. London. The Sutton Trust. Available at: http://www.suttontrust.com/wp-content/uploads/2006/06/Journalists-backgrounds-final-report.pdf

Townley, B., Beech, N. & Mckinlay, A., 2009. Managing in the creative industries: Managing the motley crew. *Human Relations*, 62(7), pp.939–962.

Tyler, I., 2008. 'Chav Mum Chav Scum'. *Feminist Media Studies* 8 (1), 17-34.

Tyler, I., 2015. Classificatory struggles: class, culture and inequality in neoliberal times. *The Sociological Review*, 63(2), pp.493–511.

Tyler, I., 2013. Pregnant Beauty: Maternal Femininities under Neoliberalism. In R. Gill & C. Scharff, eds. *New Femininities: Postfeminism, Neoliberalism and Subjectivity*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp.21–36.

Ursell, G., 1998. Labour flexibility in the UK commercial television sector. *Media, Culture & Society,* (20) 1, pp.129- 152.

Ursell G., 2000. Television production: issues of exploitation, commodification and subjectivity in UK television labour markets. *Media, Culture & Society* 22 (6), pp.805-825.

Ursell, G., 2003. Creating Value and Valuing Creation in Contemporary UK Television: or "dumbing down" the workforce. *Journalism Studies*, 4(1), pp.31–46.
Vaismoradi, M., Turunen, H. & Bondas, T., 2013. Content analysis and thematic analysis: Implications for conducting a qualitative descriptive study. *Nursing & Health Sciences*, 15(3), pp.398–405.

Wajcman, J. 1998. *Managing like a man: Women and men in corporate management*, Pennsylvania State University Press.

Walby, S., 2007. Complexity theory, systems theory and multiple intersecting social inequalities. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 37(4), pp.449–470.

Walby, S., 2011. Is the Knowledge Society Gendered? *Gender, Work and Organization*, 18(1), pp.1–29.

Walby, S., 1989. Theorising Patriarchy. *Sociology*, 23(2), pp.213–234.

Walker, D. & Myrick, F., 2006. Grounded theory: an exploration of process and procedure. *Qualitative health research*, 16(4), pp.547–559.

Walkerdine, V., 2003. Reclassifying Upward Mobility: Femininity and the neo-liberal subject. *Gender and Education*, 15(3), pp.237–248.

Walter, N., 2010. *Living Dolls: The Return of Sexism*, London: Virago Press.

Wells, L., 2015. *Becoming Invisible: Parenthood in Creative Industries* London: Eleventh Hour. http://www.eleventhhourproject.org/research-findings

Wikipedia. 2016a. Assistant Director [online]. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Assistant_director [Accessed October 1, 2016]

Wikipedia 2016b. Executive Producer [online]. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Executive_producer [Accessed October 1, 2016]

Wikipedia 2016c. Production Coordinator [online]. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Production_coordinator [Accessed October 1, 2016].

Williams, J.C., 1991. Gender Wars: Selfless Women in the Republic of Choice. *New York University Law Review*, 66, pp.1559–1634.

Williams, J.C., 2004. The Maternal Wall. *Harvard Business Review*, October, pp.26–28.

Williams, J.C., 2005. The glass ceiling and the maternal wall in academia. New Directions for Higher Education, Summer(130), pp.91–105.

Wolf, N., 2002. *Misconceptions: Truth, Lies and the Unexpected on the Journey to Motherhood*, London: Vintage.

Wreyford, N., 2016. *The Gendered Contexts of Screenwriting Work: Informal Recruitment and Judgments of Taste and Talent in the UK Film Industry* Thesis, (PhD). King's College London.