



Rapid Evidence Assessment of Diversity in Public Service Broadcasting

Final report for Ofcom

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Executive Summary

This document presents the results of a Rapid Evidence Analysis (REA) of diversity in public service broadcasting. The study was designed to identify gaps in knowledge and new research directions. A scoping exercise was first conducted, comprising a search of grey literature¹ and Ofcom's own research database, and two interviews with academic consultants working in parallel fields (film and publishing). The scoping identified the search terms, topics, gaps in existing knowledge, and potentially useful disciplines to consult for the main review. The review itself was conducted across five academic journal databases. Sixty-eight articles were included in the final rapid evidence analysis.

The combined insights from the scoping exercise and the review show that overall, there is a division of research between industry-funded work largely focused on diversity in production, and academic work investigating diversity in on-screen portrayals. While each offers important insights, there are limitations to both:

- Industry-funded work, while providing valuable data on diversity in production, is not independent² and so the research agenda is aligned generally with industry objectives.
- Industry-funded research is vulnerable to defining diversity only in numerical terms, overlooking the *experiences* of marginalised groups. Tracking the diversity of the workforce in statistical terms is necessary, but not sufficient.
- It is not clear whether the research is simply done 'about' individuals from marginalised groups, rather than 'with' them. As such, it is unclear whether a focus on diversity in broadcasting organisations is genuinely 'democratising' organisations and institutions.
- Academic research is skewed towards small-scale analysis of on-screen content. While such analyses are not generalisable, they provide very rich data on the quality of portrayal and the complex ways in which diversity can add meaning and nuance to narratives and characters. However, there is still a lack of research on how on-screen portrayal is changing over time both quantitatively and qualitatively, and questions remain about how well diversity is represented across the full range of programme types delivered by different public service channels.

The investigation of diversity categories is uneven, with some attracting far more attention than others:

- Gender and race/ethnicity receive most attention in both academic and industry research.
- Disability is evaluated in industry analyses, identified through the grey literature, but receives less attention in academic work. In contrast, class receives more academic attention but is rarely considered in the grey literature.
- Other protected characteristics receive more limited (or no) attention.
- Diversity relating to, or in the UK regions received very limited attention.
- In the grey literature, intersectional analyses of diversity are absent, suggesting that it remains more of an analytical concept than one applied to diversity in practice.

¹ The grey literature includes industry reports, internal reviews where available, reports and reviews conducted by diversity-focused associations and regulators. It does not include peer-reviewed academic publications (which are included in the main REA) or academic books.

² Industry research is often conducted by an external organisation, but the agenda is still determined by the commissioning organisation.

Both the grey literature and the academic research show a significant gap in audience research. Very few studies address the ways in which audiences receive, interpret and make meaning of diversity. However, this information is vital to understanding whether the diversity policies, practices and portrayals that public service broadcasters pursue are actually achieving their purpose.

Methodologically, across both the grey literature and the academic research the range of methods used is relatively narrow. Findings are necessarily limited to the capacity of these methods, and there is a risk that important insights are lost. A wider range of methods is needed in industry and academic work to address this, including quantitative methods, audience-focused methods such as interviews and focus groups, visual analysis tools, and text-based methods such as discourse analysis or framing analysis.

In light of the findings, we make the following recommendations for a future research agenda on diversity in public service broadcasting:

1. Research should consider addressing under-researched diversity categories, particularly class, disability, religion, and sexuality, and should adopt an intersectional approach to ensure that the challenges arising from complex identity categories (e.g. women of colour, people with a disability and a different sexual orientation) are understood.
2. Research needs to pay more attention to diversity in relation to the UK's regions. The government's levelling up agenda is directly relevant here, as is the reality of devolved responsibility for decisions about post-Covid recovery, which need to be more widely and effectively communicated. Research can highlight gaps in coverage that could be addressed by public service broadcasters.
3. More research on diversity in the context of production is needed, particularly using qualitative and mixed methods to analyse the views and experiences of those working in the industry, whether employed as freelancers or in-house. This would complement the current emphasis on industry priorities in production research.
4. More research on the audience is required. Reception studies are needed to identify how diversity in on-screen portrayals affect audience expectations, understanding, meaning-making and acceptance (or rejection) in relation to diverse identities on-screen. This would inform assessments of how successfully public service broadcasters are achieving their diversity ambitions.
5. Research on on-screen portrayals should be extended into larger scale cross-sectional and longitudinal studies so that trends can be identified beyond single programmes or genres, and over time. Such research would help pinpoint where public service broadcasters are performing well or poorly (e.g. in relation to types of diversity portrayed, or the most and least successful genres for portraying diversity), and could provide the evidence base for regulatory or policy interventions to boost positive broadcasting outcomes and address problem areas.

6. Research should devote more attention to UK public service broadcasters other than the BBC, to ensure that their role in the production, on-screen portrayal and audience responses to diversity in UK public service broadcasting is adequately understood and addressed.
7. Research should aim to span production, portrayal, and audience reception — and other factors such as media regulation and identity — in the context of the same research project, in order to understand the complex relationships that exist between these processes and how they contribute to determining the way diversity is mediated by public service broadcasters.

Background and objectives of the review

The need to increase the diversity of the broadcasting workforce both on and off screen/air is widely acknowledged to be a crucial issue across the media industries, but it is particularly pressing for public service broadcasters given their remit to serve and represent all audience groups across the UK. Data collection initiatives, such as Ofcom's annual reviews of diversity in television and radio, Project Diamond, and regular reporting on diversity by individual broadcasters, have shone light on the extent to which different groups are represented in the workforce of public service media. Research has also been commissioned by Ofcom to investigate the portrayal of diversity on screen (Cumberbatch, Bailey, Lyne, & Gauntlet, 2018) and to understand the views of different audiences about representation (Ofcom 2018).

This document responds to a request from Ofcom to conduct a Rapid Evidence Analysis (REA) of diversity in public service broadcasting. The need is to understand the landscape of diversity in public service broadcasting, so that the gaps in knowledge can be identified and new research be commissioned if required. The results of the REA address the following main research questions:

RQ1: What is the scale and quality of empirical research about diversity in public service broadcasting production, content and consumption (including audience attitudes to diversity in the media)?

RQ2: What aspects of diversity in public service broadcasting receive most attention from researchers?

RQ3: To what extent does research address the impact of diversity initiatives on public service broadcasting production, content and consumption?

RQ4: What gaps currently exist in our knowledge base, and how could they be addressed?

The review defines diversity broadly to include socio-economic background and national and regional identities as well as the protected characteristics defined in the Equality Act 2010. However, discussions of diversity in relation to political allegiances and viewpoints are beyond the scope of the review. The review focuses on television (excluding radio) and primarily on public service broadcasters and their associated portfolio channels (i.e., BBC channels, ITV/ITV2, Channel 4/E4/FilmFour, and Channel 5).

The methodology for the review involved the following steps:

1. Research questions were developed based on:
 - a. Ofcom's objective of assessing the landscape of academic research on diversity in public service broadcasting;
 - b. the findings in a sample of grey literature; and
 - c. two interviews with academic consultants from related fields.
2. A coding frame was developed for the test search.
3. A test search was conducted and the search protocol finalised.
4. A search of the five biggest online social science databases for research published over the past five years was conducted, focusing on public service broadcasters and their portfolio channels and on subscription VoD services that may offer insights for public service media contexts. A total of **1372 articles** was identified for full screening.
5. Titles and abstracts were scanned for relevance and a final sample of **188** was selected for full-text review. Of these, 120 were excluded because they were not focused on the core context of

this REA. The final sample was made up of **68** articles focused on the core context of UK public service television broadcasting and form the data for the results set out in this report.

6. Findings were summarised and analysed in relation to our research questions.

The first phase of the project was focused on scoping the review by reviewing Ofcom's own research database, conducting two interviews with academic consultants working in parallel fields (film and publishing), and searching grey literature. The scoping identified the search terms, topics, gaps in existing knowledge, and potentially useful disciplines to consult for the main review. It also formed the basis for a revised set of research questions. A detailed description of the methodology is given in Appendix 1.

Grey literature

The grey literature search focused on non-academic literature that addressed diversity in public service media contexts. The search was broad and inclusive, limited to the last five years and was conducted on the following databases:

- Ofcom's diversity hub
- UK Parliament: House of Lords and House of Commons databases
- International databases: UNESDOC digital library; International Broadcasting Convention; European Journalism Observatory
- Grey literature databases: Core.ac.uk
- Civil society organisations: Women in Journalism, the Runnymede Trust, the Sir Lenny Henry Centre for Media Diversity
- Google incognito browsing

In addition, we searched the European Broadcasting Group, the Cumberbatch Research Group, and Craft Strategy - these organisations did have some relevant documents, but they were not publicly accessible, available only to members or to clients. The Sir Lenny Henry Centre for Media Diversity has a timeline of publications by industry bodies and public service broadcasters that provided a very useful reference point for collecting data.

The searches identified the landscape of non-academic diversity research conducted on or by the industry. A significant number of reports by individual broadcasters, industry associations, and Ofcom reported progress against diversity targets. Some publications, usually from broadcasters, set out new diversity initiatives and policies. There was a mix of qualitative and quantitative research, although quantitative data tended to dominate.

In total, 69 items of grey literature were collected. Of these, 30 were excluded from the below analysis because they dealt with diversity only peripherally (in such a way that no pertinent conclusions could be gleaned from them)³. Thirty-nine documents were retained for closer analysis and comprise the data set for the summary below.

Authorship and focus

Ofcom and the BBC authored the majority of institutional reports. Other public service broadcasters and industry associations accounted for the majority of additional documents. Four of the reports by research institutes/companies were commissioned by industry bodies or Ofcom. Seven of the 39 reports (5 research reports and the two documents included in the 'other' category – see Block, 2020; Butt, 2020; CAMEo, 2018; Dolan and Tincknell, 2015; Heumann, 2019; Neilsen, Selva and Andi, n.d.; Ward, Dempksi and Politowski, 2016) provided analyses that were not determined by corporate or industry policy agendas, or regulatory requirements.

³ These documents included codes of practice, Ofcom guidance, annual plans, reports on communications infrastructure, a review of regulatory parameters, one academic report for which the content was captured in the main analysis, and one report about diversity among public service media audiences (but not in public service media itself).

Table 1: Authoring Organisations

Authoring Organisations	Count
Ofcom	7
BBC	5
Creative Diversity Network	3
Directors UK	3
ITN	2
Channel 4	1
Research institute / company	9
Other industry association	7
Other	2

Most reports were focused at industry- or sector level analyses of diversity. However, the BBC attracted significant attention in its own right, either through self-authored reports, or as a focus for Ofcom reporting.

Table 2: Organisation / industry focus

Organisation / industry	Count
Industry or sector analysis	24
BBC	12
ITN	2
Channel 4	1

Methods

The documents used a range of methods to report findings about diversity in the industry, although analysis of workforce or industry data dominated. Most used more than one method. The breakdown, where methods were identifiable, is shown in table 3.

Table 3: Methods used

Method	Count
Review of industry data / workforce data	14
Interviews	7
Onscreen content analysis	5
Gathering staff comments / ideas	4
Workshops	4
Review third party research / academic research	4
Conference	1
Survey	1

Topics covered

The majority of reports focused on various aspects of off-screen diversity, including workforce or industry diversity, different dimensions of inequality, progress towards targets, barriers to progress, and proposals or policies for improvement. The on-screen presence of diversity was a focus for a number of reports, while industry context, audience analyses and COVID-19 were the focus of the remaining documents.

Table 4: Main topics covered

Topic	Count
Off-screen Diversity	32
On-screen diversity	6
Regulation / COVID-19	2

Key findings

The majority of findings feature multiple diversity categories, but gender, ethnicity and disability are those most commonly featured, perhaps because monitoring performance in these areas is mandatory and so data is now available to address the issues in these areas. Sexual orientation received some attention, but age, class and religion/belief were covered far less, or not at all, in the reports.

Almost across the board, in all categories and across all industry sectors, the findings showed that marginalised groups were under-represented both on-screen and off-screen. For example, Friedman and Laurison (2020), in their academic analysis of class in elite UK occupations, include a case study of one anonymised broadcaster. They show how class influences representation and inclusion across a wide range of activities, from class-based education and networks that support recruitment and advancement, to the importance of 'fit' to personal and career success, to commissioning cultures. Across the grey literature, findings also showed that disability in particular was significantly under-represented compared to the national average. In general, however, the collection of data related to all diversity categories is inconsistent and so the scale of under-representation is difficult to define accurately.

Key findings relating to the problems associated with a lack of off-screen diversity included issues relating both to organisational cultures and processes, and to the measurement and evaluation of diversity:

Organisational cultures and processes:

- exclusive organisational cultures (particularly for disability, class, ethnicity, age);
- informal recruitment and commissioning processes that favour male, white and middle-class incumbents;
- working cultures that feature long hours and demand flexibility;
- small, and short-term diversity initiatives.

Measurement and evaluation:

- a lack of definitions, and/or inconsistent definitions of the boundaries of the different industries/sectors and of different diversity categories (e.g. LGBTQIA categories; disability, BAME categories, age brackets);
- definitions of diversity becoming so broad it loses focus;
- a lack of targets (particularly in relation to measures indicative of class);
- limited monitoring of performance against targets and policies;
- varied methodologies for data collection;
- inconsistent data-gathering and incomplete datasets.

Findings relating to on-screen diversity included:

- variability in levels of diversity across programme type (e.g. under-representation of women in sports programming) and off-peak / peak viewing times (overall diversity is lower at peak times);
- a significant under-representation of older people across all categories (and particularly older women);
- a significant under-representation of disabled people and transgender people across all programme types;
- variability within-group (e.g. a significant lack of South Asian representation within the black and ethnic minority category; dominance of gay men within the LGBTQ category)

Progress on diversity in relation to all categories is slow. While the impact of Ofcom's monitoring requirements may still be emerging, it is clear that despite the range of initiatives being undertaken, including specific diversity strategies within the screen industries (the BBC, ITV and Channel 4 in particular), and the implementation of commissioning guidelines and codes of practice, the impact remains limited.

Recommendations in the grey literature to address this slow progress and improve diversity included:

- the creation of an industry-wide database of diversity in the UK media (e.g. continuing the work of Project Diamond), including:
 - more consistent and better evaluation of performance in relation to diversity targets across the media industry;
 - more consistent and comprehensive data collection by broadcasters;
- transparency about targets and data among broadcasters;
- setting industry-wide benchmarks/targets;
- reviewing industry / organisational practices;
- ensuring transparent and fair recruitment processes;
- improving representation in senior roles;
- improving off-screen diversity in decision-making roles in order to achieve on-screen diversity;
- providing support for those in marginalised groups to access opportunities (e.g. financial support for working class candidates to access experience and increase outreach to under-represented groups);
- raising awareness within organisations of different forms of diversity and the challenges they present (e.g. disability);
- strengthen networking opportunities for marginalised groups;
- provide better HR support, including for training and progression;
- articulate the benefits of diversity more clearly.

Expert interviews

We conducted two hour-long interviews with our academic consultants, Dr Anamik Saha and Dr Clive Nwonka. Each academic reflected on the broad issue of diversity in the media and creative industries, from the perspective of their own and others' research. Their comments highlighted significant gaps in the ways in which diversity was understood by the industries, in knowledge about how diversity is experienced, and in how diversity initiatives are evaluated. Moreover, they pointed out that, while diversity has been high on the agenda for a number of years, little has changed in the creative industries. However, the cause of this stagnation is not clearly understood, and receives little evaluation. One problem is an excessive focus on targets at the expense of the lived experience of diversity.

Lack of sustained attention to diversity; lack of evaluation

Nwonka argued that diversity policies were often a form of crisis management, where long-term outcomes receive little attention and initiatives are not sustained over time. This *ad hoc* approach to diversity is exacerbated by the fact that different policies can be distributed in different departments across organisations, and by frequent changes in diversity personnel, which also makes it hard to keep track of the presence and impact of policy initiatives.

Often, diversity policies are not evaluated. Problems with evaluation include a paucity of data collection around protected characteristics, a lack of understanding of intersectionality as part of diversity, and the reality that black and minority ethnic communities (and possibly other groups) may be ambivalent about sharing their data. Nwonka noted that the lack of data about the experience of white men – the industry norm - means that they have become a 'structuring absence' against which 'diverse' groups are measured, but without any specific understanding of what they are being measured against. The dominant approach to diversity evaluation as an issue related only to people in marginalised groups can also reinforce a 'deficit model' of diversity, where diverse groups are perceived to simply lack skills or experience, rather than face structural barriers.

Excessive focus on targets, neglect of experience

Saha argued that the way diversity is thought about - as something to measure, an objective fact - is part of the problem because it tends to focus on recruitment and ignores the experiences of marginalised groups in the industry. In contrast, both interviewees noted the importance of addressing experience because 'inclusion is not the same as experience' (Nwonka), and the ability to flourish within the industry is fundamental to retention (Saha). Important experiential factors include creative autonomy (whether minority groups can 'tell the stories that they want to tell' or have to do so 'in a certain way that the dominant culture understands') and exclusionary organisational or professional cultures.

Both interviewees also noted that 'diversity' is itself a powerful discourse that does not necessarily generate change for those it targets. Saha notes that diversity is framed as 'a target' without 'understanding diversity as a discourse' that benefits the organisations and industries using it. That is, in simply saying that they are focused on diversity, and using the language of diversity to describe their activities, organisations and industries may be doing enough to perform a commitment to diversity but without having to make any real changes to their structures, cultures or practices. Nwonka noted that diversity data can 'conceal more than it reveals' if it is used as a 'performance' of compliance, and that

the model for diversity is 'not so much anti-discrimination but competing tensions: how do we manage the fallout of inequality in a way that's both palatable to the industry and palatable to excluded groups?'

In terms of on-screen representation, Saha questioned the extent to which we always learn about diverse experiences through portrayals of difference, since they are often decontextualised and do not reference the inequalities some groups face. If audiences are perceived as white and middle-class then this may limit diverse programming by prompting representations that are more palatable to this kind of audience, omitting more challenging portrayals.

Overall, both interviewees argued that the public service remit around diversity is important, and that industry initiatives to improve diversity (e.g. Creative Access, or broadcaster-led initiatives) were vital sources of training, internship schemes, support for minority-led companies and affirmative action. However, they also argued that institutions need to be democratised, and that the reality of competing tensions around diversity in practice needs to be addressed. They argued that research on diversity in the industry should be more comprehensive, deliver more consistent data, address experience and retention as well as recruitment and promotion, and draw connections between different aspects of diversity.

Research on diversity in public service broadcasting: Results

The results of the analysis are presented according to the protected characteristics that the articles address⁴. Within each category, we summarise research focused on production (e.g. ‘behind the scenes’ issues such as casting, production staff, scripting, directing), on-screen portrayals (analyses of content) and audience reception (audience reactions to diverse portrayals on-screen)⁵. Intersectional analyses of diversity are explicitly noted in each summary, but these articles are only reviewed in detail in the category that is the main focus of the analysis, to avoid repetition.

The number of articles in each category⁶ is as follows:

Table 6: Article count per diversity categories

Gender	20
Race / Ethnicity	14
Class	11
Disability	9
Region / Nation	9
Migration	8
Sexual orientation	5
Age ⁷	4
Other	4

The breakdown of research into production, on-screen portrayal and audience reception studies is as follows:

Table 7: Article focus

Production	16
On-screen portrayal	49
Audience reception	4

The sample is dominated by close analysis of on-screen content, which reflects the heavy emphasis on portrayal analysis and literary disciplines. Social science methods are also used (e.g. interviews, discourse analysis, focus groups, surveys, content analysis), and are associated with academic work in media studies, cultural studies and sociology. Quantitative studies are much less common than qualitative methods; content analysis is the most common method of this type.

⁴The topics researched by academics are determined by a number of factors, including personal interest, specialist area, funding availability, accessibility of data, and availability of collaborators, among other things. There is no guarantee that work in a particular field evenly addresses all the topics that need to be researched. Thus, the results of the REA show that in this area, certain topics receive more attention than others. The analysis cannot tell us what the reasons are for these emphases, but we propose recommendations for addressing the imbalances that arise at the end of this report.

⁵ While the original intent was to thematically summarise the content in each category there are so few articles in each one that this was impossible to do effectively. Consequently, each article relevant to a particular section is briefly summarised.

⁶ Note that in all the tables on this page, some articles are placed in more than one category and so the total exceeds 68.

⁷ Age was generally a secondary focus, and so is included in other categories in the summaries that follow.

Table 8: Methods used

Close analysis of the broadcasts	34
Interviews	8
Quantitative content analysis	7
Framing analysis	6
Discourse analysis	3
Focus groups	2
Policy analysis	2
Quantitative analysis (other)	2
Survey	1
Psychoanalytic film analysis	1
Ethnography	1
Semiotic analysis	1

The focus on UK public service broadcasters in the research articles is as follows:

Table 9: UK Public Service Broadcasters featured

BBC	47
Channel 4	16
ITV	6
Channel 5	2

Gender

Production

Knowles (2017) focused on the ways in which financial concerns, seasonal programming norms and gendered audience stereotypes affected ITV programming strategies in the period 2006-9. The company was in its first years as a PLC and attempting to develop a more innovative programming reputation by moving away from genres associated with a female audience and lower quality content (crime drama, light drama, soaps). A move to comedy-drama was an attempt to bridge the gap between drama (prestigious) and lighter, lower quality entertainment, but remained scheduled in the less prestigious programming season of summer and failed to secure large audiences. The author concludes that gender, seasonality and financial considerations can all affect programming decisions, irrespective of programme quality.

Johnson (2016) focuses on the intersectional presentation of gender, age and class in the series 'Getting On' (BBC, 2009-2012), looking in particular at production decisions related to the characterisations of women, filming and scripting (naturalist approach, close shots, jerky filming, ad-libbing in the dialogue, use of double-meanings and double-entendres in the dialogue). She finds the series counteracts stereotypical presentations of women's caring roles by explicitly scripting women's work as difficult and unpleasant forms of labour and minimising the nurturing, caring female stereotype. The use of older characters also politicised ageing and placed it at the centre of the narrative. Both language and humour were used as class indicators to reveal the institutional hierarchies of the NHS and the ways in which class defines the lives of women working in the institution.

Johnson (2019) analyses the effect of the work of the production company RED, on women in broadcasting. She concludes that Nicola Shindler (RED's founder) and RED values support women working in television. For example, the company accommodates the need for flexibility in relation to caring duties, and has a high level of female employment in the company, including at senior levels. This 'quietly feminist' work is also echoed in their productions where they showcase a 'multitude of women's experiences, including personal and professional challenges'.

On-Screen Portrayals

Several articles focus on the portrayal of masculinity in different programmes. Wearing (2017) examines the portrayal of ageing, dementia and masculinity in crime dramas where a key male character has dementia: Mr Holmes (2015), The Fear (Channel 4, 2012) and the English language version of Wallander (BBC, 2008–16). She finds that, while the dramas explore fears around dementia and ageing, dementia is specifically framed as a threat to masculinity and masculine identities and roles, through a loss of autonomy, self and authority. Morgan (2019) analyses how masculinity is portrayed in the context of Sherlock's ascetic identity, and finds that while his masculinity is not related to active sex, other aspects of his character do communicate traditional forms of masculinity – defined as his dedication to intellectual curiosity and investigation, his drug use, his narcissism, and his lack of interest in consumerism. The ascetic identity, she argues, is a more nuanced masculine identity represented on screen, to which Sherlock (BBC, 2010-2017) contributes. Finally, Fanning (2017) examines how the portrayal of masculinity is articulated in BBC adaptations of Jane Eyre and Wuthering Heights as emotionally liberated masculinity. For example,

aspects of Rochester's back story are emphasised to generate understanding of his pain and flawed character; his relationship with Jane is more open to her influence so that the power balance is more in her favour. The portrayal contributes to a new paradigm of masculinity that is more palatable in a 21st century social context.

A small number of articles focus on portrayals of northern, working-class women in Sally Wainwright's dramas, which she both writes and directs. Woods (2019), for example, discusses the importance of the connection between her female characters and place. The complex lives and emotions of the northern (practical, straightforward) characters are echoed in the dramatic West Yorkshire landscapes. Gorton (2016) identifies how Wainwright challenges the misogyny of traditional northern imaginaries by positioning women at the centre of the story rather than at the periphery, using anger as a productive emotion, positioning emotion as a powerful tool for working through complex feelings to come to terms with their position, and making older women visible in the storylines. Developing stories around real issues such as drugs in rural communities, using northern accents for characters and northern locations for the stories, emphasise the intersection of women's gendered and regional identities.

In the context of news broadcasts, Bliss (2015) discusses the emphasis on physical appearance and clothing for female newsreaders on BBC and Channel 4 news programmes. She highlights the different expectations of men and women insofar as women's clothing needs to continually change and they face more public scrutiny of their dress. Older women are also disadvantaged because of the emphasis on youthfulness in broadcasting. In a different context, McCann (2015) shows in an analysis of *Snog, Marry, Avoid* (BBC, 2008-) how appropriate femininity is coded as white, controlled and modest. The 'make under' that participants undergo focuses on removing 'fake' excess (fake tan, fake eyelashes) and therefore delivering an 'authentic', heterosexual appearance. Nonetheless, heterosexuality is queered by the comparison of excessive femininity with the 'pantomime dame', and drag queen identities. Participants often revert to their previous style following the show – the author argues this is because the promise of a better, more empowered life, cannot be fulfilled through appearance and so they ultimately reject it.

(See also P. Johnson, summarised in 'Class'; Peart, 2015 and Richardson, 2021, summarised in 'Race / Ethnicity'; Pullen and Silk, 2020, summarised under 'Disability')

Audience Reception

Hermes (2019) conducted a content analysis of 4230 YouTube comments in response to videos focused on the reveal of Jodie Whittaker as the new Doctor. The findings showed three main groupings of commentaries. Two groups were tolerant of or positive about the gender change. The first was made up of people who recognised that gender should not matter, hoped that Whittaker would succeed but also worried that she might fail. For the second group, the change of gender was emotionally and politically important because it challenged previous restrictions of the Doctor's identity. The third and largest group of comments, however, focused on gender anxiety, voiced as antifeminism. These audience members argued that the new gender destabilised Doctor Who's identity and community, interfering with the continuity of the series and the Doctor's character. Themes of grief, loss, trauma and outright hostility featured in this group, including some comments framing feminism as a radical anti-male movement, focused on female domination rather than diversity.

(See also Turner, 2019, summarised in 'Sexual orientation')

Race / Ethnicity

Production

Jowett (2018) analyses the degree to which the relaunched Doctor Who (BBC, 2005-) has increased diversity in its casting strategies. She finds that while diversity has improved across the cast overall (although disability still lacks representation), it remains more limited in the lead role of the Doctor, where white men have dominated. She argues that casting for the lead role is more risk averse because of the cachet it has for the success of the series. As a result, it is more vulnerable to the internal systems of the BBC, where whiteness dominates and casting is often based on 'who you know'. In addition, characters of colour tend to be in service to the main characters, rather than main characters themselves. Nonetheless, issues of race and racism are occasionally built into the script, and so the audience is invited to 'see' characters' colour and recognise racism as a social issue.

Nwonka and Malik (2018) conduct a critical examination of the New Cinema Fund, and its ability to achieve the diversity objectives it was set. The commercial objectives driving the project existed in tension with cultural ones, limiting the impact of policy because of the emphasis on market principles and instrumentalization of Black creativity and representation. The film 'Bullet Boy' (2004) is taken as an example, where a largely white production team dominated the form and narrative of the film, instrumentalising the experiences of Blackness for the market without any genuine commitment to a dialogical form of cultural production.

Gorringe (2019) explores the impact of the inclusion of a South Asian dance category in the BBC Young Dancer competition (BBC, 2015-), finding that, generally, it was positively received within the South Asian dance sector. Expert evaluation of the South Asian performances increased the authenticity of the move to include the category, and the programme offered a platform for exposure of South Asian Dance on a global stage, not least through the BBC's institutional endorsement. Nonetheless, limitations remained because of the assumption that competitors operate on a level playing field, when in reality South Asian dance has far less institutional support and structure than disciplines like ballet. In addition, expectations about adaptation and mixing forms, taken from Western dance norms, were applied to the category, when the purity is the focus of excellence within the sector.

Institutional dynamics are the focus for Ibrahim and Howarth (2021), who show how the controversy over BBC presenter Naga Munchetty's personal response to President Trump's racism, illustrate how the institution's historical origins as an Empire broadcaster continue to inform its identity. The authors argue that the collision of racism with the values of journalistic objectivity and impartiality meant that Munchetty was not allowed to acknowledge her personal, racialised position, within the institutional structures that shaped her role. The authors argue that the case exemplifies the tensions between the BBC's organisational norms of reproducing racialised 'others' (both historically and through its programming and employment practices) and welcoming 'new' subjects into its ranks.

(see also Merrill, 2021, summarised in 'Class')

On-Screen Portrayals

A number of articles focus on multiculturalism and the portrayals of different communities in the UK. Tollerton (2015), in an analysis of *Merlin* (BBC, 2008-2012), draws parallels between the difficulties faced by Uther in his war on magic, and the ways in which arguments about multiculturalism have not changed the reality that Britain is more diverse than it used to be. The use of colourblind casting (where the race / ethnicity of the character is not relevant to the narrative or to their identity), effects a parallel with the perceived value of integration as part of multiculturalism, and allows Arthur to represent tolerance and integration. Peart (2015) examines the programme *Second Generation* (Channel 4, 2003) to explore the integration of South Asian identities into mainstream British culture since the emergence of South Asians on television in the 1970s and since the advent of Channel 4 with its explicit remit for increased diversity. While migration and the status of the female immigrant is made visible in the drama for the first time on television, the South Asian female stereotype is still constructed to fit a particular political agenda of multiculturalism. The identity of the main character is complex, her story crosses cultures, and she has a voice where her mother (a migrant to the UK) had had none. The music in the series indicates hybridity, subtitles indicate the movement and ease of belonging to two cultures, and the capacity to de-centre western identities. Nonetheless, the complexities of lived *Second Generation* identities are simplified in the story, to make it more accessible.

The complexity of multiculturalism is reflected in other analyses. In an analysis of David Olusoga's 'Black and British' (BBC, 2016) series, Black (2019) argues that, by presenting difference as a constituent element of multiculturalism in Britain's past and present, Olusoga brings Black history into the story of the British present, and challenges the narrative of 'White past, multicultural present'. Rather than presenting a normative understanding of multiculturalism as a means of overcoming difference, the programme historically locates and contextualises 'interaction across difference' and makes ethnic diversity part of Britain's past and present. In contrast, Carroll (2015) analyses how the use of integrated casting in BBC adaptations of *Oliver Twist* (2007) and *Little Dorritt* (2008) invites the audience not to see the blackness of the two actors playing the parts, but nonetheless assigns them to roles (as characters of uncertain birth) that potentially frame them as an 'illegitimate intrusion' into British history, ultimately casting doubt on the presence of Black communities in British history. Similarly, Pittman (2017) conducts a historical reading of the BBC's adaptation of *Henry V* (BBC, 2012) in the series *The Hollow Crown*, and highlights the tensions in the casting of the Duke of York as a central, Black character who stands at the side of Henry V, but is also ultimately the 'expendable black best friend' in the play. She notes also how the different nationalities in the original play do not appear in the adaptation (other than a token Welshman), and argues that whiteness among executive production staff works to prevent important questions about the presence of multiculturalism when production decisions are made.

Other articles focus on the reproduction of stereotypes associated with different racial and ethnic identities in public service programming. Piazza (2017) compares portrayals of travellers in three different documentary programmes on Channel 4, Channel 5 and BBC 1 from 2011-2013, and shows how the broadcasters differ in their portrayals. In 'The Town the Travellers Took Over' (Channel 5, 2013) the word traveller is used extensively and linked to criminality. Travellers are presented as a source of pressure or an 'invasion' into 'settled' communities, and the word community tends to be associated with coercion and oppression. In 'My Life: Children of the Road' (BBC, 2011) and in 'Gypsy Eviction: The Fight for Dale Farm' (Channel 4, 2011), the narratives include more recognition of travellers as resilient, tenacious, but

also marginalised and under-served (e.g. children being unable to attend school, the families facing prejudice and the constant threat of eviction). The Channel 4 programme offers the most balanced narrative and is the only programme to robustly challenge prejudice and systemic discrimination.

Criminality is a common stereotype that features in programming. Malik and Nwonka (2017) note how the series *Top Boy* (Channel 4, 2011-) constructs black criminality through the presence of the contemporary 'black gang, gun and knife crime' consensus in the programme's narrative. The social and political context is obscured, so that the text presents urban crime in a simplistic way, and most often a result of individual failings. Knox (2019) identifies a similar stereotype operating in relation to British Chinese communities. Generally, the author notes that British Chinese actors tend to be restricted to British (Chinese) roles where their ethnic difference is marked, and based on stereotypes linked to criminality and the 'exotic other'. She analyses the Sherlock episode 'The Blind Banker' (BBC, 2010), and shows how the episode reflects these stereotypes, featuring characters that are undeveloped and lack differentiation.

Richardson (2021) analysed the construction of Muslim and white identities in 'My Week as a Muslim' (Channel 4, 2017). His analysis shows how the programme constructs a narrative that does counter stereotypes by actively challenging the association of Muslim women with terrorism (e.g. showing their conversations and horror about the Manchester bombing) and by representing an integrated Muslim family that does not reflect the trope of a 'good' Muslim but whose members are still religious in their way of life. Nonetheless, the programme structure also sets in opposition the liberated, sexually free and fashionable western woman with the oppressed, iconographic Muslim woman and introduces a new trope of cross-dressing (the white woman wearing the burqa, adopting 'brownface' - brown make up, browned teeth, and prosthetic nose to appear Muslim) that creates a formal barrier between the two worlds, so that a disguise is needed in order to 'pass' between them. Whiteness ultimately remains the superior state because the disguise appears better than the 'foolish' (Muslim) people who were taken in. Thus, despite its intention to challenge stereotypes and prejudice, gendered Islamophobic tropes are still communicated through the programme.

Finally, overt racism is identified by Campbell and Bebb (2020) in their analysis of football commentary on the BBC and ITV during the 2018 FIFA World Cup. The findings of their content analysis show significant differences in praise comments across different racial groups. Stereotypical, racialising associations of Black players with 'natural' athleticism underpinned patterns of commentary, so that they were more often praised for their physical abilities while White players were more likely to be praised for cognitive skills. The authors argue that the sports media need to invest in better training about the links between racism and language for all those involved with sports production.

Class

Production

Merrill (2021) analysed the profile of BBC journalists in relation to the Conservative cabinet, the Labour shadow cabinet and diversity among the general population. His quantitative analysis showed that private education, professional or media backgrounds, Russell Group/Oxbridge university education, and male gender are all overrepresented among BBC journalists. They also tend to live in Southern England and have spent the majority of their lives in journalism. Their profile does not reflect that of the general public and they have little life experience in common with the majority of people. Overall, their profile is similar to the current UK government and differs in significant ways from the more diverse Labour shadow cabinet. The author raises questions about how well the BBC can deliver on its objective of representing the whole of the UK given this skewed profile, and argues that more attention should be paid to class in the BBC's diversity monitoring activities.

Harris (2016) explores the way in which northernness, masculinity and class are constructed in the series *Sharpe* (ITV, 1993-2008). She finds the script and structure of the programme rely on over-simplified binaries of class, region, and masculinity. Sharpe's northern (and specifically Yorkshire) identity and 'rugged' characterisation (emphasised through the actor Sean Bean's previous associations with similar characters) constructs a certain type of northern masculinity. Accent is used to contrast Sharpe's northern, working-class identity with his southern, upper class officers and his masculinity is constructed as the exotic 'other' through liaisons with upper class women. Finally, the script frames social mobility as problematic, through the difficulty Sharpe has in returning to Yorkshire after having reached the rank of Major.

In a different context, Haslop (2016) explores class representations in the relaunch of *Doctor Who* (BBC, 2005 -). He notes that the competitive context for Saturday night viewing demanded a more broadly appealing structure for the programme, and initially working-class portrayals were strong (Christopher Eccleston was cast as the Doctor, wore casual contemporary clothes, and there was wider use of non-RP accents and working-class origins among other characters). However, once successful – and once the demand in international markets was taken into account – the series reverted to normalised, middle class and English identities with the advent of David Tennant as a 'smarter' doctor, Martha Jones as his companion (a professional doctor) and Matt Smith reverting to the costume of bow tie and jacket.

(See also Johnson, 2016, summarised in 'Gender')

On-Screen Portrayals

P. Johnson (2016) conducts a class-focused analysis of the BBC's '*Last Tango in Halifax*' (2012-), focusing in particular on class. She finds the programme presents negative stereotypes of the working-class, and of white working-class women in particular, framed as a lack of 'respectability' that creates difficulties for their male partners, and normalised within the programme. Other aspects of difference (race, sexuality) are overlooked so that a veneer of harmony is presented, and class becomes the main locus of division, echoing (and perhaps explaining) the Brexit-related divisions that circulated at the time. A similar negative emphasis on class is found by Forrest and Johnson (2019) in their analysis of '*The Moorside*' (BBC, 2017),

about the disappearance of Shannon Matthews from Dewsbury, West Yorkshire. They find the programme is based on a reductive narrative that constructs the community and the families at the centre of the story as exemplars of 'broken Britain', ignoring structural and racial inequalities and instead constructing a simplistic binary of 'good' and 'bad' citizens, linked to place (northern England), class (working-class), and gender.

Harrison et al (2020) analyse the visual portrayals of class and welfare in the Channel 5 programme 'Britain's Benefit Blackspots' (2017). External settings comprise northern cities, grimy streets, old industrial landscapes and insipid colours, while neighbourhoods are depicted as generally uncared for, with discarded rubbish and furniture. Internal settings show dirty, messy and disordered households. The presentations omit contextualising factors such as regional wealth disparities or the housing crisis, and suggest that poverty is a result of individual behaviour, thereby reinforcing stereotypes of the working poor and their environments.

(See also Harris, 2016, Gorton, 2016 summarised in 'Gender'; Raisborough et al, summarised in 'Disability'; Andrews, 2016, summarised in 'Region / Nation'; De Benedictis et al, summarised in 'Other forms of diversity')

Audience Reception

Paterson et al (2016) analyse audience responses to portrayals of poverty in 'Benefits Street' (Channel 4, 2014), and found that, while some sympathy was expressed, overall the programme prompted negative views based on existing stereotypes. Participants in their focus groups perceived the inhabitants as passive, neglectful of children, and lacking in work ethic. They recognised that they were seeing a limited view of the lives in the Street, but passed judgement nonetheless, and drew on their own personal experience to justify their views.

Sexual orientation

On-Screen Portrayals

Greer (2015) analyses the portrayal of sexuality and male intimacy in 'Sherlock' (BBC, 2010-2017). While multiple scenes allude to sexuality the 'opaqueness' of the relationship between Sherlock and John means that the heterosexual norm falters. Queering their relationship unsettles their characters but the viewer is ultimately steered back to their heterosexuality and a normative gender and sexuality binary nonetheless. Bisexuality is never an option and dominant norms of masculinity repeatedly reappear.

Moore (2016) analyses the supernatural drama series 'In the Flesh' (BBC 3, 2013), as a metaphor for contemporary lesbian and gay politics. She draws parallels between the series emphasis on the domestication of the zombie and their ability to blend in and (almost) become fully human, if treated with the right medicine. They 'perform' humanness and normality, but their monster status is always there, closeted, and the fear of being outed is always present. The central zombie character, Kieran, is gay and before he died he was in a gay relationship that caused disapproval in the community. Moore draws parallels between this 'outing' and the fear of being outed as a treated Zombie, concluding that the series recognises gay and lesbian identities but portrays them as best managed through erasing difference where possible, 'performing' normality in order to blend in but simultaneously undermining collective identity, solidarity, and depoliticising both gay identity and the hierarchies that produce oppression.

In a documentary context, Wahab (2019) analyses how intersections of race, sexuality and queerness in the BBC 2 documentary 'Out There' (2013) enable the production and mobilization of an exceptionalist discourse of gay-friendly and post-homophobic Britain. Britain is framed as a locus of love and tolerance, whitewashing the previous violence exerted on the gay community by the state. Homophobia is located elsewhere and associated with terrorism, Islam, (colonial) barbarity and cruelty, despite the fact that Britain's colonial legacy is often the basis of anti-gay legislation in former colonies. Citizen-worthy gay identity in the UK is racialised as white, 'othering' LGBTQ communities of colour and essentialising countries 'out there' on the basis of their backward, anti-gay stance.

(See also McCann, 2015, summarised in 'Gender')

Audience Reception

Turner (2019) explores the responses of older women audience members to the romance between two older women on *Holby City* (BBC, 1999-), Bernie Wolfe and Serena Campbell. Responses to a qualitative web survey of older women audience members showed they reflected pleasure at the storyline, identified with the characters and were surprised and pleased that it wasn't a trope and represented people like them. The characters' confusion about their feelings was seen as a validation of viewers' experiences, and enabled them to interpret their own feelings about women in a new way. The storyline also prompted them to have conversations with other members of their family (sometimes partners) about their sexuality, often for the first time, and had benefited their mental health. The 'Berena' fandom community became a powerful locus of friendship and identification for many of them. The author notes that the mode of production was important because the women are two of the main characters, the plot develops

over time, emotion and care are central and the storyline receives a lot of screen time. Such characters are rarely represented on screen, and their reception can have a significant, positive impact on audiences.

Disability

Production

Jackson-Brown (2020) identifies how branding strategies contributed to normalising disability in Channel 4's Paralympics coverage. The collaborations with brands lent credibility to the broadcaster's push to normalise disability because of the brand associations they brought — mainstream identities with Sainsburys and BT, excellence with Nike, and independence and struggle with hip hop artists Public Enemy and Chuck D / Flavor Flav. The brands acted as a source of reassurance to audiences and made disability's 'otherness' more palatable. She concludes that the branding strategy was fundamental to the production of the Paralympics and to the successful innovations in portrayals of disability.

Pullen et al (2019) also examine production practices behind the Paralympics and note that Channel 4's portrayal of parasport is based on negotiating tensions between obligations to stakeholders, commercial objectives and socially progressive objectives. The broadcaster's aim was to legitimise parasport and break from the 'misfit' stereotype of the disabled body, and they used the combined forces of marketing and production to generate public interest. The broadcaster recruited more people with disabilities within production (reaching 11% - the highest of all broadcasters) and more on-screen presenters with disabilities. In their advertising campaign 'Meet the Superhumans', they ensured a wide range of disabilities was represented, particularly in the 2016 coverage. However, tensions still arose because the strategy required disability to be highlighted, simultaneously showcasing the athlete's achievements but also potentially subordinating disabled bodies.

On-Screen Portrayals

Analysis of disability portrayals in Paralympic coverage reveal intersections of technology, visibility and gender shaping the hypervisibility of disability. Pullen and Silk (2020) identify how the male athlete Richard Whitehead (marathon runner) represents a form of palatable, acceptable disability, with a focus on strength and the technological enhancements that generate capacity for him and overcome his disability (he is a double leg amputee). His identity is narrated in terms of exceptional ability. In contrast, Ellie Simmonds (swimmer) is less able to benefit from technological enhancements (she has dwarfism). Unlike Whitehead, her body is made invisible in the footage the authors analyse, while she herself is infantilised. The authors conclude that politically palatable and acceptable disabilities are based on gendered norms and forms of disability that permit spectacular technological enhancements, rather than on capacities inherent to the disabled body. From a slightly different perspective, Pullen, Jackson and Silk (2020b) examine how the Paralympics coverage creates an intersection between acceptable forms of disability and British national identity. The event is framed as British (all guests are British, and the focus is on British athletes), but this interacts with coverage focused only on the biggest sports (athletics and swimming), and on wheelchair sports and less severe disabilities (for which events take less time, so more can be included in the programme schedule). They also note that those athletes featured as 'big stars' often had mobility-enhancing technologies, and demonstrated very little ethnic diversity (48/50 of the athletes with backstories were white). They conclude that the coverage privileges a form of able-nationalism where bodies that are more visible reflect the logics and aesthetics of able-bodiedness, and are permitted entry to the 'national' identity of the programme.

Smith (2015) analyses coverage of Oscar Pistorius during the 2012 Olympics and Paralympics and finds that the frames used in Channel 4 coverage were 'legend', 'worldwide support' (based on social media comments from audiences), the 200m controversy (where Pistorius commented negatively on the length of a rival's blades), and Pistorius' rehabilitation (re-establishing him as a hero following the controversy). He was never described by his disability and was referred to as 'man', which minimised difference and normalised disability.

Other portrayals of disability are less positive. Raisborough, Ogden and Guzman (2019) examine the portrayal of disability welfare claimants in the series 'Benefits Britain' (Channel 5, 2014-2016). The intersection of portrayals of obesity with disability serves to cast doubt on the authenticity of disability claims, because of 'common-sense' associations of obesity with individual, immoral choices about lifestyle. Similarly, Runswick-Cole and Goodley (2015) analyse the series Benefits Street (Channel 4, 2014) and find that disability is presented as a limitation on the capacities of those who are labelled with the term 'disabled', also supporting the stereotype of people on benefits as 'scroungers'.

Finally, Hansson and Suneson (2018) examine portrayals of disability in programmes about the human brain. In their analysis of the BBC series Brain Story (2004), ableism is reinforced by presenting disabled people in terms of their disabilities first and foremost, and comparing them to 'normal' able-bodied people. Disabled brains are presented as 'different' from the norm, which fixes disability in the biological structure of the brain and presents it as a permanent threat. In the process, the social construction of disability is overlooked.

Audience Reception

The emphasis of technology-enhanced disability as more acceptable than other forms is reflected in Pullen et al's (2020) study of audience reactions to Channel 4's progressive Paralympic programming. They found that the Paralympics was becoming normalised as an elite (rather than second-rate) sporting event, but that the stereotype of the 'supercrip' with technological enhancements betrays the fact that able-bodied capabilities remain the benchmark for acceptable disability. Disabilities that can be addressed through technology become normalised, but other disabilities remain marginalised (Pullen et al., 2020a).

Region / Nation

Production

McElroy and Noonan (2016) examine the opportunities and challenges of local production in small nations using the BBC's Wales-based Roath Lock studios as a case study. They identify advantages in that Roath Lock is a bespoke studio for drama and has state of the art technology, so can deliver high production value and benefit from the BBC's international reach. Its presence creates a focus for drama production in Wales and it supports narratives of Welsh creativity, leadership and expertise in creative production. However, practices are still subject to dynamics of risk aversion from the wider BBC environment (e.g. local crews do not get opportunities to work there because BBC decision makers go for crews they know from elsewhere in the UK), and it can be a focus for critique of the BBC because choices to invest in Wales can be criticised for neglecting other UK regions. Spicer (2019) examines the production culture of RED Production, based at Salford's MediaCity in north-west England. Through interviews with key staff, he identifies benefits of the company's location including broader representation of the region and of women generally. However, limitations are placed on RED's independence through the pressure of globalised competition, the corporate feel of MediaCity, which is not necessarily 'conducive to creativity', and the fact that commissions are still based largely in London.

Casting is the focus for Andrews' (2016) analysis of the construction of northern identity in 'Gracie!' (BBC, 2009) through casting a northern actor (Jane Horrocks) in a northern role (Gracie Fields). The conflation of the actor's established northern identity and the character generates an association between accuracy and authenticity in the portrayal of northernness (and particularly northern women), but the portrayal perpetuates stereotypical constructions of northern identity through ideas of no-nonsense, strength, robust in body and emotion, and northern accents, as well as through the locations, jobs and narration of class mobility in Gracie's story.

Ramon and Haynes (2019) assess the value of sports broadcasting for maintaining linguistic and cultural diversity in small nations, through a case study of BBC Alba. The channel broadcasts in Gaelic and offers sports coverage that is not covered in mainstream BBC TV services, including culturally important sports for Scotland (shinty, curling) and marginalised sports (e.g. women's football, lower leagues, junior cups). The authors argue that BBC Alba's coverage preserves sports programming that speaks to national identity and cannot be found elsewhere, and also provides a platform for making the Gaelic language accessible.

On-Screen Portrayals

Articles focusing on the representation of regions or the devolved nations were primarily focused on either the representation of northernness or production and representation issues relating to the four nations in news and sport coverage. Cushion, Lewis and Kilby (2020) analyse coverage of devolved issues from 2007-2016 and conduct interviews with viewers, showing that UK-wide news sources dominate across the devolved nations, but that the content of such news remains focused on England / Westminster. The lack of diverse political perspectives creates a democratic deficit because it means public service broadcast news fails to educate viewers about where power and decision-making responsibilities sit under devolved governance.

Dekvalla and Jelen-Sanchez (2017) focus on the BBC's coverage of the last month of the Scottish referendum campaign, analysing the use of different news sources in news coverage. They found that elite official sources dominated (e.g. the lead spokespeople for both Yes and No campaigns), and while citizens were the second largest group of sources, they received much less airtime and were used to lend authenticity to reports rather than articulating their own position. While the balance of coverage of Yes and No positions was roughly equal, it was a male-dominated debate, where men comprised over 70% of sources. Overall, the news presented a polarised debate and did not promote or illustrate dialogue between positions. Hassan (2018) also examines reporting about Scottish issues on BBC Scotland and STV, with a comparative analysis of news from 1992 and 2012. He concludes that the broadcasters fail to provide good quality news or cover politics in adequate depth for Scottish audiences, and have not adapted to the new political context in Scotland around independence. Also focused on news, Tolson (2019) examines the use of vox pop formats in coverage of the Brexit referendum. This technique increased the coverage of regions and provincial towns and villages beyond the metropolitan elite and London, although limitations included the framing of all vox pops in terms of the reporter's story, and taking the people presented as representative of a whole area or region.

Jamieson (2016) examines how Paul Hollywood, presenter of the BBC programme 'Pies and Puds' (BBC, 2013), is identified with long-standing northern stereotypes: hard-working, lacking pretension, generous, tough, authentic, and bridging working-class identity and middle-class success. In the series, northernness is also associated with types of food - simple, nostalgic, traditional, and fuel for a tough life. The North ultimately appears as the simpler, pre-modern world we all hanker after as an escape from modernity.

A small number of articles focus on representations of Britishness in classic adaptations. Baena and Byker (2015) show how *Downton Abbey* fosters a conservative nostalgia for a particular form of imagined and idealised Englishness, organised by a class system that celebrates coherence and order. Leberg (2018), analysing *The Hollow Crown* (BBC, 2012-2016), argues that concern for an 'authentic' telling of Shakespeare (and historical dramas more generally) results in privileging of whiteness, Englishness, and a negative portrayal of other identities – exemplified in *Henry V* by the ways in which non-English accents (in this case, Welsh and French) are associated with 'savagery, subordination and arrogance' in contrast with the nobility of Henry V himself.

(see also Woods, 2019, summarised in 'Gender'; Harris, 2016 and Merrill, 2021, summarised in 'Class')

Migration

On-Screen Portrayals

Vickers and Rutter (2018) analyse discourses about migration in three programmes: 'The Truth about Immigration in the UK', 'The Hidden World of Britain's Immigrants' (both BBC Two, 2014) and Episode 2 of 'Benefits Street' (Channel 4, 2014). They find that migrants are constructed as disposable, transient labour; as passive, helpless victims in an alien environment; and as a threat to law and order as well as economic prosperity for settled communities. The broader context of the relationship between migration, racism and labour relations that shapes their experiences is not examined.

Portrayals of international migration is the focus for Horsti (2016), who analyses how different modalities of online journalism on BBC news websites support different framings of migrants. She finds that the structure of the website, the images used and the accompanying text all objectify African migrants and construct them as an anonymous threat to Europe. In side features, migrants appear in personal stories as victim and hero but their stories are still entangled with the threat framing. Overall, standard journalistic routines and genres present in online journalism retain longstanding anti-migration frames despite the potential for nuance that the technology offers. Bennett (2018) also investigates the potential of alternative media for migrant representation in an analysis of the BBC's film documentary 'Exodus', where migrants were given mobile phones to document their journeys. The filming depicts refugees in familiar contexts that emphasise their lack of belonging (e.g. camps, on the road), but also contextualises their life before and after their migration. Camera phones centre the presence of the filmer, and by implication the viewer, in the scenes, as extensions of the migrants' presence. In-studio interviews emphasise them as reflective individuals, so they are humanized. Such depictions counter negative stereotypes and associations, and allow migrants to tell their own stories in an advocacy-oriented approach to broadcasting. The story-telling approach is essential because it retains context and shows the reality that the high cost of becoming a refugee involves a 'systematic process of impoverishment', with families selling their assets to make the journey.

Refugees are also the focus for Høeg and Tulloch (2019), who analyse online news coverage of climate refugees on the BBC and Al-Jazeera from 2000-2017. They find that BBC coverage is mostly produced in the Global North - only 3/14 pieces were covered from the actual location. The majority of sources are elites based in the Global North, and only 17% of sources are actually climate refugees. Climate refugees are presented as illustrative of a global scientific problem, framed as unnamed victims, deterritorialised, and described in terms of potential numbers.

Indirect representations of migration are analysed by Villa (2020), through the series *Being Human* (BBC3, 2008-2013). She draws parallels between the lives of the characters (death, exclusion, lower class, qualified but only able to obtain low paid jobs, links between rejection and radicalisation, and the development of double identities) and the lives of migrant communities and asylum seekers in the UK, ultimately concluding that the series illustrates how full integration of the 'other' is never possible.

Three studies focus on the portrayal of Romanian migrants to the UK. In two studies, Cheregi (Cheregi, 2015a) (Cheregi, 2015b), examines the framing of Romanian immigrants in three BBC documentaries (*Panorama – The Romanians are Coming?* – BBC, 2013; *The Truth About Immigration* – BBC, 2014; and

The Great Big Romanian invasion – BBC, 2015). Her findings show that Romanians are framed in terms of economic motivations (coming to the UK for better work), as exemplars for the importance of immigration as a political and policy issue and as a threat to national security (Romanians sleeping on the street and a threat to British citizens). The documentaries focused more on lower class than middle class Romanians, drawing on stereotypes of homeless, jobless, struggling migrants, and using close-up frames to show migrants as emotional rather than rational. Overall, the documentaries constructed a binary of 'us' and 'them' in relation to Romanians specifically and immigrants generally.

In contrast, Andreescu (2019) analyses the Channel 4 documentary series 'The Romanians are Coming' (2015) and identifies a more tension-filled presentation, balancing detailed depictions that might enable the audience to identify with the Romanian migrants whom the show follows, and the exploitation of their pain and misery driven by the need to entertain. Most depictions of Romania are of spaces of social and economic decay rather than vibrant spaces, featuring environmental and human degradation, poverty, and a country that is stuck in the past. Romanians are associated with dirt through these depictions, their jobs in the UK (street cleaner, car washer), their homelessness, and also through frequent use of the word 'shit' through the programme. At the same time, nostalgia and fetishized representations of joyful Romanian festivals make UK spaces seem sterile in comparison. Overall, the programme shows how Romanians are simultaneously in demand and excluded in British society.

Other forms of diversity

On-Screen Portrayals

De Benedictis et al (2019) examine how birth is televised through the reality TV genre in the programme *One Born Every Minute* (2010-). They note that class and age are relatively diverse across the series, but the vast majority of mothers were white, able-bodied, heterosexual and in a couple. The portrayals tend to reflect the various ways women give birth (vaginally / surgical or with interventions) but women are over-represented in passive positions (e.g. on their back). Advice about interventions was absent and so women were generally presented as passive recipients of care.

Godfrey (2016) conducts an analysis of portrayals of family on three CBeebies programmes (*Octonauts*, *Everything's Rosie*, *Mr Bloom's nursery*). She finds that in the majority of programmes (81%) the notion of family is represented by loose networks of friendship groupings and communities. She argues that these programmes facilitate an ethos of sharing, community, acceptance of difference, and acceptance of the individual. They complicate traditional family norms, and although traditional gender roles are still demarcated in story lines and visuals, representations of masculinity sometimes integrate an ethos of caring and nurturing.

Akpome (2018) (Akpome, 2017) critiques the representations of Lagos, Nigeria in the BBC series 'Welcome to Lagos' on the basis that the programmes represents life in Lagos slums as representative of all Lagos, and all postcolonial megacities, as dystopian spaces. The camera work in a documentary, ethnographic style (following individual lives and families), claims both authentic representations as well as an institutional authority over the representation. Yet the variety of the city is excluded, and the slum becomes a central trope with an excessive focus on filth and environmental degradation. The families featured in the series are portrayed as abject, but also resourceful in the context of precarious life. The series spectacularises their suffering and perpetuates the position of Africa and its citizens as recipients / victims of globalisation - where the waste of global capital ends up.

Analysis

The results show that, within these studies, diversity is seen in a wide range of contexts on-screen. Drama, sports coverage, news, reality TV, soaps and documentary formats were all analysed in the articles in this sample. This suggests that, when it comes to on-screen portrayals, public service broadcasters are delivering a range of representations of diversity across different programming formats. Programme types covered by academics in this review included contemporary drama and crime series, soaps, factual programming, sports programming, news, and historical adaptations.

Diversity is not just a question of the presence of diverse groups on-screen, but also how they are represented. The close analysis conducted by many of the academic studies enables an in-depth and nuanced understanding of way in which diversity is portrayed. The findings indicate that some public service programming is more effective than others (Channel 4's Paralympics coverage, for example, as compared to Channel 5's 'Britain's Benefit Blackspots' series), particularly when the programming is underpinned by a commitment to situate diversity in its social, cultural and economic context, and/or to normalise diversity. However, even in these cases portraying diversity can be a tension-filled exercise - for example, when institutional risk aversion and international demand for nostalgic portrayals of Englishness mitigate against diverse casting and more realistic portrayals of British multiculturalism.

The results of the analysis also suggest that the diversity of a production team is fundamental to production decisions (about casting, location, script, characterisation) that influence how diversity is realised on-screen. As the research on Channel 4's Paralympics strategy and Sally Wainwright's dramas suggests, if production staff are more diverse and these staff are given creative freedom and the opportunity to influence decision-making, on-screen diversity can be more innovative and more authentic. A lack of diversity may result in production norms fostering more stereotypical representations, or preserving the status quo of middle-class, white identities on-screen. Moreover, locating production in the regions / devolved nations can help to foster a more diverse production sector (although limitations to this remain in terms of decision-making power and funding). Finally, the few audience reception studies identified through our review suggest that how diversity is portrayed on-screen matters for audiences. While it may sometimes prompt further prejudice, it can create an important source of identification, or educate viewers in new ways of seeing, understanding and accepting diversity.

Nonetheless, the results also indicate the following important imbalances and gaps in current academic research on production, on-screen portrayals, and audience reception of diversity in UK public service broadcasting on television:

1. There is an imbalance in the attention paid to different categories of diversity. Gender receives most attention, followed by race/ethnicity and class. Disability, regions and the devolved nations, migration, sexuality and age receive far less attention, and when they are the focus of research, it tends to be in a very limited number of contexts. For example, the sample only found evidence of the portrayal of disability in relation to the Paralympic coverage and reality TV programmes focused on families claiming benefits. Studies of sexuality and age were very rare, and age was often treated as a subcategory of other diversity characteristics (such as gender). Only one study focused on religion (Islam and Islamophobia), but it was framed in terms of race/ethnicity rather than religious beliefs. Moreover, intersectional insights tended to be limited to certain categories

such as gender, race, class and age, while the complexity of other identities was investigated less thoroughly.

2. Very little research paid attention to the devolved nations, with Scotland receiving most attention, one article on production in Wales, and no research at all done on Northern Ireland's television broadcasting environment. An equally small amount of work analysed regional diversity; where it was the focus, it related only to northern England (Yorkshire or Manchester / Lancashire). Other regions are completely neglected.
3. There was a heavy concentration of portrayal analysis, which accounted for over two-thirds of the sample. Diversity in production was investigated in 16 studies, and there were only four audience reception studies. While the emphasis on analysing broadcast content reveals useful information about how diversity is actually portrayed (particularly gender, race and class), few of the studies connect with the conditions for producing such portrayals in the first place, nor with their effect on or reception by audiences. Production studies tended to focus on the ways in which diversity was facilitated by certain production practices or locations, but did not explore qualitative or quantitative analyses of workforce diversity in any depth.
4. Reflecting the emphasis on portrayal analysis, the sample shows a heavy methodological emphasis on close analysis of diversity portrayals in individual programmes, which accounted for half the research conducted in the sample. Other methods of textual analysis (content, discourse and framing analyses) dominated the remainder of the sample (16/34 items). While close readings of broadcast texts deliver detailed and nuanced analyses of content, and can reveal the complexities and challenges of diversity portrayals, they are limited in the degree to which their findings can be generalised beyond the immediate context. In line with the more limited attention paid to production and audience reception research topics, social science methods such as interviews, focus groups, ethnographies were much less common, and quantitative methods were rare.
5. The focus on the public service broadcasters was very uneven. BBC channels received by far the most research attention (47/68 studies), almost three times as much as Channel 4 (16 studies). Six studies focused on ITV and only two on Channel 5 (both relating to its series 'Britain's Benefit Blackspots').
6. None of the academic research addresses RQ3, the link between diversity initiatives and the manifestations of diversity in production, content and consumption. While some work points out that including diverse production staff can lead to more diversity on-screen, no systematic work has been done on the mechanisms through which this might happen, nor on the effects such consequences might have on the ways in which audiences perceive and consume diverse content.

Observations and recommendations

The grey literature findings, the academic consultant interviews, and the REA itself allow us to make the following observations about current research on diversity in public service broadcasting in the UK.

There is a division of research between industry-funded work largely focused on diversity in production, and academic work emphasising diversity in on-screen portrayals. While each offers important insights, there are limitations to both. Industry-funded work, while providing valuable data on diversity in production, tends to be aligned with particular industry objectives. This runs the risk of narrowing the focus to an instrumental understanding of diversity, rather than a more expansive and open interpretation. Indeed, the patterns observed in the grey literature suggest that industry research is often focused on the degree to which organisations are meeting policy requirements or internal targets for diversity.

As our academic consultants argued, industry-funded research is vulnerable to defining diversity only in numerical terms, overlooking the *experiences* of marginalised groups. The only exception to this pattern identified in our grey literature dataset came from the BBC, who released a series of reports in 2018 (BBC, 2018a-e) that incorporated qualitative data from staff consultations (interviews, workshops and surveys). While the data itself was not published, its inclusion did generate recommendations for cultural change, as well as numerical targets for diversity. The staff feedback summarised in these reports reinforces the fact that tracking workforce diversity in statistical terms is necessary, but not sufficient. To address inclusion adequately, it is essential to understand the experience of those working in the industry and how these experiences are differently shaped by organisational structures, cultures and practices. A critical question here is the extent to which marginalized groups are recognized within industry structures and are given a real voice, creative autonomy, and decision-making power (Saha 2018: 85-112). Connected to this, industry research does not always make clear whether the targets and policies research agendas and topics, or conduct of the research is done in collaboration with marginalised groups – in other words, it is not clear whether the research is simply done ‘about’ them, rather than ‘with’ them. As such, it is unclear whether a focus on diversity in broadcasting organisations is genuinely ‘democratising’ organisations and institutions, as our academic consultants put it.

The academic research, on the other hand, while robust and independent, is skewed towards analysis of on-screen content. These analyses provide very rich data on the quality of portrayal and the complex ways in which diversity can add meaning and nuance to narratives and characters. However, there is no longitudinal analysis of diversity in on-screen content, nor do analyses address diversity across a range of programme types; instead, studies tend to deliver in-depth analyses of a single programme or series. As a result, there is still a lack of research on how on-screen portrayal is changing over time both quantitatively and qualitatively, and questions remain about how well diversity is represented across the full range of programme types delivered by different public service channels.

In addition, across both the grey literature and the academic research, there is an over-emphasis on some identity categories at the expense of others. In academic work, gender, race/ethnicity and class receive the majority of attention. Disability portrayals are analysed, but primarily in relation to the Paralympics. In the grey literature, patterns are similar: gender, race/ethnicity and disability are most researched (in line with Ofcom’s mandatory reporting requirements). Other protected characteristics receive more limited attention, and class least of all. While class itself is not a protected characteristic and is particularly difficult to define, the over-representation of class indicators in the industry (such as Russell Group education, private schooling, and parental occupation) suggests that it is a significant area for diversity work (see also Friedman and Laurison, 2020). Diversity relating to the UK regions is not addressed. Academic research does integrate an intersectional approach to diversity, addressing one of the concerns

of our academic consultants, but largely in the context of on-screen portrayal. In the grey literature, intersectional analyses of diversity are absent, echoing our academic consultants' concerns that currently, intersectionality remains more of an analytical concept than one applied to diversity in practice.

Methodologically, across both the grey literature and the academic research the range of methods used is relatively limited. Workforce data analysis and interviews dominate in the industry research, while close textual analyses are the primary tools used in academic work. Findings are necessarily limited to the capacity of these methods, and there is a risk that important insights are lost. A wider range of methods is needed in industry and academic work to address this danger.

Both the grey literature and the academic research show a significant gap in audience research. Very few studies address the ways in which audiences receive, interpret and make meaning of diversity. The few studies that do exist show that this kind of research can provide vital information about how audiences interpret the idea of diversity, where they feel it is necessary to improve performance and where things are going well, how and why they value diversity in the broadcasting industry (both on- and off-screen), and how they make meaning of diverse portrayals in their own lives. This information is vital to understanding whether the diversity policies, practices and portrayals that public service broadcasters pursue are actually achieving their purpose.

Larger research projects that combine audience research with the analysis of production and portrayal would be especially valuable. Much of the available evidence considers production, portrayal, and audience reception in isolation from one another and very few studies examine them together in a systematic way. As suggested by a 'circuit of culture' (Hall 2013) approach, examining practices of production, representation, and consumption — and broader factors such as regulation and group identity — in the context of the same research project would enable researchers to tease out the complex relationships between them and how they combine to determine how diversity is mediated. Pullen et al's funded research on Channel 4's coverage of the Paralympics is a good example of this approach and the benefits it can deliver.

In light of these observations, and the previous findings in the report, we make the following recommendations relating to the overall research agenda for diversity in public service broadcasting:

1. Research should address under-researched diversity categories, and particularly class, disability, religion, and sexuality. Class remains significantly under-researched compared to gender and race/ethnicity, given its fundamental influence on British life. Research should adopt an intersectional approach to ensure that the challenges arising from complex identity categories (e.g. women of colour, people with a disability and a different sexual orientation) are understood.
2. Research needs to pay more attention to diversity in relation to the UK's nations and regions. Even the region that receives most attention (Northern England) is still under-researched. Similarly, while Scotland receives some research attention, it is still limited, and research on Wales and Northern Ireland is almost non-existent. The government's levelling up agenda is directly relevant here, as is the reality of devolved responsibility for decisions about post-Covid recovery, which need to be more widely and effectively communicated. Research can highlight gaps in coverage that could be addressed by public service broadcasters.

3. Much more attention needs to be paid to diversity in the context of production. As our expert interviewees pointed out, academic research on the experiences of diverse production staff in all areas is absent. Nonetheless, the few studies in this analysis that address other aspects of diversity in production suggest that inclusion is essential for successful on-screen portrayal, and this finding is supported by the grey literature. While industry and Ofcom reports have set and tracked targets for diversity, robust independent academic work is lacking. There is also a need for greater use of qualitative methods to complement the broad picture provided by workforce analysis and surveys by analysing the views and particular experiences of those working in the industry. In-depth interviews, observational methods and mixed methods research, where qualitative and quantitative methods are used in the same study, would significantly enhance the depth of analysis and enable important connections to be made.
4. Much more research on the audience is required. Reception studies are needed to identify how diversity in on-screen portrayals affects audience understanding, meaning-making and acceptance (or rejection) in relation to diverse identities on-screen. More attention could also be paid to audiences' broader interpretations of diversity and how it should be realised across the broadcast industry. Qualitative (e.g., in-depth interviews, focus groups, observations, textual analysis of social media), quantitative (e.g., surveys, experiments, content analysis or sentiment analysis of social media), or mixed methods research could be valuable in this context.
5. Research on on-screen portrayals should be extended into larger scale cross-sectional and longitudinal studies of diversity on-screen so that patterns of on-screen portrayal can be identified beyond single programmes or genres, and over time. Such research would help pinpoint where public service broadcasters are performing well or poorly (for example, in relation to types of diversity portrayed, or the most and least successful genres for portraying diversity), and could provide an evidence base for regulatory or policy interventions to boost positive broadcasting outcomes and address problem areas. To do this, there is a need to complement qualitative textual analysis with more quantitative content analysis. However, such analyses must still look beyond just the question of whether diversity is represented on-screen, as already addressed in some grey literature (Cumberbatch 2018a, 2018b), to reflect on *how* diversity is represented.
6. Research should broaden the focus from the BBC to pay more attention to the other UK public service broadcasters, to ensure that diversity in relation to UK public service broadcasting as a whole is understood and addressed adequately.
7. Following a 'circuit of culture' (Hall 2013) approach, research looking at particular examples of programming should aim to span and consider production, portrayal, and audience reception — and other factors such as media regulation and identity — in the context of the same research project. Such research would be valuable for understanding the complex relationships that exist between these factors and how they together contribute to determining the way diversity is mediated by public service broadcasters.

Appendix 1: Methodology

Search protocol

The grey literature we examined helped us to generate topics and terms to include in the protocol for our main search of the academic literature. The range of terms was very extensive: 234 different words or phrases across nine categories (diversity, public service media, workforce participation, portrayal, policy, methodology, outcomes, evaluations, and audience). The terms were too numerous to use in the main search, since they would generate results that were not sufficiently targeted to the needs of the project. We therefore experimented with different combinations to deliver a more streamlined set of terms while ensuring relevance and inclusivity of results. The search was designed to identify research addressing the following types of content:

1. Focus of research
 - Production or workforce / content and representation / audience
2. Methodology
 - Qualitative or quantitative
 - Specific method (e.g. interviews, focus groups, ethnography, surveys, experiments)
 - Evaluation of impact
3. Outcomes addressed
 - Recruitment, promotion, progression, retention, experience
 - Type and quality of portrayal (e.g. stereotype, authenticity, type of role)
 - Audience-related criteria (e.g. perceived identities, uptake of portrayals, assessment of diversity achievement)
4. Policy focus
 - Industry-wide, specific broadcasters, public service regulation

Search terms and databases

The search terms were limited to two categories: public service media terms and diversity-related terms. Searches were focused on title, abstract and keywords and were conducted on the following databases:

- Communications and Mass Media Complete – covers media studies, journalism, linguistics, popular culture and IT.
- Web of Science – covers all aspects of the sciences, social sciences and humanities since the early 20th century. Enables easy citation tracking.
- Scopus – thousands of high-quality science, social science and arts journals some dating before 1970. Enables easy citation tracking.
- International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS) – cross-disciplinary coverage across the social sciences from 1951. Covering four primary subject areas: anthropology, economics, political science and sociology.
- SocINDEX Full Text – database for sociology research offering indexed records from top sociology journals covering many studies including gender studies, criminal justice, social psychology, racial studies, religion and social work.

The searches generated **3511** articles. Following de-duplication, **1372** articles remained for full screening.

Table 1: Article count per database

Web of Science	1643
IBSS	700
Scopus	572
C&MMC	417
SocIndex	179
Total	3511

Screening criteria

The following criteria were used to guide the screening of the search results.

Inclusion / exclusion criteria

Articles were included based on the following criteria:

Topic and relevance criteria

- Studies that specifically focus on diversity in production, content and / or consumption in the context of public service broadcasters and their associated portfolio channels (BBC channels, ITV/ITV2, Channel 4/E4/FilmFour, Channel 5);
- Studies that specifically focus on diversity in production, content and / or consumption in relation to Netflix and Amazon Prime services within or beyond the UK context;
- Studies that focus on television broadcasting but NOT radio;
- Studies that are empirical, not purely theoretical;
- From any geography but published in English;
- Carried out in the last 5 years (2016 – 2020), but including 2021 publications should they arise, to allow for online first articles

Quality criteria

- Studies published in peer-reviewed academic journals⁸;
- Studies that are methodologically robust. This means:
 - Quantitative studies that give a thorough description of the method used⁹ and preferably demonstrate causality between input and outcome variables, rather than correlation or description; *and/or*
 - Qualitative studies that give a detailed description of the methodology undertaken, pay systematic attention to relevant behaviours, experiences and attitudes of participants, and demonstrate an analytical rather than descriptive approach.

⁸ Note that in academic research, peer-review (review of articles submitted for publication by academics working in the same field, to assess quality and contribution to the field) is the gold standard for quality assurance. Hence, in a review of academic work, selecting peer-reviewed articles only ensures a high level of academic quality.

⁹ The original intention was to include only quantitative studies that demonstrated causality, but there were none in the final search results. Consequently, we loosened the quantitative method criteria to include all quantitative studies where the method was clearly explained, even if they are descriptive.

Corresponding to these criteria, the main search results were limited to English-language, peer-reviewed, methodologically robust articles published from 2016-2021. We then applied the following exclusion criteria for the scanning of the search results:

Articles were excluded in all the following cases:

1. Diversity and its forms as per the search **are NOT** in the abstract or keywords anywhere
2. Articles that **are NOT** about public service broadcasting or Netflix or Amazon
3. Articles that are focused on data **from the 20th century**
4. Articles that **are NOT** about TV or radio or the internet/online content
5. Articles that **are NOT** full journal articles (e.g. one-pagers, very short articles, book reviews)
6. Articles that are **purely theoretical**

Articles received an additional review if they met the following criteria, to confirm whether or not they should be included in the final sample:

1. Diversity and its forms are mentioned in the abstract and / or keywords, but it's not clear whether they the main focus of the article
2. Diversity and its forms are mentioned in the abstract and / or keywords, but it's not clear whether the article is based on any empirical research
3. Diversity and its forms are mentioned in the abstract and / or keywords, but the article is about radio or the internet/online content, and not television

Following the screening process, a total of **1184 were excluded** based on the above criteria and **188 articles were included for full-text review**. Of these, 120 potentially relevant articles were focused on radio or online content, and not television; non-UK public service broadcasters, non-UK contexts, or on Netflix / Amazon programming. They were not the core focus for the review and are therefore also excluded. The final sample was made up of **68 items addressing the core UK context**. These comprise the data for the analysis set out in the report.

Appendix 2: Search terms

Concept	Search terms
Public service broadcasting	(public N1 broadcast*) OR "public media" OR "public service media" OR BBC OR "British Broadcasting Corporation" OR "Channel 4" OR FilmFour OR "Channel 5" OR ITV OR ITV2 OR Netflix OR "Amazon Prime" OR "Amazon Video"
Diversity (general)	divers* OR inequalit* OR disparit* OR inequit* OR equalit* OR "equal opportunit*" OR inclusi* OR exclusi* OR minorit*
Gender	gender* OR sex* OR women OR woman OR female* OR men OR man OR male*
Sexual orientation	"sexual orientation" OR homosexual* OR gay* OR lesbi* OR bisexual* OR queer* OR asexual* OR LGB*
Gender identity	transgender* OR transpeople OR transperson* OR intersex* OR transsexual*
Disability	disabilit* OR disabled OR impairment* OR "long term illness*" OR "chronic illness"
Religion	spiritual* OR worship OR church* OR temple* OR chapel* OR mosque* OR synagogue* OR imam* OR priest* OR vicar* OR rabbi* OR rabi* OR minister* OR chaplain* OR preacher OR religio* OR faith* OR belief
Specific religions	christian* OR catholic* OR jewish* OR judaism OR hindu* OR sikh* OR buddh* OR taoism OR shinto OR paganism OR rastafari* OR islam* OR quran* OR koran* OR muslim* OR moslem* OR moslim* OR muslem* OR god* OR persia*
Age	Age* OR elder* OR pensioner* OR over-5* OR over-6* OR over-7* OR teen* OR adolescen* OR "young adult*" OR youth*
Pregnancy / maternity / parental status	pregnan* OR matern* OR patern* OR "breast feed*" OR parent* OR guardian* OR mother* OR father* OR "caring responsibil*"
Ethnicity	ethnic* OR race OR races OR racial OR racis* OR BAME OR BME OR non-white* OR nonwhite* OR OR whites OR caucasian* OR black* OR asian* OR English OR non-English OR nonenglish
Migration	migration* OR migrant* OR immigrant* OR emigrant*
Socio-economic Class	((soci* OR economic OR working) N3 (class* OR group* OR status* OR exclusion* OR exclude* OR adversity OR advantage* OR include* OR inclusion OR mobility OR background OR socioeconomic OR socio-economic OR sociodemographic OR socio-demographic OR marginalised OR marginalized OR disadvantage* OR depriv* OR impoverished OR poverty))
Education	school* OR education* OR "private school" OR "public school" OR comprehensive school OR "state school" OR Oxbridge OR Oxford OR Cambridge OR "Russell Group"
Region	region* OR "linguistic diversity" OR Scotland OR Scottish OR Wales OR Welsh OR Ireland OR Irish OR England OR English OR "Out of London" OR "geographic diversity" OR "minority language" OR urban OR rural OR nation*

Appendix 3: Bibliography of grey literature

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