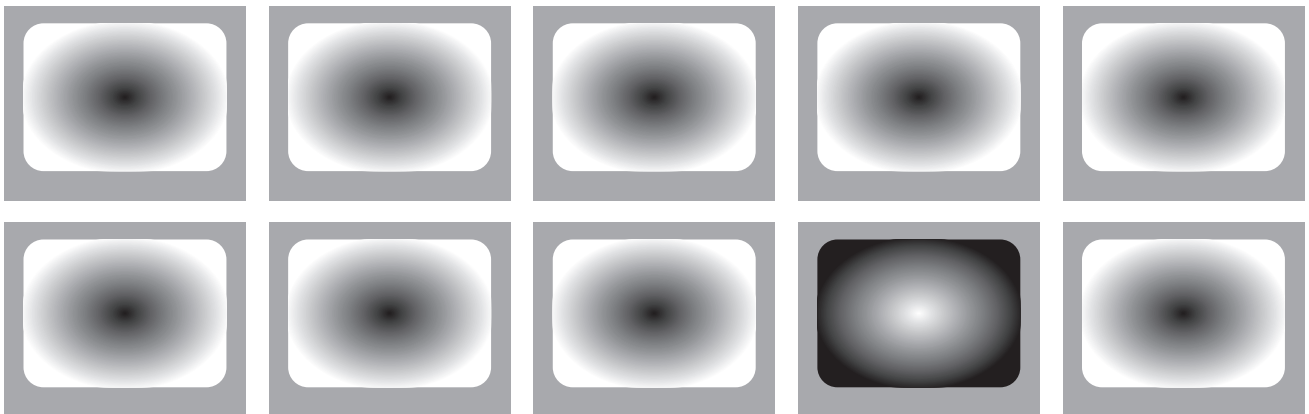


TOP 10 TV

Ethnic minority
group representation
on popular television



A report by

The Communications Research Group

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for the Commission for Racial Equality



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The research

This survey examined the representation and portrayal of ethnic minorities in the top ten most viewed television programmes each week over a period of four weeks on the five terrestrial channels (BBC1, BBC2, ITV, Channel 4 and Channel 5). The sample was drawn from 20th November to 17th December 2000.

A total of 204 programmes were captured in the sample. The main genres are listed below:

- Quiz and Game (17% of programmes) included *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?*, *They Think Its All Over* and *The Weakest Link*.
- Documentaries (16% of programmes) included *Pet Rescue* and *Murder Detectives*.
- Soap Operas (14% of programmes) included *EastEnders* and *Coronation Street*.
- Consumer programmes (9%) included *The Antiques Roadshow* and *Charlie's Wildlife Garden*.
- Police and Detective (6%), such as *Heartbeat*, Comedy (5%) and Contemporary Drama (5%) were the remaining predominant genres. Many of the remaining programmes were films.

This sample must be considered to represent the blockbuster programmes on television: the total combined audience for these 204 programmes was 1,156.54 million 'viewers' (as given by BARB), or, more correctly, viewing experiences.

Representation

Ethnic categories used in the 2001 population census were employed to categorise the television population and allow comparison with real world data.

- Overall, ethnic minority representation on television was 8.4% of all people counted in the programmes captured.

However, this figure was boosted considerably by programmes (mainly films) from the USA:

- USA productions included 11.8% ethnic minority participants compared with
- UK productions which included 6.9% representation.

This UK TV figure is also boosted by ethnic minority visitors¹ who, when removed from the sample, reduce the representation of resident UK ethnic minorities to:

- 5.2% of the world of television compared with
- 6.7% in the real world (as given by the Office of National Statistics, 2001)

Black people occurred more frequently in UK programmes (3.7% of all participants) than in the real world (2.1%).

Asian people (including Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and 'other Asian') were the most under represented. Compared with the real world, where they account for 3.7% of the population, they were almost invisible on television at just 0.9% of UK TV programme participants (or 1% if visitors are included).

Other ethnic minorities ('Chinese and all other ethnicities'), who are estimated to be some 0.6% of the population in Great Britain, accounted for only 0.2% of participants in UK programmes.

Mixed parentage people have been estimated at 0.4% of the real world in census updates of Great Britain and appear at the same frequency in UK programming (0.4%).

When examining the nature of the portrayals, a number of findings provide more grounds for concern about how ethnic minorities are represented:

¹ This term represents participants who were visiting a country in which they became a minority (e.g. Nelson Mandela in the UK).

Portrayals

In the overall sample, ethnic minority participants were far less likely to enjoy major roles. They contributed:

- 9.1% of all incidental roles
- 8.4% of minor roles, but only
- 5.7% of major roles.

In fictional programmes

- 15% of ethnic minority participants were in major roles compared with 22% of the total television population (6% of all major roles) in fictional programmes.
- 29% of ethnic minority participants were in minor roles compared with 30% of the total television population (9% of all minor roles) in fictional programmes.
- 56% of ethnic minority participants of all incidental roles compared with 48% of the total television population (11% of all incidental roles) in fictional programmes.

In factual programmes

- 3% of ethnic minority participants were major presenters compared with 6% of the total television population in factual programmes (3% of all major presenters were ethnic minorities).
- 3% of ethnic minority participants were minor presenters compared with 6% of the total television population in factual programmes (3% of all minor presenters were ethnic minorities).

The overall ethnic minority representation achieved in this sample was primarily due to minor interviewees (a role enjoyed by 66% of all ethnic minority participants compared with only 40% of the White comparison sample).

Additionally, representation of ethnic minorities was far more likely to be achieved by vox pop sound bites or very brief interviews (21% compared with only 4% of the White base).

The marginalisation of ethnic minorities suggested by the above is also seen in the subject of contribution to factual programming. In total 167 subjects were coded for ethnic minority participants and 199 for the White base sample. However,

- more than one quarter (26%) of the contributions made by ethnic minority participants were either coded as 'personal experiences' or 'subject too brief/no substance' compared with only 11% of the White base sample.
- one quarter (24%) of ethnic minority contributions were about musical performances or other entertainment compared with only 11% of the White base sample.

These figures might be taken to imply trivialisation of ethnic minority contributions.

Perhaps more interesting in this comparison between the two groups, is that while 17% of the White base made contributions to everyday subjects such as gardening, cookery, hobbies and interests, this was true of only 2% of the ethnic minority sample. Apart from the occasional cookery contribution, ethnic minorities were almost invisible in this domain.

Overall, most measures did not reveal the kind of overt examples of prejudice against ethnic minorities claimed by some. However, the pattern of findings is troublesome and draws attention to some more persistent if subtle forms of representation and portrayal.

One example, which is clearly not simply a UK problem, emerged in the analysis of the total sample. Coders were asked to categorise all Black participants in terms of skin tone and features. While 45% of all Black women were judged as having predominantly 'western features', this was true of only 17% of Black males. Furthermore, while lighter skin tones were no different between males and females,

30% of Black males were judged as having 'dark' (ebony) tone compared with only 11% of Black females.

This might suggest a bias in favour of White idealisation of ethnic minorities (at least for women) who appear to be only reluctantly admitted to our screens. These findings may indicate a more central problem in the growing concerns about the representation and portrayal of cultural diversity.

The Home Secretary, Jack Straw, recently stated that he would not be surprised if the forthcoming census revealed that 10% of Great Britain's population was now an ethnic minority. He may be premature in this, but the very youthful profile of ethnic minority groups (only 8% are over 60 compared with 21% of White people in Great Britain), indicates that this will certainly be the reality before too long.

Is television falling behind in the race?

Prepared for the Commission for Racial Equality by
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April 2001

Introduction

Interest in and concerns about how television represents cultural diversity have grown rapidly in the last few years. Speaking at the CRE's Race in the Media awards in April 2000, Greg Dyke, Director General of the BBC, announced new targets for ethnic minority representation in the BBC work force. By 2003 he said it would rise to 10% across the organisation and from 2% to 4% in management (Dyke, 2000). Six months later other broadcasters followed this initiative when the Cultural Diversity Network was launched. This industry-wide forum was described as, *"a new drive to increase the number of ethnic minority faces on screen and behind the cameras"* (Wells, 2000). Carlton Television's Chief Executive, Clive Jones, who said broadcasters would lose even more viewers if changes were not made now, acknowledged this need:

"This country is facing a demographic revolution which means that this industry has to get its act together. Either we adapt, or what we do will become increasingly irrelevant for a vital part of our audience."

It is not simply that many critics feel that television under represents and stereotypes ethnic minorities, but that it has failed to keep up to speed with the increasing numbers and rising expectations of such people and perhaps even the wider audience.

Ethnic Minorities in Television

The last census in Great Britain (1991) indicated an ethnic minority population of just over three million (5.5% of the population). Current projections are that it now stands at just under 4 million (6.7% of the population, ONS, 2001) which has been computed as a 27% rise in actual numbers over the last decade. Indeed the Home Secretary, Jack Straw, was recently quoted as saying he 'would not be surprised' if the forthcoming 2001 census reveals that Britain now enjoys an ethnic minority population of 10% (Travis, 2001).

Of course in some areas of the UK 'ethnic minorities' ceased to be numerical minorities some time ago. Even at the time of the last census, Greater London contained a population where one in five (20%) were from an ethnic minority. This London figure from ten years ago is particularly significant given that one half of the television industry is employed in the London area. Yet the first ever census, as

reported in Broadcast, by the Audio Visual Industries Training Group (Curtis, 2000) revealed that only 5.4% of employees and 6.4% of freelancers in broadcasting were from ethnic minority groups.

It is also important to note that the relatively high fertility rate for ethnic minorities is clearly an age-related phenomenon. Thus, while only 8% of ethnic minorities are aged 60 or more, in the white population the proportion is almost three times higher (at 21%). Conversely, 30% of ethnic minorities are under the age of 14 compared with a mere 18% of white people. These are important facts in framing expectations of how television should be reflecting a greater cultural diversity in the UK.

The under representation of ethnic minorities within the television industry is perhaps most acute at senior levels of management which Greg Dyke described as “*pathetic.*” Krishnan Guru-Murthy (the Channel 4 presenter) put it:

“It is embarrassing - no, appalling - that there is nobody from an ethnic minority in top level management at the BBC, ITV Network Centre, BskyB or C5. Even at Channel 4, the two most senior black people are in charge of multicultural programmes. And it is not because there are no suitably qualified people from ethnic minorities.” (Cited by Wells, 2000).

Ethnic minorities on television

The representation of ethnic minorities within the television industry has until recently been more a matter for concerned speculation than informed debate since facts and figures were simply not available. However the employment of such people, while important in itself, is arguably eclipsed by the images projected on our screens. It is perhaps unnecessary to note the pre-eminence of television in surveys asking people ‘where do you get most of your news about what is going on in the world today?’ ITC surveys have for a long time revealed that television is the major source. For example, in the most recently published ITC survey (Cumberbatch, 2000), over two thirds (67%) of respondents said ‘television’, 17% said ‘newspapers’ and 11% said ‘radio’. No more than 1% - 2% said ‘talking’, ‘the internet’, or ‘teletext’.

Not surprisingly, there is a profusion of literature emphasising the vital importance that television has in representing Britain as ‘a community of communities’ in which our colonial history has provided an almost unique inheritance of cultural diversity.

Much of this literature is, to say the least, critical that such representation has not been achieved (see Cumberbatch and Richards, 2001). The Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain (The Parekh Report, 2000) stressed the essential role of television in depicting 'the traditions of African, Asian, Caribbean and Irish cultures' but also the need to show them as 'dynamic and developing'. The essential verb in the report about television is that it 'should' do these things. The reality they quote is of disappointment: that this remains a future hope rather than a present achievement.

There can be little controversy in noting that, not too long ago, television had provided some fine examples of how *not* to treat sensitive issues of race and ethnicity. Johnny Speight in creating the bigoted character, Alf Garnett (*Till Death Us Do Part*, BBC1, 1966-74) hoped to expose racist bigotry. However, research on the show's audience and its American equivalent (*All in the Family* where Alf became Archie) revealed that:

'Archie's behavior actually reinforced prejudice, for racist viewers could not see that the show was intended to satirise prejudices...' (Woll and Miller, 1987, p78).

Necessarily, published reviews of ethnic minority portrayals on television tend to be historical, drawing attention to the tradition of television broadcasts rather than contemporary images. Moreover, the tradition of research on ethnic minority representation on television has been predominantly qualitative - offering 'good' and (more often) 'bad' examples of portrayal to argue the case (e.g. Cottle, 2000 and Ross, 1996). While most useful as consciousness raising analyses, reminding us of persistent problems, such approaches never claim statistical objectivity: they are not surveys of what is 'on the box'. There are precious few thorough analyses of contemporary output and, of course, these may rapidly become dated.

One good approach is, of course, to ask viewers about their viewing experiences, as was done recently by the Broadcasting Standards Commission (Sreberny, 1999). This important study used focus groups to illuminate understandings of ethnic minority reactions to broadcast television. It is likely that responses were a bit stronger than 'typical' given that the researchers experienced a 'very poor response' rate from the public. This necessitated turning to pre-existing organisations for the

adult focus groups. However, the report clearly communicates strong feelings of where television 'had got things wrong'. For example, programmes were criticised for portraying Asians as shopkeepers but also for a 'lack of honesty' in not including their religious ceremonies. The message of the Sreberny report might seem to broadcasters that they are at fault for stereotyping but equally damned for counter stereotyping with 'unconvincing' portrayals. 'Damned if you do and damned if you don't'. This is a controversial area that clearly needs some development.

Few studies have attempted to track ethnic minority representation on television in any survey-style, quantitative way. By far the most systematic of these is due to the Broadcasting Standards Commission which has included ethnic minority representation on television in their Annual Monitoring Reports. Their content analyses have covered two weeks annually of prime time output (17.30 hours through to midnight) each year since 1993. While the samples have been extended to include various satellite channels and Channel Five, the methods and definitions have remained stable, allowing unique year-on-year tracking.

Results have shown Sky One and Channel 5 to have higher levels of representation than the other terrestrial channels mainly due to their greater proportion of US programming. However, matched channel comparisons over the years (based on BBC1, BBC2, ITV, Channel 4 and Sky One) showed surprisingly little change from 1993 through 2000 - fluctuating between 6.2% and 7.4% ethnic minority representation. The figures for UK only productions were even lower. For example, in the most recent results, BBC1 ran at 6%, BBC2 at 3%, ITV at 7% and Channel 4 at 7%. However, in each year's sample the most notable feature of the data is the very poor representation of Asian people. The 2000 findings were summarised by Younge as 'Blink and you'll miss these actors. Why? Because they're Asian.' (Younge, 2000).

An ITC/CRE commissioned study in 1995 of four week's prime time output on BBC1, BBC2, ITV and Channel 4, found essentially similar results. Here only 6% of the people appearing in UK productions were from an ethnic minority compared with 13% of programmes made in the USA (Cumberbatch and Woods, 1996). The paucity of Asian people was evident. In fictional programmes, for example, a total of

335 Black Americans and 221 Black African Caribbean people appeared compared with only 40 Asian participants.

In the absence of much up to date monitoring of television output, the CRE wished to find out more about the levels of representation and the dominant images of ethnic minorities presented on television. Of course, examining the whole range of output was an attractive possibility. However the decision was made to investigate ethnic minority representation in the television programmes which received the biggest audiences. Just what images do most people have of ethnic minorities from the television blockbusters currently on offer?

Methodology

The Sample

The ten top television programmes on each of the five terrestrial channels over a period of four weeks were selected using BARB audience data.

The programmes were broadcast during the four consecutive weeks ending Sunday 26th November, Sunday 3rd December, Sunday 10th December and Sunday 17th December. Across the five main terrestrial channels (BBC1, BBC2, ITV, Channel 4 and Channel 5) this would be expected to produce a total of 200 programmes. However, *The Simpsons* and *Friends* were both transmitted as double episodes and not desegregated in the BARB data. Thus, in total, the sample contained 204 video recorded programmes.

In addition to this, a number of programmes amongst the Top Ten consisted of different episodes of the same series – for example, three episodes of *EastEnders* were listed as the three top programmes on BBC1 during week ending 26/11/00, while in the same week the top five programmes on BBC2 were various editions of *The Weakest Link*. Since a sample drawn only from the Top Ten would have been dominated by particular genres, it was decided that the top ten different programmes should be selected for analysis.

Coding

Each of these 204 programmes were subjected to a detailed content analysis via two sets of ‘coding schedules’. These schedules were used to record the number of people who spoke along with their level of contribution and the number of participants who were not White but depicted in their own country. In addition to this, each programme was categorised according to genre, production type, year and country of production. Finally, a detailed profile was completed on each participant who was a member of an ethnic minority group along with a comparison sample of one White male and one White female. This White ‘base’ sample was drawn by selecting the first male and female to appear five minutes after the programme commenced.

Profiles examined a variety of issues of interest, including ethnicity, level of appearance, age, role portrayal, the nature of any interactions with others, sexuality, subject of contribution, criminality, occupation, social grade and questions relating to the skin tone and features of Black participants. In addition to this, qualitative analysis covered issues of stereotyping, counter stereotyping and discrimination in connection with ethnic minority participants.

The ethnic categories adopted in this study are based on those to be used by the Office of National Statistics (ONS) in the 2001 Census. All quantitative results were analysed using the SPSS statistical package.

Results

Tables P1 - P5 below reveal details of the programmes in this Top Ten sample, along with *audience sizes* and the *ethnic minority representation* (see below) in each programme.

Audience sizes

During the period in which programmes were captured, average viewing in the population was some 28 hours per week. Despite the fragmentation of television audiences due to cable, satellite and other delivery systems, the 'Top Ten' programmes on the terrestrial channels show a massive pre-eminence in the UK's viewing habits. The combined audience figures for the 204 programmes studied here totals 1,156.54 million 'viewers' (or more correctly viewing experiences). With audience sizes on such a colossal scale, the importance of the images they present can hardly be disputed.

Ethnic minority representation

For ease of reference, the ethnic minority representation is given as a percentage of the population of people who spoke in each programme (background people were not counted). Of course, the numbers of people portrayed will vary considerably from one programme to another and later statistics examining overall levels of representation take this into account. Additionally, at this stage, the results show only appearances and do not distinguish levels of appearance which will be examined later. For example, in *The Full Monty* (ITV, week 2, audience 11.08m) the

overall representation is given as 15.4% but this includes the family of the only major ethnic minority character, Barrington 'Horse' Mitchell. For the moment, the familiarity which most people have with many of these programmes, may encourage some reflection on their contribution to cultural diversity.

Proportion of ethnic minorities in Top Ten programmes

BBC1

Table P1.1: Week ending 26/11/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>EastEnders</i>	17.48	0%
<i>One Foot in the Grave</i>	12.84	0%
<i>I Don't Believe It</i>	11.25	0%
<i>Casualty</i>	8.91	10%
<i>They Think it's All Over</i>	8.91	14.3%
<i>National Lottery Stars</i>	8.84	0%
<i>A Question of Sport</i>	8.03	7.1%
<i>Neighbours</i>	7.90	0%
<i>Antiques Roadshow</i>	7.72	0%
<i>Celebrity Ready Steady Cook</i>	7.39	20.0%
Total	99.27	4.0%

Table P1.2: Week ending 3/12/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>EastEnders</i>	17.26	25.0%
<i>The Royle Family</i>	9.56	0%
<i>Antiques Roadshow</i>	9.26	0%
<i>One Foot in the Grave</i>	9.24	0%
<i>Neighbours</i>	8.90	0%
<i>They Think It's All Over</i>	8.63	22.7%
<i>Casualty</i>	8.21	12.1%
<i>A Question of Sport</i>	7.74	15.8%
<i>Changing Rooms</i>	7.65	0%
<i>National Lottery Stars</i>	7.59	7.7%
Total	94.04	9.2%

Table P1.3: Week ending 10/12/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>EastEnders</i>	17.62	0%
<i>Casualty</i>	9.41	6.7%
<i>Neighbours</i>	8.84	0%
<i>They Think it's All Over</i>	8.56	15.4%
<i>National Lottery Stars</i>	8.17	12.5%
<i>Antiques Roadshow</i>	7.89	0%
<i>Changing Rooms</i>	7.71	0%
<i>Vicar of Dibley</i>	7.47	0%
<i>Animal Hospital</i>	7.43	0%
<i>Sports Personality of the Year</i>	7.37	7.2%
Total	90.47	5.0%

Table P1.4: Week ending 17/12/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>EastEnders</i>	17.03	11.1%
<i>Casualty</i>	9.90	10.0%
<i>Ground Force Goes Airforce</i>	8.77	0%
<i>National Lottery Stars</i>	8.38	25.0%
<i>Holiday 2000</i>	8.28	0%
<i>Neighbours</i>	8.13	0%
<i>They Think Its All Over</i>	8.09	8.3%
<i>Silent Witness</i>	8.06	17.2%
<i>Royal Variety Performance</i>	7.92	16.7%
<i>Antiques Roadshow</i>	7.61	0%
Total	92.17	7.9%

BBC2

Table P2.1: Week ending 26/11/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>The Weakest Link</i>	5.54	0%
<i>Simpsons episode 1</i> <i>Simpsons episode 2</i>	4.22	2.6% 3.4%
<i>Horizon</i>	4.06	0%
<i>Friends For Dinner</i>	3.52	0%
<i>Robot Wars</i>	3.48	4.8%
<i>Home Front</i>	3.41	10.0%
<i>The X-Files</i>	3.38	4.8%
<i>TOTP2</i>	3.33	0%
<i>Charlie's Wildlife Garden</i>	3.20	0%
<i>What the Romans Did for Us</i>	3.14	0%
Total	37.28	3.1%

Table P2.2: Week ending 3/12/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>Simpsons episode 1</i> <i>Simpsons episode 2</i>	4.13	7.1% 10.0%
<i>Natural World</i>	3.77	0%
<i>Charlie's Wildlife Garden</i>	3.55	0%
<i>Big Cat Diary</i>	3.30	0%
<i>Andes to Amazon</i>	3.28	0%
<i>Horizon</i>	3.15	0%
<i>Home Front</i>	3.12	0%
<i>Harry Enfield and Chums</i>	3.07	0%
<i>What the Romans Did for Us</i>	2.99	0%
<i>Friends for Dinner</i>	2.79	0%
Total	33.15	4.2%

Table P2.3: Week ending 10/12/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>Weakest Link</i>	4.65	10.0%
<i>Simpsons episode 1</i> <i>Simpsons episode 2</i>	4.56	0% 8.3%
<i>TOTP2</i>	4.08	11.8%
<i>Natural World</i>	3.59	0%
<i>Buffy the Vampire Slayer</i>	3.42	10.0%
<i>Robot Wars</i>	3.42	5.0%
<i>Home Front</i>	3.29	0%
<i>Horror in the East</i>	3.27	0%
<i>Rick Stein's Seafood Guide</i>	3.27	0%
<i>The Good Life</i>	3.21	0%
Total	36.76	5.1%

Table P2.4: Week ending 17/12/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>The Weakest Link</i>	4.51	0%
<i>Simpsons</i>	4.38	18.4%
<i>TOTP2</i>	4.33	35.0%
<i>Mel B/ Players Club</i>	3.49	47.1%
<i>Three Tenors Christmas</i>	3.39	0%
<i>Buffy the Vampire Slayer</i>	3.28	0%
<i>Charlie's Wildlife Garden</i>	3.01	0%
<i>Big Cat Diary 2000</i>	2.93	0%
<i>Natural World</i>	2.89	0%
<i>Thunderbirds</i>	2.77	0%
Total	34.98	21.0%

ITV

Table P3.1: Week ending 26/11/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>Coronation Street</i>	16.54	0%
<i>Who Wants to be a Millionaire?</i>	14.87	0%
<i>Heartbeat</i>	13.86	0%
<i>Emmerdale</i>	11.60	10.5%
<i>Volcano</i>	9.68	24.7%
<i>The Bill</i>	8.99	20.7%
<i>Peak Practice</i>	8.92	0%
<i>Cold Feet</i>	8.60	3.7%
<i>Close and True</i>	8.56	3.6%
<i>Frank Skinner Show</i>	8.51	0%
Total	110.13	11.9%

Table P3.2: Week ending 3/12/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>Coronation Street</i>	16.71	6.3%
<i>Heartbeat</i>	13.62	0%
<i>Who Wants to be a Millionaire?</i>	12.62	0%
<i>Stars in Their Eyes Results</i>	12.09	6.7%
<i>Emmerdale</i>	11.29	5.3%
<i>The Full Monty</i>	11.08	15.4%
<i>David Beckham Story</i>	10.54	0%
<i>Stars in Their Eyes Final</i>	10.48	6.3%
<i>Cold Feet</i>	9.14	6.3%
<i>All Star Family Fortunes</i>	8.98	0%
Total	116.55	6.2%

Table P3.3: Week ending 10/12/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>Coronation Street</i>	16.68	2.4%
<i>Heartbeat</i>	13.80	0%
<i>Emmerdale</i>	11.32	0%
<i>Who Wants to be a Millionaire?</i>	11.25	14.3%
<i>Cold Feet</i>	9.24	0%
<i>The Record of the Year-Result</i>	9.04	18.9%
<i>Peak Practice</i>	8.90	15.0%
<i>Barbara</i>	8.70	9.1%
<i>Daylight Robbery</i>	8.17	7.1%
<i>The Bill</i>	8.10	6.3%
Total	105.20	7.0%

Table P3.4: Week ending 17/12/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>Coronation Street</i>	15.61	0%
<i>Heartbeat</i>	12.04	0%
<i>Emmerdale</i>	11.58	4.8%
<i>Who Wants to be a Millionaire?</i>	10.65	0%
<i>Cold Feet</i>	9.09	13.3%
<i>Lost World - Jurassic Park</i>	8.96	19.4%
<i>The Bill</i>	8.86	4.3%
<i>Blind Date</i>	8.06	0%
<i>TVs Naughtiest Blunders Part 2</i>	7.91	3.5%
<i>British Comedy Awards</i>	7.62	6.2%
Total	100.38	5.5%

CHANNEL 4

Table P4.1: Week ending 26/11/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>Brookside</i>	5.65	13.3%
<i>Austin Powers</i>	4.01	5.4%
<i>Countdown</i>	3.79	0%
<i>Friends</i>	3.78	0%
<i>Hollyoaks</i>	3.67	0%
<i>So Graham Norton</i>	3.27	0%
<i>Robbie Williams in Concert</i>	3.05	25.0%
<i>Fifteen-to-One</i>	3.00	0%
<i>Pet Rescue</i>	2.87	0%
<i>Trigger Happy TV</i>	2.76	8.9%
Total	35.85	5.7%

Table P4.2: Week ending 3/12/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>Brookside</i>	5.25	9.1%
<i>Countdown</i>	3.84	0%
<i>On the Buses</i>	3.82	0%
<i>Hollyoaks</i>	3.71	0%
<i>Friends</i>	3.67	12.5%
<i>So Graham Norton</i>	3.30	6.3%
<i>Pet Rescue</i>	3.12	0%
<i>Whitechapel Murders</i>	2.77	0%
<i>Cutting Edge</i>	2.58	20.6%
<i>Fifteen-to-One</i>	2.56	11.8%
Total	34.62	7.1%

Table P4.3: Week ending 10/12/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>Brookside</i>	5.50	12.5%
<i>Countdown</i>	3.67	0%
<i>Hollyoaks</i>	3.48	0%
<i>Friends</i>	3.48	0%
<i>So Graham Norton</i>	3.43	0%
<i>Neanderthal</i>	3.36	0%
<i>Sense & Sensibility</i>	3.24	0%
<i>Bill & Ted's Excellent Adventure</i>	2.88	7.5%
<i>Pet Rescue</i>	2.83	0%
<i>The Windsors</i>	2.82	0%
Total	34.69	3.4%

Table P4.4: Week ending 17/12/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>Brookside</i>	4.42	18.8%
<i>Friends episode 1</i>	3.76	5.6%
<i>Friends episode 2</i>		0%
<i>Countdown</i>	3.65	14.3%
<i>Hollyoaks</i>	3.57	0%
<i>So Graham Norton</i>	3.05	9.1%
<i>Hollyoaks The Movie</i>	2.91	0%
<i>Pet Rescue</i>	2.90	0%
<i>Fifteen-to-One</i>	2.88	0%
<i>Trigger Happy TV</i>	2.87	12.9%
<i>Scrapheap Challenge</i>	2.56	3.4%
Total	32.57	6.3%

CHANNEL 5

Table P5.1: Week ending 26/11/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>The Postman</i>	2.34	2.9%
<i>Murder Detectives</i>	1.87	0%
<i>True Confessions</i>	1.84	6.4%
<i>House Doctor</i>	1.78	0%
<i>The Patron Saint of Liars</i>	1.66	3.8%
<i>Family Affairs</i>	1.58	11.8%
<i>G-String Divas</i>	1.56	10.3%
<i>Runaway Train</i>	1.55	10.8%
<i>Dead by Sunset</i>	1.46	8.3%
<i>European Blue Review</i>	1.44	0%
Total	17.08	6.0%

Table P5.2: Week ending 3/12/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>Operation Delta Force</i>	2.52	20.0%
<i>Judgement Day</i>	2.24	43.8%
<i>Murder Detectives</i>	1.89	5.0%
<i>Miss World</i>	1.78	26.6%
<i>Bullitt</i>	1.72	1.5%
<i>Boogie Nights</i>	1.70	13.3%
<i>Serial Killers</i>	1.66	0%
<i>Family Affairs</i>	1.55	5.0%
<i>Masquerade</i>	1.49	0%
<i>Post Mortem</i>	1.46	5.3%
Total	18.01	15.3%

Table P5.3: Week ending 10/12/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>Last Dance</i>	1.83	20.0%
<i>Sworn to Vengeance</i>	1.83	5.6%
<i>Post Mortem</i>	1.77	0%
<i>Serial Killers</i>	1.65	29.2%
<i>Hitler, the Private Man</i>	1.63	0%
<i>Murder Detectives</i>	1.59	0%
<i>Family Affairs</i>	1.59	0%
<i>Strange Affair</i>	1.56	14.3%
<i>Hard Time</i>	1.54	6.8%
<i>European Blue Review</i>	1.46	0%
Total	16.45	9.9%

Table P5.4: Week ending 17/12/00

Programme title	BARB figures (millions)	% of ethnic minorities
<i>See No Evil Hear No Evil</i>	2.41	20.6%
<i>A Soldiers Story</i>	1.86	64.5%
<i>Buster</i>	1.76	0%
<i>Dark Angel</i>	1.72	26.1%
<i>The British Cannibal</i>	1.70	0%
<i>Family Affairs</i>	1.57	17.6%
<i>Robin Hood-Men in Tights</i>	1.57	12.5%
<i>Spenser: Pale Kings and Princes</i>	1.47	21.4%
<i>Soft Deceit</i>	1.42	6.3%
<i>Trial of the Incredible Hulk</i>	1.41	3.4%
Total	16.89	18.2%

The Programmes

The 204 programmes in this sample generated a total of 9,561 minutes (159.4 hours) between them, excluding advertisement breaks on the commercial channels. As set out below, they have been categorised first by genre and then by the larger category of production type.

Genre

In the Appendix, Table A.1 presents the number and proportion of programmes by genre while Table A.2 shows this data in terms of broadcast time.

Quiz and Game comprised one in six (17%) programmes and included 4 editions of *They Think It's All Over* (BBC1), 3 editions of *The Weakest Link* (BBC2), 4 editions of *Who Wants To Be A Millionaire?* (ITV) and 4 editions of *Countdown* (C4).

Documentaries were almost as frequent at 16% of programmes which included 4 editions of *Pet Rescue* (C4), 3 of *Murder Detectives* (C5) and ad hoc documentaries such as Horror in the East (BBC2, 5/12/00, 21.01 hrs), Mel B /Players Club (BBC2, 12/12/00, 21.00 hrs) and The Whitechapel Murders (C4, 27/11/00, 22.03 hrs).

Soap Operas made up one in seven (14%) programmes and consisted entirely of several episodes of *EastEnders* (BBC1), *Neighbours* (BBC1) *Coronation Street* (ITV), *Emmerdale* (ITV), *Brookside* (C4), *Hollyoaks* (C4) and *Family Affairs* (C5).

Consumer was considerably less frequent at 9% and included 4 editions of *The Antiques Roadshow* (BBC1), 3 editions of *Charlie's Wildlife Garden* (BBC2) and 3 editions of *Home Front* (BBC2).

Police and Detective at 6%, Situation Comedy at 5% and Contemporary Drama at 5% were even scarcer, while the remaining genres such as Chat Shows, Comedy, Romance and Sci-Fi each generated 4% or less of programmes.

Production Type

These genres can be summarised by six broad production types, as described below. Four additional types of production commonly found on television (news, sport, religious and children's) were absent from the Top Ten and are therefore not listed in the various tables.

Factual programmes

Consumer and Documentary.

Light entertainment

Variety, Comedy, Popular Arts, Chat Show, Quiz & Game, Erotica.

Soap operas

Identical to the genre of Soap Opera.

Comedy

Situation Comedies and Other Comedy.

Drama

All remaining fictional programmes with the exception of films.

Film

All those listed as such in the *Radio Times*.

The distribution of these production types is shown in Table 1 below (see Table A.3 in the Appendix for broadcast time). Overall, half the programmes were either light entertainment (26%) or factual (25%). Films and soap opera were considerably less frequent at 14% in each case, while drama contributed 11% and comedy 9%.

Table 1 Number and Percentage of Programmes by Production Type

	BBC1		BBC2		ITV		C4		C5		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Factual	10	25	21	49	1	3	8	20	11	28	51	25
Light Ent	13	33	10	23	12	30	15	37	3	8	53	26
Soap	8	20	--	--	8	20	9	22	4	10	29	14
Comedy	4	10	8	19	2	5	5	12	--	--	19	9
Drama	5	13	4	9	14	35	--	--	--	--	23	11
Film	--	--	--	--	3	8	4	10	22	55	29	14
Total	40	101	43	100	40	101	41	101	40	101	204	99

Percentages here may not total 100% due to rounding to whole numbers in cells – the raw data total 100%.

Country of Production

As indicated in Table 2 below, three quarters (75%) of programmes were produced in the UK, leaving just under one quarter (23%) which were USA productions. The remaining 2% comprised 4 episodes of the Australian Soap Opera, *Neighbours*.

Table 2 Number and Percentage of Programmes by Country

	BBC1		BBC2		ITV		C4		C5		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Country</u>												
UK	36	90	33	77	38	95	33	80	13	33	153	75
USA	--	--	10	23	2	5	8	20	27	68	47	23
AUST	4	10	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	2
Total	40	100	43	100	40	100	41	100	40	101	204	100

It is also worth noting that USA productions accounted for over two thirds (68%) of programmes on Channel 5, far higher than elsewhere. It therefore comes as no surprise that well over half (57%) of all USA productions emanated from this channel (27 out of the 47 USA productions).

Representation

Overall sample

In order to calculate the ethnic minority population on television, a count was made of all those with speaking roles in each programme (background participants were excluded). A total of 4,843 people were counted in this sample. Of these, 408 were identified as members of an ethnic minority group and categorised in terms of ethnicity². These included 37 cases (10%) where ethnic minority status was not in doubt but their ethnicity was unclear and therefore an educated guess was made. Additionally, a distinction was drawn between ethnic minority people who were residents of the country in which the programme was set (85%, N=345) and those who were visiting (15%, N=63) a country in which they became a minority (such as Nelson Mandela in the UK).

Table 3 presents the results by ethnicity. Column 1 shows the total TV sample, column 2 UK only programmes, column 3 UK only programmes with ethnic minority visitors removed and column 4 shows the real world population based on the Office of National Statistics for Great Britain³.

Table 3 TV population and real world figures for all ethnic groups

Ethnicity	1	2	3	4
	TV total	UK TV total	UK TV excl. visitors	Census real world
	%	%	%	%
White	91.6	92.3	94.8	93.2
Black	6.0	5.0	3.7	2.1
Asian	0.8	1.0	0.9	3.7
Other	1.3	0.6	0.2	0.6
Mixed	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4
All ethnic minority people	8.4	7.0	5.2	6.7

NB: Cell entries correct to one decimal place

2 Individual ethnicities were categorised as follows:

Black – African, Caribbean, ‘other Black’ (Inc Black Americans)

Asian – Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and ‘other Asian’

Other – Chinese and other ethnicities

Mixed – participants known or believed to be of mixed parentage

3 Office for National Statistics, year ending Spring 2000 (Annual Abstract, 2001)

Table 3 illustrates that the under representation of ethnic minority participants on UK TV receives a considerable boost from visitors and from USA programmes. In the real world, resident ethnic minorities account for 6.7% of the population while on UK television the proportion is lower at 5.2%, equating to an absolute difference of 1.6%. In other words, an increase of almost one third (31%) in the ethnic minority TV population would be needed even to *match* real world figures. This may sound a tall order but in fact these 'Top Ten' programmes would require the inclusion of *only* 51 extra ethnic minority participants *per month*. Put another way, *just under 13* ethnic minority people a *week* would be needed to achieve this minimal level of representation.

Looking at the columns, which might be considered as broadly equivalent to TV and real world figures, the discrepancies in the representation of the various minority groups are notable. While people of Mixed parentage reached the same level of representation as in the real world (0.4%), Black participants were more likely to be seen on TV than in the real world, accounting for 2.1% of the UK population but for 3.7% on television. Conversely, considerable under representation of Asian and Other ethnic minority groups is apparent. Other ethnicities were three times *less* likely to be seen on television than in the real world (0.2% versus 0.6% respectively) while the difference for Asian people was four-fold (0.9% on TV and 3.7% in the real world).

While these lower UK only figures are important, the way in which ethnic minorities are represented across the wider spectrum of programming is perhaps more salient. For example, the ITC in 1999 asked the regular BARB audience panel to name three African Caribbean and three Asian television personalities. Interestingly, amongst the top nine African Caribbean people mentioned was Oprah Winfrey and Bill Cosby (both Black Americans) while Madhur Jaffrey, who lives in New York, was nominated as the number one Asian personality. Thus there is some justification for considering that any representation of ethnic minorities on UK television (whether they reside in the UK or not) will be considered part of the image which such groups have. Moreover, given the relatively low numbers of ethnic minorities in the sample, detailed analysis of UK only programming would reduce the database to unreliable numbers.

In the following analyses, the total sample of ethnic minority people (N=408) is taken to examine their distribution across all programming. Where are the peaks and troughs of representation?

Country of production

Perhaps not surprisingly, ethnic minority participants were best represented in USA productions at 11.8% of the total population compared with 6.9% in UK programmes. Australian productions (four episodes of *Neighbours*) did not include any ethnic minority participants.

Even though less than one quarter (23%) of programmes originated from the USA, they contributed nearly half (45%) of all ethnic minority participants in the sample (see Table A.6 in Appendix).

In both UK and USA productions, seven out of ten (71%) ethnic minority participants were Black, as illustrated in Table 4 below. The poor representation in UK programming of Asian participants, at 14%, is reduced further in USA productions where they comprised just 5% of ethnic minorities. This helps to account for their representation at only 0.8% of the overall TV population compared with 3.7% in the real world.

Table 4 Country of Production by Ethnic Minority Groups

<u>Ethnicity</u>	UK		USA		Australia		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black	158	71	132	71	--	--	290	71
Asian	32	14	9	5	--	--	41	10
Other	20	9	42	23	--	--	62	15
Mixed	13	6	2	1	--	--	15	4
Total	223	100	185	100	--	--	408	100

Production Type

Ethnic minority participants were best represented in film where they accounted for 12.8% of the overall population followed by light entertainment (9.2%). They were less prominent in drama (7.0%), comedy (6.1%) and soap operas (5.8%) while in factual productions their representation was lowest at 4.4%.

Table 5 below examines the distribution of ethnic minorities across production types. With regard to ethnic minorities overall, it comes as no surprise that films contributed the largest proportion at 38% (26 out of the 29 films were from the USA). Next came light entertainment at 29%, with other production types performing far less impressively. One in ten (10%) people were featured in drama, one in eleven (9%) in factual, one in thirteen (8%) in soaps and just one in sixteen (6%) in comedy.

When examining the various ethnic groups, film contributed generously to both Black (41%) and Other ethnicities (52%) while providing very few Asian (12%) or Mixed parentage (13%) participants. The last two groups were most likely to be found in light entertainment where 44% of ethnic minorities were Asian and 33% were Mixed parentage.

Table 5 Ethnic Minority Groups by Production Type

		Black		Asian		Other		Mixed		All	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Factual	Fact	21	7	5	12	7	11	3	20	36	9
	Light Ent	79	27	18	44	18	29	5	33	120	29
Fiction	Soap Op	26	9	4	10	--	--	2	13	32	8
	Comedy	18	6	4	10	2	3	--	--	24	6
	Drama	28	10	5	12	3	5	3	20	39	10
	Film	118	41	5	12	32	52	2	13	157	38
	TOTAL	290	100	41	100	62	100	15	99	408	100

Channel comparisons

Overall, ethnic minority participants received the highest level of representation on Channel 5 at 12.7% of programme participants. This is perhaps not surprising considering that well over half (55%) the programmes on this channel were films. The remaining channels were poor in comparison: 8.1% on BBC2, 7.6% on ITV, 6.2% on BBC1 and 5.5% on Channel 4.

Table 6 below shows the distribution of ethnic minority participants by channel. Most appeared on Channel 5 which contributed 40% (since the vast majority of films were screened here) followed by ITV at 23%. The remaining channels contributed between 11% and 14% of all ethnic minority participants found in this sample.

Turning to where the different ethnic groups are to be found, some interesting differences emerge across the various channels. Channel 5 is notable in providing 40% of all Black participants and 65% of all Other ethnicities in the sample while ITV made a relatively generous contribution to Asian appearances at 34%. Ethnic minorities of Mixed parentage were infrequently portrayed but BBC2 contributed most at 33%.

Table 6 Ethnic Minority Groups by Channel

Channel	Black		Asian		Other		Mixed		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
BBC1	48	17	3	7	2	3	3	20	56	14
BBC2	35	12	7	17	3	5	5	33	50	12
ITV	62	21	14	34	12	19	4	27	92	23
C4	30	10	10	24	5	8	--	--	45	11
C5	115	40	7	17	40	65	3	20	165	40
Total	290	100	41	99	62	100	15	100	408	100

Table 7 below reveals the ethnic composition of each channel. On BBC1, ethnic minority representation was dominated by Black participants at 86% and other groups appear to have been quite marginalised. Channel 5 performed well overall and provided a notably high proportion of Other ethnicities (24%), largely due to the film output, but also to the light entertainment programme Miss World (C5, 30/11/00, 20.00 hrs) which contained one quarter (25%, N=10) of all such participants on Channel 5. However, this appeared to be at the expense of Asian participants who contributed only 4% to the total ethnic minority population on Channel 5.

Table 7 Channel by Ethnic Minority Group

	BBC1		BBC2		ITV		C4		C5		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black	48	86	35	70	62	68	30	67	115	70	290	71
Asian	3	5	7	14	14	15	10	22	7	4	41	10
Other	2	4	3	6	12	13	5	11	40	24	62	15
Mixed	3	5	5	10	4	4	--	--	3	2	15	4
Total	56	100	50	100	92	100	45	100	165	100	408	100

Portrayals - profiles

Level of Appearance

All 4,843 people counted in the sample were classified according to their level of contribution in the following way:

Major participants were those who were central to the story-line or narrative in fictional programmes or were main presenters, anchor people or programme hosts in factually based productions.

Minor participants in fictional programmes were those who had a speaking role in more than one scene but were not central to the plot. The details of their lives were not explored in any great detail and while they may have been used to move the narrative forward, they did not actually form the focus of the story line. In factually based programmes minor presenters were journalists who contributed to just one item, often from an outside location, and assistants in Quiz and Game shows.

Incidental participants were fictional characters who spoke but had very little input into the programme and sparse character development, while interviewees comprised all people interviewed, panellists and contestants in factually based programmes.

Table 8 below shows how ethnic minorities compare with the overall television population. The notable difference is at major levels of contribution, enjoyed by 15% of all participants (overwhelmingly White) compared with only 10% of ethnic minorities. Thus, while overall ethnic minorities make up 8.4% of the total population in the programmes sampled, they contribute only 5.6% of major roles.

Table 8 Level of Appearance of all Ethnic Minorities

	Total ethnic minority		Total population		Ethnic minority
<u>Level</u>	N	%	N	%	%
Major	42	10	733	15	= 5.6
Minor	80	20	951	20	= 8.4
Incidental	286	70	3159	65	= 9.1
Total	408	100	4843	100	= 8.4

Table 9 below shows the various levels of appearance by ethnic group. Black and Mixed participants were the most prominent of the four ethnic categories. Thus, 13% both of Black people and those of Mixed parentage made a major contribution and also generated the lowest proportions of people in incidental/interviewee roles (67% and 60% respectively). By contrast, only 2% of Asian people and 3% of 'other' ethnicities were in major roles while also producing the highest proportions of incidental fictional characters or interviewees in factual programmes (85% and 79% respectively).

Table 9 Level of Appearance by Ethnic Group

	Black		Asian		Other		Mixed		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Level</u>										
Major	37	13	1	2	2	3	2	13	42	10
Minor	60	21	5	12	11	18	4	27	80	20
Incidental	193	67	35	85	49	79	9	60	286	70
Total	290	100	41	99	62	100	15	100	408	100

In the following sections comparisons are made between ethnic minorities and the comparison sample of White participants, described as the base.

Age

Table 10 below shows that overall, ethnic minority participants were considerably younger than their White base counterparts. Thus three quarters (76%) of all ethnic minorities were under 35 years old (a youthful profile which is also reflected across all the ethnic minority groups), compared with just over half (54%) of the base group. By the same token, ethnic minorities were almost three times less likely to be 45-59 (7% against 19% base) or 60 plus (3% against 9%).

Within the younger age bands, ethnic minorities were nearly twice as likely to be 15-24 years old at 28% versus 15% in the base sample. This relatively high proportion can be largely explained by ethnic minority females, of whom 45% were thus assigned compared with only 16% of ethnic minority males (see Tables A.7 and A.7a in the Appendix for a breakdown of ethnicity by gender).

The under-representation of older people is notable (3% of ethnic minorities over 60 compared with 8% in the real world). This also applies to the White base sample (9% against 21% in the real world), although even this figure is higher than observed in other studies of prime time TV (e.g. Cumberbatch et al, 1999).

Table 10 Age by ethnic groups versus base

	Black		Asian		Other		Mixed		Total eth min		White Base	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Age Group</u>												
0-14 years	11	4	1	2	--	--	3	20	15	4	6	2
15-24 years	74	26	13	32	21	34	6	40	114	28	60	15
25-34 years	135	47	16	39	23	37	5	33	179	44	142	37
35-44 years	39	13	9	22	13	21	--	--	61	15	72	19
45-59 years	21	7	2	5	4	6	--	--	27	7	73	19
60 plus	10	3	--	--	1	2	1	7	12	3	36	9
Total	290	100	41	100	62	100	15	100	408	101	389	101

Occupation

As shown in Table 11 below, one third (31%) of all ethnic minority participants could not be coded for their occupation since the information was not provided (true for 29% of the base, as shown in Table A.10 in the Appendix).

Just under one fifth (18%) were in the arts, media and entertainment industry comprising presenters, musicians, actors, production staff and so on – a smaller proportion than occurred in the base sample where more than one quarter (27%) were thus assigned.

Conversely, 'other uniformed' accounted for one in seven (14%) ethnic minority occupations but for only 2% of the base sample. The majority of ethnic minority people in this group (25 out of 27) were Black army personnel who all appeared in A Soldier's Story (C5, 17/12/00, 21.00 hrs, film). While the proportions are far smaller, it is worth noting that ethnic minorities were also more prevalent as sportspeople at 5% against only 2% of people in the base sample.

Table 11 Occupation by Ethnic Group

	Black		Asian		Other		Mixed		All		White
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	%
Arts, Media & Entertainment	57	20	8	20	5	8	4	27	74	18	27
Legal	4	1	1	2	--	--	--	--	5	1	1
Police/Detective	21	7	2	5	2	3	1	7	26	6	4
Other Uniformed, inc. army	25	9	1	2	1	2	--	--	27	7	2
Blue Collar	10	3	5	12	2	3	--	--	17	4	5
Shop owner/assistant	6	2	4	10	1	2	--	--	11	3	2
White Collar Office	7	2	1	2	1	2	--	--	9	2	3
White Collar Other	2	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	*	1
Education/Academic	8	3	--	--	3	5	--	--	11	3	5
Domestic staff	1	*	--	--	1	2	--	--	2	*	--
Travel/Leisure	2	1	1	2	2	3	--	--	5	1	3
Political/spokesperson	--	--	1	2	--	--	--	--	1	*	*
Clergy/Religious	3	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	1	1
Health & Caring – (Doctors/specialists)	4	1	1	2	4	6	--	--	9	2	3
Health & caring – others (nurses, ambulance etc)	11	4	2	5	3	5	--	--	16	4	3
Sportspeople and coaches	16	6	--	--	1	2	2	13	19	5	2
Students	4	1	2	5	2	3	--	--	8	2	2
Criminals	3	1	--	--	6	10	--	--	9	2	1
Non-working	13	4	--	--	--	--	3	20	16	4	7
Not Applicable	7	2	--	--	4	6	1	7	12	3	1
Cannot Code	86	30	12	29	24	39	4	27	126	31	29
TOTALS	290	99	41	98	62	101	15	101	408	99	102

* Denotes a percentage of less than 0.5%

Some stereotyping does appear to be in evidence within the various ethnic groups – for example, 6% of sportspeople were Black compared with no such participants in the Asian group (2% base). Furthermore, 16 out of the 19 ethnic minority sportspeople (84%) were Black. In addition to this, one in ten (10%) Asian people were shopkeepers compared with 2% in the other groups excluding Mixed parentage where no such participants occurred (2% base). Similarly, one in nine (11%) ‘Other’ ethnicities (the majority of whom were Chinese or Central/South American) were in health and caring jobs versus 5% Black and 7% Asian people (6% base).

Perhaps counter stereotypically, one in eight (12%) Asian participants were in blue-collar occupations (compared with 3% in the Black and 'Other' group), while Black people were just as likely to be in blue as white-collar jobs (3% in both). Similarly, Black people were almost non-existent as professional criminals (1%) but the same could not be said in the case of 'Other' ethnicities, as mentioned previously. In this group one in ten (10%) were professional criminals, all of whom were Central/South American (although here the sample is small).

Social Grade

All profiled participants were assigned a Market Research Society social grade on the basis of their occupation. As shown below, there was no significant difference between ethnic minorities and the base group in the proportions of people who could not be assigned a social grading⁴ (39% versus 37%) or in the allocation of top social class grade A (8% versus 7%).

Otherwise, ethnic minorities were considerably less likely than their White base counterparts to be grade B (18% versus 30%) but were more likely to be C1 (21% versus 15%) or C2/D (14% versus 10%). Neither group produced any participants for whom the lowest social grade E was considered appropriate.

Table 12 Social grade by ethnicity versus white base

Social Grade	Black		Asian		Other		Mixed		All		White	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
A	22	8	5	12	3	5	4	27	34	8	29	7
B	50	17	8	20	12	19	3	20	73	18	117	30
C1	69	24	7	17	8	13	2	13	86	21	60	15
C2	22	8	5	12	4	6	--	--	31	8	23	6
D	19	7	3	7	1	2	--	--	23	6	17	4
E	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Cannot code	108	37	13	32	34	55	6	40	161	39	143	37
Total	290	101	41	100	62	100	15	100	408	100	389	99

When examining the various ethnic groups, the higher social class ratings A/B/C1 were more common amongst Black and Asian people (each at 49%) than in the case

of Other ethnicities where less than four out of ten participants (37%) were thus assigned. While the highest proportion was produced by the Mixed parentage group (60%), it should be remembered that this figure is based on just 15 people.

Criminal Activity

While the numbers and proportions are small, ethnic minority participants overall were almost twice as likely to be involved in criminal behaviour as their base counterparts (7%, N=30 versus 4%, N=14). As indicated below, more than one fifth (21%) of Other ethnicity participants were thus portrayed, a wildly anomalous proportion when compared with the remaining ethnic groups which produced a range of 5% to 7% of people who were involved in criminal activity. Furthermore, stereotyping was clearly in evidence here, since 6 of these 13 people (46%) were Central/South Americans who were drug dealers or involved in gangs dealing drugs. However, all of these people appeared in just two films: Operation Delta Force 3 (C5, 3/12/00, 21.00 hrs) and Spencer: Pale Kings and Princes (C5, 16/12/00, 21.00 hrs).

Black

A total of 15 people (5% of all Black people) had committed crimes⁵ which comprised 6 cases of murder, 3 unknown serious crimes, 1 case of prostitution, 1 case of theft, 1 unknown minor crime and 7 people who were in prison and the crime was unknown.

Asian

Just 2 people (5% of all Asian people) had committed crimes which comprised 1 unknown serious crime and 1 illegal immigrant.

Other

A total of 13 people (21% of all Other ethnicity people) had committed crimes which comprised 5 cases of murder, 5 cases of criminal gang membership, 3 cases of drug dealing, 1 case of rape, 1 case of illegal immigration and 1 prison inmate.

⁴ Usually because an occupation was not given or where it would be considered non applicable as in the case of career criminals or prison inmates.

⁵ The number of crimes may exceed the number of criminals since one person may have committed more than one crime. Prostitution is included within this grouping since attendant activities often involve criminal offences (e.g. soliciting)

Mixed

Just one person (7% of all Mixed parentage participants) was involved in criminal activity, in this case unknown as she was a prison inmate and the crime was not revealed.

Black participants

When profiling Black participants, coders were asked to identify whether or not the individuals had predominantly Western or African features and whether their skin tone was 'light', 'medium (brown)' or 'dark (ebony)'. This was based on a hypothesis that Black females who appeared on television were more likely to have a light skin tone and/or Western features than their male counterparts. Some evidence does appear to have been found for this, since well over twice as many Black females had predominantly Western features (45% versus 17% male). Furthermore, while similar proportions were portrayed with a 'light' skin tone (14% male, 16% female), one in three (30%) Black males were 'dark' compared with only one in nine (11%) females.

Repeat Appearances

If repeat appearances are removed from the sample, the number of ethnic minority participants falls from 408 to 379 and would then account for 7.9% of the total TV population. People of Other ethnicities were the only group not to be repeated, attributable to the fact that such characters tended to be in films, none of which were shown more than once.

Black

If repeat appearances are removed from the sample, the number of Black participants would fall from 290 to 265 (5.5% of the overall TV population).

The Black African Olympic gold medallist, Eric Moussambani was featured in two light entertainment productions: Sports Personality of the Year (BBC1, 10/12/00, 19.00 hrs) and They Think it's All Over (BBC1, 24/11/00, 21.30 hrs).

Black Caribbean repetitions included several characters from the soap opera *EastEnders*, including two appearances each of Mick and his sister Kim. ITV's *Emmerdale* featured Richie in three episodes; the same was true of Pearl in Channel

5's *Family Affairs*. The level of character repetition was at its highest in Channel 4's *Brookside*: Mick Johnson and Jerome were portrayed on four occasions, while Jerome's mother, Yvonne appeared twice. In drama, the nurse, Colette Kearney appeared in four episodes of BBC1's *Casualty*, while David's lover, Jessica, was featured on three separate occasions in the ITV series *Cold Feet*. In light entertainment productions, the TV chef, Ainsley Harriot occurred in two different programmes: Celebrity Ready Steady Cook (BBC1, 22/11/00, 19.30 hrs) and TV's Naughtiest Blunders Part 2 (ITV, 12/12/00, 22.00 hrs).

Repetitions of Black American characters occurred in *The Simpsons* where Julius' wife and an unnamed police officer appeared in two different episodes. In the Quiz and Game Show, Stars in Their Eyes Final (ITV, 2/12/00, 19.45 hrs), a contestant impersonated the American singer, Gladys Knight. She appeared again when the results were announced later in the evening (Stars in Their Eyes Results, ITV, 2/12/00, 22.15 hrs). The singer, Lionel Ritchie, appeared in two different light entertainment productions: The Royal Variety Performance (BBC1, 17/12/00, 18.50 hrs) and TOTP2 (BBC2, 13/12/00, 18.00 hrs).

The only two 'other' Black participants in this sample comprised repeat appearances of the French footballer Thierry Henri in two light entertainment productions: Sports Personality of the Year (BBC1, 10/12/00, 19.00 hrs) and They Think it's All Over (BBC1, 1/12/00, 21.30 hrs).

Asian

If repeat appearances are removed from the sample, the number of Asian participants falls from 62 to 59 (1.2% of the overall TV population). *Coronation Street* depicted shop owner, Dev Desai, in two different episodes, while the shopkeeper, Abu, appeared in three episodes of *The Simpsons*.

Mixed

If repeat appearances are removed from the sample, the number of Mixed parentage participants would fall from 15 to 14 (0.3% of the overall TV population). The major presenter, Craig Charles, was featured in two editions of Robot Wars (BBC2, 24/11/00 and 8/12/00, 18.45 hrs, light entertainment).

Factual Participants

This section concentrates on participants in factually based programmes.

Level of appearance

Table 13 below shows that ethnic minority participants were half as likely as the overall television population to be major (3% versus 6%) or minor presenters (3% versus 6%).

Table 13 Level of Appearance Ethnic Minorities v Overall TV Population

	Black		Asian		Other		Mixed		Total ethnic minority		Overall TV population	
Level of appearance	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Major presenter	2	2	--	--	--	--	2	29	4	3	134	6
Minor presenter	3	3	1	5	--	--	--	--	4	3	135	6
Interviewee	93	95	18	95	25	100	5	71	141	95	1851	87
Total	98	100	19	100	25	100	7	100	149	101	2120	101

When profiling participants in factually based programmes (that is, ethnic minorities and the White base sample), the level of appearance of interviewees was further divided to reflect the relative importance of their role in the programme. Thus:

Major interviewees are those taking up substantial programme time, such as occurred on *The Frank Skinner Show* with Mel C and David Ginola who were interviewed in depth.

Minor interviewees are the subject of shorter interviews and include Quiz and Game contestants who may have a substantial presence such as those on *The Weakest Link* and *Who Wants to be A Millionaire?*

Vox pop where the input is very brief such as in sound bites and conducted in street 'vox pop' interviews.

As indicated in the Table 14 below, ethnic minorities were overall three times *less* likely than their White base counterparts to be major interviewees (9% versus 28%) but three times *more* likely to be assigned the status of vox pop (22% versus 7% White base).

Table 14 Level of Appearance of Interviewees in Factual Programmes

	Black		Asian		Other		Mixed		Total		White base	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Level of appearance</u>												
Major interviewee	9	10	--	--	--	--	3	60	12	9	31	28
Minor interviewee	65	70	11	61	20	80	2	40	98	70	73	65
Vox pop	19	20	7	39	5	20	--	--	31	22	8	7
Total	93	100	18	100	25	100	5	100	141	101	112	100

When comparing the various ethnic groups, nine out of the twelve major interviewees were Black, accounting for 10% of all Black factual participants. That Mixed parentage people generated a proportion of 60% who were major interviewees is not comparable, given that it is based on three out of a total of just five people. While a high proportion of minor interview roles were generated by Other ethnicity participants (80%), one half (10) of these 20 people appeared in Miss World (C5, 30/11/00, 20.00 hrs, light entertainment) as contestants.

Subject of Contribution

All those profiled in factual programming were coded for the subjects they covered on air⁶. In total, 167 subjects were recorded in the ethnic minority group and 199 in the White base sample. Table 15 shows how these subjects were classified:

While overall differences appear small at first sight, there are some important patterns which may be of some concern. The table below suggests that more than three quarters (78%) of ethnic minority subjects provided evidence of trivialisation, marginalisation and stereotyping.

⁶ The number of subjects exceed the number of participants, since one person may have discussed more than one issue.

Table 15 Subject of Contribution Ethnic Minority versus Base

Subject	Ethnic Minority Subjects		White Base Subjects	
	N	%	N	%
Crime event	8	5	17	9
Crime – general	2	1	2	1
Foreign conflicts	1	1	1	1
Health	2	1	2	1
Social policies	1	1	--	--
Domestic culture	--	--	2	1
Sport	4	2	1	1
Public figures	--	--	2	1
Ethnic minority issue	2	1	--	--
Personal experience	21	13	14	7
Human interest	--	--	2	1
Animal welfare	--	--	9	5
Gardening	--	--	9	5
Wildlife/nature	--	--	5	3
Cookery	2	1	5	3
Travel	--	--	2	1
History	--	--	4	2
Science	--	--	4	2
Music	7	4	2	1
Sex	--	--	1	1
Hobbies & interests	2	1	18	9
Contestant	40	24	25	13
Mixed – presenter	7	4	38	19
Entertainment	13	8	6	3
Celebrity interview	8	5	6	3
Act performance	26	16	15	8
No substance / too brief	21	13	7	4
Total	167	101	199	105

Trivialising - Ethnic minority participants were more than twice as likely as their White base counterparts to discuss personal experience or to have their contribution coded as ‘no substance/too brief’. More than one quarter (26%) of ethnic minority subjects were thus assigned, compared with only one in nine (11%) base subjects.

Marginalising – Base subjects were nearly five times more likely than ethnic minority subjects to be described as ‘mixed – presenter’ (19% versus 4%) but were half as likely to be contestants (13% versus 24%).

Stereotyping - One quarter (24%) of ethnic minority subjects involved discussions about entertainment or a musical performance where this was true for only one in nine (11%) base subjects. Furthermore, the vast majority (82%, N=32) of cases here emanated from Black participants. Perhaps more importantly, ethnic minority participants were largely excluded from the ordinary everyday subjects of gardening, cookery, hobbies and interests (2% against 17% of subjects in the base), which only serves to reinforce this stereotyping.

Fictional Participants

This section concentrates on characters in fictional programmes.

Level of appearance

Table 16 below shows that ethnic minority participants were somewhat less likely than the overall television population to be in major roles (15% versus 22%) and correspondingly more likely to be cast as incidental characters (56% versus 48%).

Table 16 Level of Appearance Ethnic Minorities v Overall TV Population

	Black		Asian		Other		Mixed		Total ethnic minority		Overall TV population	
<u>Level of appearance</u>	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Major role	35	18	1	5	2	5	--	--	38	15	599	22
Minor role	57	30	4	18	11	30	4	50	76	29	816	30
Incidental role	100	52	17	77	24	65	4	50	145	56	1308	48
Total	192	100	22	100	37	100	8	100	259	100	2723	100

Interpersonal attitudes

In order to capture the nature of interpersonal responses within each group, participants were profiled both for the attitudes they *experienced* from other people and for the attitudes they *showed* (these are given in Table A.11 and A.12 in the Appendix). A notable difference was revealed between ethnic minorities and their White base counterparts, where the former both experienced and showed far fewer attitudes, despite having greater numbers of individual participants, as shown in Table 17 below.

Thus, 290 attitudes were *experienced* by ethnic minorities (against 550 in the base group), while 333 were *shown* by ethnic minorities (against 629 in the base group). This is probably because 55% of base participants against only 15% of ethnic minorities were in major roles which are the subject of more detailed character portrayals and often a higher degree of interactions with others. This would appear to provide further evidence of marginalisation where ethnic minorities are concerned.

Table 17 Level of Appearance of Fictional Participants v White Base

<u>Level of appearance</u>	Ethnic minorities		White Base	
	N	%	N	%
Major	38	15	113	55
Minor	76	29	61	30
Incidental	145	56	32	16
Total	259	100	206	101

When examining the various attitudes *experienced*, there were many similarities between the two groups, although some differences did emerge. Thus, ethnic minorities were twice as likely to experience aggression (10% of ethnic minority attitudes versus 5% base) but less likely to experience loving (4% versus 9% base) and sexual attraction (4% versus 7% base). However, abuse, irritation, anger and hostility accounted for a smaller proportion of attitudes experienced by ethnic minorities (20% versus 27% base).

A similar picture emerged with regard to attitudes *shown*, where aggression accounted for twice the proportion of ethnic minority attitudes (8% versus 4% base). Conversely, they were half as likely to show loving (4% versus 8% base) or sexual attraction (3% versus 7% base).

Social Interactions

Of course, one important element in the above is the kind of people with whom interactions take place. One issue of concern is that ethnic minorities are effectively ghettoised on television by being shown only interacting with their own group. Table 18 examines this. In just one quarter (24%) of cases ethnic minority characters

interacted only with their own group. However, these cases are largely confined to American films such as A Soldier's Story (C5, 17/12/00, 21.00 hrs).

Table 18 Social Interactions Ethnic Minority versus Base Characters

<u>Interactions</u>	Ethnic minorities		White Base	
	N	%	N	%
Own group only	62	24	181	88
Other groups only	96	37	--	--
Mixture	85	33	21	10
Non applicable	16	6	4	2
Total	259	100	206	100

Qualitative Portrayals

One in seven (14%, N=28) of the programmes sampled contained ethnic minority references or issues. Soap Operas, which attract the highest audiences and contained 32 ethnic minority characters in this sample, did not portray any ethnic minority topics. This may be seen as a virtue in not making ethnicity tendentious, or a point of criticism in ignoring salient issues that often define the experiences of ethnic minorities.

Ethnicity as essential to the role

A participant's ethnicity was essential to their role in 9% (N=38) of cases and included, in Casualty, (BBC1, 25/11/00, 20.10 hrs, drama), a British Black Caribbean teenager who was suffering from a sickle cell crisis. His ethnicity was central in profiling health issues and bringing this illness into the mainstream arena.

Portrayals highlighting discrimination

Previous studies have proposed that ethnic minority actors are often chosen to 'play their colour' but this sample found evidence to the contrary. Only 3% (N=12) of major fictional characters were involved in a race-related storyline. These instances occurred in two American films (A Soldiers Story C5, 17/12/00, 21.00 hrs and Spenser: Pale Kings and Princes) and two UK dramas (The Bill ITV, 21/11/99, 20.00 hrs and Silent Witness BBC1, 11/12/00, 21.10 hrs).

The storyline in The Bill (ITV, 21/11/00, 20.00 hrs) embraced the complexities surrounding a racist attack by neo-nazis, problems faced by a Black police officer and tensions between a police force and members of a Black community. Gary, a Black officer, received hostility not only from neo-nazis, but from his working partner as well. Paradoxically, the programme sought to raise awareness of these difficulties but tended to perpetuate negative stereotypes such as with the Black Caribbean characters who were hostile towards the police. However, this episode did address problems faced by a Black officer and did not shy away from showing skinhead violence towards him.

Similar issues were addressed in Silent Witness (BBC1, 11/12/00, 21.10 hrs). Here DCI Rangeet Naval, the senior investigating officer in a murder case, was angry with

his team for not linking the murder of two Jewish men with their time in Nazi Germany. After reprimanding them, a White colleague sniped, *"They're all the same - everything's down to racial prejudice."*

In factual productions, Cutting Edge (C4 28/11/00, 21.00 hrs) focused on the experiences of security guards in a hospital casualty department. Discussing violent patients, one Black Caribbean employee told of the additional abuse he received because of his ethnicity. He recalled insults such as, *"fucking nigger"* and *"Black...[bleep]."*

Mel B - The Players Club (BBC2 12/12/00, 21.00 hrs) addressed issues surrounding the star's life as a celebrity and as a mixed race woman (Black Caribbean and White English). Returning to her old school, she told Trevor Nelson, *"This is a bit of an NF [National Front] area ... there was a lot of batterings and comments [at school]."* When discussing her move to a predominantly White village, she stated, *"...I got loads of abuse and racist hate mail when I first moved in here as in 'get back to Brixton where you belong' vibe... you've got some dodgy mixed race Black person moving in. The community weren't that happy."*

Stereotypical portrayals

Stereotypical portrayals and notions were found in only 3% (N=12) of cases. These included Dave, an overweight White character in The Full Monty (ITV, 29/11/00, 21.30 hrs, film). His insecurity centred around his own physique which was reinforced by seeing the size of his Black friend's penis. When he asked his wife if she thought Black men were 'better endowed', she reassured him that she loved him for who he was and would not prefer a Black man.

Similarly, Graham Norton (So Graham Norton, C4, 8/12/00, 22.30 hrs, light entertainment) also reinforced the notion of Black men being 'larger in the trouser department' when he presented Barbara Windsor with a 'saucy' advent calendar. This revealed a home video of nude females and a Black male stripper with a very large penis.

Two American films (Operation Delta Force 3, C5, 3/12/00, 21.00 hrs; Spenser: Pale Kings and Princes.) both included Latino characters who were stereotypically involved in cocaine rings and violent crime. In Dark Angel (C5, 14/12/00, 21.00 hrs, film) an African American woman, who owned a spiritual shop, was portrayed dancing and chanting in the street to exorcise evil spirits. The X Files (BBC2, 22/11/00, 21.00 hrs, drama) also included a Native American character who possessed mystical powers. Both these portrayals reinforced ethnic minority characters as practising pagan rituals.

Ethnic minority abuse

Very few ethnic minority participants (2%, N=7) were subject to racial/ ethnic abuse. However, where such cases did appear, these terms generally strengthened a plot or highlighted prejudice. Racially abusive terms were used by White participants and ethnic minorities alike. In Spenser: Pale Kings and Princes, numerous references such as “*spics*” were made to Latinos while in Masquerade (C5, 30/11/00, 22.30 hrs, film), a White man was referred to as a “*boat nigger*”, implying that Black people were low class citizens.

In The Bill (ITV, 21/11/00, 20.00 hrs, drama), a skinhead, suspected of a racist attack, proclaimed he was “*proud to hate niggers, Jews, Pakis, yellows, chinks and immigrants.*” [It later emerged that he was an undercover police officer infiltrating a Neo-Nazi organisation]. In Horror in the East (BBC2, 5/12/00, 21.00 hrs, fact) a song entitled, ‘*We’re Gonna Have to Slap the Dirty Little Japs*’ was used when discussing the activities of the Japanese during World War II.

Humour derived from ethnic minority attributes

Only five (1%) Black participants throughout this sample used humour about their own ethnicity. In They think it’s All Over (BBC1, 8/12/00, 21.30 hrs, light entertainment) the Black Caribbean contestant, Junior Simpson, imitated Caribbean patois and encouraged the other contestants to join in. This series overall provided frequent examples of ethnicity-related humour. In the 24/11/00 edition, Jonathan Ross wore a leopard skin suit, borrowed a contestant’s gold medal and exclaimed, “*With this suit and this [gold medal] on it’s Snoop Doggy Dog!*” In the same edition, after viewing a clip of the cricketer Alex Stewart gesticulating in a cricket match,

Arthur Smith quipped, *“He’s obviously giving ten-to-one to his Indian bookmakers!”* He later asked, *“How does Bob Marley like doughnuts? With jam in, with jam in. What does he say to his mate? I hope you like jam in too!”* In the 8/12/00 edition, Ross ridiculed Chinese culture by asking, *“Feng Shui? Come on! Its all bollocks ... the only person making money from this is Mr Feng Shui...if the Chinese are so clever why can’t they do puddings? Why can’t they drum up a pastry chef?”*

The TV chef Ainsley Harriot appeared as a presenter of *Can’t Cook, Won’t Cook* in TV’s Naughtiest Blunders Part 2 (ITV, 12/12/00, 22.00 hrs, light entertainment). Looking at a contestant’s burnt sausages he commented innocently *“Well, you obviously like it Black.”* Realising his mistake, he added, *“ I like a girl who likes Black sausage!”*

Counter stereotypical portrayals

A total of eight portrayals (2%) were thought to counteract stereotypes of minority ethnic groups. These occurred in 3% (N=6) of programmes sampled. Several provided positive or counter models because of the occupational status of ethnic minority characters. Other portrayals were neutral in tone: in Boogie Nights (C5, 27/11/00, 22.00 hrs, film) Buck liked country and western music while in a clip from the film *East is East*, set in 1970’s Britain, a Mixed Asian-White man was portrayed drinking alcohol and interacting with White women in a bar (The British Comedy Awards, ITV, 16/12/00, 21.00 hrs, light entertainment).

Conclusions

The importance of examining the Top Ten programmes on television is not simply that the audiences for them are so massive, it is also that the audience spread or 'reach' is so very wide. Very popular programmes tend to attract light viewers as well as heavy viewers. Thus they provide predominant images of the world and offer a coin of social exchange where only *Castaways* on a desert island can pretend not to know who *Big Brother* is.

Perhaps the key finding from this research is the very modest number of ethnic minority participants from the UK to be found on television. At a mere 5.2% of the television population, their representation lags woefully behind real world estimates (6.7%). However, the facts are worse than this. The world of television is a particularly young one – previous studies have found only 6%-8% of participants being older people (60 years old or over) compared with 21% in the real world. This youthful profile is also true of ethnic minorities and so we should expect television to contain an even greater proportion than the census average of 6.7%. The target set by Greg Dyke of 10% for employment within the BBC should also extend to representations on the screen to avoid the accusation that television is exclusive. As Dyke (2000) suggested:

"Young Britain buzzes with the energy of multiculturalism ... For young people today, British culture is already diverse and heterogeneous, multi-ethnic, multi-everything ... we, the media, don't understand the implications of that."

A second finding is that this under representation is not compensated for by the roles enjoyed. Even when programmes from the USA are included with their very much higher levels of representation, ethnic minorities seem marginalised: the overall rate of representation rises to 8.4% but stands at only 5.7% of major roles. In factual programming, one in five (21%) ethnic minorities achieved their contribution via a brief sound bite compared with only 4% of the White comparison sample taken. Similarly more than quarter (26%) of ethnic minority contributions were coded as 'personal experience' or 'subject too brief to classify' compared with only one in ten (11%) of the White base sample. This may suggest tokenism. However, in the case of everyday hobbies and interests, ethnic minorities were almost invisible: these

subjects accounted for 17% of contributions by the White base sample but only 2% of the ethnic minority participants in factual programming.

The available television monitoring data on ethnic minority representation (notably by the Broadcasting Standards Commission) suggests that little improvement has taken place over the years. The most recent BSC figures of 6.2% representation on television of UK ethnic minorities are little different from earlier samples. Indeed the last ITC/CRE analysis of four week's prime time television output (Cumberbatch and Woods, 1996) revealed a similar ethnic minority representation figure of 6.0%.

Perhaps the final conclusion must concern the most troublesome finding: that some ethnic minority groups are almost excluded from television. Asian people appeared in such low proportions (0.9%) compared with the real world (3.7%) that a sample such as this is barely adequate to detect them. However, as the UK population demographics shift and the inheritance of cultural diversity from our colonial past becomes more manifest, television is clearly failing to keep up to speed. As Greg Dyke urged, programme makers must:

“reflect the world in which we live today and not the world of yesterday.”

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