'Being liked': The constructed identiity of project-based workers in the New Zealand film industry

Lewis Tennant

Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand

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Abstract

The New Zealand screen industry, in line with similar trends in the UK and US, has experienced a proliferation of tertiary trained ‘film school' graduates, and consequently there is an oversupply of aspiring workers. Tertiary providers are creating false expectations in graduates that employment will come following time and money spent on industry-specific training. In three case studies of workers from the New Zealand screen production sector it was found that in order to succeed, and irrespective of technical prowess or training, workers construct identities based on willingness to work in an industry where pay rates are inconsistent, hours are long, transactional contracts are malleable, and 'being liked' and networking are essential to securing ongoing project work. In an industry where graduates are considered 'unskilled', and where 'know who' or social capital is as important to long term success in the industry as 'know how' is, tertiary courses focus on teaching ‘human capital', or the skills required to perform set labour tasks on a film set. ‘Social capital' is not taught but is nevertheless crucial to maintaining work in the sector. Analysis of case study participants' responses indicates that successful workers are conditioned to accept an under-regulated workplace where the rights of workers are jeopardised. In order to stay connected to the industry film workers do not speak out about such issues, as doing so is counter-productive to 'being liked', and ultimately gaining further project-based work.

OVERVIEW:

Just over ten years ago New Zealand's Fifth Labour Government 'rebranded' the arts and culture sector as the creative industries, in line with similar policy change across the globe. Instigated with the intention of better utilising the economic potential of human knowledge and creativity, creative industries policy tends to promote the sector's workers as vibrant members of the 'new' economy; flexible and freed up from the restraints of traditional employment structures.

The New Zealand film industry is a subsector of the creative industries. The industry is seen as contributing to the economy through tax and revenue garnered when large scale internationally-financed films are made using New Zealand personnel, locations and technical infrastructure, and indirectly through tourism. This perception has allowed successive New Zealand governments to circumvent issues concerning work conditions within the industry, and to enact labour laws that solidify the marginal employment status of freelance film workers as self-employed contractors (Rowlands and Handy, 2012).

This paper explores the constructed identities of volunteer workers in the New Zealand film industry. Set against the backdrop of government policy and labour laws that do little to formally protect the rights of workers, aspirant film industry workers volunteer their time in the hope of securing on-going paid employment in the sector. These individuals volunteer their time to an industry that is project-based, where teams of workers are assembled for limited periods of time then disbanded, and employees must then compete with one and other for work on further projects. Similarly, volunteer workers compete in an industry over supplied with aspirant workers.

In examining the use of volunteer workers in the New Zealand film industry, this paper questions whether these workers are ultimately exploited in the gifting of their time, and what significance a project-based work environment where informal contracts often hold more precedence than formal ones has on the mind-set of the industry's workers. This study also questions the role tertiary provider's play in the oversupply of aspirant film industry workers. Further questions are raised as to whether the workplace model of the New Zealand film sector places workers in a vulnerable position.

WORKING FOR FREE:

Volunteer labour is a common occurrence in the creative industries (Gardner, 2010, McGregor and Gibson, 2009, Gibson, 2003, Gollmitzer and Murray, 2008, Ashton, 2011, Blair et al., 2003, Rossiter, 2006, Randle and Culkin, 2009, Gill and Pratt, 2008, Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2009, Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010). Reasons for this include the intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation of the creative worker (Amabile, 1997, Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, Gibson, 2003), the not-for-profit status of smaller creative organisations – for example community radio stations, low/no budget independent film productions or little theatre groups (Gabriella, 2011, Gatfield, 2006, Kramer, 2002) – as well as the increasing use of interns across many employment sectors worldwide (Gardner, 2010, Try and Rickett, 2009, Perlin, 2011).

The legal status of the volunteer is often unclear, as are the obligations and motives of the organisations which they serve. The only New Zealand laws addressing volunteer labour are the Health and Safety in Employment Act (1992), a piece of legislation created to minimise accidents and harm in the workplace, and the Volunteers Employment Protection Act (1973), drafted for those volunteering in times of war or emergency, or service in the national interest. In the latter the term 'volunteer' (though not defined in the act) is used to mean a person who chooses to forfeit regular paid work for the good of the community or some public benefit, rather than people doing on-the-job training (Keeping it Legal, 2011). Similarly, government policy on volunteer workers frames voluntary work as 'community based' work for not-for-profit groups (Ministry of Social Development, 2002), acknowledging only those volunteers who, for example, offer their time to school and church groups, omitting to recognise individuals gifting their time to commercial organisations in the hope they may gain further employment in their preferred vocation.

Triumphant accounts of a 'new creative class' have portrayed the creative worker as freed up from traditional employment models, echoed in government policy in New Zealand and abroad (Conor, 2010, Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010, Ross, 2006, McRobbie, 2002); policy which does not address industry-specific, formal worker rights (Hesmondhalgh, 2009). Similarly, academic research on cultural and creative economies has seldom been concerned with labour process, in particular the potentially exploitative aspects of the creative industries employment model, often

depicting a project-based, hyper-networked entrepreneur; emancipated from the restraints of traditional employment structure (Florida, 2002, Reich, 2001, Jones, 1996, Flores and Gray, 2000).

The New Zealand screen production industry is a pertinent microcosm in which to investigate both the use of volunteers in the creative industries, and the broader interrelated issues surrounding its labour force. The first of these interrelated issues is the relatively recent proliferation of tertiary courses 'training' people to work in the creative industries, with varying levels of success (if success is measured in the number of students gainfully employed in the vocation relevant to their qualification). In the creative industries subsector of screen production, studies in New Zealand, the United Kingdom and United States have identified that employers value on-the-job training before tertiary education (Blair et al., 2003, Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010, de Bruin and Hanrahan, 2003), with graduates considered to be unskilled. de Bruin and Hanrahan's (2003) report on the screen production industry in the Auckland region identified, nearly a decade ago, a rapid increase in the number of tertiary courses related to the screen production industry, and recommended better links between industry and training providers as well as more on-the-job components being added to courses. An increase in training courses leads to an increase in graduates, and if those graduates are considered unskilled until trained on-the-job, many will work for free in the hope of gaining remuneration and more long-term employment (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010, Randle and Culkin, 2009, Blair et al., 2003).

The second labour force issue concerns the subsector-specific ways in which individuals gain work within the film industry, in that production companies are more often than not bereft of a Human Resources department, and an individual's social and networking skills are of as much importance as the ability to perform the specific labour task required. McRobbie's seminal 'Clubs to Companies' article (2002) contextualises Wittel's (2001) writing on 'network sociality' – where community increasingly gives way to looser social networks – in a creative industries context. McRobbie asserts that the United Kingdom creative industries workplace has experienced a decline in workplace democracy, replaced by social networks and an independent work model. International scholars examining the screen industry subsector describe the same phenomenon, where networking and social ties are

necessary to gain continued contract employment (Baumann, 2002, Blair et al., 2001, Ebbers and Wijnberg, 2009). Locally, though there has been little published academic research into labour process in the screen production industry, Rowlands' (2009) unpublished thesis provides transcripts from interviews with screen production workers who highlight the importance of networking in gaining and maintaining project-based employment. de Bruin and Hanrahan's (2003) report also acknowledges the importance of networks in gaining and maintaining employment in the local industry; entitling a section of their findings 'Know Who – Social Capital'.

The final labour force issue is that, if workers do 'gain' they must 'maintain', that is, in a sector that is predominantly project based there are a multitude of issues surrounding job (in)security, organisational structure, career trajectory and employment status. Abroad, the demise of the studio system in the United States has also meant the demise of permanent facilities, with technical equipment now sourced from project to project - and the United States screen production labour force now operates similarly (Blair, 2001). New Zealand's industry has always been project based; an industry characterised by demand uncertainties and peaks and troughs (de Bruin and Hanrahan, 2003).

FROM THE STUDIO SYSTEM TO THE PROJECTS:

Film production in New Zealand, the United States, and the United Kingdom is characterised by short-term, project-based employment (Blair et al., 2001, Defillippi and Arthur, 1998, Baumann, 2002, Blair, 2001, Ebbers and Wijnberg, 2009, Christopherson, 2009, Jones, 1996, Randle and Culkin, 2009, Rowlands, 2009). But unlike in New Zealand, in the United States and United Kingdom this has not always been the case. The most well-known of early film production models is the Hollywood studio system. Developed in the 1920s and operational until the early 1960s, Hollywood film production was controlled by eight major companies who employed actors and production crews as permanent workers to produce films on company owned filmmaking lots, rather than on a project by project basis (Florida, 2002). The United Kingdom has had a significant independent sector for a longer period of time than the United States, though major studios did once provide stable employment, either producing their own films or letting their studios to independent filmmakers (Street, 1997).

Owing to population size, and the relative 'youth' of the industry, New Zealand does not have a history of established production houses providing long-term permanent employment. Rather, New Zealand's film production industry has always operated under the model now observed in the United States and the United Kingdom. That is, film production work in New Zealand is project-based; "not an organisation, but an 'industry cluster' of small companies, temporary projects and interacting careers" (Inkson and Parker, 2005). Akin to labour organisation around screen production abroad, the industry is decentralised, competitive, and network based.

THE IDEAL WORKPLACE?:

Originating in Australia in the early 1990s (Hartley, 2005, Ross, 2006), the concept of creative industries gained wider exposure as a policy discourse embraced by Britain's Labour government in the latter part of the 20th Century (Ross, 2006). Signalling a shift in political emphasis from traditional economic sectors, such as manufacturing, to realising the potential of the knowledge economy, the concept of creative industries has since been developed by governments across the globe (Banks and O'Connor, 2009, Ross, 2006, Cunningham, 2009).

The emergence late last century of the creative industries concept in New Zealand forms part of a shift in government economic policy that began in 1984. From 1984 New Zealand's economy was radically reformed, with successive Labour and National-led governments introducing and promoting neoliberal economic policies, including those of economic rationalism - a market-led restructuring of the economy designed to reduce the role of the state in economic affairs (Wilkes, 1991). In line with this trend in policy change, the involvement of the state in the arts began to shift from the traditionally held role of arts patron to advocate of creative output as a viable and thriving contributor to the economy. Most notably this occurred with the election of the Helen Clark-led Fifth Labour Government and its introduction of creative industries policy to New Zealand (Volkerling, 2010).

Government rhetoric regarding the creative industries (both in New Zealand and worldwide) has tended to focus on promoting its labour model as emancipating workers, promoting it as a desirable shift from more traditional workplace arrangements, offering personal fulfilment and self-actualisation (Banks and O'Connor, 2009) as well as the flexibility and freedom as expounded by Florida

(2002). Ross (2006) suggests otherwise, declaring the 'feel good' and 'free' aspects of government rhetoric omit the cost of longer hours, prestige earned in place of financial remuneration, and supposed mobility in fact being disposability. Statistics concerning the growth and productivity of the creative sector have taken precedence over any investigation of the quality of work life individuals experience employed in the various subsectors (Ross, 2006).

Where governmental press releases have tended to provide statistics that emphasise the growth and economic success of the creative industries (Ross, 2006), New Zealand government policy to promote work-life balance has not extended to these industries, particularly problematic in the case of film production, where long hours on-the-job are normalised and anxiety between contracts is typical (Rowlands, 2009). The strenuous nature of work in the film industry and the stress of finding further work in downtime is the norm in the United States, Australia, and New Zealand – though workers in Australia and the United States receive fringe benefits such as holiday, super, sometimes even sick leave. New Zealand film contractors receive no such fringe benefits, also having to operate as sole traders, which is a comparatively less straightforward employment arrangement than any arrangement that those deployed in the industry overseas face (Rowlands, 2009)

GETTING IN, GETTING ON, AND STAYING ON:

In the film industry, most of the voluntary work undertaken is done so by 'new entrants'; individuals aspiring to gain more meaningful long-term employment in the sector (Ashton, 2011, Blair et al., 2003, Defillippi and Arthur, 1998, Randle and Culkin, 2009, Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2009). New workers engage with an industry that consists of project-based enterprises offering project-based employment (Defillippi and Arthur, 1998). Flexibility and 'network sociality' are thus crucial, the latter significant as regards establishing and maintaining employment from project to project. Defillippi & Arthur (1998) assert that in this regard, human and social capital are interdependent. That is, regardless of how skilled you are at your particular industry specialisation, maintaining employment is difficult if you are not a skilled networker. Those whose labour and social skills are suited to the industry often form part of a 'latent organisation' (Ebbers and Wijnberg, 2009) entering into relational contracts; often working as individual contractors with the same crew across a number

of projects (Blair et al., 2001). Though transactional 'pen on paper' contracts are explicit and relational contracts implicit, relational contracts in the film industry more often than not carry more weight (Ebbers and Wijnberg, 2009). When engaged in a project the hours worked are typically long, often in excess of transactional agreements (Gill and Pratt, 2008). When projects will end (or indeed when another project will start if out of work) is often unclear, making financial and other lifestyle planning difficult. New Zealand film crew often go on the 'dole' (unemployment benefit) between projects (Rowlands, 2009).

In an industry where relational contracts take precedence over transactional ones, socialisation is as important as learning actual job skills. Organisational structure and operation are learned hands-on, with no support from a human resources department or similar formal arrangement. Freelancers are thus socialised into an environment where inconsistent pay, long hours, and comparatively poor working conditions are factors of employment they must accept, even embrace (Rowlands, 2009). Those that do are not deceived by management, but freely and eagerly engage with the production process, intensely bonded to the integrity of the production (Ursell, 2000, McRobbie, 2002). There is a commitment to, and pleasure derived from, working extremely long working days coupled with little or no pay and uncertain career prospects.

Those who attempt to engage in the film making labour model but do not ultimately benefit from it are easily replaced, as the film industry labour force is 'triangular' (de Bruin and Hanrahan, 2003, Christopherson, 2009, Smith and McKinlay, 2009). At the apex of the film industry triangle are the Principals, who are the initial strategists responsible for realising each film making project. In the middle of the triangle are the Professionals, who apply particular artistic and commercial competence and are generally long-standing in the industry. At the bottom, or perhaps more hopefully titled 'base', are the Apprentices: interns, runners and the like. Below the base of the triangle are those seeking to gain entry, the Aspirant Workers.

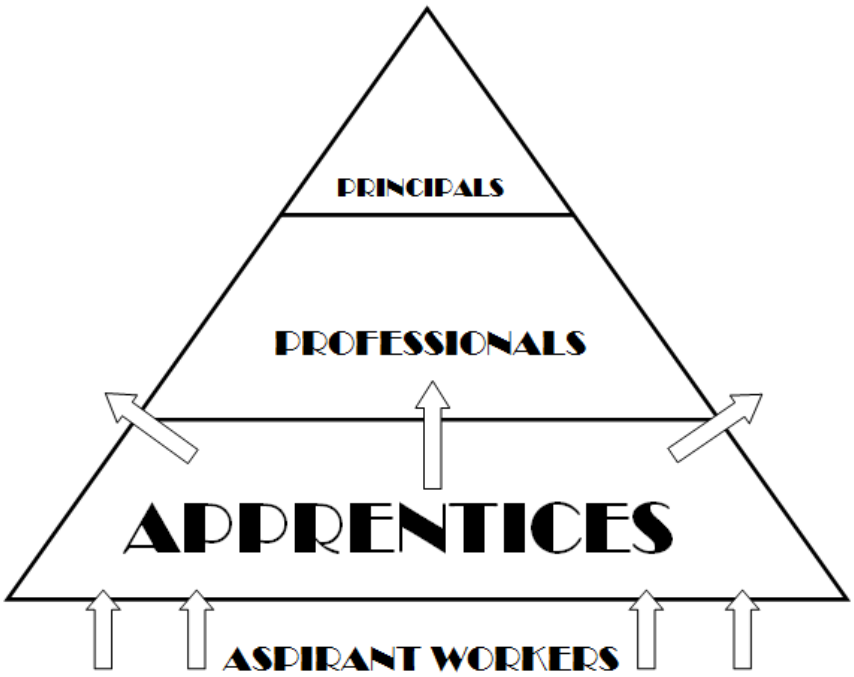

Figure 1. Tennant, L. (c. 2012). *Author's representation of triangular labour model.*

Indebted to an amalgamation of governmental creative industries rhetoric, the rise in prominence of the New Zealand film industry in recent years, the perceived glamour associated with the industry, as well as a proliferation of industry-specific tertiary training courses, there are quite simply more individuals either waiting to get into - or engaged at the entry point to the industry than there are established workers. In particular, the proliferation of tertiary film courses in an industry that favours on-the-job training has created a situation where labour reserves vastly exceed industry needs, both in New Zealand and abroad (Rossiter, 2006, de Bruin and Hanrahan, 2003). In a project-based industry where freelance contractors already contend for work (Christopherson, 2009), competition from graduates exerts further pressure on both those seeking to gain entry to, and those already engaged in the industry.

This model has serious implications not only for those surrounding the entry point to the industry, inside or out, but longer term, more established workers as well. The proliferation of aspirant film workers has created a labour market where pressure created by those wishing to enter the industry directly affects those, professional or otherwise, already in it. Excessive labour supply and a project-based 'loose' organisational structure put bargaining power in the hands of employers, meaning they can extend hours or intensify work very easily (McKinlay and Smith, 2009), not to mention negotiate pay rates reflective of competition created by the significant

numbers seeking entry to the industry. So many workers means future projects are seldom 'pencilled in' anymore, and workers feel in constant competition with colleagues as well as those seeking initial employment (Rowlands, 2009). Smith & McKinlay (2009) describe the indeterminacy of labour, whereby a business, whatever sector of the economy it is engaged in, can gauge the performance of all purchases ('plant', machinery) in advance, though labour is distinct in that its future performance cannot be measured before acquisition. In the film industry the labour purchase risk is lessened, as pressure from those wanting to enter the industry leads to a strong (survivalist) work ethic by those already engaged in it. The temperament of the creative worker also lessens the speculative aspects of purchasing labour, due to the intrinsic motivation of those performing in the industry tending to result in a fervent work ethic (Smith and McKinlay, 2009).

ON THE JOB OR IN THE CLASROOM?:

Where tertiary courses teach 'human capital', or the skills required to perform set labour tasks on a film set, 'social capital' is not taught, yet is crucial to maintaining work and ultimately succeeding in the film industry – academic accounts suggesting this is not uncommon across the creative industries sector (Gibson, 2003, Gill and Pratt, 2008, Jones, 1996, McRobbie, 2002). de Bruin & Hanrahan's (2003) report on the Auckland screen industry, prepared for the Auckland Regional Economic Development Strategy, interviewed industry stakeholders and found individuals who are tertiary trained in film production are viewed by those in the industry as 'unskilled', and that it is an industry where on-the-job training is favoured. Respondents observed that no training course could 'teach' possessing the right kind of personality traits needed to succeed in the industry, notably creativity, flair, initiative, openness, the ability to communicate well, drive, ambition, self-management, flexibility, and the ability to think laterally. It was also noted that aspirant junior workers should be prepared to 'start at the bottom', and perform menial tasks before progressing up the labour chain; something respondents felt many tertiary graduates were uncomfortable with, having unreal expectations of what their first jobs should entail (de Bruin and Hanrahan, 2003).

METHODOLOGY:

Having identified a lack of previous studies specifically addressing the use and experiences of volunteers in the creative industries, this research sought the opinions and reflections of three individuals who have volunteered their labour to the New Zealand screen production industry.

Because this study focused on exploring the reasons why people volunteer their labour to the screen production industry, and the identity constructed by these volunteers in order to gain and maintain employment, a qualitative methodology was deemed appropriate. Data was gathered in the form three New Zealand based case studies (Yin, 2009) of workers in the New Zealand screen production industry, and participants engaged in interviews conducted from a localist standpoint (Alvesson, 2003). Data was analysed using Glaser & Strauss' (1967) grounded theory methodology. The research design took the form of an interpretive ethnographic approach, whereby the researcher participated in eliciting not only research participants relaying of the literal aspects of working in the film industry, but their individual understandings and interpretations of their experiences in that workplace (Nash, 2009).

FINDINGS:

Three individuals currently engaged in the screen production industry in Auckland, New Zealand, were interviewed for the purpose of this research study, each engaged in 'below the line' roles. None of the participants interviewed began in the industry in their ideal role, and all had completed tertiary level film production courses. Each described at some point engaging in unpaid subservient labour-intensive roles, primarily in the form of 'running' - a term coined in the film industry, and recognised as a key, entry-level position. The case study participants were:

1) Participant A: Male, 30, Technical Coordinator. 12 years in the industry,
2) Participant B, Female, 24, Production Assistant. 1 ½ years in the industry,
3) Participant C, Female, 32, Assistant Director. 1 ½ years in the industry.

Participants' experiences were consistent with previous studies conducted in the United Kingdom, US, and New Zealand, in that individuals very seldom enter the film industry in their desired role, employers in the industry value on-the-job training

before education, and film school graduates are considered to be 'unskilled' (Blair et al., 2003, Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010, de Bruin and Hanrahan, 2003). Participants did not question initially engaging in the industry at this level, perhaps surprising considering the training they had undertaken prior. The prevailing understanding was that low-skilled entry-level roles were part of gaining experience, exposure and contacts in the screen production industry. Not questioning entering the industry effectively as labourers despite having trained and graduated for specific skilled roles in the industry exposed a theme that was to continue throughout participants' responses to other topics, whereby apparent disparities (even when acknowledged by them) were simply accepted as 'normal' within the industry.

Not surprisingly, all participants identified with some kind of affinity with the film industry before deciding to become involved. Though each participant's attraction to the film industry was framed differently, all used the phrase 'love'; a powerful emotional response in terms of being quizzed on a choice of vocation. Framed in terms of the initial attraction providing vocational motivation, 'loving what you do' (Amabile, 1997), this has positive implications. However Ashton (2011) emphasises that the passion many creative industries workers identify with shouldn't affect their ability to negotiate themselves into a position that closes the potential for exploitation, by the self or otherwise.

When questioned on how they commenced employment in the screen production industry, participants stressed the importance of self-motivation and determination, rather than others acting on their behalf to secure them work. Key factors in successfully gaining work were identified as becoming known / getting to know people ('networking'), being eager to perform any task required - and performing these tasks with no discernible unease ('willingness'). Participants also stressed the importance of proving oneself on set, particularly the ability to work hard for extended periods of time ('stamina'), as well as being able to solve problems and find further tasks to complete without having to constantly seek guidance from others ('working autonomously').

On networking:

> *Um... well there's... if you're lucky you meet someone who likes you who might get you a job. Ah... you meet other people who are in the same situation as you, who possibly down the line could get you some work. (Participant C)*

On willingness:

> *I think the trick is you just always say yes, no matter whether you can do it or not (laughs). (Participant A)*

On stamina:

> *It's about an attitude and a stamina sort of thing, and wanting to be there. You've got to be able to handle it. (Participant B)*

On working autonomously:

> *You want to be able to go, 'take that car, go in get it painted black, install something in it, and bring it back...' (Participant A)*

> *...and get me a receipt. (Interviewer)*

> *Yeah. You don't care how it's done as long as it is done, do you know what I mean? (Participant A)*

The project-based nature of screen production work means initial opportunities to work are effectively prolonged unpaid recruitment exercises, with no guarantee of further employment at the end.

> *You don't get called back again if you are crap. (Participant B)*

Participant B's eloquent summary of the reason some entry-level workers never secure further work warrants further investigation of what 'crap' might entail. Notwithstanding 'crap' being the inability to perform set tasks as a new worker on set, participants' responses identified a specific character disposition suited to gaining work in the film industry – individuals who do not question anything on set. Participant A emphasised the need to say 'yes' at all times, while Participant B described the need to 'put your hand to anything' while 'not complaining too much'. Discussing stamina Participant A described others saying 'I don't want to work

seventeen hour days', and suggested being on set is 'an attitude and a stamina thing, and wanting to be there'. In these responses, 'not being crap' equated to not being disagreeable in regard to any and all workplace situations and conditions.

Participant C analogised maintaining long-term employment in the industry with being a 'brand', citing film school tutors' advice on how to conduct themselves in a project-based environment, where individuals must be aware of how they present themselves in order to maintain ongoing contract work.

> *...they were pretty much telling you 'don't be an idiot, be smart, be responsible. Watch what you say... everywhere you go you have to watch yourself because you are your brand.' So they may not have a class on that, but through the little things they mention once in a while you kind of get that after a while, you know. (Participant C)*

Participants' reflections on maintaining ongoing project work seemed to place all responsibility on the worker and their conduct, and little on the employer and theirs. It was reiterated that workers must be independent though part of the team, 'not get in the way' when new on set, 'be able to handle it', and 'put their head down, not complain, and get on with it' - all the while maintaining professionalism and conduct analogous with being a successful brand.

> *I mean, half the battle with getting into the film industry, or even the theatre industry, is people have gotta like you. If they don't like you – you can be hopeless in what you do- but, unless you go in there and say 'I'm gonna give it a go, I'll do it'. (Participant A)*

Asked to suggest how the volunteering process might be formalised to protect volunteer workers better, participants placed the majority of responsibility on the volunteer not the employer. Participant A's comment that he had never seen a 'good' worker not get further work offered a poignant reflection on the informal set of rules the film industry operates under, where if you are 'good' enough you will gain further employment and therefore do not need formal protection. Problematically there is no formal industry definition of what 'good' is, and no formal agreement for those who volunteer their labour, 'good' or otherwise. Working in an industry they 'love', where work is fast paced, project-based, and relational contracts take precedence over

transactional ones (Ebbers and Wijnberg, 2009), questions of ethics or contracts are perhaps "uncool" and "old economy" (Ashton, 2011).

In the film industry the majority of workers are employed on a project by project basis, with most starting out in low or no paid subservient roles. That is, in an industry bereft of traditional recruitment processes, film industry workers rely on social and networking skills to be promoted and secure ongoing job opportunities. In sharing their experiences, participants described an industry lacking in regulation where the rights of employees are concerned, and an environment where workers must compete with one and other in a market over supplied with aspirant workers. If lucky enough to secure employment, film industry workers willingly engage in a sector where pay rates are inconsistent, transactional contracts are malleable, and 'being liked' is essential to securing ongoing project work, as is networking. Describing a workplace where most if not all of the bargaining power lies with the employee, participants openly and frankly acknowledged aspects of the employment model they saw as unfair, even exploitative. Though willing to share such candid observations as anonymous contributors to an academic study, their responses indicated such issues are seldom, if ever, vocalised within the industry. Participants' unwillingness to speak out did not seem sinister, rather they offered a collective 'shoulder shrug' as to how the industry operates, suggesting the conditions that come with working in the industry ensure that only those most suited survive – 'you just deal with it' and 'get on with it'. In an industry lacking in regulation where the rights of employees are concerned, workers are conditioned into an environment over-supplied with aspirant workers where 'being liked' and networking are crucial to gaining and maintaining ongoing project work. Speaking out is counter-productive.

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