

Sexual Harassment in the Creative Industries: Tolerance, Culture and the Need for Change

Sophie Hennekam* and Dawn Bennett

The economic, social and cultural contributions of the creative industries are essential elements of many societies and their governments' policies. However, there is growing evidence that precarity, competition and lack of regulation within these industries is exacerbating inequalities with respect to gender, race and class. With a focus on gender and sexual harassment among female workers, this study involved 32 in-depth interviews with women working in the Netherlands' creative industries. Data were analyzed using content analysis. Findings suggest that sexual harassment is prevalent, and many women considered it to be part of their occupational culture and career advancement. Four factors influenced this phenomenon: competition for work; industry culture; gendered power relations; and the importance of informal networks. Implications include the need for a climate of non-tolerance, sector-specific research and guidelines, sensitivity training and further work with unions and professional associations to provide worker protection strategies traditionally undertaken by organizations. The article concludes that effective sexual harassment prevention requires action at the individual, educational, sectoral and governmental levels, beginning with public conversations to convey the message that sexual harassment is never acceptable.

Keywords: sexual harassment, creative industries, industry culture, gendered power relations

Introduction

The economic, social and cultural contributions of the creative industries are essential elements of many societies and their governments' economic development policies, and above-average growth in the number of creative industries workers has attracted increasing attention from governments and supranational institutions such as the European Union and United Nations (United Nations, 2013). Florida (2004, p. 321) contended that the creative industries provide 'full opportunity and unfettered social mobility for all'. However, there is growing evidence that precarity, competition and lack of regulation within these industries exacerbates both privilege and inequality (Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013; Hennekam and Bennett, 2017). As such, not all scholarly and governmental attention has been positive; indeed, commentators note particular difficulties for groups of creative workers, including older workers (Hennekam, 2015) and women (Banks and Milestone, 2011).

Scholars have also argued that precarity, competition and lack of regulation could increase both the prevalence of and tolerance for sexual harassment. Leslie and Catungal's study of creative city geographies (2012, p. 118), for example, finds that 'certain creative occupations reproduce masculinist workplace cultures and are therefore potentially harmful spaces for women'. Shade and Jacobson's (2015) study of young Canadian women in unpaid creative industries internships highlights the need for sexual harassment and other anti-discrimination laws to be extended to these internships. In the

Address for correspondence: *Sophie Hennekam, La Rochelle School of Business, 102 rue de Coureilles, 17000 La Rochelle, France; e-mail: hennekamso@esc-larochelle.fr

fashion industry, Stokes's (2015, p. 236) finding of gender inequality 'and essentialist ideas about gender and sexual difference' highlights what she terms a 'glass runway' of gendered valorization.

Sexual harassment is commonly defined as 'unwelcome sexualized behaviors in the organizational context' (Brewis and Linstead, 2000, p. 71). Thus defined, sexual harassment includes unwanted verbal comments, jokes and sexual gestures, demands for sexual favours as a condition of employment, requests for dates and actions encompassing touching and coercive attempts to establish a sexual interaction (Chamberlain *et al.*, 2008). Mackinnon's earlier work (1979) emphasizes both 'unwantedness' and unequal power relationships; however, MacKinnon (1979) makes the distinction between 'quid pro quo' harassment where sexual compliance is exchanged for work opportunities, and 'condition of work' harassment in which the work environment is polluted by physical and/or verbal advances. These are important distinctions and led us to adopt Mackinnon's definition for our study.

Our research initially sought to understand hiring and promotion practices within the creative industries in the Netherlands, and in this study we had a specific focus on women. We did not ask participants about sexual harassment, and yet we quickly noted that participants reported sexual harassment as both prevalent and normalized. This unexpected finding moved our research in a different direction and led to the following two research questions:

1. What are the experiences and perceptions of sexual harassment of women in the Netherlands' creative industries?
2. Which factors have led to this situation and how is it sustained over time?

The study adds to the existing body of knowledge in three ways. First, it sheds light on a paradox (Conor *et al.*, 2015) in that the reputedly cool and egalitarian creative industries (Florida, 2002; Gill, 2002) are also characterized by persistent gender inequalities (Conor *et al.*, 2015). Our findings emphasize that despite the positive image of the creative industries (Gill, 2002; Neff *et al.*, 2005), sexual harassment is prevalent.

Second, the study finds that women's concern about the sexual harassment they encounter is confounded by the common perception of harassment as a normalized part of occupational culture: a necessary component of career establishment or enhancement. This is not new *per se*: Jones and Pringle's (2015) study of the film production industry reveals that workers accept many inequalities as a matter of 'getting on'. With a focus on domestic and familial responsibilities (Banks and Milestone, 2011), these inequalities include long and irregular working hours (Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013), informal recruitment processes (Thanki and Jeffreys, 2007), and the important role of informal networking (Wittel, 2001). We extend the notion of gender inequality to include the perception of sexual advances and favours as variously normal, part of the job, and the only way to get ahead.

Our third contribution is that this is the first study to explicitly link the catalysts and perpetuating factors of systematic inequality (Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013; Hennekam and Bennett, 2017) to the experiences of sexual harassment against women.

Fourth, we contribute to the existing body of knowledge on sexual harassment by the identification of four interrelated contextual factors that have led to and sustain the current situation, namely competition for work; industry culture; gendered power relations; and the importance of informal networks.

The paper begins by establishing the context and then presents an overview of extant research and nascent themes. This is followed by the results, which are grouped into the emergent themes of tolerance, competition for work, industry culture, gendered power relations and informal networks. The discussion leads to concluding comments where the authors present the limitations of the study, its implications and recommendations for further research.

Background

Women are increasingly represented in the workforce and they can face distinct workplace challenges including career interruptions, pay inequalities and a 'glass ceiling' or 'runway' that inhibits hierarchical career progression (United Nations, 2010). Another issue, encountered by men but more

prevalent among women, is sexual harassment. McDonald (2012) asserts the need for qualitative research that creates a more nuanced understanding of sexual harassment, including occupational experience and individual and collective coping strategies. This qualitative study responds to McDonald's call, reporting on 32 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with women working in the Netherlands' creative industries.

Estimates on the prevalence of sexual harassment differ greatly, possibly due to cultural or jurisdictional variations (Timmerman and Bajema, 1999). Indeed, for it to be reported, sexual harassment has to be recognized as such. The extent to which sexual behaviour at work is identified as harassment is influenced by numerous factors including organizational policies that refer to sexual harassment and provide for grievance processes, the level of support by public institutions for anti-discrimination legislation and cultural mores (McCann, 2005).

Littler-Bishop *et al.* (1982) emphasize that women who tolerate more intrusive types of harassment from high-status males do so because of potential career gains or fear of career losses (Littler-Bishop *et al.*, 1982). In a similar study, Valiente's (1998) informants thought of unwanted sexual advances as unpleasant but inevitable. This is consistent with Gutek and Morasch's (1982) power differentials, which emphasize that such behaviour has a variety of sources. We suspect that one of these is strong competition for work, which is a feature of most creative industries. We note also that recruitment often begins with the recommendation of teachers, who can be influencing agents with the power to reward, coerce or legitimize behaviour (Raven, 2008).

Sexual harassment is associated with negative outcomes through its role as a workplace stressor (Berdahl and Aquino, 2009; Gettman and Gelfand, 2007). Harmful psychological and physical health consequences include irritation and anxiety, anger, powerlessness, humiliation, depression, stress, post-traumatic stress disorder and physical health symptoms (Brewis, 2001; Collinsworth *et al.*, 2009; Jensen and Gutek, 1982). These consequences are associated with negative organizational outcomes such as absenteeism, lower job satisfaction, distraction, reduced commitment and productivity, and employment withdrawal (Chan *et al.*, 2008; O'Leary-Kelly *et al.*, 2009).

Valiente (1998) and Littler-Bishop *et al.* (1982) highlight that negative outcomes are influenced by both individual perceptions of sexual harassment and the environment in which the harassment occurs, including organizational tolerance. And yet as Kath *et al.* (2009) contend, formal procedures to protect against harassment are both insufficient and inadequately enforced. Moreover, Caven *et al.* (2013) indicate that implicit codes of behaviour imposed by employers and employees can be more powerful than formal policies.

The creative industries and sexual harassment

The creative industries supply 'goods and services that we broadly associate with cultural, artistic, or simply entertainment value' (Caves, 2000, p. 1). Thus described, the industries consist of architecture and design, film, television, video, radio and publishing, fine arts, music and the performing arts, software and computer gaming, advertising and crafts (United Nations, 2013). Combined, these industries represent a growing share of many national labour markets (United Nations, 2013). In Europe, between 1.2 and 4 per cent of the workforce is employed in the creative industries (Power and Nielsén, 2010), and worldwide the figures range from 2 to 8 per cent (United Nations, 2010). Given that employment statistics tend to underreport or ignore the work of part-time employees or freelance and self-employed workers (Mietzner and Kamprath, 2013), actual employment is likely to be even higher; thus, it is a workforce worthy of attention.

Although creative industries cultures and practices differ at the sectoral, sub-sectoral and geographic levels (Conor *et al.*, 2015), this study focuses on the broader creative industries to understand common or distinct characteristics that might exacerbate the prevalence and experience of sexual harassment among women. Four common characteristics are central to the study. The first characteristic is strong competition for work that is often contingent (Caves, 2000; Eikhof, 2014). Contingent workers typically experience irregular income and less worker protection (Arnold and Bongiovi, 2013; Gill, 2002). Examining the influence of organizational attributes on the prevalence and form

of sexual harassment, Chamberlain *et al.* (2008) assert that women with irregular and precarious employment are particularly susceptible to sexual harassment. This is especially evident in markets based on subjective employment evaluations, which are characteristic across the creative industries (Gill, 2002; Thanki and Jeffreys, 2007). Relatedly, Fawcett Society (2009) notes that the global financial crisis and associated recession has disproportionately impacted women.

The second common characteristic relates to industry culture. Newcomers to an industry determine how they should react (Olson-Buchanan and Boswell, 2008) by observing others, taking their cues from observational learning and socialization (Bandura, 1977), and making sense of their experiences (Louis, 1980). In the creative industries, however, organizational socialization is more accurately described as 'industry socialization' through which individual workers gain functional and structural understanding and learn 'the established ways' (Taormina, 1997, p. 29) of multiple firms and networks with which they are involved. Reportedly, women in the creative industries feel marginalized through active denial of their expertise by male workers (Banks and Milestone, 2011) or by association with stereotypical roles (Proctor-Thomson, 2013) that sustain and reinforce sexism (Jones and Pringle, 2015). Previous studies in acting (Dean, 2008) and modelling (Mears and Connell, 2016) emphasize that 'shared stereotypes' directly influence 'the performer's access to work' (2008, p. 173). Moreover, in the new cultural economy with its emphasis on individual talent, equal opportunities legislation and anti-discrimination policies can be perceived as structures that slow down the process and inhibit creativity (Banks and Milestone, 2011; McRobbie, 2002).

Sectoral differences include the extent to which creative work and employment in each sub-sector can be considered aesthetic labour (Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013; Mears and Connell, 2016): the process by which workers' corporeality is 'appropriated and regulated [for] organizations' commercial benefit' (Nickson and Warhurst, 2007, p. 158). Aesthetic labour belongs to the broader category of display work (Entwistle and Wissinger, 2006), which is the primary exchange of bodily capital for the purpose of visual consumption or in direct contact for a wage (Mears and Connell, 2016). Aesthetic labour is vital in the creative sub-sectors that train and recruit workers to project sellable personas (Warhurst and Nickson, 2009; Williams and Connell, 2010) and to display work in the form of artistic performances. Given the sectoral differences, Mears and Connell (2016) describe display work as a continuum on which modelling has a higher degree of aesthetic labour than, for example, a musician.

The third common characteristic relates to gendered power structures. Power in the creative industries is unequally distributed such that few individuals, mainly men, hold much of the decision-making power (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2008). This may increase the likelihood of sexual harassment since it is known to be more prevalent in organizations with large power differentials (Illies *et al.*, 2003; Katila and Meriläinen, 2002; Wilson and Thompson, 2001). In addition, creative industries careers are often navigated individually and have minimal opportunity for stable employment (Bennett and Bridgstock, 2015). As such, workers can be vulnerable because they work alone, lack authority, and have little autonomy in the selection of work. These characteristics of work are associated with a higher rate and greater acceptance of sexualized comments and behaviours, which are the result of power relations within a dependency framework where potential employers hold the decision-making power (McDonald, 2012).

The fourth common characteristic concerns informal networks, which are central to initiating, developing and maintaining work. Networks provide exposure to people in positional power, increase market visibility, and enable workers to leverage a place within the network of decision-makers. Such networks or 'cliques' (Manning and Sydow, 2007) are known for their potential to be both discriminatory and exclusionary (Christopherson, 2011; Smith and McKinlay, 2009), including in terms of gender, race and class.

Kanter (1977, p. 48) argues that the exclusion of women from informal networks stems from 'homosocial behaviour' in that men prefer the company of other men. Broadbridge and Hearn (2008) concur, highlighting the role of homosocial behaviour in the perpetuation of hegemonic masculinity, particular when women are ostracized and undermined. Similarly, Martin and Collinson (1999) align homosocial behaviour with men's continued control of organizational resources. Gregory (2009) identifies homosociality as a key feature of work in the creative industries, including at the sectoral level

where, for example, Wreyford (2015) and Perrons (2003) identified informal networking as a key mechanism for reproducing gender inequality in the UK film and new media industries respectively.

Informal recruitment practices can have an economic dimension in that slim financial margins leave little room for risk taking (Michel and Flasdick, 2009). This prompts employers to recruit people recommended by colleagues (Skillset, 2010) or people with whom they work regularly (Blair, 2009; Randle and Culkin, 2009). Workers outside these networks face 'the continued structural inequalities in creative industries that favor insider networks and identity privileges' (Mayer, 2014, p. 60). As Blair (2001) discovered in her work on labour within the British film industry, workers find that network boundaries shift constantly within a process that is conscious, instrumental and enduring. This requires workers to become and remain visible to network members and to anticipate skills and talents that may be of interest.

The informality associated with the creative industries' cool and funky image (Lloyd, 2006) extends, then, to recruitment practices that operate largely outside formal channels (Conor *et al.*, 2015). This has created what Thanki and Jeffreys (2007) term a 'contacts culture', and yet there is evidence that women fare better in more formal and transparent recruitment settings. Relatedly, when informal networks are operationalized during casual social gatherings (Grey, 2005) the lines between professional life and personal life are blurred (McDonald *et al.*, 2008) and sexualized comments and behaviours are arguably more likely.

The study reported here was conducted in the Netherlands, where national statistics suggest that women encounter more sexual harassment than men at a ratio of 11:3 (Statistics Netherlands, 2012a). Further, sexual harassment in the Netherlands is reportedly more likely among workers employed on a project or casual basis (Statistics Netherlands, 2012b); this is in line with working patterns in the creative industries. McCann (2005) suggests that sexual harassment in the workplace is also underreported. Sexism is flexible and dynamic (Gill, 2011, 2014), and Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2015) posit that sexual harassment in the creative industries is often malleable, agile and subtle. Littler-Bishop *et al.* (1982) emphasize that women might not report harassment because they fear it will be detrimental to their career advancement. Brunner and Dever (2014) and Fielden *et al.* (2010) add that non-report can result from a fear of revenge, reluctance to be viewed as a victim, fear of being seen as too sensitive, belief that the harasser will not be punished, little awareness of rights, and lack of access to external support. Similarly, the likelihood of reporting is negatively influenced by organizational or occupational characteristics such as industry culture (Benavides-Espinoza and Cunningham, 2010) and power differentials (Welsh, 2000).

The Netherlands has in recent years received international media attention when household names in entertainment have been accused and in some cases convicted of sexual harassment and sexual abuse. Several teachers and directors of theatre schools have been called into disrepute after ex-students made public their experiences of sexual harassment and abuse (Volkskrant, 2015). While the existence of such practices is often denied, the number of women reporting similar experiences, sometimes decades later, indicates widespread abuse.

Of significance here is the physicality of embodied or corporeal creative industries work (Bennett, 2009; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011). Workplaces such as theatres, dance academies, photography studios and modelling institutions commonly advocate no tolerance sexual harassment policies; however, such workplaces feature close physical contact between students and teachers, workers and employers. Intensely physical work can obscure the line between work and sexual harassment, and ambiguities between institutional policy and practice may leave workers unsure of which behaviours should be considered sexual harassment. The likelihood of reporting these behaviours is hence decreased.

Methodology

This study employed in-depth individual interviews to understand the characteristics of sexual harassment encountered by women working in the Netherlands' creative industries. Once ethical

approvals were obtained from the lead university, participants were recruited through a combination of chain referral and convenience sampling techniques (Miles and Huberman, 1994). A selection bias needs to be acknowledged, since participants self-selected. However, prospective participants were informed that the study concerned hiring and promotion practices in the creative industries; sexual harassment was not mentioned anywhere in the promotional materials.

The 32 interviewees worked in a range of sectors including fashion, dance and theatre to media-design, photography and production. Interviews ceased once a point of saturation was reached. Shown at Table 1, the women were aged between 20 and 41 years with an average age of 28.5 years.

The women were recruited through a call for participants included on the websites of organizations representing diverse sub-sectors of the creative industries. Participants attended a semi-structured interview conducted by telephone or Skype; interviews lasted for between one and one-and-a-half hours. Interviews were conducted in Dutch and translated into English using parallel translations by two native English-Dutch speakers (Douglas and Craig, 2007). Participants were assured of their anonymity and they could leave the interview at any time without providing a justification.

For reliability, one (female) researcher conducted all the interviewees. Following Silverman (2011), the interviewer employed techniques such as careful listening, summarizing to verify the interpretation of the researcher, emphasizing there were no right or wrong answers, expressing interest and attention, and giving interviewees enough time to reply. Only if the participant mentioned sexual harassment did the researcher ask about the nature and experience of harassment. Guiding questions (below) focused on the participants' perceptions of hiring and promotion practices.

1. Please briefly describe yourself in terms of your professional life.
2. Would you tell me something about how you got into the creative industries?
3. Would you tell me something about job interviews/auditions you have experienced?
4. How do people attempt to be hired in the creative industries?
5. Have you ever applied for a promotion? If so, can you explain in detail how this demand was handled?
6. How are people promoted?
7. If sexual harassment is brought up spontaneously:
 - a. Please explain this experience in detail: what happened?
 - b. How do feel about this?
 - c. Why do think this behaviour happens: where does it come from?
 - d. Have people you know experienced it too?
 - e. When did it start, and how long did it last?
 - f. Do you feel this is a characteristic of the creative industries? What makes you say that?

Content analysis (Stemler, 2001) provided a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding (Weber, 1990) and

Table 1: Participants by creative industries role

Role	Participants (count)	Mean age (years)
Dance artist	4	31.2
Model (fashion, runway, nudity)	5	21.6
Musician (performer)	4	31.3
Actor	6	32.5
Designer (multimedia, web)	5	33.1
Photographer	1	32
Visual artist	2	34.9
Choreographer	1	41
Producer (film and television)	2	29.5
Script writer	1	39
Composer	1	34

inspection of the data for recurrent themes (Wilkinson, 2011). Working from transcriptions, we employed Mayring's (2000) theory guided content analysis process, which involved summarizing, explicating and structuring the material to form units of analysis. Mayring (2000) describes this as 'an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step-by-step models, without rash quantification'.

Some coding categories were anticipated from extant studies, while others were not. These included the tolerance of sexual practices during recruitment and promotion. Two coders were used to reduce error and bias in the coding (Mays and Pope, 2000), and inter-coder reliability (Cohen, 1960) was established. Four rounds of discussion, modification of the codebook and recoding were necessary to obtain reliabilities of 0.82 to 0.94. An inter-coder reliability of 0.80 was used as the cut-off point (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

As analysis moved gradually to a higher level of abstraction, the researchers identified two main themes: the prevalence and tolerance of sexual harassment; and contextual factors including competition for work, industry culture, gendered power relations and informal networks. In going back and forth between the transcripts and the coding book, observational and methodological notes in the research diary were consulted to establish how far the researcher had probed to gain a certain answer and to establish each individual's context. Following Mayring's approach, analysis was conducted by hand and incorporated frequency counting, assuming that oft-mentioned words might signal participants' greatest concerns. Measures to ensure the reliability of frequency counting included coding synonyms (Weber, 1990) and awareness that some issues are more difficult to raise and discuss (Weber, 1990). In the following sections the main themes are presented and then discussed, starting with the tolerance of sexual harassment.

Results

Tolerance of sexual harassment

While the link between sexual harassment and a range of negative psychological outcomes is well established, participants in this study reported markedly different attitudes towards sexually tainted behaviours and remarks. Many participants explained that while they felt uncomfortable in such situations, sexual harassment was normal practice. Several participants used the words 'everyone does it' to explain this perception.

Interviewees indicated some tolerance towards sexual harassment and they highlighted its prevalence: of 32 participants, 21 told of sexual harassment. Seventeen of those women explained that harassment was undesirable but tolerated. Of the four women who refused to give in to sexual demands, none had reported their harassment experiences. The following story comes from one of these women:

In the beginning I thought, 'Let my work speak for itself'. But you know what? It just doesn't work like that at all. I remember meeting an owner of an exposition place. I had taken a few paintings and drawings with me. He closed the door and said, 'You look a lot better than your paintings, sweetie, but I'm happy to expose your work if you can just give me a nice massage'. ... I left my paintings and ran away. (Painter, 37 years)

The prevalence of sexual harassment was an unexpected finding; however, the women's tolerance for this behaviour was driven by themes anticipated earlier in the paper. The findings below are grouped into these themes, beginning with competition for work and then moving to industry culture, gendered power relations and finishing with findings that relate to informal networks.

Competition for work

Twenty-one of the 32 interviewees reported that sexual verbal expressions and demands for sexual favours were common during auditions and interviews. These encounters often began with

suggestion and progressed to more explicit and overt sexual harassment. Examples of sexually oriented questions included asking the woman's bra size, whether she was a virgin and whether she enjoyed masturbation. Women reported that if they answered such questions, or if they remained silent and did not leave the room, men would request more explicit favours such as exposing parts of their bodies, taking off their clothes, kissing, or giving oral sex. As one interviewee recalled:

I came in for an audition, all excited I was selected. However, after asking me which position I preferred (for sex), he told me the film would include nudity and asked me to undress. I did. He took a camera and started filming between my legs while I had to walk around (Actor, 27 years).

Among the 19 women aged between 21 and 32, 14 reported that submitting to the sexual demands of older, male power holders was the only way to establish themselves. The following story illustrates the perception that sexual harassment is a normalized 'part of the business':

The competition is huge. If you want to make it, you have to make sacrifices. You have to do things you don't really feel like doing. Some photographers are known to treat women badly, but they are famous. If they ask you for a shoot, you're not going to say no, you just can't: it's too prestigious (Model, 23 years).

Illustrated below in the account of an established scriptwriter, over half the participants noted the normalization of harassment in the creative industries.

Between the competition, the lack of transparency of who gets awards, prizes and jobs... the unequal power distribution and the culture of appearance and youth, the film industry has everything to favor sexual harassment on a daily basis. It's a paradise for men (Script writer, 39 years).

Industry culture

Another feature reported by participants was that in the male-dominated creative industries culture, gender and appearance are often more important than skills and experience:

I feel like I'm a woman more than a singer. It's a strange situation. It seems they care more about the way I'm dressed and the way I present myself than about my actual performance (Singer, 32 years).

No one talks about it. It seems accepted throughout, as if it's normal what is happening. Everyone knows what is going on, but no one is challenging it. Only a handful of well-established models who've made it are talking about it. The majority, who still have everything to lose, keeps silent (Fashion model, 23 years).

Of all the participants, actors were the most likely to describe sexual harassment as part of the socialization process for newcomers. According to their reports, 'acceptable' behaviour is learned before entering the workforce; they anticipated sexual behaviours during auditions because they had observed or experienced it during training. Mentioned earlier, creative workplaces often feature intensely physical work that can obscure the line between acceptable practices and sexual harassment. Several participants mentioned these ambiguities. The following account highlights that policy, practice and personal boundaries are all factors to consider when defining and establishing safe working environments.

There were no clear boundaries at school: it is unclear what is accepted or appropriate and what is not. Once, a student reported feeling uncomfortable with a teacher [and] the school told him that he was no longer allowed to touch students during his classes, a rule he followed. But that was a mere statement, a kind of window-dressing for their zero-tolerance policy. Lots of ambiguous things are happening and each student needs to find his or her own personal limit in what he/she considers acceptable and what is not (Actor, 29 years).

Finally, participants conjectured that the 'cool' image of the creative industries might increase and sustain sexual harassment.

The sector has this positive image, which gives *carte blanche* to established personalities who abuse this coolness. They often say 'it's just for fun' or they say you're not cool if you don't give in [to their sexual demands], implying that you're not made for the industry, that you don't belong here. So somehow, indirectly, it may lead to blurred boundaries so that people can do what they want in the name of being in a cool, hip and open sector (Fashion model, 23 years).

Gendered power relations

As mentioned, participants disclosed that abuse often extended back to their training. Following French and Raven's (1968) thinking about power within the teaching environment, many participants had learned that giving in to the sexual demands of teachers would increase their chances of positive evaluations and, in turn, would positively affect their careers. The following two examples come from a dancer and an actor.

It's quite simple. If you say no, he won't take you. He'll choose another girl who's willing to please him while taking her career forward. Not accepting the advances is possible, but career-wise it's suicide. We don't have a choice, especially as a starting dancer (Dancer, 22 years).

I remember that in school some teachers invited girls to their homes or in hotels. I'm not sure about what happened there, but I can guess. The problem is, they have power. They can make you and break you. The positive attention from people who made it is nice and reassuring, but the downside clearly is that it makes you vulnerable. It's like being a marionette: he can make you dance and throw you a minute later into the corner (Actor, 36 years).

For some participants, gendered abuse took the form of discrimination within an organizational context. Appearance was a feature in many of these accounts, including the following account given by a web designer.

I work in a male-dominated sector, which makes things difficult. We're two women, against fourteen men and they clearly don't like it. They seem scared we're taking over their jobs and they try to create a hostile environment for us, so that we'll leave the company. There are a lot of sexist jokes going on, remarks about our looks. I recently applied for a promotion, and when I entered the [interview] room, all men, [they] started laughing, saying, 'There's a skirt applying here, ha, ha, ha, ha'. Career-wise, there are no opportunities for me here (Web designer, 33 years).

Informal networks

Participants noted that qualifications and/or talent were insufficient for career progression, and 28 of the 32 women emphasized the importance of networks in terms of knowing the right people, being at the right place at the right time and pitching one's skills and talents. Participants conveyed that most graduates network to increase their visibility and, thus, their chances of invitations for auditions, trials or positions. Visibility was particularly important, and the narrative below emphasizes the informal nature of much networking activity.

You need to be seen. There are many events where you have to be if you want to be 'someone'. It's in the evening in bars where important producers go and have a drink. By going there, there is a chance to talk to them, to get noticed, to sell yourself (Visual artist, 35 years).

Participants divulged that they felt 'obliged' to participate in networking events, citing social pressure from peers and the importance of such events for their careers:

It is as if the whole sector says, 'Go, go, go! It's fun, it's important, it's your duty if you want to belong to the sector'. Not going there would probably imply you're not a real artist, that you're not 'one of them' (Multimedia designer, 34 years).

Another feature of informal networking was the presence of alcohol. In the music sector, for example, participants noted the commonality of post-performance drinks. Participants noted that this blurred the work-social boundaries and decreased the defence mechanisms of women. In the following example, a musician related alcohol consumption to sexual advances by men with power. And in the second example, a multimedia designer relayed an encounter with her boss after she had drunk too much alcohol.

We have the habit of drinking a few glasses after our concerts. It's nice. The people in the band are cool, but sometimes other guys are joining in, editors, producers and others. It's an opportunity to have these informal moments with important decision-makers, but as night progresses they get drunk and become touchy and start liking me as a woman rather than as a professional, which is very uncomfortable (Musician, 33 years).

There is a party every night if you want. The parties are, well, wild, boundaryless I would say. Alcohol and sex are everywhere. Everyone's drinking, everyone's kissing and you can be sure that everything will be filmed and can be used against you. Once I kissed my previous boss on a party when I was very drunk, he filmed it and a few days later he called me in, showed me the video and said: We had fun didn't we, will you come tonight to my place again? I felt so embarrassed. A few weeks later, I resigned (Multimedia designer, 28 years).

Discussion

This paper reported the narratives of 32 female creative industries workers who participated in a study on recruitment practices. In line with Valiente's (1998) study, our participants described sexual harassment as 'part of the job'. However, their harassment experiences did align with MacKinnon's *quid pro quo* or hostile (condition of work) conditions; rather, women described a hybrid that might feature one or both conditions. Defined by its omnipresence, we think of this as ubiquitous harassment. The findings indicate a culture of tolerance and non-disclosure in relation to verbal and physical sexual harassment, which in some contexts was normalized during training. Four contextual factors influenced the normalization of sexual harassment: competition for work; industry culture; gendered power relations; and the importance of informal social networks.

Competition for work

Participants related the tolerance of sexual harassment to strong competition for creative industries work. The women spoke of tolerance in terms of securing repeat or better work with the same recruiter, which is at odds with Chamberlain *et al.*'s (2008) finding that perpetrators of sexual harassment tend to sever professional ties with victims in order to reduce the likelihood of being caught.

Industry culture

Industry culture shaped participant's perceptions of the inevitability of sexual harassment, and a primary factor was the impression that gender and appearance are more important than skills and experience. In common with many service industries, appearance and self-presentation are important for creative industries workers (Brunner and Dever, 2014); however, women in this study aligned appearance with rewards for sexualized behaviours. These behaviours emphasized gender roles as opposed to professional roles, and the results suggest that they are endemic within creative industries culture. As Gutek *et al.* (1990) argue, such behaviours, when commonplace, are less likely to be perceived as sexual harassment.

Being 'sexy' and sex in general were ubiquitous in reports from multiple sub-sectors. These referred to stereotypical female representation in the media to sexually suggestive photographs of models and acting roles that involved nudity. In these instances, creative work took on elements of the sex role and resulted in what Gutek and Morasch (1982) term 'sex-role spillover'. Warhurst and Nickson (2009) note that sexualized work is a multi-faceted result of formal employer control and the informal and explicit expectations of employers and society. This duality was clear in our participants' comments about sex role and appearance, and it is probable that implicit expectations about women's behaviour and appearance, including dress, created ambiguous boundaries when it came to sexual behaviour. This is likely to include overt and intentional, or 'second-order' discrimination in the selection of workers (Dean, 2005).

Creative industries sub-sectors vary in the extent to which they are considered aesthetic labour, with the most marked distinction between the static and performative (embodied arts). The modelling industry, for example, is highly aesthetic (Entwistle and Wissinger, 2006; Holla, 2016), with appearance-based market segmentation that perpetuates stereotypes (Wissinger, 2012) similar to those observed by Dean (2005) in her study of performance agents and actors. Our study echoes previous findings that women are not treated equally when it comes to their skills; rather, they can be given roles that are stereotypically feminine (Banks and Milestone, 2011; Jones and Pringle, 2015; Proctor-Thomson, 2013).

Participants aligned their non-disclosure of sexual harassment with protecting their work and career and also with the creative industries' 'cool' image. The creative industries' positive image persists despite the difficult conditions for workers (Neff *et al.*, 2005). This image appears to enhance the prevalence of sexual harassment just as the focus on merit and talent can make anti-discrimination legislation superfluous (Banks and Milestone, 2011; McRobbie, 2002). Participants reported a direct correlation between the frequency of sexual harassment incidents and the level of sensitivity to these behaviours within dominant norms and cultures (Timmerman and Bajema, 1999). These implicit expectations and industry norms allow sexualized behaviours to continue unchecked (Warhurst and Nickson, 2009).

Gendered power relations

Participants' disclosure of gendered power relations in the creative industries concerned male teachers, editors, choreographers, gallery owners and producers, all of whom had the power to decide who would receive work. Consistent with Littler-Bishop *et al.*'s (1982) research in the airline industry, women tolerated more intrusive types of sexual harassment from higher-status males. Participants' reports of gendered dependency situations were also in line with Gettman and Gelfand's (2007) description of 'power perspectives': sexual harassment that arises from men's economic power over women, and which enables sexual exploitation and coercion. Although these findings accord with previous studies in the service industries (Kensbock *et al.*, 2015; Seymour, 2009), positional power did not appear to protect women from sexual harassment as suggested by McLaughlin *et al.* (2012). In the creative industries this is possibly due to non-standard and precarious patterns of work that feature discontinuous skills acquisition, strong competition for work and networked recruitment. As such, positional power is likely to be experienced in the form of reputation and status rather than increased security and organizational commitment.

We note that the type and severity of sexual harassment is influenced by the gender composition of each organization or sub-sector. The web designer, for example, worked in a sector where the sex ratio is skewed towards men; the issue of role competence was notably absent from her account. The designer's description positioned women as what Gutek and Morasch (1982) describe as 'role deviates': minorities who are treated differently from their male counterparts on the basis of gender. Gutek and Morasch (1982, p. 72) contend that this differential treatment can be variously considered 'discriminatory (in general) and harassment (when the content is sexual)'. Heilman *et al.* ((2004) cited in Caleo and Heilman, 2014, p. 224) describe this differentiation as a 'reduced social attractiveness and likability brought on by violated prescriptive stereotypes'. These initial findings support

McLaughlin *et al.*'s (2012) suggestion that women in gendered organizations or occupations are targets for sexual harassment and discrimination. As situations that diminish the success of both individual worker and organization, the alignment of positional power and gendered organizations or sectors warrants research with a focus on specific sub-sectors.

Informal networks

Following Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010), networking emerged as equally important to career success as talent or motivation. The importance of informal networks in recruitment processes (Perrons, 2003; Randle and Culkin, 2009; Wreyford, 2015) appeared alongside the ambiguous terrain created by social events in which the boundaries between work and play become blurred. Brunner and Dever (2014) note that sexual harassment is more likely at informal events, particularly when alcohol is consumed. Of interest, Nixon's (2003) study of male creative industries workers found that drinking is 'essentially considered a job requirement'. Individual actions within these networks were a complex interaction between subjective understandings of the individual's position and the constraints and opportunities presented by their objective social position (Burt and Mills, 2006). Many of our participants were aware of the risks and they reported that informal events were not always pleasant or desirable; however, the women attended to advance their careers (Grey, 2005).

Homosocial behaviour (Kanter, 1977) was evident as a strategy employed to maintain control and exclude women from male-dominated networks (Martin and Collinson, 1999). In line with Gregory's (2009) observations of male homosociability in the advertising industry, women spoke of male co-workers who expressed themselves in an openly sexist manner and resisted the presence of women in the workplace. Particularly concerning were reports of 'locker room' (Gregory, 2009) behaviour during auditions and interviews, and participants' accounts went far beyond what could be construed as second-order discrimination.

Brunner and Dever's (2014) observation of a similar trend across the service industries is important here, since few governments have adopted a broad interpretation of workplace sexual harassment. Sexual harassment during social events such as company parties, for example, has to date been successfully taken to trial only in Australia (McDonald *et al.*, 2008). Work in many industries is increasingly characterized by high levels of deregulation and insecurity, opening doors to unethical practices such as sexual harassment.

Theoretical and practical implications

The findings have both theoretical and practical implications. On the practical side, several recommendations can be formulated for organizations. Sexual behaviour at work has negative consequences regardless of whether the behaviour is identified (Berdahl and Aquino 2009; Welsh, 1999), and sexual behaviour needs to be discouraged by ensuring a climate in which it is not tolerated. Stockdale *et al.* (2004) note that the critical feature of such a climate is alignment between formal policies and organizational responses to harassment claims. The results of this study support this idea and highlight that effective change requires policy, response, and a climate in which the report of concerns is encouraged. There is also a need for sexual harassment sensitivity training to inform workers, educators and students about pluralistic ignorance and to help them understand how ignorance and social comparison processes influence reporting decisions (Halbesleben, 2009). Our findings reveal a pluralistic understanding of harassment that acknowledges both the harm resulting from abuse and the context in which abuse occurs. They also describe harassment as occurring 'in patterned ways' (Brooks, 1999, p. 1) that have been established over many years.

Noted earlier, behaviour is learned from observational learning and socialization (Bandura, 1977; Olson-Buchanan and Boswell, 2008; Taormina, 1997, p. 29), including while training. If women see that sexual behaviours are tolerated they are likely to do the same, reinforcing an accepting sexual harassment climate for female creative industries workers and students. Consistent with social

comparison theory, when women encounter a sexual harassment situation they may not know how to react and will look to emulate the behaviour of others among whom the behaviour is normalized. As such, those who condone or ignore sexist comments or behaviour unwittingly convey implicit support for the behaviours in question (Halbesleben, 2009). In line with what Prentice and Miller (1996) term pluralistic ignorance, women in this study had mistaken such implicit support for the explicit acceptance of sexual behaviours.

Rousseau (1995) has commented on the perception of implicit and explicit promises as reciprocal. As such, individuals who have a psychological contract with their organization anticipate protection against behaviours such as sexual harassment. In traditional forms of employment, the psychological contract is often an 'intra-individual perception' (Schalk and Roe, 2007, p. 168) in which individual and organization are conflated. Creative industries workers, however, tend not to work for a single organization. As such, a detrimental sexual harassment climate might encompass multiple concurrent forms and workplaces in which workers perceive sexual behaviours to be tolerated or even encouraged. Logically, these workers are less likely to expect protection.

In sum, ambiguity emerged as a notable element of industry culture in that individuals were unsure when 'normal' behaviours became sexual harassment. An example of this came from an actor, cited within the article, who suggested the need for individuals to find their 'own personal limit' when it came to sexual behaviours. Where women have been socialized into a culture in which sexual harassment is normalized and work is precarious (Caves, 2000; Eikhof, 2014), individual discretion emerges as a key consideration. It is unrealistic, however, to expect newcomers to know and practice their rights without support. This highlights the need for education and support mechanisms.

Limitations and suggestions for future research

The study reported here provides insights into the sexual harassment experiences of female creative industries workers; however, we note its limitations. First, our treatment of the diverse participants as a homogeneous group masks likely sectoral differences as well as differences in workers' cultural background, age and sexual orientation. Further, industry-wide gendered norms apply differently within each industry sector: for example, a dancer will be subjected to different expectations of aesthetic labour than a choreographer. Future studies might examine specific creative industries sectors and roles. Second, this study had an all-female sample and we accept that men can also experience sexual harassment.

Previous studies have found that individuals who are jeopardized in multiple ways have unique experiences (Conor *et al.*, 2015). Moreover, while the intersection of gender and disability, or gender and sexual orientation, is not discussed in this article, it is an important area for future research. It is imperative to stress that the experiences of women in female-dominated occupations might differ from those in male-dominated occupations. No conclusions can be drawn from our small sample, and this is an area worthy of further research. Finally, our sample was drawn from the Netherlands; comparative studies from other locations would determine the extent to which the experiences reported here might be common elsewhere.

Another consideration is that many creative industries workers are freelance workers with multiple employers and/or clients (Hennekam and Bennett, 2016). Previous studies have found such workers to be less aware of their rights and to have their entitlements undermined in line with labour market vulnerability (Underhill and Quinlan, 2011). Women are also less likely to have access to organizational support mechanisms such as those recommended above. Here, unions and professional associations might consider how they might manage some of the worker protection strategies traditionally undertaken by organizations. These might include access to information and counselling support, peer mentorship, sensitivity training as mentioned and multi-organizational agreement on acceptable codes of conduct.

Finally, we note that a culture of sexual harassment is more likely to be sustained in industries with a gendered power differential, because of this women working in male-dominated sub-sectors of the creative industries face a double disadvantage. This situation highlights the urgent need for research

that details sector-specific experiences and identifies solutions at the organizational or sectoral level. The findings also highlight the need for transparent recruitment practices.

It is possible that a model of effective sexual harassment prevention such as that posited by McDonald *et al.* (2015) could be adapted to consider the timing and functions of a prevention strategy that works beyond the organizational level. Specifically, McDonald and colleagues suggest a two-dimensional typology that considers both the timing and the key functions of preventative actions. This step-wise approach is designed to resolve disparate and uncoordinated efforts at the organizational level, but it also offers a framework for clearer communication, more effective management and better behaviour monitoring at the sectoral level. This is worthy of further research.

Concluding comments

The findings of this qualitative study suggest a certain tolerance of sexual harassment among female creative industries workers. This is influenced by multiple factors. By rationalizing sexual harassment as a normal phenomenon, female creative industries workers might internalize the view that such interactions are part of broader, accepted sociocultural behaviour, thus sustaining the culture. Effective sexual harassment prevention requires action at the individual, educational, sectoral and governmental levels, beginning with the message that clear sexual harassment is never acceptable.

Declaration of conflicting interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interests with respect to the authorship and/or publication of this article.

Funding

This research has been partially supported by the Junior Professor Award from the Federation Nationale pour l'Enseignement de la Gestion des Entreprises (FNEGE) in France.

References

- Arnold, D. and Bongiovi, J.R. (2013) Precarious, Informalizing, and Flexible Work: Transforming Concepts and Understandings. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57,3, 289–308.
- Bandura, A. (1977) *Social learning theory*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Banks, M. and Milestone, K. (2011). Individualization, Gender and Cultural Work. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 18,1, 73–89.
- Benavides-Espinoza, C. and Cunningham, G. (2010) Observers' Reporting of Sexual Harassment: The Influence of Harassment Type, Organizational Culture and Political Orientation. *Public Organization Review*, 10,4, 323–37.
- Bennett, D. (2009) Dance Careers: Beyond Performance to the Real World of Work. *Journal of Dance Education*, 9,1, 27–34.
- Bennett, D. and Bridgstock, R. (2015) The Urgent Need for Career Preview: Student Expectations and Graduate Realities in Music and Dance. *International Journal of Music Education*, 33,3, 263–77.
- Berdahl, J.L. and Aquino, K. (2009) Sexual Behavior at Work: Fun or Folly? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94,1, 34–47.
- Blair, H. (2001) You're only as Good as Your Last Job: The Labour Process and Labour Market in the British Film Industry. *Work, Employment and Society*, 15,1, 149–69.
- Blair, H. (2009) Active networking: action, Social structure and the process of networking. In McKilay, A. and Smith, C. (eds), *Creative Labour: Working in the Creative Industries*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 116–34.
- Brewis, J. (2001) Foucault, Politics and Organizations: (Re)-constructing Sexual Harassment. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 8,1, 37–60.
- Brewis, J. and Linstead, S. (2000) *Sex, work and sex work: Eroticizing organization*. London: Routledge.
- Broadbridge, A. and Hearn, J. (2008) Gender and Management: New Direction in Research and Continuing Patterns in Practice. *British Journal of Management*, 19,1, 38–49.
- Brooks, R.E. (1999) Dignity and Discrimination: Toward a Pluralistic Understanding of Workplace Harassment. *Georgetown Law Faculty Publications and Other Works* (Paper 1134). Available at: <http://scholarship.law.georgetown.edu/facpub/1134> (last accessed 9 February 2016).

- Brunner, L.K. and Dever, M. (2014). Work, Bodies and Boundaries: Talking Sexual Harassment in the New Economy. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 21,5, 459–71.
- Burt, R. and Mills, J. (2006) Taking the plunge: The hopes and fears of students as they begin music college. *British Journal of Music Education*, 23,1, 51–73.
- Caleo, S. and Heilman, M.E. (2014) Gender in Organizations: Are Men Allies or Adversaries to Women's Career Advancement? In Burke, R.J. and Major, D.A. (eds.) *Is This a Man's World? Obstacles to Women's Success in Male-Typed Domains*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 217–33.
- Caven, V., Lawley, S. and Baker, J. (2013) Performance, Gender and Sexualised Work. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 32,5, 475–90.
- Caves, R.E. (2000) *Creative Industries*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Chamberlain, L.J., Crowley, M., Tope, D. and Hodson, R. (2008) Sexual Harassment in Organizational Context. *Work and Occupations*, 35,3, 262–95.
- Chan, D., Chun, B., Chow, S. and Cheung, S. (2008) Examining the Job-related, Psychological and Physical Outcomes of Workplace Sexual Harassment: A Meta-analytic Review. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 32,4, 362–76.
- Christopherson, S. (2011) Connecting the Dots: Structure, Strategy and Subjectivity in the Entertainment Media. In Deuze, M. (ed.), *Managing Media Work*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 179–90.
- Cohen, J. (1960) A coefficient of agreement for nominal scales. *Educational and Psychosocial Measurement*, 20,1, 37–46.
- Collinsworth, L.L., Fitzgerald, L.F. and Drasgow, F. (2009) In harm's way: factors related to psychological distress following sexual harassment. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 33,4, 475–90.
- Conor, B., Gill, R. and Taylor, S. (2015) Gender and creative labour. *The Sociological Review*, 63,S1, 1–22.
- Dean, D. (2005) Recruiting a self: women performers and aesthetic labour. *Work, Employment and Society*, 19,4, 761–74.
- Dean, D. (2008) No human resource is an island: Gendered, racialized access to work as a performer. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 15,2, 161–81.
- Douglas, S.P. and Craig, C.S. (2007) Collaborative and iterative translation: an alternative to back translation. *Journal of International Marketing*, 15,1, 30–43.
- Eikhof, D.R. (2014) Transorganisational work and production in the creative industries. In Bilton, C. and Cummings, S. (eds), *Handbook of Management and Creativity*. London: Edward Elgar, pp. 275–97.
- Eikhof, D.R. and Warhurst, C. (2013) The promised land? Why social inequalities are systemic in the creative industries. *Employee Relations*, 35,5, 495–508.
- Entwistle, J. and Wissinger, E. (2006) Keeping up appearances: Aesthetic labour and identity in the fashion modelling industries of London and New York. *Sociological Review*, 54,4, 774–94.
- Fawcett Society (2009) *Are women bearing the burden of the recession?* London: Fawcett Society.
- Fielden, S., Davidson, M., Woolnough, H. and Hunt, C. (2010) A model of racialized sexual harassment of women in the UK workplace. *Sex Roles*, 62,1–2, 20–34.
- Florida, R.L. (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Florida, R. (2004) *The rise of the creative class*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- French J.R.P., Jr. and Raven, B. (1968). The bases for social power. In Cartwright, D. (ed.), *Studies in Social Power*. Ann Arbor Michigan, MI: University of Michigan Press, pp. 259–69.
- Gettman, H.J. and Gelfand, M.J. (2007) When the customer shouldn't be king: antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment by clients and customers. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92,3, 757–70.
- Gill, R. (2002) Cool, creative and egalitarian? *Information, Communication and Society*, 5,1, 70–89.
- Gill, R. (2011) Sexism reloaded, or, it's time to get angry again! *Feminist Media Studies*, 11,1, 61–71.
- Gill, R. (2014) Unspeakable inequalities: postfeminism, entrepreneurial subjectivity, and the repudiation of sexism among cultural workers. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 21,4, 509–28.
- Gregory, M.R. (2009) Inside the locker room: male homosociability in the advertising industry. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 16,3, 323–47.
- Grey, C. (2005) Career as a project of the self and labour process discipline. In Pullen, A. and Linstead, S. (eds), *Organization and Identity*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 107–26.
- Gutek, B.A., Cohen, A.G. and Konrad, A.M. (1990) Predicting social-sexual behavior at work: a contact hypothesis. *Academy of Management Journal*, 33,3, 560–77.
- Gutek, B.A. and Morasch, B. (1982). Sex-ratios, sex-role spillover, and sexual harassment of women at work. *Journal of Social Issues*, 38,4, 55–74.
- Halbesleben, J.R.B. (2009) The role of pluralistic ignorance in the reporting of sexual harassment. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 31,3, 210–17.
- Heilman, M.E., Wallen, A.S., Fuchs, D. and Tamkins, M.M. (2004) Penalties for success: reactions to women who succeed at male gender-typed tasks. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89,3, 416–27.
- Hennekam, S. (2015) Challenges of older self-employed workers in creative industries: the case of the Netherlands. *Management Decision*, 53,4, 876–91.
- Hennekam, S. and Bennett, D. (2017) Creative industries work across multiple contexts: common themes and challenges. *Personnel Review*, 46,1, 68–85.
- Hennekam, S. and Bennett, D. (2016) Self-Management of Work in the Creative Industries in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 19,1, 31–41.

- Hesmondhalgh, D. and Baker, S. (2008) Creative work and emotional labour in the television industry. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 25,7-8, 97-118.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. and Baker, S. (2010) A very complicated version of freedom: Conditions and experiences of creative labour in three cultural industries. *Poetics*, 38,1, 4-20.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. and Baker, S. (2011) *Creative labour: media work in three cultural industries*. New York: Routledge.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. and Baker, S. (2015) Sex, gender and work segregation in the cultural industries. *The Sociological Review*, 63,S1, 23-36.
- Holla, S. (2016) Justifying aesthetic labor: how fashion models enact coherent selves. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 45,4, 474-500.
- Illies, R., Hauserman, N., Schwochau, S. and Stibal, J. (2003) Reported incidence rates of work-related sexual harassment in the US: using meta-analysis to explain reported rate disparities. *Personnel Psychology*, 56,3, 607-18.
- Jensen, I.W. and Gutek, B.A. (1982) Attributions and assignment of responsibility in sexual harassment. *Journal of Social Issues*, 28,4, 121-36.
- Jones, D. and Pringle, J.K. (2015) Unmanageable inequalities: sexism in the film industry. *The Sociological Review*, 63, S1, 37-49.
- Kanter, R.M. (1977) *Men and women of the corporation*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Kath, L.M., Swody, C.A., Magley, V.J., Bunk, J.A. and Gallus, J.A. (2009) Cross-level, three-way interactions among work-group climate, gender, and frequency of harassment on morale and withdrawal outcomes of sexual harassment. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 82,1, 159-82.
- Katila, S. and Meriläinen, S. (2002) Metamorphosis: from 'nice girls' to 'nice bitches': resisting patriarchal articulations of professional identity. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 9,3, 336-54.
- Kensbock, S., Bailey, J., Jennings, G. and Patiar, A. (2015) Sexual harassment of women working as room attendants within 5-star hotels. *Gender Work and Organization*, 22,1, 36-50.
- Leslie, D. and Catungal, J.P. (2012) Social justice and the creative city: class, gender and racial inequalities. *Geography Compass*, 6,3, 111-22.
- Littler-Bishop, S., Seidler-Feller, D. and Opaluch, R.E. (1982) Sexual harassment in the workplace as a function of initiator's status: the case of airline personnel. *Journal of Social Issues*, 38,4, 137-48.
- Lloyd, R. (2006) *Neo-bohemia: art and commerce in the post-industrial city*. London: Routledge.
- Louis, M.R. (1980) Surprise and sensemaking: What newcomers experience in entering unfamiliar organisational settings. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 25, 226-51.
- MacKinnon, C.A. (1979). *Sexual harassment of working women: a case of sex discrimination*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Manning, S. and Sydow, J. (2007) Transforming creative potential in project networks: how TV movies are produced under network-based control. *Critical Sociology*, 33,1/2, 19-42.
- Martin, P.Y. and Collinson, D. (1999) Gender and sexuality in organizations. In M. Ferree, J. Lorber and B. Hess (eds) *Revisioning gender*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 285-310.
- Mayer, V. (2014) Creative work is still work. *Creative Industries Journal*, 7,1, 59-61.
- Mayring, P. (2000) Qualitative content analysis. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 1,2. Available at: <http://nbnresolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0002204> (last accessed 9 August 2016).
- Mays, N. and Pope, C. (2000) Assessing quality in qualitative research. *British Medical Journal*, 320,7226, 50-2.
- McCann, D. (2005) *Sexual Harassment at Work: National and International Responses*. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- McDonald, P. (2012) Workplace sexual harassment 30 years on: a review of the literature. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 14,1, 1-17.
- McDonald, P., Backstrom, S. and Dear, K. (2008) Reporting sexual harassment: claims and remedies. *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources*, 46,2, 173-95.
- McDonald, P., Charlesworth, S. and Graham, T. (2015) Developing a framework of effective prevention and response strategies in workplace sexual harassment. *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources*, 53,1, 41-58.
- McLaughlin, H., Uggen, C. and Blackstone, A. (2012) Sexual harassment, workplace authority, and the paradox of power. *American Sociological Review*, 77,4, 625-47.
- McRobbie, A. (2002) Clubs to Companies: notes on the decline of political culture in speeded up creative worlds. *Cultural Studies*, 16,4, 516-31.
- Mears, A. and Connell, C. (2016) The paradoxical value of deviant cases: toward a gendered theory of display work. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 41,2, 333-59.
- Michel, L.P. and Flasdick, J. (2009) *Zwischen Boom und Krise: Der Medien (arbeits) markt im 21. Jahrhundert*. Essen: MMB-Institut für Medien- und Kompetenzforschung.
- Mietzner, D. and Kamprath, M. (2013) A competence portfolio for professionals in the creative industries. *Creativity and Innovation Management*, 22,3, 280-94.
- Miles, M.B. and Huberman, A.M. (1994) *Qualitative data analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Neff, G., Wissinger, E. and Zukin, S. (2005) Entrepreneurial labor among cultural producers: 'cool' jobs in 'hot' industries. *Social Semiotics*, 15,3, 307-34.
- Nickson, D. and Warhurst, C. (2007) Opening Pandora's box: Aesthetic labour and hospitality. In Lashley, C. (ed.) *Hospitality: A Social Lens*. Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 155-71.

- Nixon, S. (2003) *Advertising cultures*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- O'Leary-Kelly, A.M., Bowes-Sperry, L., Bates, C.A. and Lean, E.R. (2009). Sexual harassment at work: a decade (plus) of progress. *Journal of Management*, 35, 503–36.
- Olson-Buchanan, J.B. and Boswell, W.R. (2008) An integrative model of experiencing and responding to mistreatment at work. *Academy of Management Review*, 33,1, 76–96.
- Perrons, D. (2003) The new economy and the work-life balance: a case study of new media in Brighton and Hove. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 10,1, 65–93.
- Power, D. and Nielsen, T. (2010) *Priority Sector Report: Creative and Cultural Industries*. Stockholm: European Cluster Observatory. Available at: <http://www.clusterobservatory.eu/common/galleries/downloads/CreativeAndCulturalIndustries.pdf> (last accessed 25 August 2015).
- Prentice, D.A. and Miller, D.T. (1996) Pluralistic ignorance and the perpetuation of social norms by unwitting actors. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 28, 161–209.
- Proctor-Thomson, S. (2013) Feminist futures of cultural work? Creativity, gender and difference in the digital media sector. In Banks, M., Gill, R. and Taylor, S. (eds.), *Theorizing Cultural Work. Labour, continuity and change in the cultural and creative industries*. Oxon: Routledge, pp. 137–49.
- Randle, K. and Kulkin, N. (2009) Getting in and getting on in Hollywood: freelance careers in an uncertain industry. In McKinlay, A. and Smith, C. (eds.) *Creative Labour*. London: Palgrave, pp. 93–115.
- Raven, B.H. (2008) The bases of power and the power/interaction model of interpersonal influence. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 8,1, 1–22.
- Rousseau, D.M. (1995) *Psychological contracts in organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Seymour, K. (2009) Women, gendered work and gendered violence: so much more than a job. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 16,2, 238–65.
- Shade, L.R. and Jacobson, J. (2015) Hungry for the job: gender, unpaid internships, and the creative industries. *The Sociological Review*, 63,5,1, 188–205.
- Schalk, R. and Roe, R.E. (2007) Towards a dynamic model of the psychological contract. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 27,2, pp. 167–82.
- Silverman, D. (2011) *Interpreting Qualitative Data*. London: Sage.
- Skillset (2010) 2010 *Creative Media Workforce Survey*. London: Skillset.
- Smith, C. and McKinlay, A. (2009) Creative Labour: Content, Contract and Control. In McKinlay, A. and Smith, C. (eds) *Creative Labour: Working in the Creative Industries*, London: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 29–50.
- Statistics Netherlands (2012a) *Helpt werknemers zorg heeft te maken met agressie op het werk*. Heerlen: Statistics Netherlands.
- Statistics Netherlands (2012b) *Sociaaleconomische trends*. Heerlen: Statistics Netherlands.
- Stemler, S. (2001) An overview of content analysis. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, 7,17, 1–5.
- Stockdale, M.S., Bisom Rapp, S., O'Connor, M. and Gutek, B.A. (2004) Coming to terms with zero tolerance sexual harassment policies. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice*, 4,1, 65–78.
- Stokes, A. (2015) The Glass Runway How Gender and Sexuality Shape the Spotlight in Fashion Design. *Gender & Society*, 29,2, 219–43.
- Taormina, R.J. (1997) Organizational socialization: A multidomain, continuous process model. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment*, 5,1, 29–47.
- Thanki, A. and Jeffreys, S. (2007) Who are the fairest? Ethnic segmentation in London's media production. *Work Organisation, Labour and Globalisation*, 1,1, 108–18.
- Timmerman, G. and Bajema, C. (1999) Incidence and methodology in sexual harassment research in northwest Europe. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 22,6, 673–81.
- Underhill, E. and Quinlan, M.G. (2011) How precarious employment affects health and safety at work: the case of temporary agency workers. *Industrial Relations*, 66,3, 397–421.
- United Nations (2010) *The World's Women 2010*. Available at: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/Worldswomen/WW_full%20report_color.pdf (last accessed 18 September 2015).
- United Nations (2013) *Creative Economy Report 2013*. Available at: www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/creativity/creative-economy-report-2013-special-edition/ (last accessed 15 September 2015).
- Valiente, C. (1998) Sexual harassment in the workplace. Equality policies in post authoritarian Spain. In Carver, T. and Mottier, V. (eds) *Politics of Sexuality. Identity, Gender, Citizenship*. London: Routledge, pp. 169–79.
- Volkskrant (2015) Twee docenten Theaterschool beschuldigd van relaties met studentes. Available at: <http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/twee-docenten-theaterschool-beschuldigd-van-relaties-met-studentes~a4101764/> (last accessed 16 July 2015).
- Warhurst, C. and Nickson, D. (2009) Who's got the look? Emotional, aesthetic and sexualized labour in interactive services. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 16,3, 385–404.
- Weber, R.P. (1990) *Basic Content Analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Welsh, S. (1999) Gender and sexual harassment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25, 169–90.
- Welsh, S. (2000) The multidimensional nature of sexual harassment: an empirical analysis of women's sexual harassment complaints. *Violence Against Women*, 6,2, 118–41.

- Wilkinson, R. (2011). Changing interactional behaviour: using conversation analysis in intervention programmes for aphasic conversation. In Antaki, C. (ed.) *Applied Conversation Analysis: Changing Institutional Practices*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 32–53.
- Williams, C.L. and Connell, C. (2010) Looking good and sounding right: aesthetic labor and social inequality in the retail industry. *Work and Occupations*, 37,3, 349–77.
- Wilson, F. and Thompson, P. (2001) Sexual harassment as an exercise of power. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 8,1, 61–83.
- Wissinger, E. (2012) Managing the semiotics of skin tone: race and aesthetic labor in the fashion modeling industry. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 33,1, 125–43.
- Wittel, A. (2001) Toward a network sociality. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 18,6, 51–76.
- Wreyford, N. (2015) Birds of a feather: informal recruitment practices and gendered outcomes for screenwriting work in the UK film industry. *The Sociological Review*, 63,S1, 84–96.

Biographical notes

Dawn Bennett is John Curtin Distinguished Professor of Higher Education, Director of the Creative Workforce Initiative and co-Chair of the Curtin Academy at Curtin University in Perth, Australia. Her research focus is the development of employability within higher education, including identity development and the nature of graduate work. A viola player, Dawn retains a special interest in careers in the creative industries and continues to engage in practice-based research. She is also a passionate advocate for the inclusion of Indigenous cultural competencies within higher education. Dawn is a National Senior Australian Learning and Teaching Fellow and Principal Fellow of the Higher Education Academy in the UK. She serves on several editorial boards, convenes the Australian Learning and Teaching Fellows' national network and is Vice-Chair Australia for the International Federation of National Teaching Fellows. She serves on the board of directors for International Society of Music Education (ISME) and as a commissioner with the ISME Commission for Education of the Professional Musician. Publications are listed at Academia.edu.

Sophie Hennekam is an Associate Professor at ESC La Rochelle School of Business and attached to IRGO (Institut de Recherche en Gestion des Organisations) in Bordeaux in France. Her research focus is identity and identity transitions, diversity and precarity, the creative industries and older workers. She has published in journals such as *Human Relations*, *Personnel Review*, *International Journal of Manpower* and *Employee Relations*.