SOUTH AUSTRALIAN FILM-MAKERS' PERSPECTIVES ON POLICIES: STATE AND FEDERAL FILM POLICIES AND THE REPRESENTATION OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN AUSTRALIAN FILMS

BY

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Contents

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the extent to which the federal and state government cultural and film funding policies have impacted on South Australian film-makers' capacity to seek funds to produce films that depict cultural diversity. It considers how these policies influence the types of Australian films that received funding. The South Australian and federal government's film policies have changed greatly over the past 40 years and a consideration of the outcomes and effects of these changes on the South Australian film-makers and their films form the basis of this research.

This thesis examines the impact of government policy on South Australian film-makers' creative projects using document analysis of government film policies and interviews with six South Australian film-makers to understand their perspectives on producing films representing cultural diversity. The research is concerned mostly with the ways film-makers deal with the policy changes over the years to simultaneously gain funding and produce culturally diverse films, and whether the policies affect the types of films being made at the time.

The thesis is theoretically framed within the creative and cultural industries and positioned in the field of film studies with particular focus on the South Australian film industry. It includes a brief examination of crowdfunding as an alternative to public funding as a means to increase depictions of cultural diversity in Australian films.

The thesis develops an analysis of the policy-driven changing priorities over four decades of film funding policies, assessing the balances achieved between cultural and commercial outcomes. Interviewed film-makers reveal the challenges of achieving the balance of creativity and commercial success for films depicting cultural diversity. The thesis concludes that more diverse means of funding films and a focus on culturally diverse story telling in film policies are necessary to encourage culturally diverse film-makers to produce and exhibit their films nationally and internationally.

DECLARATION

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint award of this degree.

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Signed: Linh Chung

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ACRONYMS

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ACA	Australia Council for the Arts
AFDC	Australian Film Development Corporation
AFTRS	Australian Film, Television and Radio School
AICSA	Arts Industry Council of South Australia
AIFF	Adelaide International Film Festival
AFC	Australian Film Commission
AFDC	Australian Film Development Corporation
CDF	Creative Development Fund
FFC	Film Finance Corporation
MRC	Media Resource Centre
NFSA	National Film and Sound Archive of Australia
NPEA	National Programme for Excellence in the Arts
QUT	Queensland University of Technology
SAFC	South Australian Film Corporation
SBS	Special Broadcasting Service Corporation
SLSA	State Library of South Australia
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

This introductory chapter explains how my interest in this topic developed and the approach I have taken to my research question, aims and objectives. It describes the research method I adopted and the potential significance of findings to stakeholders such as film-makers, before describing the South Australian film policy context. It concludes with a summary of the chapters in the thesis.

I am aware of the rigorous criteria to which all film-makers must be subjected when applying for government funding. As an avid consumer of the arts and other cultural pursuits in South Australia, however, I am often befuddled as to why so many culturally diverse creative projects fail to secure government funding or are rejected, despite the apparent high standard and quality of the proposed work, and potentially appealing creative content that is inoffensive to the ordinary audience.

I understand the government funding cuts to the arts sector are based on budget constraints and the slowing economic climate, yet there are alternative methods of funding the arts that offer the artists greater flexibility and increased control of their work. One of these methods is crowdfunding. On the website Pozible, I have contributed to culturally diverse crowdfunding film projects with appealing genres. I have watched many Australian films and do not see enough representation of cultural diversity in terms of race/ethnicity. I have noticed more Indigenous films and film-makers become more prominent and their films become critically acclaimed and successful, including films by Aboriginal film-makers Rachel Perkins and Warwick Thornton. I have watched television series that depict cultural diversity, mostly on the ABC and SBS, and yet, compared to television, films lack greater representation of cultural diversity.

I am not an arts practitioner or policy-maker and I conducted this research from the perspective of a researcher. Pursuing this thesis has developed my understanding of the processes and practices of government film policy for South Australian films in the overall creative industry in the state and in the country. As part of the thesis, I explore the impact of crowdfunding as a possible response to diminishing government arts funding, but the research does not present definitive answers to the challenges of film

diversity. The representation of cultural diversity is a main concern of this thesis and forms a key element of the research question:

> *To what extent does government cultural policy impact on its film policy by contributing to a difficult funding environment for South Australian film-makers to make the types of films they want to make, including films depicting cultural diversity?*

The next section describes the South Australian film industry and the policy that underpins the claims of the significance of the research.

1.1 South Australian film industry and South Australian film-makers

South Australia has a long history of progressive cultural policy with respect to the arts and Australian film-funding and production in particular. Well known successful South Australian films include *Picnic at Hanging Rock* and *Sunday Too Far Away from 1975*,[1] 1976 *Storm Boy* and the 1979 film *Breaker Morant* (Turnour 2012: n.p.). Established by the Dunstan government in 1972 as a statutory body under an Act of Parliament, the South Australian Film Corporation (SAFC) was the first state-based and government-supported film funding body in Australia; its purpose was "to stimulate and encourage the formation and continued development of a [state-based] film industry" (Flinders University 2018:n.p.). This gives significance to researching the South Australian film industry and its film-makers to explore the effect of cultural policy and funding on the film industry.

The policy analysis covers 40 years of South Australian film-making, from the inception of the SAFC in the 1970s to the early 2010s. As changes to government policy take decades to implement and the changes to Australian culture shift gradually over time, this scope allows exploration of the SAFC's changing nature, from a funding and

[1] *Picnic at Hanging Rock* and *Sunday Too Far Away* had different modes of production. *Sunday Too Far Away* was produced by the SAFC while *Picnic at Hanging Rock* was independently produced and SAFC acted as an investor in the project. (OzMovies n.d.a and OzMovies n.d.b)

production facility for films to a purely grants-funding administrator for South Australian films (Samios 2018:n.p.).

1.2 Budget cuts to the screen industry and arts industry

The thesis will show how governments have supported the arts in Australia over the past several decades. Annual reports of government spending show that arts sectors still receive funding and the portfolio of the arts minister still exists at state and federal level. However, owing to budget constraints, public funding for the arts has gradually declined over the past few decades, with the screen industry hit particularly hard. For example, the Coalition government cut funds to Screen Australia for the third time in 18 months from mid-2014 to late 2015 and proposed to use the savings as grants to attract more big-budget Hollywood movie studios to film in Australia (Brennan 2015:n.p.). The cuts mean Screen Australia could expect to lose $38 million over four years (Needham 2014:n.p.), with $47.3 million diverted to Hollywood studios to bring "popular commercial productions to Australia" (Grishin 2016:n.p.).

Part of the Coalition's government's cuts included withdrawing funding from 65 arts companies and organisations (Croggon 2016:n.p.). No clear reason was given for the cuts other than the government's claim that the money could be used elsewhere. The government did not elaborate on this, and there was some speculation from the media that funding cuts were needed and the arts sector was the easiest place to make those cuts. Some independent media, such as the *Daily Review*, claimed that it was Arts Minister George Brandis's "ideological attack" on the arts industry that resulted in the defunding of arts companies and funding cuts (Gill 2017:n.p.).

1.3 Defining cultural diversity in Australia

The term 'representation of cultural diversity' will be used throughout this thesis and I will give a definition appropriate to this research that relates to the Australian film industry and Australian identity.

From the broader perspective of this thesis, cultural diversity is viewed as both a practice and a process. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO's) *Universal declaration on cultural diversity* (2001) encompasses an overall understanding of cultural diversity. The Declaration describes

it as a socio-political ideal that governments use to put forward policies to promote social cohesion within a country, social exchange between different countries, and innovation. Written following the attacks on various sites in the US on September 11 2001[2], it provides a wide-ranging and universal definition of cultural diversity. The Declaration:

> … aims to preserve cultural diversity as a living and renewable treasure that must not be perceived as being unchanging heritage but as a process guaranteeing the survival of humanity; and to prevent segregation and fundamentalism which, in the name of cultural differences, would sanctify those differences and so counter the message of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (Matsuura 2001:1)

One that aligns more closely with Australia's cultural diversity is Caleb Rosado's (2010:n.p.) definition of multiculturalism:

> Multiculturalism is a system of beliefs and behaviours that recognises and respects the presence of all diverse groups in an organisation or society, acknowledges and values their socio-cultural differences, and encourages and enables their continued contribution within an inclusive cultural context which empowers all within the organisation or society.

Rosado's definition is also apt for the representations of cultural diversity in Australian films. Although his definition relates to multiculturalism, Australia tends to use the terms 'cultural diversity' and 'multiculturalism' interchangeably, as seen in the cultural policy document *The People of Australia: Australia's* Multicultural Policy'. (Department of Immigration and Citizenship [DIC] 2011b)

The Gillard government launched the multicultural policy 'The People of Australia: Australia's Multicultural Policy' in February 2011 using 'multiculturalism' instead of 'cultural diversity', but on examining the policy's vision of Australia as a country with

[2] The significance of the UNESCO Declaration's date of inception shows an attempt to address the increased anti-Muslim sentiment following the September 11 attacks on the US in 2001 (Racism Review 2010).

diverse cultures, both terms appear to have the same meaning. This vision is reflected in the four principles that underpin this multicultural policy (DIC 2011b):

> **Principle 1**: **The Australian Government celebrates and values the benefits of cultural diversity for all Australians, within the broader aims of national unity, community harmony and maintenance of our democratic values.**
>
> Diverse cultural expression enriches all Australians and makes our multicultural nation more vibrant and creative. An enduring theme of Australia's multicultural policy is that everyone belongs. We celebrate diversity and recognise that expressions of diversity sit within Australia's national legal framework.
>
> **Principle 2: The Australian Government is committed to a just, inclusive and socially cohesive society where everyone can participate in the opportunities that Australia offers and where government services are responsive to the needs of Australians from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds.**
>
> Australians from all backgrounds will be given every opportunity to participate in and contribute to Australia and its social, economic and cultural life. Australians from all backgrounds are also entitled to receive equitable access to government services. The Government will strengthen its access and equity policies to ensure that government programs and services are responsive to the needs of Australia's culturally and linguistically diverse communities. Australia's multicultural policy aligns with the Government's Social Inclusion Agenda where Australians of all backgrounds feel valued and can participate in our society.
>
> **Principle 3: The Australian Government welcomes the economic, trade and investment benefits which arise from our successful multicultural nation.**
>
> Immigration brings much needed skills and labour. It has also given us energy, ingenuity and enterprise. Immigration and cultural diversity have created economic renewal and prosperity in our communities. Our trade relations have been strengthened, our business horizons broadened and we have become more open to the world. Our diversity of cultures and our multilingual workforce give Australia a distinct competitive advantage in the global economy.

> **Principle 4: The Australian Government will act to promote understanding and acceptance while responding to expressions of intolerance and discrimination with strength, and where necessary, with the force of the law.** (DIA 2011b)

The four principles of the Gillard government's multicultural policy are the main aspects of multiculturalism that relate to creating a national Australian identity. They can be summarised as being part of the nation's core values, which form the idea of a national identity. Principle 1 relates to the government's cultural policy of creating a national identity where all Australians of diverse cultures feel a sense of belonging to the greater society and where social inclusion results in cultural harmony and the recognition of the cultural diversity as significant to Australia's democratic values. Anthony Moran (2011:2153) argues that "an inclusive national identity can accommodate and support multiculturalism, and serve as an important source of cohesion and unity in ethnically and culturally diverse societies".

This fear or threat is often symbolised in Australian films as an outsider, often of a different cultural background, arriving in a town and disrupting the local residents' way of life. A film that embraces the view of a multiculturally inclusive national Australian identity is the 2011 film *Red Dog*, in which an American bus driver and global traveller (played by Josh Lucas) arrives in Western Australia's Pilbara region occupied by a culturally diverse group of workers and befriends a Red Cloud Kelpie dog. One that presents a suspicious view of a homogenised national identity where all the characters are white Australians is the 2015 film *The Dressmaker*. In this film, the title character leaves the town as a youngster in 1926 and returns 25 years later to care for her ill and mentally unstable mother.

The Dressmaker was set in the 1920s–1950s, when the White Australia policy (the official government policy from 1901 to the 1960s) was active and favoured white European migrants. British actor Kate Winslet played the lead role, which may have been the producer's attempt to reflect the tight ties Australia still had with Britain. The film reflected the lack of cultural diversity of the time. Under the White Australia policy, Australia's national identity was built on the "inherited concepts of ethnicity, race and religion … Australians were British, white, and/or Anglo-Celtic and Christian" (Davison 2009). *Red Dog* was set in the 1970s, by which time the White Australia policy had

been abandoned. Multiculturalism began to emerge in the Australian Government's policy and more migrants came to settle and work in Australia. This is reflected in the film *Red Dog*, which depicted workers in the Pilbara region from many countries, including China, Italy, Poland and the United States.

The *Australian immigration* fact sheet (DIC 2011b) describes three important new initiatives supporting the four principles set out in the multicultural policy:

1. The Australian Multicultural Council (AMC) – a new independent body to replace the current Australian Multicultural Advisory Council. The AMC will advise and consult on policies and emerging issues to inform a national multicultural Australian strategy.

2. A National Anti-Racism Partnership and Strategy – a partnership arrangement between various government departments. It will include extensive consultations with non-government organisations and draw together expertise on anti-racism and multicultural matters.

3. A Multicultural Youth Sports Partnership Programme – a programme to connect youth from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds into neighbourhood sports and community organisations.

The supporting initiatives interpret and apply Australia's multicultural policy to a wider community context. They promote inclusion in community activities and programmes for culturally diverse communities. This is relevant to the screen industry, as films can reflect social inclusion or exclusion in story-telling and characterisations on screen.

The policy principles align closely with those of UNESCO. The *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* defines culture as "the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (UNESCO 2001).

The film industry plays a part in exhibiting these cultural and societal values through storytelling and representation of cultural diversity in ways that can reflect the Australian Government's multicultural policy. How well, however, does the federal government's commitment to Australia's multicultural policy translate to Australian film?

I argue that government film policies do not reflect the multicultural policy to some extent. Film policies appear to seek out and grant funds to diverse screen projects, however, the film policy does not directly stipulate the aspect of diverse cultural representation in films as a criterion of funding. Furthermore, the aspect of diverse cultural representation in films is somewhat assumed when funds are granted, whether or not the films are deemed commercially viable. This leaves film-makers needing to consider their use of funds from government and other investors in making a film depicting diverse cultural representation as a major factor of the film. A film that displays culturally diverse representation and has niche and limited appeal may be unlikely to attract sufficient financial returns at the box office and may appear less viable, when compared to a film that displays culturally diverse representation and has broad appeal due to well-known performers and directors. I see film-making as a risk-averse business, as there is no easy or obvious way to predict or determine a film's commercial success before production.

I believe it is important that government film policy reflects the reality of Australia's culturally diverse society. Instead, the Australian films I watch nowadays appear to reflect the impact of film policies that prioritise commercial success over cultural diversity. I argue that, as part of its film policy, the government should continue to fund films as part of collaborative funding with private investors. If decisions about film funding and marketing are left entirely for private investors and the commercial market, cultural diversity will take a further backseat to profits and film-makers' creativity will be even harder to express. I also encourage governments to continue co-producing and co-financing screen productions with other countries to foster good foreign relations and to place Australian films on the international stage. This should remain part of government film policy.

I argue against making deep funding cuts to the Australian screen industry. Fewer funds directed towards Australian screen projects means fewer opportunities for film-makers to get their projects produced and exhibited. This relates partly to the selection process by which government film-funding bodies choose which creative projects to fund and which to reject.

1.4 Aims and objectives

This research aims to:

1. understand how government policy has affected the representation of cultural diversity in Australian films
2. consider strategies for more effective collaboration between the government film-funding bodies and film-makers in developing film policy that increases representation of cultural diversity in Australian films
3. evaluate the effectiveness of alternative and government film-funding sources in the representation of cultural diversity in Australian films.

I achieve this aim by:

1. producing empirical data on the key changes to film-funding policies and practices over the past 40 years, specifically 1975-2015, of the South Australian film industry
2. canvassing the views of film producers and funders to gain deeper insight into how government public policies and funding practices affect the representation of cultural diversity in Australian films.

1.5 Approach

Data were collected through document analysis and semi-structured interviews. Documents were accessed from the University of Adelaide and State library online archived material, including published interviews with film-makers on websites and in books/journals/magazines; state and federal government annual budget reports; film funding bodies' online material; film and entertainment websites such as IMDb/Box Office Mojo and Rotten Tomatoes; and news websites such as ABC/SBS/Fairfax Media/News Corporation. These data were used to create a government cultural policy timeline and a film history timetable for South Australian films, thus making it possible to trace changes to film policy and outcomes over time.

The results of the document analysis (film history timeline and policy timeline) and the interviews were used to:

- identify the key changes in South Australian film funding policy and practices over the past 40 years, specifically 1975-2015 for the SAFC-funded film table.
- to understand possible factors that have influenced the changes.

The analysis aids in understanding the important role and relationships film-makers have with state government and affiliated agencies in making films that boost the economy and contribute to the nation's cultural identity.

The research data were used to evaluate:

- the implications of current government funding policies and practices for the future of the film industry
- whose benefit policy changes have served
- how the policies may be changed to ensure and encourage greater representation of cultural diversity in film projects.

Data from semi-structured interviews were used to understand how film policy impacts on South Australian film-makers' creative projects and how they gain film financing from various sources to make culturally diverse films.

1.6 Significance

This research contributes to the discipline of film studies, to South Australian films and to South Australian film-makers. It contributes to the scholarship of the South Australian film industry and its film-makers by providing a deeper, considered analysis of the impact government film-funding decisions may have on representations of cultural diversity in Australian films.

From an academic perspective, the research helps to better delineate the consequences of creative and cultural government policies for the arts and creative industries locally and nationally, particularly the film industry. The research finds that closer collaboration between film-makers and government policy makers results in more effective outcomes in funding Australian films that are culturally diverse. The research findings help to inform government policy by providing effective ways to improve film policy to make Australian films that represent cultural diversity.

Economic success is important for every government, but representation of cultural diversity is equally important, because it reflects ourselves and our national values as Australians by telling Australian stories with Australian voices and people. This thesis shows how South Australian film-makers can find ways to achieve greater representation of cultural diversity in their films through diverse sources of funding.

1.7 Thesis outline

Chapter 1: Introduction described how the thesis examines the representation of cultural diversity in Australian films and explores whether government film policy really does promote or lead to film-makers producing more culturally diverse films that represent a culturally diverse Australian society. The thesis presents the insights and experiences of South Australian film-makers and film producers to explore how they sought finances to fund their films and whether this led to their films depicting strong or weak cultural diversity. The interviews provide insight into how successful or unsuccessful film-makers were in obtaining government funding and whether or not the type of film they wanted to make had any effect on the result, particularly if it had a culturally diverse cast and crew.

The interviewees include film funders and film producers. Some of the interviewees had extensive screen industry careers that included work in both arts administration and the creative side of film-making. This is a key strength of this research, as it will be useful to compare the interviewees' experiences in both roles: as recipients of and decision-makers in film-funding.

Briefly considered is whether changes in technology have the potential to improve representation of cultural diversity. The crowdfunding platform Pozible is the Australian equivalent to America's Kickstarter. It is a site where film-makers and other artists can create a funding campaign to raise money from members of the public for any stage of their creative projects. The investors in turn receive a small reward of appreciation at the end of the funding campaign if the campaign reaches its funding goal. This type of fundraising for film projects is significant. It allows film producers more artistic freedom and expression, thus enabling greater representation of cultural diversity than might otherwise be possible.

The thesis asks about South Australian film-makers' experiences of the current film-funding environment and whether or not government film policy leads to film-makers producing more culturally diverse films that represent a culturally diverse Australian society.

Chapter 2: Literature Review is a review of the relevant literature, focussing on the South Australian film industry with reference to the national cinema industry, national identity, and creative and cultural industries in South Australia. Crowdfunding is briefly explored as an alternative funding method for diverse cultural representation in Australian films. The emergence of crowdfunding in Australia has brought about changes to the ways film-makers fund, distribute, exhibit and promote their creative projects. It may be seen as a response to government cuts to arts funding or the regimented and long film funding application process in traditional film funding models.

Chapter 3: Methods outlines the qualitative methods used to gather data, including data sourced from libraries, state and federal annual reports, mainstream and independent media in hardcopy and online, news and entertainment websites and other ephemeral material. It outlines the procedures for conducting the research interviews and provides a list of the interview questions, which were semi-structured to gain more nuanced and insightful responses.

Chapter 4: Document Analysis examines the policy documents relating to film policy and the government's multicultural policy. The chapter analyses the relevance of the multicultural policy, its impact on film policy and the consequent production of films that depict cultural diversity in Australian films. Table A.1 Cultural diversity in SAFC-funded films (see Appendix A) indicates the presence of cultural diversity in SAFC-produced and funded films. Timelines are provided for public cultural policies and film funding policies, revealing their evolution and the influence of the former on the latter.

Chapter 5: Interview Analysis analyses the film producers' interview data to provide insight into changes to film policy and the emergence of more culturally diverse representation in films and film-making. The interviews explore South Australian film-makers' experiences and their perspectives of the past 40 years of the film industry in South Australia and Australia. They reveal how the film-makers negotiate the tensions between the need to seek funds to make a commercially viable feature film and the requirement to make films that tell culturally diverse Australian stories. It is found that

South Australian film-makers seek funds from various sources and support traditional funding, but that may not be enough to make the films they want or films that depict cultural diversity.

Chapter 6: Conclusion calls for Australian state and federal governments to use a mixed approach to funding films and adjust their funding initiatives to offer producers greater tax rebates and incentives to make films reflecting Australia's cultural diversity. This will help film producers to make more films in Australia that reflect Australia's cultural diversity, while also funding Hollywood films to be produced and filmed in Australia. The potential use of crowdfunding is suggested as an alternative to government film-funding bodies or as a launchpad for film-makers to increase their chances of gaining funding from those bodies.

The films *The Babadook* and *The Rover* are used as examples in two brief case studies of South Australian–funded and produced films to demonstrate how collaborative funding by alternative methods and traditional funding affects representation of cultural diversity in Australian films.

Based on a consideration of funding policies, the films produced and interviewees' perspectives, the thesis concludes that film funding in South Australia needs to be made more accessible to film-makers and a collaborative funding model may achieve this. The thesis also concludes that the effects of cultural policy on film policy in depicting cultural diversity in Australian films may be subtle or arbitrary in nature, as a film's success or commercial viability is challenging to predict.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This literature review offers an overview of the existing research on South Australian and Australian creative and cultural industries and the scholarship on Australian cultural and film policies spanning 40 years. Researchers have studied the influence of government cultural policy on forming a national identity, and the part played by Australia's film industry. They inform us of the significant role cultural diversity in society plays and how greater representation of cultural diversity in Australian films has a unifying effect.

In the South Australian film industry and film policies (as revealed through funding incentives) there has been increased contribution of Indigenous film-makers and greater representation of Indigenous people in Australian films (Hickling-Hudson 1990:264; Hamilton 1990:33); Turner 1988), with some films featuring Asians (Hamilton 1990:4; Khoo 2006:45; Henderson and Jetnikoff 2013:37). Representations of Middle Eastern people in Australian films are rare and they are portrayed negatively in mainstream broadcast media as a result of anti-Muslim sentiment (Kabir 2006:313).

The SAFC and other film-funding agencies have included special initiatives and programmes that encourage and nurture Aboriginal film-makers and actors to tell Aboriginal stories featuring Indigenous individuals in lead roles (Screen Australia 2018:n.p.; Frater 2018:n.p.). The literature review examines the past 40 years of SAFC's changing film policies and the emergence of the Indigenous Film Unit, which plays an important role in increasing the representation of cultural diversity, in particular Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, in Australian films.

Crowdfunding is growing globally as an alternative to government funding for creative projects (Laycock 2016:112; Fanea-Ivanovici 2018:79). Many emerging film-makers from around the world are utilising online crowdfunding platforms such as Pozible and Kickstarter for a variety of projects, including to produce films with greater representation of cultural diversity.

2.2 The creative and cultural industries in Australia

Although Australians have been making films since the early twentieth century and in 1906 an Australian silent film, *The Story of the Kelly Gang*, was the world's first full-length narrative feature film (Chichester 2007:n.p.), it was 54 years later that government funding of feature films began in the 1960s. Screen Australia's national cultural policy submission (2011:7) noted how over the past few decades, government film policies are implemented in line with the national cultural policy, creating a national cinema that would provide a cultural identity for Australians and a way for others to see Australia and its citizens.

The significance of film funding policy lies in its relevance to two equally important and conflicting discourses: the need to create and grow a nation's economy on the one hand, while empowering and enlightening the citizens through cultural identity on the other. The South Australian creative industries are the main focus of the next section, and the federal government is mentioned in relation to co-funding production. The thesis explores the film industry as specifically Australian in identity and as a generic commercial industry based in Australia. These distinctions are important in understanding the effects of globalisation and co-financing of film productions on film funding policies and decision-making. These issues also emerge from interviews conducted for this thesis.

2.2.1 A national film industry in Australia

Dermody and Jacka (1987) described the term 'Australian film industry' as complicated by assumptions about the meanings of 'Australian' and 'film industry' and the ability for a film industry to slide into a cultural industry. The fundamentally different logics and appeals of 'film industry' and 'cultural industry' create a tension: the former refers to investment to realise a profit, whereas the latter proposes that films contribute to the richness and preservation of Australian history and national identity (Dermody and Jacka 1987:16). This tension is apparent in governments' dual aims for the film industry to be both financially successful and to reflect Australia's creative and cultural identity. This paradox complicates funding applications for film makers, who need to satisfy the criteria set by government bodies while also including greater representation of cultural diversity in their films. In the earlier days of film funding in

the 1960s, the government was concerned with the cultural imperatives of the film industry, but soon the cultural policies came to matter less and financial outcomes for government-funded films became more significant (Bertrand and Collins 1981:12).

Film scholars such as Dermody and Jacka (1987) and Bertrand and Collins (1981) have suggested that the revival of Australian cinema and the birth of the Australian film industry began in the 1970s with government intervention to help produce quality films for the national and international markets. South Australia became a leader of this rebirth of Australian cinema and was the first state to establish its own film corporation. The SAFC, a statutory film production body, was established in 1972 under an Act of Parliament by Premier Don Dunstan. Other states soon followed. In 1975, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam created the Australian Film Commission, which succeeded and expanded on John Gorton's Australian Film Development Corporation[3].

A key aspect that defined the Australian film revival in the 1970s was the necessity of government support in financing film production and the cinema's role as ambassador of national cultural identity. In contextualising relevance to the debate, film academic McFarlane (1987:20) argued that government intervention was crucial for the development of an Australian film industry, and government financial support was needed to increase the quantity and quality of Australian films. The national identity objective in film policy became an important factor in cultural policy making; it reflected a desire to convey a national identity through film and to project that image internationally for diplomacy and trade purposes (Shirley and Adams 1983:249).

The former Australian Film Institute, now known as the Australian Academy of Cinema and Television Arts, lobbied the government to support policies for the development of an Australian film industry (Ward 2005:57).

[3] The Australian Film Development Corporation was established by federal legislation in 1970-1973 as a corporation to encourage the making of Australian cinematographs and television films and encouraged the distribution of such films within and outside Australia (Australian Government Federal Register of Legislation n.d.).

One of the debates arising from the key policies and which caused tension between the local industry and foreign production companies was the idea of what constituted Australian film and Australian film culture. The debate raised arguments over the characteristics needed for an Australian film to be commercially successful on the international market. Eventually it was agreed that “a film which exhibits both quality and craftsmanship and national characteristics is most likely to achieve international acceptance” (Ward 2005:57).

In 1975, the Whitlam government established the Australian Film Commission (AFC) to replace the Gorton government’s Australian Film and Development Corporation. It encouraged the AFC to form closer ties with film industry professionals, including those with some knowledge of or direct experience in film-making. However, the AFC’s status was often disputed. Should it be either directly government-controlled or have statutory authority in policy and decision-making? By 1975, the AFC was granted statutory authority with “the power to award grants, and oblige exhibitors to show a quota of short films that were certified as Australian and promote film archival activity” (Shirley and Adams 1983:271).

In 1978, the government had introduced Section 10B in the *Income Tax Assessment Act 1936* to provide 100% deduction on capital expenditure in film production. In 1981, Section 10BA was introduced, providing a 150/50 tax benefit constituting 150% deduction on capital expenditure and tax exemption on a film’s earnings of up to 50% of the value of the original investment (AFC, 2006a). The taxation measures of Section 10B and 10BA sought to encourage and promote cultural identity through film, although a common criticism of the section 10BA scheme was that films did not need to be commercially successful to serve their purpose as a tax write-off.

Throughout the 1980s, the federal government sought to fund an Australian film industry through tax support for investments in Australian film production. Therefore, the role of government shifted from direct funding of Australian films to indirectly supporting the commercial industry through tax incentives. The tensions caused by the role of government in directly funding feature films provided an opportunity for the film industry to lobby for tax concessions to encourage private investment in the film sector (Dermody and Jacka 1987:68-69).

By the late 1980s, tax concessions for Australian film production investment were wound back owing to perceptions of tax evasion and production of low-quality films. In the 1990s, the government continued to seek greater commercial orientation for the film industry by encouraging foreign film production in Australia, such as filming of Hollywood features in Australia. A tax offset would be applied to the production of Hollywood films in Australia with support from the Australian studio complexes. In the early 2000s, in addition to this tax offset, the government facilitated foreign participation in the local film industry through further tax incentives (Burns and Eltham 2010:103-118).

In 2001, the federal government introduced Division 376 in the *Income Tax Assessment Act 1997,* providing a 12.5% tax rebate for Australian films that cost more than $15 million to produce (Burns and Eltham 2010:103-118). These new tax incentives, designed to attract more private investment to the local film industry, signalled another shift from the role of the state as a major financier to foreign investors as a more dominant source of funding for the Australian film industry. Burns and Eltham (2010) suggested that the government's scaling back of the 10BA taxation provision in order to introduce Division 376, thus encouraging more Hollywood investment in offshore production in Australia, further departs from the national cultural objective of the 1970s and leans towards a commercialised agenda.

2.2.2 An evolving cultural remit

Overall, these policy changes show the evolution of Australia's cultural policy and its effect on the Australian film industry, where the initial intervention by government was to create a film industry using nationalistic ideas to form a national identity through a national cinema. Over the course of four decades, Australia's cultural policies in relation to the film industry have moved from nationalism to commercialism, with tax incentives and increased private investment further keeping the government at arms' length from direct financing of Australian films. This course of change for Australia's cultural policy for the film industry may have been intentional. Former Prime Minister John Gorton stated in 1970 about the *Australian Film Development Corporation Act 1970*:

> The Corporation will seek to encourage the production of films which are box office successes and which have those excellences of production…which

> justify the description of 'high quality'… We believe that after a period of time properly made investments will be returning profits to the Corporation and there will be no need to replenish the fund each year. That is our objective and the measure of the scheme's success will be judged partly on this. (Dermody and Jacka 1987:74)

By this time, it could be argued that the government's restructuring of film policies to support foreign investment in local film production and Hollywood offshore production in Australia had begun to blur the distinction between national culturalism and internationalism.

One sign of this was the rise in the number of Australian films depicting multicultural themes during the late 1990s and early 2000s, as the government film funding bodies sought connections with film financing bodies in other countries. Another outcome of the government's film policy changes was an emphasis on commercial viability for government-funded films: films now needed to show market potential to be funded. Burns and Eltham (2010) noted how the emphasis on commercialism in the Australian film industry is highlighted by the government's justification that a sustainable film sector should attract profitable foreign productions and investments rather than simply satisfy a national cultural agenda.

Burnham and Eltham (2010) described the changes to government film policies as involving not only institutional restructuring of the role of the state as a film industry financial facilitator, but also a renewed position on achieving the dual objectives of producing a commercially oriented film industry that also satisfies national cultural policy objectives. They further noted that the tensions and conflicts between industry and lobby groups regarding the contradictory nature of the government's film policy development and implementation resulted in a compromise between industry commercialism and a national cultural agenda.

2.2.3 Culture and the cultural and creative industries

The creative industries cannot be discussed adequately without mention of the cultural industries and are significant in positioning the film-makers and film funders within the two industries. Both terms are contestable and can be used for similar activities. However, it is the ways in which activities that are part of the cultural and creative

industries intermingle and how the two categories are used by governments to form public policies that may be used to differentiate them.

2.2.3.1 From culture industries to cultural industries

'Culture industries' was the first concept used by scholars to acknowledge and establish relevance to society's economic and cultural development. The term was initially used during the 1930s and 1940s by proponents of the Frankfurt School to critique the dangers of mass media and entertainment as government propaganda. Frankfurt School theorists (including for example Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer) used the concept of culture industries to express their disgust at the success of fascist governments, arguing that media were used for propaganda and ideological persuasion (Horkheimer and Adorno 1944:41).

The crux of their argument was that popular culture churns out products in the standardised manner of factories, thereby culture industries mass-produce cultural goods, such as film, books and magazines, to pacify the mass population and cultivate false needs in people during tough economic times. For example, during World War II, Adolf Hitler had used film as a means of arousing and encouraging patriotic pride in Germans. He commissioned Leni Riefenstahl's film *Triumph of the Will*, and any form of literature that did not align with the Nazi ideology was seized and burnt. The Frankfurt School thinkers feared such influence from those in power through the use of popular culture and the media of film, radio and literature would control the message being produced and disseminated (Horkheimer and Adorno 1944:56).

The term 'creative industries' can be confused with the term 'cultural industry'. Cultural industry is the term UNESCO uses for creative industries. Over the years, however, it has abandoned the term 'cultural industry' and switched to 'creative industries' (UNESCO n.d.).

The terms have sometimes been used interchangeably. Galloway and Stewart (2007:29) argued that in relation to public policy, cultural industries and creative industries are two separate entities and that situating cultural activities and products within the creative industries will be problematic and will likely:

> … bury this vital cultural policy objective and will miss the point about the important public benefits provided by culture. Public support for culture simply

> recognises that it provides public benefits that cannot be captured through free markets and the way of viewing the cultural sector as part of the wider creative economy simply subsumes it within an economic agenda to which it is ill-suited.

Nevertheless, Galloway and Dunlop (2007:29) noted that the majority of governments around the world continue to place culture within the creative economy with an emphasis on economic output arising from creative products.

The following section is a history of the term ‘creative industries’ internationally and how different countries have applied the concept.

2.2.3.2 The emergence of creative industries

The notion of creative industries has been evolving since it was first coined by the former British Prime Minister Tony Blair in his 1998 *Creative Industries Task Force Mapping Document*, which defined creative industries as “activities which have their origins in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (Department of Culture, Media and Sport [DCMS], UK Government 1998). Blair’s definition of creative industries covered the following industries: television, theatre and radio, designer fashion, film, advertising, architecture, music, interactive leisure software, arts and antique markets, publishing and crafts.

This definition of creative industries was significant to Australian state and federal governments’ attempts to boost the national economy by unifying the individual arts communities and groups in the creative sector to form an industry. This would make it easier for exporting, trade and the mobility of creative industries workforces internationally.

This concept of creative industries has since expanded and evolved into different understandings of its practical and economic nature for governments worldwide. Blair restructured the Department of Heritage to the Department of Culture, Media and Sport. A main criticism of Blair’s definition in his document was the omission of any heritage-related institutions and practices, such as museums and art galleries, which were seen to contribute economically to the state and whose maintenance involved individual creativity and national funding (Cunningham 2003:2).

Over time, the commercial and financial benefits of the creative industries were given more emphasis and importance than individual creativity. I argue that the Australian film finance body Screen Australia holds this view of the creative industries, however, other state-based film funding bodies vary. As a national government film financing body, Screen Australia would have a greater interest in the commercial success of films funded and produced with its support, whereas state film bodies are likely to see economic benefit in local employment and tourism to their regions.

South Australia and the eastern states aim to gain wider benefits than direct financial returns from their films' success. For example, when filming begins in a small rural town or a remote area, the local businesses also reap the related commercial rewards of increased spending and consumption. The filming locations may also become a tourist attraction for local, interstate or overseas visitors, bringing money into the state and further boosting the state's profile. They can form part of city or regional branding. This was the case for the Coorong in South Australia, where the 1976 Australian film *Storm Boy* was filmed and Uluru in the Northern Territory, near which 1994's *The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert* was filmed.

2.2.4 Australian creative industries

Business analyst John Howkins (2002:1) claimed that "the concept of the creative industry [that] emerged in Australia in the early 1990s" was influenced mostly by the then Prime Minister Paul Keating's *Creative Nation* policy in October 1994 and also in some ways by Blair's 1990s *Creative industries* report in the UK (DCMS 1998).

Keating had unveiled his *Creative Nation* government policy (Department of Communication and the Arts, 1994) as a way to declare government support and encouragement of the creative arts, which has been used in the continuous debate over Australia's national identity. Academic Graeme Turner (2009) said of Australian films during the 1970s and 1980s that the "products of the Australian film industry were expected to tell 'our' stories to 'our' audiences, while also collaborating in the construction of the image of a culturally rich and diverse Australia for overseas consumption" (Hughes in Sarwal and Sarwal 2009:73).

Debates about national identity are relevant to government policies and practices of granting funds to film-makers, since part of the government's interest is not only to

ensure the films are commercially successful, but also to promote Australian values and culture through a national cinema.

The definition of creative industries that emerged under Tony Blair's UK Labor government in 1997 made creative industries decisively a part of public policy (Banks and O'Connor 2009:367; Flew 2002a:4; Caust 2003:52). Blair's definition emphasised the individual's creative talent as a key component in producing potential wealth and creating jobs. Because many government policy makers tend to overlook this aspect of the definition when outlining criteria for arts funding or arts policies and practices for the creative industries, there is usually little mention or action of collaboration between government and film-makers as part of arts policies for the creative industries agenda.

The concept of creative industries spread to other countries including Australia, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, where the diverse use of the concept enabled countries to implement changes to public policy agendas for cultural or economic benefit. For example, Taiwan sought to "diversify its economy and strengthen its cultural output by moving from indigenous cultural expression to games" (Hartley 2005:22) and in New Zealand it was used for national branding and screen production.

The creative industries concept for Australia was conceived largely in Queensland at the Queensland University of Technology (QUT), where the university worked with the government and industry to research and develop a creative industry that is "innovation-led, knowledge intensive and highly exportable" (QUT 2018:n.p.). The QUT's definition of creative industries includes the sectors of architecture, design and visual arts; music and the performing arts; film, radio and television; writing and publishing; advertising and marketing; and creative software applications. As with the Blair government's definition of creative industries, there is no mention of cultural heritage institutions such as art galleries and museums.

2.2.5 South Australian creative industries

All the Australian states, territories and capital cities began developing their own local creative industries, largely following the Blair government's creative industries model. State-based film industries became a major part of the creative industries in terms of generating jobs, promoting the state and creating other economic benefits locally. South Australia's creative industries continue to thrive and evolve as the state

government continues to support the arts industry by sponsoring events and festivals such as the Adelaide Festival and the Adelaide International Film Festival.[4]

Attempting to define South Australia's creative industries is a challenge because of the changing nature of participants, as well as the merging and overlapping cultural and creative policies and the emergence of technology that moves South Australia's creative industries into the digital age. Academics Jane Andrew and John Spoehr claimed that a holistic approach is useful to "understand the complex systems of agents and institutions that underpin creativity and innovation in cities" (2007:823). The holistic approach enables creativity to be "viewed as a quality that underpins innovation throughout and economy and community rather than in a few industry sectors or occupations" (2007: 829). The authors contended that focussing on a few creative industries is insufficient in developing a strong creative economy and that a better outcome would be achieved by "identifying the foundations of creativity in an economy and sustaining them" (2007: 829).

Table 2.1 presents Andrew and Spoehr's summary of the industries other theorists and media commentators have included as components of the creative industries and how they define and conceptualise the creative industries.

Table 2.1. Definitions and conceptualisations of the creative industries. Source: Andrew and Spoehr (2007)

Richard Caves, *Creative industries: Contracts between art and commerce* (2000)	Charles Landry, Rethinking Adelaide: *Capturing imagination* (2003)	Richard Florida, *The rise of the creative class.* (2003)	David Throsby, *Economics and culture* (2000)
Creative Industries	Creative Industries	Creative Class	Cultural Capital
Supplying goods and services that we broadly associate as cultural artistic or simply as entertainment value.	The creative industries are those industries that are based on individual creativity, skill and talent. They are also those that	• Computer and mathematical occupations	Core Creative Arts: Location of the primary artistic producers at the centre producing text,

[4] This continues to be the case at the time of writing, with Steven Marshall as premier following Labor's loss at the 2018 state election.

• Book and magazine publishing • Visual arts (painting, sculpture) • Performing arts (theatre, opera, concerts, dance) • Cinema and TV films • Fashion • Toys and games	have the potential to create wealth and jobs through developing intellectual property. • Architecture • Music • Art and antiques markets • Performing arts • Computer and Videovideo games • Crafts • Publishing • Design software • Designer fashion • Film, video, radio and television	• Architecture and engineering occupations • Life, physical and social science occupations • Education, training and library occupations • Arts, design, entertainment, sports and media occupations • Management occupations • Business and financial operations occupations • Legal occupations • Health practitioners and technical occupations • High-end sales and sales management	sound, image in both old and new art forms Wider Cultural Industries: • Film, television, radio, publishing, video games etc.

Andrew and Spoehr suggested that many definitions of creative industries tend to "represent generic descriptions of a limited range of creative and cultural professions or end products, therefore it is necessary to rethink what is meant by a creative economy" (2007: 828). They judged Charles Landry's definition as best fitting what Adelaide's policy makers had in mind in developing a creative economy. The South Australian Government appointed Landry as a Thinker in Residence in 2003. According to the Adelaide Thinkers in Residence website,

> Charles Landry's report directly influenced the development of the South Australian Government's Creative Industries Strategy and the inclusion of 'Fostering Creativity and Innovation' as an objective in South Australia's Strategic Plan. (2003:n.p.)

The appointment of Charles Landry is an example of the South Australian Government's foresight in using creative and cultural policy to drive a flourishing creative economy. Landry's residency in Adelaide created interest in rethinking clusters of creativity and collaboration across the state and overseas by utilising innovative and creative ways of thinking and planning for cultural, business and social

activity (Adelaide Thinkers in Residence 2003:n.p.). Providing artists and film-makers with access to spaces and a way to express themselves is a broader way of attempting to represent cultural diversity. In turn, this method can contribute financially and culturally to the state's economy.

The Adelaide Thinkers in Residence, a South Australian Government initiative, was inspired by arts and cultural advocate Greg Mackie's Adelaide Festival of Ideas. Mike Rann, the premier at the time, invited world-class thinkers to Adelaide to assist with strategic development and promotion of South Australia in collaboration with industry, community and academia. The appointment of Peter Wintonick as an Adelaide Thinker in Residence in 2005 was significant for the South Australian film industry and the state's film-makers. Wintonick was a Canadian director, writer, producer and documentary film-maker who travelled the world as an advocate and ambassador for socio-political documentaries (Adelaide Thinkers in Residence 2005b). His visit to Adelaide as a Thinker in Residence was to investigate the future of South Australia's screen media in the digital age, write a report with his recommendations and then present his ideas in a speech at the Adelaide Town Hall (Thompson 2013:n.p.).

Wintonick's contribution as a Thinker in Residence is significant to this thesis because his focus was how the screen arts in South Australia can best meet the realities and challenges of the digital age. During his residency in Adelaide from January to April 2005, Wintonick interacted with film-makers, industry professionals, educators, and community and Indigenous groups. He observed all aspects of South Australia's screen culture including the screen industries, media education and community media practice; and encouraged South Australia and its creatives to be more technically proficient and closely engaged with international film networks (Adelaide Thinkers in Residence 2005:n.p.).

Although Wintonick's overall goal was to assess South Australia's media industry to develop a viable action plan for an innovative and world standard screen industry, the effects of his recommendations flow on to greater representations for cultural diversity. As more people gain access to the available digital tools to express themselves creatively they are able to reach larger audiences or target their creative projects to specific audiences.

Wintonick's final report, *Southern screens: southern stories: Building a new screen culture in South Australia*, presented in 2005, is relevant to the thesis research question in considering ways government policy for the arts, particularly in the screen industries, has helped or hindered film-makers in creating projects that have greater representation of cultural diversity in their stories and characters. Wintonick's report showed how screen practitioners, educators, and the broadcast media industry can become engaged, enabled and enthusiastic about developing strategies through policy to enable South Australia to better deal with emerging technologies that may bring more and different opportunities for film-makers in the digital age.

Wintonick's recommendations for South Australia's screen industry in meeting the challenges of the digital age showed he envisioned a future where 'traditional' films and broadcast television will need to compete against the likes of the online Netflix and Amazon. His final report was divided into four intersecting spheres: educational, screen industries, community media and infrastructure. He recommended building closer and rigorous ties between government and educators, the community and industry professionals. He provides a total of 11 recommendations. Of those, five relate to the screen industries sphere. These are:

- Recommendation 4 –

  Support and sustain the Adelaide Film Festival and its Investment Fund, and the Australian International Documentary Conference, two world-class film industry festival and conference events.

- Recommendation 5 –

  Establish the Don Dunstan Film Fund to enable socially useful films for the strategic future of South Australia, and to provide opportunities for emerging film-makers.

- Recommendation 6 –

  Support and foster the South Australian Film Corporation in its renewal and growth as it meets the needs and technologies of a 21st century South Australian screen culture.

- Recommendation 7 –

Establish the Fifty Cent Fund as a voluntary contribution from South Australia's cinema-going public the foster the growth of South Australia's own images on its own screens.

- Recommendation 8 –

  Create Inter/Screen and a position of Screen Catalyst. Inter/Screen would be a South Australian inter-agency Forum and Council for screen industries, screen arts and screen education (Wintonick 2005:8-11).

These recommendations are achievable with enough support from the state government, screen industries, educators and community media, but the difficulty may lie in producing policies upon which all stakeholders can agree. Some of these disagreements may relate to funding, grants or loans to support these ventures and there is an expectation that most of the stakeholders will rely on public and private donations to continue their work, despite some government funding. Wintonick presented his final report in 2005. By 2018, recommendations 4, 5 and 6 had been realised, but recommendations 7 and 8 have not yet been fulfilled or developed.

Following the recommendations in Wintonick's report, the Adelaide Film Festival Investment Fund, which launched in 2003, began to receive more support from the government, the screen industries and community media. The Adelaide Film Festival Investment Fund is "the first fund of its type in Australia and a rarity worldwide which has rapidly come to be recognised as a major force encouraging and showcasing new and bold screen works" (Adelaide Film Festival Investment Fund 2003:n.p.).

Related to this thesis are the creative, cultural and economic benefits of the Adelaide Film Festival Investment Fund (2003), which are summarised as:

- CREATIVE: Projects must display bold and innovative story-telling, a striking use of screen language and a strong creative team.
- CULTURAL: Projects must demonstrate the short and long term benefits for the South Australian film industry and broader community, e.g. creative and development opportunities for individuals and organisations, branding opportunities, partnerships with national and international organisations and events and the ability of the project to raise the profile of South Australia.

- ECONOMIC: Projects must demonstrate measurable economic development outcomes for South Australia, such as direct and indirect expenditure in South Australia, employment of local cast, crew and businesses and the potential for direct financial return from the equity investment.

These three benefits align with this thesis's argument that the South Australian screen industry and its film-makers can create films that have stronger and greater representation of cultural diversity with some government involvement. Initiatives such as the Adelaide Film Festival Investment Fund has seen this happen for emerging film-makers.

This initiative was in existence before Wintonick became Adelaide's Thinker in Residence. With some grass roots support for such recommendations and state government action on them, progress was made. This shows how effective and influential the Thinker in Residence programme[5] was for the state, various industries, communities and its people, and particularly the arts sector.

Other spheres in Wintonick's report were the community and screen education, which would overlap to enable people to become more engaged. Digital media are now more prevalent and the Internet is a big factor in enabling users to become more digitally savvy. Online digital tools will play a part in shaping future film makers and creating films that represent cultural diversity. Digital tools and technology needed for the future will be discussed further in Section 2.5, where Pozible is given as an example of how young and emerging film makers can use the Internet to seek and secure funds for film production, marketing, distribution and screening, and a brief history is provided of the Internet from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0 to the present.

[5] The Adelaide Thinkers in Residence Programme ended in 2013 as a result of the Weatherill Government's state budget savings (Novak 2012). In 2013, the Don Dunstan Foundation hosted the first Thinker in Residence event outside of the government and the programme officially transitioned to the Don Dunstan Foundation in 2016 (Don Dunstan Foundation n.d.).

2.3 Diversity definitions re-examined and their significance

In Chapter 1, I provided UNESCO's definition of cultural diversity, which comprises various principles to achieve and promote diversity internationally. I also provided an overview of Australia's multicultural policy and the initiatives designed to support it. In this section, I will add to those initial definitions of diversity based on their components and apply the amended definitions to the film policies of Australian screen industry bodies SAFC and Screen Australia to consider whether their policies actually affect the extent to which cultural diversity is represented in Australian films.

Diversity issues are becoming more important owing to an increase in globalisation and greater movement and interaction between people from diverse cultures, backgrounds and beliefs. Governments worldwide are competing against other countries in a global economy and need diversity to become more creative and competitive. There are different concepts of diversity, but this thesis will consider race and gender, which apply most closely to the research question.

Academics Rijamampianina and Carmichael (2005:109) noted that Loden and Rosener (1991:18-19) define diversity as "that which differentiates one group of people from another along primary and secondary dimensions". The primary dimensions of diversity are the primary influences on our identities, such as race, gender, age and ethnicity. Secondary dimensions are the less visible aspects which are subtle influences on the personal identity; these include religion, educational background, language and geographic location.

Arredondo (2004) added a third dimension to cover any "historical and past experiences that influence one's current mindset, attitudes or behaviours and this includes belief, perceptions and assumptions" (Rijamampianina and Carmichael 2005:109) . As part of the document analysis, I compiled a list of films over the past four decades that were produced and funded by SAFC with some funding from Screen Australia. (see Table A.1)

For this thesis, it is difficult to settle on a clear-cut definition for cultural diversity, but using Rosado's (2010:n.p.) and UNESCO's cultural diversity definition (Matsuura 2001:1), cultural diversity can be defined as *the collective representation of people who are able to co-exist with an all-encompassing combination of human differences*

and similarities in cultural behaviour, traditions and customs, specifically (for this thesis) racial diversity. This thesis focuses on racial diversity to reflect the multicultural policy of Australia and its impact on film policy in depicting cultural diversity in Australian films.

2.4 Representations of cultural diversity in Australian films

The SAFC and Screen Australia have special funding allocations for various groups of film-makers or film genres based on race and gender. In 2015, Screen Australia announced its Gender Matters initiative to boost the participation rates of women in film-making, which, according to its own figures, was 32% percent of producers, 23% of screenwriters and 16% of directors. Screen Australia spent $5 million on Gender Matters via the Brilliant Stories and Brilliant Careers programme and the Distribution Guarantee Support initiative (Tiley 2017:n.p.). The SAFC introduced its gender agenda initiative and other states released similar programmes, including Film Victoria's women in leadership development initiative and Screen Queensland's gender equity measures (Screen Australia 2015:n.p.).

Although various gender initiatives were being launched in the 2010s, programmes and initiatives to encourage more Indigenous film-makers have been around since the mid-1990s. In 2007, the AFC published *Dreaming in Motion* (Riley 2007) to celebrate its Indigenous Branch and recognise the achievements of Aboriginal directors and their films since the early 1990s (Screen Australia 2007:n.p.). *Dreaming in Motion* covered only about a decade of Australian films that were produced and directed by Indigenous film-makers telling their own stories about their culture in contemporary Australian society. Films directed by Anglo-Celtic Australians featuring Aboriginal actors in supporting or lead roles over the past few decades, such as *The Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith* or *Jedda*, did not receive coverage or were barely mentioned in the AFC's book. It has always been an issue for some viewers and some film- makers that in the early days of Australian film-making Anglo-Celtic Australians were making films and telling Aboriginal stories from a white person's perspective and few Aboriginal directors/producers were involved directly in the process of film-making. However, the Internet has become a useful and effective enabling tool for film-makers of diverse cultural backgrounds. It provides many more opportunities to produce, fund, market and exhibit Australian films that tell stories about multicultural Australia and displays

greater representation of cultural diversity. The arrival of crowdfunding platforms such as Kickstarter in the USA and Pozible in Australia have increased film-makers' chances of funding their creative projects and gathering an audience that support their film projects through word of mouth and social media.

Crowdfunding is one way to increase representation of cultural diversity. It enables film-makers who want to produce culturally diverse films in Australia to engage with a culturally diverse audience who are potential fund donors. Crowdfunding forms part of discussions on diversity and alternative funding, both of which make it viable for film-makers wanting to producer culturally diverse films and by-pass market constraints and government policy limitations on funding criteria.

2.5 Digital tools, technology and film

2.5.1 Crowdfunding

Crowdfunding is a method of online public funding that may not provide the large sums of money some commercial film-makers are seeking, but it can be a more viable alternative for attracting funding in a faster and more innovative manner than applying for government grants. Crowdfunding also provides an audience and an online support network for first-time film-makers. Importantly, crowdfunding enables film makers to raise money for creative projects that include representations of diverse culture, which, owing to intense competition with more commercially viable films, are unlikely to receive any or sufficient government funding. Crowdfunding in Australia provides artists with another funding option. An example of a crowdfunding platform is the Australian platform Pozible, founded in May 2010 by Australian entrepreneurs Rick Chen and Alan Crabbe. Based in Melbourne, Victoria, Pozible provides a creative space online to service the artistic community across Australia and the world. A related aspect of crowdfunding is the assumption that a greater number of film projects depicting diverse cultural representations are highly likely to be funded on the website Pozible. Although crowdfunding is a viable source of funding for film-makers who would like to make more culturally diverse films, and the crowdfunding platform is open access to anyone, there is no guarantee their films will receive enough donations or pledges to bring the films to fruition.

This section provides definitions of crowdfunding, examines it as a practice and relevance in the creative industry and finally provides some examples of crowdfunded films that represent diverse cultures that have been successfully or unsuccessfully crowdfunded.

Crowdfunding is now considered an established practice within the creative industries and to a lesser extent, as noted in the introductory statements of this thesis, it also relates to the cultural industries. Crowdfunding serves the creative industries because it is undertaken by creative-minded individuals and groups working in the areas of performing/visual arts, music or digital media. It also serves the cultural industries because individuals and groups can create culturally significant products through joint endeavours that include culturally diverse films and television series produced by a culturally diverse cast and crew. The names and faces of the main cast and crew are depicted on the Pozible webpage specific to the film project.

Therefore, crowdfunding is a practice that participates in and contributes to the creative and cultural industries by using the avenues (e.g. arts, music, digital media) of the creative industries to transmit cultural knowledge, beliefs and experiences to the mainstream community. It is embedded in the community that chooses to fund the particular creative project. This community may be the audience that want the films to be made because they see themselves represented in the film's story or characters. The crowdfunding community includes other film-makers and creatives who want to support fellow Australian film-makers to produce their work. A crowdfunding platform such as Pozible, when used to crowdfund a film project, is an example of how a creative industry agent can cultivate and enrich a society by assisting first-time film-makers to produce films whose genres may appeal to a non-mainstream sector of the community.

Crowdfunding and crowdsourcing are terms that have often been used interchangeably to refer to the same practice.

In 2006, Jeff Howe and Mark Robinson studied the business model that tapped into crowds and gathered contributions from a distributed network of individuals using the power of the Internet to produce an 'open call'. Their description of crowdsourcing generally relates to the business practice of outsourcing. They defined crowdsourcing as:

> Representing the act of a company or institution taking a function once performed by employees and outsourcing it to an undefined and generally large network of people in the form of an open call. This can take the form of peer production (when the job is performed collaboratively) but is also often undertaken by individuals. The crucial prerequisite is the use of the open call format and the large network of potential labourers. (Howe 2006)

Howe's definition relates crowdsourcing to a business practice in commercial markets that uses an equity-based business model. Crowdsourcing is a more permanent and ongoing practice. Crowdfunding is used to help start up the business, after which, crowdsourcing is then needed to increase the number of investors in the business to keep it sustainable.

This definition of crowdsourcing can also apply to crowdfunding for a non-equity-based business model, as it is an 'open call' format seeking potential supporters to fund creative projects. However, sometimes supporters are sourced only for their money and not for skills in the production or design of the creative project, therefore Howe's definition may not apply to all non-equity based crowdfunding platforms. I argue that this distinction makes the definition of crowdfunding and crowdsourcing dependent on the type of business models adopted and what the product requiring funding entails.

Estellés-Arolas and González-Ladrón-de-Guevara (2012) offered a more recent definition of crowdsourcing. They analysed existing definitions of crowdsourcing from 11 different cases to extract common elements and to establish the basic characteristics of any crowdsourcing initiative. Their definition covers any type of crowdsourcing initiative:

> Crowdsourcing is a type of participatory online activity in which an individual, an institution, a non-profit organisation, or company proposes to a group of individuals of varying knowledge, heterogeneity, and number, via a flexible open call, the voluntary undertaking of a task. The undertaking of the task, of variable complexity and modularity, and in which the crowd should participate bringing their work, money, knowledge and/or experience, always entails mutual benefit. The user will receive the satisfaction of a given type of need, be it economic, social recognition, self-esteem, or the development of individual skills, while the crowdsourcer will obtain and utilise to their advantage what the

> user has brought to the venture, whose form will depend on the type of activity undertaken. (Estellés-Arolas and González-Ladrón-de-Guevara 2012:197)

This definition integrates all elements of any crowdsourcing initiative into one very broad concept, but its broadness may prevent the understanding of very specific practices that use some and not all of these elements. The definition appears to position crowdfunding as a part of crowdsourcing, suggesting that funding from crowds is only one of many elements of crowdsourcing, which acts as an umbrella term.

It can therefore be argued that crowdfunding is a specific practice that involves pooling monetary resources from many supporters over the Internet for creative and entrepreneurial projects. Crowdfunding should thus be considered separate from rather than a branch of crowdsourcing.

Although the main objective of crowdfunding is raising funds, it also incorporates social networking, where people can support and interact with each other via the crowdfunding platform or through the project creators' Twitter, Facebook or blog pages. However, the social interaction between individual supporters on crowdfunding sites may be minimal compared to the number of supporters who leave comments for the project creators. Overall, crowdfunding can be described as combining social networking with venture financing to enable film-makers to produce works with the potential for greater representation of cultural diversity, as seen on the crowdfunding site Pozible and examples of these films will be outlined later in this chapter.

When crowdfunding was still a new and evolving phenomenon, Lambert and Schwienbacher were among the first to define it:

> Crowdfunding involves an open call, essentially through the Internet, for the provision of financial resources either in the form of donation or in exchange for some form of reward and/or voting rights in order to support initiatives for specific purposes. (Lambert and Schwienbacher 2010:6)

This definition specifies the financial resources of the crowd as the main contribution required to support or execute projects. It also offers rewards or voting rights for contributors, which enables the project creators to thank and acknowledge the supporters for financial donations. Lambert and Schwienbacher (2010) used the term 'open call' in a similar way to Howe (2006), in the sense of sourcing a crowd for a

particular purpose. However, their definition is a generalisation of crowdfunding practice that does not recognise the differences between various crowdfunding platforms, such as differences the type of business model used to raise funds on different crowdfunding platforms, and there is no mention of crowdfunding providing a support network or building an online community of supporters.

2.5.2 Web 1.0 to Web 2.0

The Internet has become one of the elements that empowers film-makers to produce, distribute and screen their creative projects, particularly films with representations of cultural diversity. The practice of crowdfunding has enabled greater participation of film-makers and provided freely available or inexpensive access to digital tools that drive the empowerment of alternative social activities, including culturally diverse films made by and made for a culturally diverse audience.

To understand how crowdfunding works as an innovative, participatory method of fundraising on a digital platform, it is useful to return briefly to the developmental history of Internet uses. The Internet's Web 2.0 application is a crucial aspect in enabling the creation of crowdfunding platforms that can be accessed for creative collaboration and social networking. The Internet's evolution through the decades reveals the beginnings of a more open environment for sharing, networking and business ventures.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the computer operating systems and software that were being used enabled people to use the web for information gathering in a top–down and one-way process, as consumers. Content creators still had control over the editing and distribution of information, as depicted in the traditional sender–receiver or transmission model (McMillan 2002:276). In Web 1.0, webpages were static and had no user-generated dynamics or capabilities, and the tools for creating content for web pages were available only to certain individuals, groups and organisations. The static web page is the standard form still adopted by government information websites, even though there are now attempts to engage users with hyperlinks to social networking sites such as Twitter, Facebook or YouTube.

As people became more familiar with using the web and with the introduction of smaller and better personal computers from the late 1970s and early 1980s, it became more

accessible to more people and the demand for more information and diversity grew. This demand coincided with individuals creating free open-source software and operating systems such as Linux, which were an alternative to the traditional corporate-controlled, closed-source software (Benkler 2002:371). The free open-source software enabled collaboration in ways that included content creation from consumers and sharing of content with many people over the web. The World Wide Web, founded by Tim Berners-Lee in 1989, further enabled the wide distribution of information over the Internet. Many users were now able to communicate and share information with each other across the world. This contributed to the emergence of Web 2.0.

Benkler (2002) noted that the availability of free open-source software enabled what he termed “commons-based peer production”, which had a “systematic advantage over markets and firms”. Freely available software enabled consumers to avoid the restrictions and constraints endured by the larger corporations and government bodies, allowing for more diversity, creative collaboration and innovation.

Benkler (2006) described peer production as sharing information with many through free and open-source software. Benkler also coined the term “networked information economy” to refer to a “system of production, distribution and consumption of information goods characterised by de-centralised individual action carried out through widely distributed, non-market means that do not depend on market strategies” (2006:52). Film-making benefits from this non-market aspect; films that depict cultural diversity can still be made by film-makers and seen and accessed online by many people.

Peer-based activities such as crowdfunding and its associated practice of crowdsourcing demonstrate that productivity can be achieved independently of how the stock markets or the general economy of a country are operating. Therefore, crowdfunding is independent of share market figures that determine the successes and failures of business ventures. The Internet and its Web 2.0 applications are crucial factors in the success of crowdfunding. Benkler (2006:3) emphasises the Internet as a major factor for the existence and success of a networked information economy. Carter, Hawkins and Young (2016) noted that South Australian film-makers using

crowdfunding to finance their film projects have found success in launching their work, which led to success in gaining government funding.

Web 2.0 breaks away from the traditional sender–receiver model of communication by enabling new ways for many people to communicate and interact on the Internet. (Harrison and Barthel 2009:159). Web 2.0 makes it easier and quicker for people from around the world to share a common environment where they can independently exchange ideas and opinions in real time. It also enables users to generate their own content using free open-source software and post it onto their own or other users' web pages (Harrison and Barthel 2009:161).

Another advantage of Web 2.0 that contributes to the success of crowdfunding is the user-friendly interface on the crowdfunding platforms and the increasing Internet speed connections. This boosts content generation for and by users, providing an increasingly interactive experience.

2.5.3 Media convergence

Convergence refers to the blending or coming together of two or more things, but media convergence is a bit more complex. There have been arguments about what things are coming together and how. Henry Jenkins, for example, defines convergence as a "flow of content across multiple media platforms" (2006:2), This definition suggests users play an important role in creating and distributing content, so convergence can be considered a development in the way we understand social and technological changes.

The literature on convergence media is essential in understanding the emergence of crowdfunding. Convergence theory deals with the relationship between creators and consumers, which has evolved to become a more fluid and flexible process of communication and interactivity. Jenkins, who studied the paradigm shift of this relationship in convergence, defined it as:

> … a move from medium-specific content toward content that flows across multiple media channels, toward the increased interdependence of communication systems, toward multiple ways of accessing media content and toward evermore complex relations between top-down corporate media and bottom-up participatory culture. (2006:243),

Jenkins's (2006) definition refers to the shift from the rigid, inflexible and one-way process used by the traditional media, to the more flexible and participatory process arising from convergence via the Internet, which enables users to be producers and consumers simultaneously. He sees media convergence as an ongoing process that does not displace traditional corporate media, but as an interaction between the different forms of media and digital platforms. Jenkins's definition challenges the traditional broadcast media model of the 'one to many' top–down process and notes the flow of information from 'one-to-one' or 'many-to-many' as part of the bottom–up participatory culture of the Internet.

Crowdfunding is reliant on online participatory culture and the effects of convergence, such as the ability to view videos and films on the video-hosting platforms YouTube and Vimeo instead of watching them on video cassette or DVD. Participatory culture can enable users to produce, upload and share creative content on crowdfunding platforms like Pozible, thereby moving away from the top–down process of traditional media.

Howard Rheingold (1993) has a similar social perspective on the idea of online globalisation as part of participatory culture. He describes it as establishing virtual communities on the Internet that transcend geographical boundaries, therefore eliminating social restrictions. Rheingold describes virtual communities as:

> … social aggregations that emerge from the Internet when enough people carry on those public discussions long enough, with sufficient human feelings, to form webs of personal relationships in cyberspace. Cyberspace, originally a term by William Gibson in his science-fiction novel *Necromancer*, is the name some people use for the conceptual space where words, human relationships, data, wealth and power are manifested by people using computer-mediated communications technology. (1993:6-7)

Rheingold's described what makes crowdfunding possible. It was the online global communities that shared the same space on the Internet and exchanged ideas and information which helped signal the beginnings of crowdfunding online. Although Rheingold wrote his essay in 1993, before social network sites like Twitter and Facebook were created, his ideas of virtual communities can also be applied to the foundations of social media. Face-to-face communities found new ways to

communicate and share online what they already do offline, thereby going from real-life communities to virtual communities.

Flew's (2002b:22-27) conception of media convergence refers mainly to websites of recombinant material which are existing materials merely reproduced in a digital format. He divided his ideas of convergence of media into two categories: functional convergence and industry convergence. Functional convergence refers to existing and long-established technology that can be used for other means besides its intended and initial use. For example, the telephone line was originally used to enable spoken and aural communication along a fixed cable, but with the advancement of technology it can also be used to send faxes and connect to the Internet. Industry convergence refers to corporate takeovers by one company of another to create a different company or to reduce competition, or to a merger between two companies.

Media convergences such as Google's purchase of YouTube or News Corporation's acquisition of MySpace are what Flew (2002b) would describe as industry convergences that enable traditional media broadcasters to converge their values and clout from the existing offline industry onto the online environment. This is problematic for the end-users and creative content producers; they may find that their creative collaborations become marginalised and they are likely to be subjected to terms and conditions imposed upon them by corporate-controlled online media. As corporations increase their online media presence through acquisitions and ownership of Internet-mediated platforms, there is a potential for monopoly of these platforms. This means the unaffiliated artist or content producer may be excluded from accessing some or most of the corporate-controlled content and the democratic nature of creative collaboration online may be under threat.

Flew (2002b:22-27) argued that the evolution of new media technologies is likely to contribute to globalisation trends (an important aspect of crowdfunding), as the Internet enables people from across the globe to support crowdfunding for various creative projects on platforms such as Pozible.

Some of the interview participants for this research consider crowdfunding as a method Australian film-makers continue to use to raise funds for their creative projects. The interviewees for this research had either considered crowdfunding or had some

experience using it, with varying results. More of their experiences and insights into crowdfunding will be discussed in Chapter 5 Interview Analysis.

2.5.3 Diverse cultural representation in crowdfunded films

The following Australian feature films – both in terms of direction and production - were listed as successfully or unsuccessfully crowdfunded on the website Pozible. They depict representations of diverse cultures. The films were not fully funded by crowdfunding but for other elements such as post-production, costumes, marketing etc. were partially crowdfunded. Three feature films were chosen that depict representations of cultural diversity and tell stories about the characters with their ethnicity or other cultural differences as an aspect in the narrative. I have chosen these three films as they are the most reflective of contemporary non-Anglo Celtic Australians being represented not in stereotypical ways but as every day Australians in the community who participate and contribute to mainstream Australian society.

The 2013 war film *Canopy* is an Australian-Singapore co-production that depicts Chinese, Japanese and Singaporeans, in prominent and supporting roles and they appear in multiple scenes. “The film is set in Singapore, 1942 when Japanese forces dominate the region. A young Australian fighter pilot named Jim (Khan Chittenden) is shot down and lands in a jungle swamped with the enemy. He finds a cautious, fearful ally in Seng (Mo Tzu-Yi) a Chinese-Singapore resistance fighter. With language a barrier they attempt to elude capture and head for safety” (Galvin 2014:n.p.).

In *Canopy*, Seng the Chinese/Singaporean resistance fighter is initially seen as ‘the other’ until he and Jim become partners in navigating the jungle to escape capture as Japanese soldiers search the jungle. The film has an absence of dialogue between Jim and Seng, yet they communicate through acts of trust and support such as the moment Seng is shot in the abdomen by a Japanese soldier and Jim tries desperately to save Seng while keeping him quiet to avoid alerting the Japanese soldiers of their presence. Another moment is when Seng passes a photograph of his loved ones to Jim and both men become emotional as they think of their family. The film crowdfunded successfully to fund its post-production and director and writer of *Canopy*, Aaron Wilson said “in stripping away language, background, and gender you

are left with two characters who are human beings who must connect. The story reduces things to a connection that will forever more stay with these two characters for the rest of their lives…we call it mateship (Galvin 2014:n.p.), The film depicts Jim and Seng demonstrating this notion of "mateship" as they assist each other in escaping and hiding from the Japanese soldiers. This depiction of mateship resonates as a common theme in many Australian war films such as *Gallipoli*, and *Canopy* adds cultural diversity to this, often male, comradeship.

The 2015 sci-fi film *Arrowhead*, also known as *Alien Arrival*, tells the story of an escaped political prisoner named Kye (Dan Mor) who crashes his spaceship called Arrowhead onto a distant moon (Maddox 2015:n.p.). *Arrowhead* began as a short film which film-maker Jesse O'Brien directed and he organised a crowdfunding campaign on Pozible to turn *Arrowhead* into a feature film. His campaign was unsuccessful but it did catch the attention of Australia's Foxtel SciFi channel who agreed to finance the feature film (Starr 2013:n.p.).

The film *Arrowhead* features ethnically diverse actors in supporting roles, and they appear in a small number of scenes, including Australian-Japanese actor Akira Matsumoto and African-American-Australian actor Christopher Kirby (IMDbb n.d. n.p.) Most of the external scenes were filmed in Coober Pedy, a town in northern South Australia, and other scenes were filmed in Melbourne (Windsor 2016:n.p.).

Similarly to Jim landing in foreign territory when crashing his fighter plane in the film *Canopy*, Cortland crashed his spacecraft Arrowhead onto a deserted moon. I suggest the "landing" of these two characters into unknown and possibly dangerous territory may be an allegory of their arrival making them 'the other' to the indigenous people of the site, in similar ways to an abstract and symbolic representation of Anglo Celtics arriving in Australia as part of The First Fleet in 1788. The character Kye had some interaction with the ethnically diverse characters in the film but not enough to form a substantial bond. This film mostly focussed on Kye's bid to save his father and the ethnically diverse characters played a small contribution in his mission.

The 2017 romantic comedy film *The Casting Game* successfully crowdfunded for post-production costs (Pozible 2017:n.p.) and the film-makers describe the film as a "*Love Actually* meets *Muriel's Wedding* take on love in the modern world. The film explores what it means to find happiness in a diverse, dynamic world in a beautifully fun and

meaningful way" (Hopwood 2017:n.p.). The film has a few storylines that highlight the journeys of a "group of unconventional actors trying to succeed in Sydney, an Asian-Australian family trying to make a visiting relative feel at home with Australian iconic foods such as Mightymite and meat pies, and a seemingly ill-fated love" (Hopwood 2017:n.p.). One of the storylines is about Gary (John Harding) who is unlucky in finding love. On a night out with his high school mates Gary agrees to a bet where he tries to secure a date with the next woman he sees. Along comes Sarah (Stacey Copas), a beautiful radio producer who is in a wheelchair (IMDbc n.d:n.p.).

The Casting Game's writer Joy Hopwood said "this film takes us on a journey and reminds us, in a subtle way, what it's like to step in other people's shoes from all walks of life and to be mindful of others. My aim is to entertain people yet bringing that sense of community back into our society" (Tentindo 2017:n.p.). Pearl Tan, who directed *The Casting Game*, is a film-maker, broadcaster and speaker who founded Pearly Productions which focusses on telling diverse stories for film and television (Tan n.d.:n.p), said her production company "aims to create stories that normalise minorities and educate emotions" (Pearly Productions n.d.:n.p.).

The film depicts a culturally diverse cast with actors representing diverse ethnicities including Chinese-Australian Pearl Tan, Vietnamese-Australian Aileen Huynh and African-Australian Zindzi Okenyo, and people with disabilities such as quadriplegic Stacey Copas. The depiction of representations of cultural diversity in this film appear to be realistic enough to capture the attention of ethnically diverse audiences, and tongue-in-cheek portrayals of the Asian-Australian characters who attempt to introduce their overseas relative to Australian culture would likely resonate with many ethnically diverse Australians. The character of wheelchair-bound Sarah gives visibility to people with disabilities in films and represents a section of the Australian community that is not often depicted in films and television series. Stacey Copas is quadriplegic and made her acting debut in *The Casting Game* as Sarah the radio producer, and she said "as a person who uses a wheelchair it is fabulous to be cast in the role as the majority of characters with disability in TV and film are played by actors without disability" (Joy House Productions n.d.:n.p.).

2.6 Conclusion

The literature review highlights key areas related to the impact of government cultural policy on the film industry; the funding of Australian films and their representations of cultural diversity; and alternative funding methods such as crowdfunding, which contributes to greater representation of cultural diversity.

The review of current literature on cultural diversity in Australian films shows there has been some progress in Indigenous representations and participation in film-making as government cultural policy has evolved. The Chapter 6 Conclusion of the thesis argues that there needs to be a stronger commitment from Australian governments to fund culturally diverse Australian films to ensure their multicultural policy is being translated onto screens.

The focus on the South Australian film industry in the literature review outlines some recommendations from South Australian academics and visiting advocates of the arts and film culture such as Peter Wintonick. These recommendations assist in drawing links between public policy and cultural diversity in films with a view to bring close collaboration between film-makers, governments, educators and industry professionals. The Chapter 6 Conclusion argues that partnerships between governments and film-makers and film funding bodies could be more flexible and collaborative to ensure that governments can meet their cultural outcomes and produce economic benefits from funding Australian films, and film-makers can produce more culturally diverse films.

CHAPTER 3 METHODS

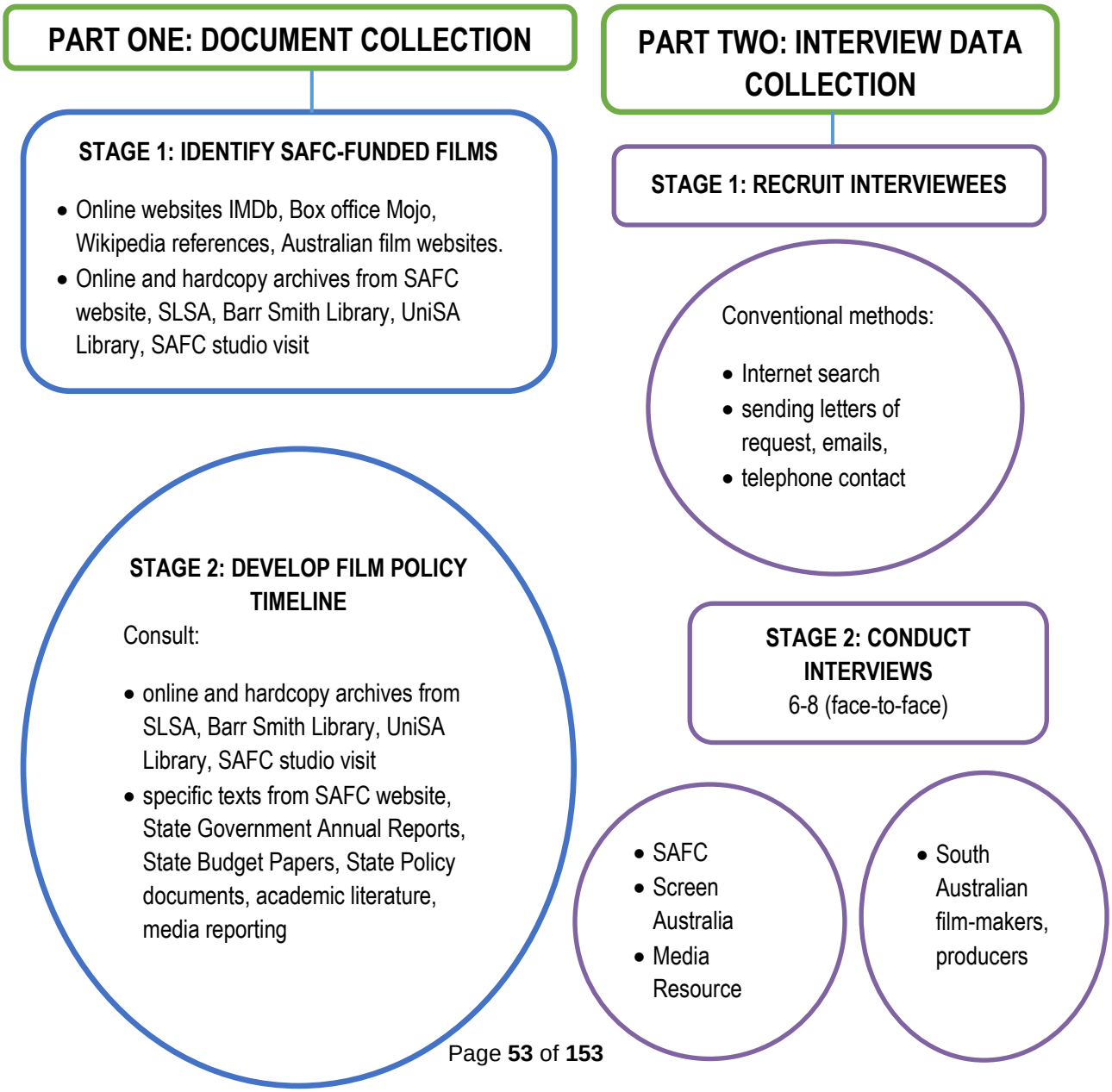
3.1 Introduction

Qualitative research methods were used to answer the research question:

> *To what extent does government cultural policy impact on its film policy by contributing to a difficult funding environment for South Australian film-makers to make the types of films they want, including films depicting cultural diversity?*

Figure 3.1 illustrates the two-part approach to data collection and the stages in each.

Figure 3.1: Research methodology



There were two parts to the methodology. Part One consisted of document collection, followed by analysis of historical changes of four decades of government cultural policy from the 1960s to the 2010s, and their effect on the types of films funded in South Australia by the SAFC. In Part 2, semi-structured interviews were conducted with South Australian film funders and film producers. The purpose of the document analysis was to research which South Australian films were funded, how much funding they received, the box office figures and any presence of cultural diversity, and then to create a table of SAFC-supported South Australian films with relevant information (see end of Chapter 4 and Table A.1 in Appendix A) and a film policy timeline from the 1960s to the 2010s (see Section 4.4.2 to show the outcomes of the research. They were also used as background information to design the interview questions in Part Two and to determine the impact of film policy on the types of films being funded and the level of representation of cultural diversity in SAFC-funded films.

3.2 Data collection

3.2.1 Part 1: Document collection

The cultural policies of the 1960s in Australia helped to create a national film industry. The AFC (now Screen Australia) was formed in the 1960s and the SAFC followed in the 1970s. The national and state-based film agencies Screen Australia and SAFC were researched to:

1: explore the changes in film-funding policies and the processes by which film makers applied for funding

2. identify how political changes may have affected depictions of cultural diversity in Australian films from the 1960s through to the 2010s.

I collected and researched the data from documents at the University of Adelaide and the State Library of South Australia (SLSA), online archived material, published interviews with film-makers online and in books, journals and magazines, state and federal government annual budget reports, film funding bodies' online material, film and entertainment websites such as IMDb, Box Office Mojo, Rotten Tomatoes, and the news websites of the ABC, SBS, Fairfax Media and News Corporation. These documentary data were used to create:

- government cultural policy (federal) (Section 4.4.2)
- government film policy (state and federal) (Section 4.5.2)
- table of SAFC-funded South Australian films (end of Chapter 4 and Appendix A).

Document collection is relevant to understanding the historical changes to Australia's cultural policies over the past four decades and how these influenced film policies for the federal film agency Screen Australia and the state film agency SAFC. Publicly available annual reports from the Screen Australia and SAFC websites provided information on film budgets for SAFC-funded films, cast and crew details, box office results and filming locations. Books and newspaper articles from the SLSA gave a sense of how the SAFC began in South Australia, its effect on the state's economy and its cultural significance as a leader in funding and producing commercially viable Australian films.

Books, magazines and articles about Australian films from the past four decades from the University of Adelaide's Barr Smith Library created an overall picture of Australia's film canon and its depictions of Australianness and cultural diversity. State budget papers and policy documents archived online and available in hardcopy from the SLSA revealed how governments introduced and implemented cultural policies in general society and how they influenced the screen industry's policy of promoting Australia and its values to the world.

To enhance my understanding of how representations of cultural diversity in Australian films have evolved in South Australian and Australian films over the past four decades, I watched Australian films on DVD or online that were filmed, produced, funded by the SAFC and starred Australian actors in Australian locations. This enabled me to track the evolution of cultural diversity in Australian films and the cultural backgrounds of the film-makers.

When data collection was complete, I applied textual analysis to the research data. For example, using textual analysis I was able to analyse the elements of the film that included the race, gender and ethnicity of the characters and actors. Textual analysis was used for all the preliminary data collected because of its flexibility and easy application to visual and audio texts.

While analysing documents such as annual budgets and reports from state and federal governments and SAFC and Screen Australia, I searched for mentions of arts funding, particularly for feature films, to ascertain which films received funding and the extent to which those films depicted representations of cultural diversity. News articles and published interviews with Australian and South Australian film-makers provided further information about the cast, crew and audience responses to the Australian films.

From the document data I created Table A.1: Cultural diversity in SAFC-funded films (see end of Chapter 4 and Appendix A) and separate timelines for film policy and cultural policy. (see Section 4.4.2). Table A.1 outlines the South Australian films that received SAFC funding along with the year of production, film title, film genre, depiction of cultural diversity, filming location, funding received and box office takings. This information was used to position the research in the key areas that address the research question. Together, Table A.1 and the policy timelines reveal the impact of government cultural policies, the film-funding processes and the types of films being made over the past four decades in Australia.

The contents of Table A.1 were compiled using data from online websites (e.g. IMDb, Box Office Mojo, Rotten Tomatoes, SAFC, Screen Australia) and online film articles that reveal film budgets, box office takings and production costs. Only those films funded by and produced with the SAFC are included, although the co-financing activities of SAFC are also given. The table specifically addresses the key research question, which relates to South Australian films and film-makers and the contribution made by SAFC to films that depict cultural diversity. It indicates the relative commercial successes of films with more or fewer culturally diverse characters and actors.

The film policy historical timeline (see Section 4.4.2) shows the key changes to government film policy over four decades that affected the film funding policies, the types of films being made and how they depicted Australian culture and identity. The documents collected for the historical timeline were sourced from state and federal government annual reports found online and in hardcopy at the SLSA; media reporting on films and government policies in online archived articles; and academic literature in arts and media journals or scholarly books.

When I was collecting documents in 2014, I discovered that the SAFC no longer had a library. The SAFC's former library archived everything the film agency ever produced

and was located at the film studio site in Hendon. The SAFC receptionist informed me this had been the case since its move to new premises in Glenside. All the archived material, including films on video tapes, sound recordings, marketing paraphernalia and other ephemeral items had been and were now sent to the National Film and Sound Archives in Canberra. Online information revealed no mention of a library at the new SAFC premises at Glenside at all, and that the SAFC was undertaking a new production direction where “primarily, its new role now will be to facilitate local projects” (Williamson 2011).

The move of all the SAFC’s film material to Canberra meant that so much of its history will no longer be easily accessible for South Australian or other interstate researchers. I did not have the finances to stay in Canberra for a week or two to avail myself of resources not available online. Therefore, to conduct my document data collection for the government cultural policy and SAFC film policy section of my research I relied mostly on data from books, old newspapers on micro-fiche at the SLSA, state government annual reports, and online archival websites such as Trove and the National Film and Sound Archives. Through these methods, I found sufficient data to satisfy the objective of examining the key cultural and film policies that have changed and evolved over the past 40 years in the South Australian film industry.

3.2.2 Part 2: Interview data collection

Interviews were used as the second data source because they enabled direct access to people with first-hand experience working in the South Australian film industry. They assisted in understanding the challenges film makers face when seeking film financing and helped to explain some of the difficulties in achieving greater representations of cultural diversity.

Participants were drawn from various backgrounds in the screen industry including arts administration, film producing and film directing. Qualitative analysis was applied to the interview data to understand the perspectives, feelings and understandings of the interview participants as they revealed their insights, experiences and difficulties in accessing film funding from SAFC and/or Screen Australia, as well as other challenges and in making films representing cultural diversity.

Interviews require ethics clearance, and the University of Adelaide provided low-risk ethics approval for this research. As part of the agreement, the interview participants were granted anonymity. The recruitment process for the interview data collection used conventional methods to contact potential participants, who were identified via websites such as IMDb, SAFC, Screen Australia and entertainment media reports. Potential participants were then contacted by email. After a week, telephone contact was made and participation forms were sent to those who were willing to participate. An interview was arranged at a time and place of the participants' choosing. Audio recording was permitted as part of the agreement.

The interviews were then transcribed from the audio recording and the transcripts coded for key themes relating to the research questions including film funding, cultural diversity and cultural policies.

The following section describes how the interview participants were selected, the style of questions and the reasons for these choices.

3.3 Methodology for achieving the aims of the research:

3.3.1 Purposive sampling

The sample group for this research comprised participants from two categories:

1. Funding recipients (film makers and producers)

2. State government and government agency film funders.

The two groups were chosen to provide a balanced and broader scope of insights into film funding. Participants were South Australian film professionals who have contributed to the South Australian film industry as a funding decision-maker or film maker in South Australia.

Criterion sampling was used because it is able to target a specific group of people who meet certain requirements, and can be useful for identifying and understanding cases that are information rich (Cohen and Crabtree 2006a:n.p.).

The eligibility criteria for interview participants required that they must:

- be over age 18

- be living and working in South Australia in the screen industry as a film maker or film producer
- have at least seven years of experience in the South Australian film industry
- have knowledge and experience in grant funding applications for films.

These criteria were broad enough to allow the research to attract a wide range of interview participants from all races, ages, ethnicities and sexualities, while requiring that these participants have specific skills, knowledge and experience with the South Australian screen industry and film financing. Emails were sent out to all those on the list compiled. Every effort was made to have equal, or close to equal, numbers of women and men. Eventually six participants responded and agreed to be interviewed. Anonymity was offered to increase the likelihood of attracting interview participants. Table 3.1 summarises the occupations and experience of the participants.

Table 3.1: Study participants – their occupations and experience

Participant (pseudonym)	Occupation (past and present)	Experience (years)
Ben	Film producer	10
Heather	Film funder, film administration, film producer	25+
June	Film producer	15+
Kayla	Film funder, film producer	10+
Kim	Film producer	10+
Malcolm	Film funder, film administration, film producer	30+

3.3.2 Interview questions

The interview questions (see Figure 3.2) were designed to encourage participants to consider the impact of government funding and cultural and creative policy on cultural diversity in film-making. The intention was to test the arguments emerging from the literature review.

The interviews questions were semi-structured and all interview participants were asked the same set of questions. If interviewees said something of interest, this could then be elaborated or expanded upon. Semi-structured interviews also give a more

diverse range of responses as each participant may want to volunteer extra information and provide different views on similar topics. Semi-structured interviews also enable participants the freedom to express their views in their own terms. (Rabionet 2011:563-566; Cohen and Crabtree 2006b:n.p.).

The interviews were arranged to be at least 30 minutes long, allowing an extra 30 minutes to allow flexibility to accommodate the semi-structured questioning style. Chapter 5 analyses the responses, addressing the research question including the types of film funding available and its impact on cultural diversity in Australian films.

Figure 3.2 Interview questions

1. What sparked your interest in becoming a film maker?
2. Why did you choose to make the type/genre/style of films that you did?
3. How challenging was it for you to get government funding for your film projects?
4. What alternative film funding methods have you used other than government funding? What were your experiences with these alternative funding methods?
5. How many times have you been approved or been unable to secure government film funding?
6. What were the reasons for your successes or inability to get government film funding? Please include examples whether you have been approved or not.
7. Do you think the current state government funding model (SA Film Corp.) for the film industry is effective enough in providing fair and substantial funding for films? Why do you think that?
8. Do you think South Australia should be more outward-looking in film financing (seeking funds and talent from overseas)? Why do you think that?
9. What do you think the criteria should be for films to be considered as 'Australian'?
10. What types of film policies do you think are needed or not needed to make a robust and successful film industry in South Australia?

11. Is there enough ethnic cultural diversity depicted as part of 'Australianness' in films? Why do you think that?

12. What are some of your favourite Australian films?

13. What is it about your favourite Australian films that make them Australian?

These interview questions were designed to be open-ended and flexible enough to be adapted each time, but specific enough to ensure consistency during the interviewing process. The interview participants did not struggle to answer any of these questions, but reflected longer before replying to questions about cultural diversity and their favourite Australian films.

3.4 Limitations of research method

3.4.1 Interview participants

The sample size of six participants is less than the eight initially intended, but the length and diversity of their experience was such that their responses satisfied the requirements, aims and objectives of gaining a variety of perspectives from participants with backgrounds in film producing, directing and administration from the South Australian film industry. A majority of the participants interviewed for this research had experience in the key areas of film funding and film producing, which is relevant to the research question of the extent to which government cultural policy impacts on South Australian film makers seeking funds to produce culturally diverse films in a challenging environment.

The predominance of Anglo-Celtic participants among my interviewees reflects the ethnic make-up of the South Australian film industry. Every effort was made to recruit interview participants from a diverse range of ages, genders and race, but only six film-makers responded and were available for the time period allocated for conducting the interviews. The participants who agreed to be interviewed were all Anglo-Celtic Australians, which could be considered a limitation of the representativeness of this research. There were no film-makers whose ethnicity was not Anglo-Celtic among the participant group to provide their perspectives and experiences on the aspects of the research question, in particular the representation of cultural diversity in Australian films and the cultural diversity of film-makers depicting their stories in films.

It proved difficult to find South Australian film-makers and film funders of different ethnicities. I sourced my interview participants from mainstream and independent media articles in hardcopy and online, articles on SAFC and Screen Australia websites and social media sites Twitter, Facebook and Instagram, but noticed immediately that the types of film-makers with the greatest amount of media exposure were often Anglo-Celtic Australians who had substantial experience in the film industry as arts administrators or film producers. From social media I found a few South Australian film-makers with different ethnic backgrounds but they were young, emerging talent and did not satisfy the criteria of a minimum seven years of experience in the South Australian film industry. These young film-makers also did not have any feature films released, although they had directed and produced various short films for local and national film festivals.

The research is focussed on a history of film funding policy and contemporary industry perspectives and omits close consideration of audience perspectives on the issues discussed. Future research suggestions in Chapter 6 Conclusion involve audience studies, as audiences are constantly being reconceptualised in policy constructed by application evaluators and industry workers.

In this instance, as the research question examines the extent to which government cultural policy and the film funding bodies' film policies have impacted the types of films film-makers produce and the representations of cultural diversity in Australian films, only the three-way relationship between the governments, their film funding bodies and the film-makers was explored.

3.5 Conclusion

Qualitative methods were used to conduct the research and to address the key research question. The semi-structured interview questions were effective in generating richer data. The flexibility of the format enabled interview participants to provide deeper and personalised insights, and the guaranteed anonymity allowed them freedom to give more nuanced responses.

The data gathered from the document analysis were useful in creating a detailed view of the 40-year history of South Australian films funded by the SAFC (see end of Chapter 4 and Table A.1). Using Table A.1 together with the film policy timeline, it was

possible to draw connections between the effect of cultural policy on film policy and the impacts on film makers seeking to make culturally diverse films.

CHAPTER 4 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the key changes to the South Australian film industry over the past four decades. It examines the major changes to the SAFC and Screen Australia funding policies that have attempted to increase cultural diversity in Australian films and sought to utilise films as a national commodity to boost the economy and promote Australia to an international audience. This research argues that the attempt to feature greater representation of cultural diversity in films does not always reflect cultural policies. Film policy encourages cultural diversity in Australian films by guiding film-makers, not dictating to them, to foster cultural diversity as part of the creative process in film production.

This focus of this chapter is:

- Australian cultural policy timeline
- South Australian and federal film funding bodies, policies and practices timeline
- Cultural analysis of SAFC-funded films.

I examine the key government cultural polices: Paul Keating's *Creative Nation* policy (Department of Communication and the Arts, 1994) and Julia Gillard's *Creative Australia* policy (Department of Regional Australia. Local Government, Arts and Sport [DRA.LGAS], 2013). I examine national film policy and SAFC policy and I show the racial diversity and cultural themes depicted in South Australian films over the past four decades by creating a table of SAFC-supported films.

The drive for greater representation of cultural diversity in Australian films arises from the multiculturalism in Australian society, the changes in government cultural policies for social cohesion. In regards to changes in film funding policies, if the aim is to encourage more film producers and film-makers from diverse cultural backgrounds to seek film financing from traditional funding bodies, then I would suggest that funding grants or initiatives from SAFC or Screen Australia should be targeted towards specific ethnicities.

4.2 Public film funding in Australia

4.2.1 Enabling the arts

For more than 40 years, the Australian Government has been funding film-makers through grants and other development opportunities in order to support the Australian film industry and enable new and emerging artists to flourish. Screen Australia's website (2018) describes the grants as designed for both individual artists and cultural organisations that are involved in enriching the cultural fabric of Australia. These government grants aim to maintain a viable film industry that produces culturally relevant, innovative and commercially sustainable Australian films. The government has an interest in funding the arts sector, particularly film, as a means of promoting Australian culture and values to its citizens and to the world.

The Australian Government, past and present, remains committed to the arts sector, particularly under Labor governments, and continues the emphasis on bringing Australia into the digital age through evolving cultural and arts policies.

4.2.2 History of cultural policy

In 1994, the Prime Minister, Paul Keating, launched the $250 million *Creative Nation* policy, which sought to elevate culture onto the political and economic agenda. In March 2013, Simon Crean, the Federal Minister for the Arts at the time, unveiled the new national cultural policy, *Creative Australia*, which "celebrates Australia's strong, diverse and inclusive culture…[that] reflects the diversity of modern Australia and outlines a vision for the arts, cultural heritage and creative industries" (DRA.LGAS 2013).

Andrew Taylor (2013:n.p.) of the *Sydney Morning Herald* quoted Crean as saying that "culture is not created by government but enabled by it". Crean also said that *Creative Australia* provides financial support and advice on innovative schemes such as crowdfunding, as "artists no longer want just a grant. They want a platform from which they can pitch their ideas and attract contributions, big or small, from large groups of people and organisations". The new arts and cultural policy was not only about recognising the importance of artists' contributions but also about understanding the economic development and competitiveness "where digital technology and the global

creative community are expanding artistic horizons beyond anything we have seen in the past" (DRA.LGAS 2013).

In addition to providing funding for films, the Australian Government supports the creation and distribution of other programmes and events that promote national culture. For instance, funding is available for Australian festivals and events at regional and national level. These include national touring programmes, established film festivals, special events and conferences. The film grant objectives aim to provide increased audience access to a variety of programmes and to promote Australian films to Australian audiences (Screen Australia n.d.):

> There are a number of criteria for receiving government film funding grants but funding schemes often include a provision that the production generally needs to relate to Australian content or Australian culture in some way. In addition, only high-quality scripts are considered, so the selection process can become highly competitive. These film grants from Screen Australia usually cover the costs of the production, but sometimes film-makers can obtain funding for post-production as well.

4.3 Federal, state and territory film funding bodies

4.3.1 Federal film funding: Screen Australia

Screen Australia was established in 2008 to replace the functions and responsibilities of its government predecessors, the Australian Film Commission, the Film Finance Corporation Australia (FFC) and Film Australia Limited., by then the SAFC was already established as a statutory body by an Act of Parliament in 1972 (SAFC n.d.). Other states followed with their own film corporations from 1977 to 1979.

The SAFC was the first state film production body to be established and differed from the other states by being a production facility as well as a financing institution. It was responsible for two of Australia's earliest, most prestigious and successful feature films, SAFC-funded *Sunday Too Far Away* and SAFC co-funded *Picnic at Hanging Rock*, both released in 1975 (Dermody and Jacka 1987). The SAFC made two other financially successful feature films, *Storm Boy* in 1976 and *Breaker Morant* in 1980. By the early 1980s, the SAFC had changed its emphasis to produce more TV mini-series, such as *Sara Dane* in 1982, *Under Capricorn* in 1983 and *Robbery under Arms*

in 1985. This was the result of greater interest from investors and audiences for more Australian content on television and a government policy for the Australian screen industry to increase the quota of Australian content on television (SAFC 1980). The SAFC continued to produce and finance TV mini-series into the 1990s and 2000s, including *Golden Fiddles*[6] in 1994 and *McLeod's Daughters*[7] in 2001–2009.

Film makers have traditionally sought government funding for their creative projects in addition to other avenues, such as self-funding or seeking funds through private donors such as philanthropists or arts patrons. Government funding comes courtesy of taxpayers, so there is much scrutiny and accountability when considering arts grants to fund creative projects. Film makers can apply for funding through government film funding bodies such as the federal body, Screen Australia, or any of the state or territory government funding bodies. However, approval for film projects is based on a set list of strict criteria. The selection of films approved for funding is published every financial year and released annually in October. Applications to government film funding bodies for film financing may take several months to be reviewed, and it can take weeks to be notified after being reviewed.

Film director Robert Connolly (2008) suggested Screen Australia has the potential to make Australia's film industry a more collaborative and competitive player locally and internationally if it is willing to change the way it works with film makers:

> The establishment of Screen Australia provides us with an exciting opportunity to revisit the ways we make films in Australia, the way we share the returns, the risks we are collectively willing to support and the possibilities for rewarding innovation. If cinema is to remain a dominant contributor to the way we tell our nation's stories, then it is critical that we reinvigorate our approach to ensure it is dynamic, innovative and audience-focussed. (2008:18)

Connolly's exemplary insight into the film industry and the needs of the film makers offers fair criticism of traditional film funding and his experience when dealing with government bureaucrats. It also provides a solid argument for changes needed to fund

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[6] SAFC co-produced Golden Fiddles (The Screen Guide n.d.)

[7] SAFC co-financed McLeod's Daughters TV series and the 1996 TV movie (IMDba n.d.)

and support Australian films. His concerns lie mostly with the process of how Australian film makers get their films funded by Australian government film funding bodies, and how to ensure the competitiveness of Australian films in a global market. His comment is significant to the research question of ensuring governments continue to support and promote the Australian film industry and produce policies that not only make more funding available to film makers, but also keep Australian films competitive on an international scale, and tell Australian stories.

Connolly suggested that an innovative and audience-focussed approach could assist in making Australian cinema better able to tell Australian stories (2008:18), but these points appear to be secondary in the film funding criteria set out by the government, SAFC and Screen Australia, simply because of the nature of film-making. Nobody can clearly predict a film's success ahead of its release, based on factors such as cast, director or plot. This is particularly true for the many Australian films that do not have the huge budgets to spend on marketing and which rely on word of mouth or social media viral coverage. In my view, the risk involved in film-making places pressure on film producers to secure funds for films that are especially difficult to market because they have a niche audience, even though they may still have very strong storytelling and a culturally diverse cast, characters or themes.

Connolly also mentioned Screen Australia as a major contributor in promoting and supporting Australian films and film makers. He called for a more 'bottom–up' instead of 'top–down' approach in which film makers would have a greater say in creating policies that are more inclusive and enable more flexibility in production, scripting and distribution. This would enable film makers to develop closer links with the film funding bodies and agencies in ways that strengthen the partnerships between funder and fund recipients (2008:2).

Screen Australia's goal is to support and promote the development of a highly creative, innovative and commercially sustainable Australian screen production industry with the following objectives:

- supporting production of a range of content including features, documentaries, television drama and children's programs
- supporting the growth of screen businesses

- supporting marketing and screen culture initiatives which focus on engaging audiences with Australian content
- developing high-quality scripts and proposals
- facilitating innovation and audience-engaging online content
- supporting Indigenous talent and distinctive stories
- administering the Government's Producer Offset and International Co-production Program to increase the commercial sustainability of production in Australia
- providing authoritative, timely and relevant data and research to the industry and government.

(Screen Australia n.d.)

Objectives set by Screen Australia focus on the screen product and its content, with little attention given to the partnerships with film makers or how to make securing funds more achievable for first-time fund seekers. I note that the majority of funded projects seems to be from more experienced film makers and more mainstream commercially viable films rather than first-timers or innovative and experimental films. I suggest this is because younger and emerging film makers lack of experience with tackling the film funding application process, making it less likely that they will secure funding. Therefore, Screen Australia seems to be in a challenging position of advocating for independent and diverse storytelling in Australian films, while choosing risk aversion, which may limit its ability to fund emerging film makers or more innovative films.

The state and territory film funding bodies face similar issues as Screen Australia, yet the focus is localised: films receive funding to promote and showcase the state or territory in a bid to boost local employment opportunities. Governments have cultural policies that flow into their creative policies, especially in state and territory screen industries, to promote cultural diversity in their local film and television industries. Therefore, it would be useful to compare how the various policies of the film funding body in each state and territory promote representation of cultural diversity and offer funding.

4.3.2 State and territory film funding bodies

The SAFC was established in 1972 by then Premier Don Dunstan to stimulate and encourage the formation and continued development of the South Australian film and television industry. According to its website (n.d.a), the SAFC was to be responsible for:

- undertaking the production of films
- provision of library and other services and facilities relating to films and their screening (South Australian Film and Video Library, c1972–c1994)
- provision of information services about films and their availability
- arrangement of courses of instruction in film projection
- storage, distribution, sale or other disposal of films
- research into the distribution of films and the effectiveness of films to meet purposes for which they are made.

These responsibilities gave the SAFC an administrative role that, while it did not include providing funding to film makers for creative projects, offered information for undertaking film production, distribution and archiving. During the 1970s and 1980s, the SAFC was actively involved in the production, research and sale of locally made films. The SAFC produced films such as *Breaker Morant*, *Storm Boy* and *The Last Wave* during this period. “The corporation soon became a vital source of prestige and promotion for South Australia and was a role model for other Australian states. In 1994, the SAFC underwent a fundamental shift. It ceased to produce films in its own right and became the state government’s agency delivering assistance to the independent film industry” (SAFC n.d). SAFC co-funded and co-produced films included *Black and White, Last Ride*, *The Tracker*, *Oranges and Sunshine*, *Shine* and *Wolf Creek*, with most of the mentioned films having scenes shot in South Australia.

On its website, the SAFC presented its financial support for the local film industry as contributing to the increased recognition and commercial success of its funded films (SAFC n.d.b).

Film Victoria began as the Victorian Film Corporation in 1976 and changed to its current name in 1982. Its website states that it invests in original, marketable, quality projects that are ready to move into production and which can attract Australian and global audiences. This ultimately supports the development of sustainable, innovative

Victorian production businesses. The objectives of Film Victoria are similar to those of SAFC, however, the emphasis appears to be more about encouraging film production in Victoria for economic benefit rather than creating a stronger and more collaborative partnership with film makers. Film Victoria's functions and services are:

- to provide financial and other assistance to the film, television and multimedia industry in Victoria
- to promote, whether in Victoria or elsewhere, the use of locations or services in Victoria for the production of any film, television or multimedia project
- to provide financial assistance, whether in Victoria or elsewhere, to organisations, events or activities including festivals, conferences, publications or exhibitions, where film or other screen-based programs are made, seen or discussed
- to establish and facilitate, whether in Victoria or elsewhere, relationships for the development of film, television or multimedia programs
- to provide leadership to the film, television and multimedia industry in Victoria
- to develop strategic plans for the development and improvement of the film, television and multimedia industry in Victoria
- to advise the Minister on matters relating to the film, television and multimedia industry in Victoria
- to develop relationships or enter into partnerships with other organisations, including government bodies, whether in Victoria or elsewhere, to improve the film, television and multimedia industry in Victoria.

(Film Victoria 2018:n.p.)

Screen NSW is not a stand-alone entity. It is found within NSW Trade and Investment and its key role is the creative and economic development of New South Wales. Screen NSW states that it aims to promote Australia's cultural identity, encourage employment in all aspects of screen production, encourage investment in the industry, enhance the industry's export potential, encourage innovation and enhance quality in the industry. The various objectives for Screen NSW show that it works closely with

the creative industries within its state and with other states and territories to enhance its own economic benefits. Screen NSW endeavours to:

- support the screen production sector to make quality projects that create jobs and grow stable businesses in the State;
- provide advice and information to improve capability in the sector and enable industry practitioners to participate in the global industry;
- fund and promote new forms of screen content and use of technology;
- collaborate with industry to create opportunities;
- facilitate all aspects of filming in NSW to make it the most attractive State for screen production.

(Screen NSW n.d:n.p.)

Screen Queensland is an initiative of and funded through the Queensland Government. Its role is to develop and support the local screen industry, attract production to Queensland, and celebrate an active screen culture across the state. Screen Queensland aims to encourage, promote and support innovative and commercially viable films in its development and production stages. On a global scale, Screen Queensland works to make its screen industry competitive and viable by:

- attracting interstate and international productions
- actively promoting the key benefits of basing film production in Queensland
- offering a specialist locations service
- working to increase the creative, technical and business skills of Queensland based crew and filmmakers

(Screen Queensland 2018a:n.p.)

On a local scale, Screen Queensland builds a screen culture for Queensland audiences by:

- showcasing specialist cinema throughout the State including retrospectives, shorts, documentaries and new genres
- providing financial assistance through its Industry Sponsorship Scheme to provide new opportunities for Queensland filmmakers and the general public

- recognising the achievement of Queensland and Australian filmmakers through an annual awards programme

(Screen Queensland 2018a, 2018b:n.p.)

ScreenWest is the screen funding and development agency for Western Australia. It is committed to working in partnership with the screen industry to develop, support and promote film, television and digital media production in Western Australia. It aims to produce and promote quality storytelling that delivers multiple cultural and economic benefits to the Western Australian community.

According to the ScreenWest (n.d.) website, its values are innovation, partnership and accountability and it offers a funding support programme designed to:

- support the development of world-class practice and craft excellence across developed and emerging platforms
- facilitate the screen industry to take advantage of innovation and technology developments
- advance the industry's business capability
- form partnerships to develop a vibrant screen culture in Western Australia.

The funding program focusses on six core areas. Funding initiatives are provided in each area, with each fund having specific objectives, guidelines and eligibility criteria:

- Production
- Development
- Production Company and Practitioner Support
- Indigenous
- Digital Culture
- Screen Culture

(ScreenWest 2018:n.p.)

Screen Tasmania is the Tasmanian Government agency responsible for supporting and developing the state's film, television and multimedia industries by increasing the amount of independent screen production in Tasmania. It provides loans, grants and equity investments in the development, production and marketing of Tasmanian screen projects, including short films, documentaries, feature films, TV series and

digital media. Screen Tasmania does not provide an annual report. It is produced instead by Tasmania's Department of Economic Development, Tourism and the Arts.

Screen Tasmania aims to:

- take a leading role in building and growing the local screen industry and to identify opportunities and develop the industry in key areas of potential growth
- adopt innovative approaches to project development to increase production outcomes
- continue to grow and evolve in order to meet the challenges of the changing media environment and to meet the demands of a rapidly expanding local screen sector. (2018:n.p.)

The office of Screen Territory is located in Alice Springs and is the Northern Territory Government's screen industry agency responsible for supporting and developing the film, television and digital media industries within the territory. It aims to develop and grow the local industry, and to increase the amount of screen production taking place there. Through the Screen Grants Program, it aims to:

- foster the development and production of quality and marketable screen projects
- increase production levels by attracting production finance to the Northern Territory
- extend the creative and professional skills of Northern Territory screen practitioners
- provide opportunities for audiences to engage through screen culture events and activities

(Screen Territory 2018:n.p.)

4.3.3 Summary

The eight government film funding bodies mentioned all share similar aims and provide similar services to film makers. Although most of the government agencies claim to support and promote their local film makers, the film makers' creative projects are not always supported as the content may be considered too risky, or the audience only a niche audience. In each case, funding is based predominantly on commercial viability

rather than artistic or creative expression, messages or representation of cultural diversity in the film.

Because taxpayers' money is involved, the government film funding bodies need to justify their decisions about which films to approve for funding, therefore the funding criteria appear to be the same for all government agencies. A commercially viable film with broad appeal is likely to be more commercially successful in local and international film markets and therefore offer a higher return in profits.

4.4 Cultural policy

4.4.1 Background to Australia's multicultural policies

This section offers a brief history of Australia's multicultural policies and provides background and a timeline of cultural policies from the 1960s to the 2010s. Australia's multicultural policies may influence the screen policy that promotes Australia's cultural diversity in the arts and creative industries domestically and internationally.

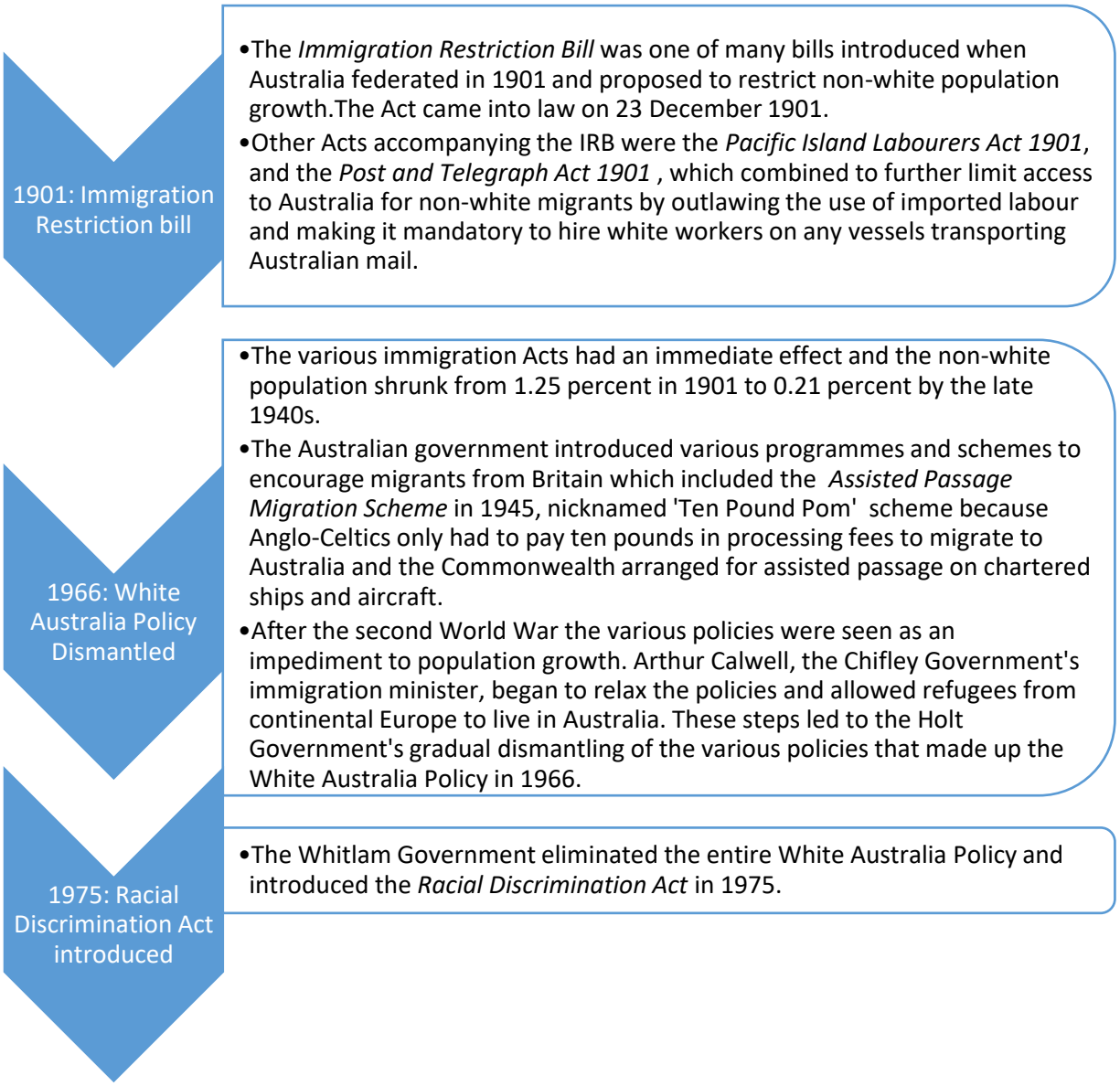
The prevailing attitude to migrant settlement up until this time was based on the expectation of 'assimilation' – that is, that migrants should shed their cultures and languages and rapidly become indistinguishable from the host population (DIC 2011a).

Australia's approach to immigration from federation until the latter part of the 20th century effectively excluded non-European immigration. The White Australia policy, as it was commonly described, was progressively dismantled by the Australian Government after World War II (Department of Home Affairs, n.d.). From the mid-1960s until 1973, when the final vestiges of the White Australia policy were removed, policies started to examine assumptions about assimilation. They recognised that large numbers of Australian migrants, especially those whose first language was not English, experienced hardship as they settled in Australia and required more direct assistance (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011b).

They also recognised the importance of ethnic organisations in helping with migrant settlement. Expenditure on migrant assistance and welfare increased in the early 1970s in response to these needs (Department of Home Affairs 2019).

Below is a summarised timeline of the White Australia Policy from 1901 to 1975. The timeline briefly outlines the key policies that made up the White Australian Policy until its elimination in 1975.

Figure 3.3. Summarised Timeline of the White Australia Policy, courtesy of the National Museum of Australia. (n.d.)



4.4.2 Multicultural policy timeline

By 1973, the term ‘multiculturalism’ had been introduced and migrant groups were forming state and national associations to maintain their cultures and promote the survival of their languages and heritages. Professor Jerzy Zubrzycki pursued multiculturalism as a social policy while chair of the Social Patterns Committee of the Immigration Advisory Council to the Whitlam Labor government (DIC 2011b).

The timeline provided in *Fact sheet 6: Australia's multicultural policy* (DIC 2011b) shows how Australia’s cultural policy evolved over the past 40 years. This will be used to examine how government public policy impacts film policy in the types of films being made at the time and whether or not it is reflected in cultural diversity in Australian films.

- 1973 – Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration in the Whitlam Government issued a reference paper entitled *A multi-cultural society for the future*.
- 1975 – At a ceremony proclaiming the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*, the Prime Minister referred to Australia as a 'multicultural nation’. The Prime Minister, and Leader of the Opposition, made speeches demonstrating for the first time that multiculturalism was becoming a major political priority on both sides of politics.
- 1977 – the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, appointed to advise the Fraser Liberal-Country Party Government, recommended a public policy of multiculturalism in its report *Australia as a multicultural society*.
- 1978 – the first official national multicultural policies were implemented by the Fraser Government, in accord with recommendations of the *Galbally Report* in the context of government programmes and services for migrants.
- 1979 – an act of parliament established the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA), whose objectives included raising awareness of cultural diversity and promoting social cohesion, understanding and tolerance.
- 1986 – the AIMA Act was repealed by the Hawke Government, which, in 1987, created the Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA) in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.
- 1989 – following community consultations and drawing on the advice of the Advisory Council for Multicultural Affairs, the Hawke Government

produced the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia, which had bipartisan political support.

- 1994 – a National Multicultural Advisory Council was established to review and update the national agenda. Its report, launched in June 1995, found that much had been achieved and recommended further initiatives.
- 1996 – following the election of the Howard Government in March 1996, OMA was absorbed into the then Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs.
- 1996 – parliament endorsed the Parliamentary Statement on Racial Tolerance.
- 1997 – the Government announced a new National Multicultural Advisory Council (NMAC).
- 1999 – the Prime Minister launched NMAC's report, Australian Multiculturalism for a New Century: Towards inclusiveness.
- December 1999 – in response to the NMAC report, the government issued its multicultural policy, A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia, and NMAC was wound up.
- May 2003 – the government released its multicultural policy statement, *Multicultural Australia: United in Diversity*. It updated the 1999 new agenda, set strategic directions for 2003–06, and included a commitment to the Council for Multicultural Australia.
- December 2008 – the Australian Multicultural Advisory Council (AMAC) was officially launched by the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship.
- April 2010 – AMAC presented its advice and recommendations on cultural diversity policy to government in a statement titled *The People of Australia*.
- February 2011 – Australia's new multicultural policy *The People of Australia – Australia's Multicultural Policy* was launched by the government

(DIC 2011b, pp. 3–4)

The multicultural policy timeline in Figure 4.1 shows how multiculturalism became more significant as a national policy that our government continues to support as Australia's cultural climate changes from a predominately all-white society to include other diverse ethnic cultures. It points to the political bipartisanship of the cultural

diversity issue and support from the major political parties over the past four decades. The Fraser government implemented the first national set of multicultural policies under an Act of Parliament to form the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, which the Hawke government incorporated into an official government office.

4.5 Film policy

4.5.1 Introduction

Table A.1 shows that films supported by the SAFC since its establishment reflect both the film policy timeline and the changes of government cultural policy that influenced how film agencies such as SAFC and Screen Australia help to fund and support cultural diversity in Australian films. One of the factors leading to an increase of cultural diversity in the arts was the 1994 *Creative Nation* cultural policy of Paul Keating's Labor government, which intended to promote Australia's cultural values locally and internationally by tying Australia's cultural and creative industries to the economy. It was the first time an Australian government had released an Australian cultural policy and Keating committed millions of dollars to Australia's arts and cultural industries. The policy redefined the Australian identity, referring to the value of migrants and Indigenous Australians and their contribution in forming a national Australian identity. This in turn changed the way cultural diversity was represented in films. Other government policies have been introduced since *Creative Nation*, but none have had such a profound effect on the representation of cultural diversity on Australian screens. Aboriginal film-maker and director Rachel Perkins described *Creative Nation* as a positive policy that "mean[s] opportunities and if you don't have good policy at a senior government level, then you don't get the outcomes at a grass roots level. I've seen the way those things connect" (Australian Screen n.d.).

4.5.2 South Australian and federal film funding policies and practices

Data collected from SAFC and Screen Australia websites, state and federal government annual reports and SLSA material were used to create the following timeline of film policies spanning the past four decades. The data reveal the evolution of film policy in relation to different aspects of film-making and film production, and the types of funding made available to fund different films, particularly creative Indigenous projects.

1940s

In 1945, the Australian National Film Board was established to produce documentary films.

1950s

In 1956, the Australian National Film Board was renamed the Australian Commonwealth Film Unit.

1960s

In 1967, Prime Minister Harold Holt formed the Australia Council as a statutory body for public funding of arts projects. In 1968, Prime Minister John Gorton renamed it Australia Council for the Arts (ACA) and made it a division of the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet. The ACA continued to fund public arts projects around Australia, but it was also given the authority to formulate and implement policies to promote arts in Australia and advise governments and industry on arts-related issues. Gorton also established the Experimental Film Fund, which later stalled and then was frozen, along with the ACA, by his successor, Prime Minister William McMahon.

1970s

In 1972, Premier Donald Dunstan created the South Australia Film Corporation under an Act of Parliament to be the state's film production body. Films such as *Picnic at Hanging Rock (1975)*, *Sunday Too Far Away (1975)* and *Storm Boy (1976)* were funded and filmed in South Australia.

In 1973, the Australian Commonwealth Film Unit was renamed Film Australia. Film Australia produced television documentaries and educational programmes funded by the federal government to devise, produce, distribute and market content that dealt with matters of national interest or illustrated aspects of Australian culture.

In 1975, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam created the Australian Film Commission, which succeeded and expanded on John Gorton's Australian Film Development Corporation. Responsible for producing and commissioning films for the Australian Government, the AFC promoted the production and distribution of Australian films and was given the mission to preserve Australia's film history. The AFC was partially

funded by the federal government and partly from its return on investments in film production and interest made on film development loans.

In the same year, the Whitlam government implemented human rights legislation in the form of the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*, which created new opportunities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in all aspects of participation and contribution in Australian society. This new legislation contributed to “Aboriginal self-representation and self-empowerment”, particularly in film-making (Australian Screen n.d).

In 1978 as part of its national cultural development strategy, the federal government introduced a tax incentive scheme to facilitate more private investment in Australian film production, and encourage more diverse and quality film projects. One such example is Division 10B of the *Income tax Assessment Act 1936*, which made 100% of financial investment in a film certified as Australian tax deductible over two years, commencing in the year income was derived from it.

1980s

In 1981, Division 10BA was introduced to the *Income Tax Assessment Act 1936*, making investments tax deductible in the year in which the taxpayer expends funds towards the cost of the production of the film and not necessarily in the year which the funds were spent on the film.

In 1988, the federal government established the FFC Australia to support film and television production in Australia, ensuring Australians have the opportunity to create and watch Australian stories on the screen. The FFC funded predominantly projects with high levels of Australian creative and technical contributions.

1990s

In 1993, the AFC created the Indigenous Film Unit as a result of recommendations from the commissioned report by Shirley McPherson and Michael Pope in 1992, *Promoting Aboriginal and Torres Islander Involvement in the Film and Television Industry.* The Indigenous Film Unit gave Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander film-makers access to the technology, training and resources to write, direct and produce films (Australian Screen n.d.a). Since the creation of the Indigenous Film Unit, the

SAFC has funded or co-produced various films from Indigenous film-makers including *One Night the Moon* directed by Indigenous director/producer Rachel Perkins, and co-funded *The Tracker* with Aboriginal actor David Gulpilil in the lead role.

In 1994, Prime Minister Paul Keating released *Creative Nation*. This Commonwealth cultural policy document was also an economic policy document and committed $252 million dollars over four years to the arts and cultural industries in Australia.

In 1994, the South Australia Film Corporation ceased its film production role and became a production facilitator for the South Australian Government, providing loans and other production investments. Examples of this include feature films such as co-production and access to SAFC's facilities for *Snowtown*, SAFC assisted with production and financing for *Rabbit Proof Fence*, and SAFC co-produced and co-financed *The Babadook*.

2000s

In 2007, the federal government announced the creation of Screen Australia, which merged the Australian Film Commission, Film Australia and FFC Australia into one entity. In 2008, Screen Australia took over the duties of FFC Australia.

2010s

Funding for the ACA, initially through the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, devolved to the Attorney-General's Department from 2013.

In 2013, Prime Minister Julia Gillard's *Creative Australia* policy (DRA.LGAS 2013) aimed to make arts more accessible and central to Australia's social and economic life placing emphasis on the importance of Indigenous culture and creative opportunities in the digital age. The federal government pledged to provide $20 million to lure foreign film production interests to Australia. In addition, the ACA received a funding boost of $75.3 million dollars to cut red tape and modernise governance structures.

4.5.3 Summary

The film policies presented in the timeline show increased provision of opportunities for film-makers, however, there is a lack of focus for culturally diverse films, with only an Indigenous film unit launched and no initiatives for ethnic Australian film-makers. The emphasis appears to fall on Indigenous film-makers and their projects, as for

many years their stories have been filmed and told from a white Australian perspective. With evolving film policies, Aboriginal film-makers are:

> … ensuring the continuity of their languages and cultures and representation of their views. By making their own films and videos, they speak for themselves, no longer aliens in an industry which for a century has used them for its own ends. (Leigh 1988:88)

Increasingly over the past 40 years, different kinds of cultural diversity began to appear in Australian films as film policy reflected government cultural policy in encouraging greater participation and contribution from a multicultural society.

4.6 Subsidies, funding and tax incentives

4.6.1 Historical background: 10B and 10BA schemes

In 1980, the Australian federal government introduced amendments to the *Income Tax Assessment Act 1936* by adding Divisions 10B and 10BA. These new divisions were designed to attract private investment in the film and television production industries. They were also a way for the government to further its national cultural development strategy by financing culturally relevant films and television projects without interfering in the creative process.

The 10B and 10BA tax incentive schemes were a means for government to assist the arts industries to fund diverse film and television projects through access to funds and tax concessions provided by the FFC. While 10B has remained largely unchanged, the 10BA scheme evolved over the years to meet the film industry's changing needs and fell in line with the government's changes in policy objectives. Both schemes aimed at "promoting quality Australian film and television productions that explore or develop a cultural identity or help to promote Australia's cultural development" (Dempster, Hewison and Brent 1992:7).

Division 10B gave film producers more creative freedom with no time, exhibition or other eligibility requirements attached to their projects. The key qualification for 10B was that the film or television producers' project needed to have significant Australian content. However, under Division 10B, the producers were unable to approach the FFC (now part of Screen Australia) for finance and the tax benefits were limited. Films

made for educational purposes or video-only release were eligible under the 10B scheme only.

The 10BA scheme allowed more flexibility in production and greater amounts of funding and more tax benefits, making it a more attractive option for many film and television producers. However, the scheme appeared to be more complex as it allowed for both a provisional and final certificate. This meant film and television producers must ensure they met the 'qualifying as Australian film' criteria throughout the entire filming and production process, otherwise investors would not receive tax concessions and money received from the FFC might have to be repaid.

Table 4.1: Selective comparison between 10B and 10BA tax incentives for film funding. Source: Dempster, Hewison and Brent (1992:7).

DIVISION 10B	DIVISION 10BA
Applies to owners of rights in existing or initial copyright	Applies only to the first owner or one of the first or initial owners of copyright
Must be certified as a 'qualifying Australian film'	Must have both provisional and final certificate as a 'qualifying Australian film'
Deduction of up to 100% of investment (usually over 2 years) available from year film first used to produce assessable income	100% deduction is available in year of which monies were expended (film must be completed within 2 years)
Expenditure is deductible over 2 years	Varying rate of deduction depending on date contract entered into
No requirement for expenditure to be at risk	Expenditure must be at risk

4.6.2 Film funding policies and criteria: the 13BA test

To be eligible for the 10BA scheme film and television producers needed to meet certain criteria. The government instituted a 13BA test to ensure producers were well informed and aware of their responsibilities and adhered to the 10BA criteria and eligibility requirements.

Dempster, Hewison and Brent described the key elements of the 13BA test:

- applicant must be an appropriate person – usually a producer, director or screenwriter and may include the production accountant. A company can be an applicant.
- the film must be substantially or wholly made in Australia and primarily made for screening in Australian cinemas or on television networks. Films for video-only releases are only eligible under 10B scheme.
- the film must be one of four types – a feature film, a telemovie, a mini-series or a documentary
- certain minimum and maximum time limits usually apply – over the years, the time limits for films/documentaries/mini-series/telemovies have been amended. Initially, feature films or telemovies but have at least 60 minutes in running time, and mini-series must not be longer than 13 hours (13x1 hour episodes for general audiences or 26x 30 minute episodes for children), documentaries must be at least 30 minutes in running time. (1992:8)

Content criteria:

After meeting the above key elements, the film project must meet content criteria whereby a film must have significant amounts of and depictions of Australian content and must not have significant non-Australian content. This is a crucial core of 10BA to meet cultural relevance requirements and the following criteria outlines the determining of Australian content that are considered. It is important to note that this test does not involve a points system and is assessed on an individual basis by the total mix of significant Australian and non-Australian content.

- the subject matter
- the places where the film is produced and the locations depicted in the film
- the nationality and residence of people making the film (actors, directors, screenwriters, producers, composers, editors, technicians, authors)
- the nationality and residence of the beneficial owner of the company making the film
- the nationality and residence of the beneficial owners of the copyright of the film
- the source of funding used in making the film

- the details of production expenditure
- any other matters the Arts Minister considers relevant.

4.6.3 Summary

The most significant aspect of the 13BA test relating to greater representation of cultural diversity in Australian films was the content criteria. The content criteria's point of "the nationality and residence of people making the film" encouraged filmmakers of diverse cultural backgrounds to tell stories from their cultural perspective and showcase Australia's vast landscapes in regional and remote Australian towns. My research noted that the policy led to an increase of Indigenous representation and an under-representation of other ethnic Australians in film-making and depictions in films, as indicated in the film policy timeline. The number of non-white film-makers for feature films were mostly Indigenous and few were from Asian or Middle Eastern or other backgrounds. My research on the past 40 years of SAFC-produced and financed films shows that very few or none were from Asian or Middle Eastern film-makers. The films mostly involved Indigenous directors and Indigenous actors who directed or starred in *One Night the Moon*, *Australian Rules*, and *The Tracker*. The technical aspects of the 13BA test was significant to a lesser extent owing to elements of film production that are not directly associated with the final product seen by audiences. The 13BA test was a way to capture the Australianness of films and was broad in its attempt to encourage representation of diverse cultures in Australian films, therefore Indigenous representation increased while other ethnic Australian groups are under-represented in the production of films and depiction in films.

4.7 Table of SAFC-supported films

Table A.1 in Appendix A or at the end of this chapter lists a table of SAFC-supported film titles along with year of film production, film genre, extent of cultural diversity represented in the films, filming location, SAFC funding, and Australian box office takings in the past 40 years, specifically 1975-2015. This information was gathered from online sources including film websites such as IMDb, Box office Mojo; official state film agency material (e.g. SAFC and Film Victoria annual reports); and verifiable references from Wikipedia articles on Australian films. The breakdown reveals the

types of films funded by SAFC, how much they made at the box office, and representations of cultural diversity.

Genre was included to show how films of particular genres may be more commercially viable; the extent of cultural diversity represented in the films is shown as Anglo-Celtic, European and non-Anglo-Celtic and non-European (Aboriginal, Asian, African, Middle Eastern); and filming location indicates the location and setting of the film's narrative, which was a criteria for funding.

All the films appearing in the film table are South Australian films based on the SAFC funding application requirements that films should be fully or partially filmed on location in South Australia, employ South Australian cast and crew and have Australian characters and tell stories with an Australian perspective. Some of the films do not have South Australian directors, however, they nonetheless meet funding criteria. Few of the films are specifically 'South Australian' as there is a tendency to make an Australian film for all Australians rather than specifically for viewers in a particular state. However, this does not diminish the strong creative contributions of the South Australian cast and crew who represent and are a part of the Australian film industry making national cinema in Australia.

Funding amounts and box office takings indicate the amount funding agencies spent on the films and how those films fared at the Australian box office. This measurement is simplistic as it shows only financial results and does not allow for other forms of measurement, such as audience engagement on social media (for films from the 2000s to the 2010s) or the emotional or intellectual impact on audiences.

The other issue of measuring success by box office results only is that it does not capture what happens after the films are screened in theatres, such as DVD sales, online paid subscription viewing or online film piracy. For example, the 2012 film *100 Bloody Acres*, which was released in Australian cinemas in 2013, received A$838,800 in funding but made only A$6,388 at the box office. The film's producer Julie Ryan told *IF* magazine that her:

> … film production company Cyan Films and Screen Australia invested $70,000 in an online marketing campaign for the film to enhance the release in the US, Australia and the UK with an online presence to build word of mouth.

> Unfortunately, our film was on bit torrent sites … people have gone up to the writers/directors to say 'Congrats. I downloaded your film and loved it'. I don't know how much revenue we've lost but perhaps the bigger problem is that all our figures don't look very good and that may indicate to some people that our film is a turkey. We spent our own money employing a company to take down streaming sites but there is nothing we can do about bit torrent sites. We believe people are watching our film and enjoying it, they're just not paying for it. (Groves 2013:n.p.)

Ryan claimed that online piracy after the film's release in cinemas has played a part in the less than impressive box office results for her film. She emphasised the importance of online presence when promoting and marketing films to engage audiences. She also mentioned the loss of revenue for stakeholders, including the film's producers, and changing technologies have been a significant factor in exhibiting and distributing films outside of the traditional theatre venues. As more people acquire easy access to the Internet, online marketing, distribution and exhibition of films disrupts the traditional methods of film distribution and exhibition, enabling a diverse audience to view them. This policy feature is a significant factor in encouraging greater representation of cultural diversity in Australian films for viewers who come from diverse cultural backgrounds in Australia and overseas, and who are accessing Australian content online. These audiences would want to see themselves represented in Australian films and see fewer ethnic characters in tokenistic and racially stereotyped roles.

After-life scenarios for many films indicate that the commercial viability of films does not end at the box office and the films' success in financial and fandom terms may continue. This conflict in measuring the commercial success of films has tentative links to the argument that arts funding is not just about profits but also about social cohesion and emotional and mental well-being. By this, I mean that the effect of the arts on people cannot be measured only in monetary terms or in the same way films are measured at the box office. There is a need to consider intangible and immeasurable effects that the arts can have on people to help them positively engage, interact and participate with others in meaningful ways, especially with people from diverse cultural backgrounds.

The SAFC-funded table of films at the end of this chapter and in Table A.1 Appendix include a column for depictions of cultural diversity in the films. A quick glance reveals a lack of gender and ethnic diversity in stories and characters, although a few films in each of the four decades deal with Aboriginal themes and characters. For example:

- 1976 – *Storm Boy*, with Aboriginal actor David Gulpilil as Fingerbone Bill
- 1977 – *The Last Wave*, with David Gulpilil as Chris Lee
- 1987 – *Initiation*, with a group of Aboriginal actors, Wandjuk Marika, Mawalan, Gomill, Mapupu, Ralurrru, and Wuyula, who were credited as Corroboree performers
- 1995 – *The Life of Harry Dare,* with Aboriginal actor John Moore in the title role
- 2002 – *Black and White*, co-starring Aboriginal actor David Ngoombujarra.

The common thread in all these films is that Aboriginal culture and characters are often viewed as 'the other' or an outsider who does not fit into the white-dominated Australian society of the 1960s, 1970s or 1980s. These characters in the films are often accused of crimes against white people or appear only briefly, performing Aboriginal cultural ceremonies or as trackers who help white police officers catch criminals hiding in the Australian outback. Films that depict Indigenous people as 'the other' include *The Last Wave*, where Aboriginal cultural myths and beliefs of Dreamtime make Indigenous people appear mysterious, other-worldly and dangerous to mainstream society. *Storm Boy* shows the character Fingerbone Bill as 'the other' who does not appear part of the seaside community yet appears very close to the Coorong's natural environment and its creatures.

Things began to improve slightly in the 1990s for Aboriginal representation in Australian films and for Indigenous film-makers as a result of Screen Australia's decision to create an Indigenous film unit for film producers, directors, screenwriters and actors to produce films and tell their stories.

Table A.1: Cultural diversity in SAFC-funded films (1975-2015)

YEAR	FILM TITLE	GENRE	DEPICTIONS OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY RELATING TO ETHNICITY / RACE	FILMING LOCATION	*FUNDING (A$)	AUSTRALIAN BOX-OFFICE TAKINGS ($A)
1975	*Sunday Too Far Away*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	300,000	1,356,000
1975	*Picnic at Hanging Rock*	Mystery drama	Minimal appearances and number of characters of non-Anglo-Celtic; only one Aboriginal character seen in the film in one or two short scenes.	SA and VIC	443,000	5,120,000
1976	*The Fourth Wish*	Drama	• There are no depictions of non-Anglo Celtic characters.	SA	240,000	Not available
1976	*Storm Boy*	Drama	Substantial amount of appearances with one Indigenous character in a supporting role.	SA	260,000	2,645,000
1976	*The Last Wave*	Drama	• Substantial amount of appearances with two Indigenous characters in supporting roles and many scenes.	SA and NSW	818,000	1,258,000

1976	*The Irishman*	Drama	• Substantial amount of appearances of Anglo-Celtic characters yet no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	QLD	840,000 (over budget)	622,000
1978	*Weekend of Shadows*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	500,000	61,000
1978	*Blue Fin*	Drama	• There are no depictions of non-Anglo-Celtic characters.	SA	750,000	703,000
1979	*Dawn!*	Drama	• Minimal appearances of Japanese characters in very few and short scenes.	SA, VIC, NSW, QLD and Japan	641,000	Not available
1979	*Money Movers*	Crime drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; a European Australian character named Dino plays a prominent supporting role.	SA and NSW	536,861	330,000
1979	*The Plumber*	Drama	• Substantial amount of cultural diversity of non-Anglo-Celtic and non-Europeans depicted in many scenes: Dr. Matsu- an African character; Dr. Japari- an Indian character; work colleague Anna- a Chinese character; an Italian	SA	150,000	Not available

			singer in the Italian restaurant scene.			
1980	*Breaker Morant*	Historical drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; South African characters seen in one or two short scenes and have no speaking roles.	SA	800,000	4,735,000
1980	*The Club*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; no other ethnicities depicted.	VIC	700,000	899,000
1981	*Pacific Banana*	Sex comedy	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; no other ethnicities depicted.	SA, VIC and French Polynesia	100,000; 230,000 from other investors	Not available
1981	*The Survivor*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	350,000	Not available
1982	*Freedom*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; only one short scene (in a CES/Centrelink office) with other ethnicities depicted.	SA	Not available	157,000
1987	*Initiation*	Crime drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; minimal depiction of other	SA	3,000,000 SAFC co-funded with other investors	Not available

			ethnicities in one or two short scenes.			
1990	*Call Me Mr. Brown*	Crime drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no other ethnicities depicted.	SA	953,000	Not available
1990	*Struck by Lightning*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no other ethnicities depicted. Some actors with Down's Syndrome are depicted in many scenes.	SA	2,600,000; SAFC more than $500,000 and FFC $900,000	Not available
1995	*The Life of Harry Dare*	Drama	• Dominated by Indigenous characters with two Indigenous actors in lead roles; Anglo-Celtic and European characters depicted in supporting roles in some scenes.	SA	1,250,000	Not available
1996	*Zone 39*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; one Indigenous character depicted in some scenes.	SA and VIC	4,000,000 SAFC co-funded with FFC and Film Victoria	21,976
1999	*In a Savage Land*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; other ethnicities depicted in a few short scenes.	SA and Papua New Guinea	12,000,000 SAFC co-funded with other investors	314, 549

2000	*Cut*	Horror	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; other ethnicities depicted in one or two short scenes.	SA	Not available	501, 979
2000	*Sample People*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; other ethnicities depicted in one or two short scenes.	SA and NSW	2,000,000	47,252
2001	*One Night the Moon*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; three Indigenous characters depicted- two females in fewer than five scenes and one male in numerous scenes as a main character.	SA	Not available	276,270
2001	*Bodyjackers*	Sci-fi comedy	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	Not available	Not available
2001	*Moloch*	Supernatural drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	Not available	Not available
2002	*Rabbit-Proof Fence*	Biographical drama	Three Indigenous female characters depicted in the majority of the film in lead roles with other Indigenous	SA, WA and NSW	6,000,000 SAFC co-funded with other investors	6,199,600

			characters in one or two short scenes; Anglo-Celtic and European characters depicted in lead and supporting roles.			
2002	*Tempe Tip*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; other ethnicities depicted in one or two short scenes.	SA	Not available	Not available
2002	*Black and White*	Legal drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; one Indigenous character in a lead role depicted in many scenes.	SA	SAFC co-funded with FFC.	177,866
2003	*Paradise Found*	Drama	• Dominated by European characters; other non-European ethnicities depicted in one or two short scenes.	QLD and Czech Republic	Not available	4,590
2005	*I Told You I Was Ill: The Life and Legacy of Spike Milligan*	Biographical documentary	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European people; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	Ireland, NSW, UK	SAFC co-funded with FFC.	Not available
2006	*Modern Love*	Supernatural drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	Not available	549

2006	*Caterpillar Wish*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	SAFC 238,258; 1,400,000: SAFC co-funded with AFC	456,018
2006	*Elephant Tales*	Drama	• Dominated by real animals in lead roles for the majority of the film; Anglo-Celtic, European and non-Anglo-Celtic character voices for the animal characters for the entire film.	South Africa	7,430,136 SAFC co-funded with FFC and other investors	33,785
2007	*Dr. Plonk*	Silent, black and white film drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; several Indigenous characters depicted in one or two scenes.	SA and some scenes in NT	SAFC 265,802; SAFC co-funded with FFC	83,450
2007	*December Boys*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA and some scenes in VIC	385,528	50,715
2007	*Lucky Miles*	Drama	• Dominated by non-Anglo-Celtic and non-European characters (Cambodian, Indonesian, Iraqi); several Anglo-Celtic and European characters depicted in a several short scenes.	SA and Cambodia	SAFC 367,401; SAFC co-funded with other investors	678,110

2008	*Ten Empty*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic, non-European characters depicted.	SA	SAFC 185,698; 1,400,000 SAFC co-funded with AFC :	49,015
2008	*Hey Hey it's Esther Burger*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; other ethnicities (Asian, Maori) depicted in one or two short scenes.	SA and NSW	SAFC 343,315; 6,000,000 SAFC co-funded with other investors	863,950
2008	*Disgrace*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; Indigenous characters (black South Africans) in lead roles and other minor roles depicted in many scenes.	NSW, South Africa	165,976	69,705*
2009	*My Year Without Sex*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic, non-European characters depicted.	VIC	SAFC 126,914; SAFC co-funded with Adelaide Film Festival Fund, FFC, Screen Australia and other investors: 315,000 (VIC) 4,000,000	1,125,871
2009	*Closed for Winter*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic, non-	SA	Not available	53,370

			European characters depicted.			
2009	*Beautiful Kate*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	SAFC 203,294: 4,300,000 SAFC co-funded with NSW Film and TV, FFC	1,065,656
2009	*The Boys Are Back*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters (black African) depicted in one or two scenes.	SA	620,079	2,117,064
2009	*Last Ride*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; one Indigenous character depicted in a short scene.	SA	SAFC 233, 476; SAFC co-funded with FFC	388,722
2009	*Lucky Country (aka Dark Frontier)*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.		2,050,000 SAFC co-funded with Screen Australia and Adelaide Film Festival Fund	28,000
2010	*Oranges and Sunshine*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA and UK	SAFC 250,000; 4,500,000 SAFC co-funded with Screen Australia, Screen NSW and other investors	143,480

2011	*Red Dog*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; minimal depictions of non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic (Indigenous, Chinese) characters in one or two scenes.	SA, WA, VIC and Japan	SAFC 414,676; 8,500,000 SAFC co-funded with other investors	14,013,831
2011	*Snowtown*	True crime drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	32,000	8,452
2011	*Shut Up Little Man! An Audio Misadventure*	Documentary drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	USA	SAFC 582,000; SAFC co-funded with FilmLab, Screen Australia, Adelaide Film Festival Fund and other investors	Not available
2012	*100 Bloody Acres*	Horror drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	SAFC 838,800; SAFC co-funded with Screen Australia, Film Victoria and Melbourne International Film Festival Fund	6,388
2012	*The King is Dead!*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	SAFC 626,000; SAFC co-funded with Screen Australia and other investors	Not available

2013	*52 Tuesdays*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; depiction of non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters in one or two scenes.	SA	SAFC 599,500; SAFC co-funded with Adelaide Film Festival Fund	
2014	*The Babadook*	Supernatural drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	SAFC 310,000; 2,000,000 SAFC co-funded with Screen Australia	950,792
2015	*The Pack*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA, NSW, WA, QLD	1,034,000	Not available
2015	*A Month of Sundays*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; minimal depictions of non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters in one or two scenes.	SA	737,111	Not available

*All figures only show SAFC funding contribution unless otherwise stated.

CHAPTER 5 INTERVIEW ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This thesis presents the argument that it is difficult for film-makers and producers in South Australia to access funding to make the type of films they want, including those that depict cultural diversity. This chapter's analysis categorises interviewees' responses in the three key areas that were the focus of the interviews and which form the basis of the research question: film policy, film funding and cultural diversity. Thus, the interview analysis examines:

- their experiences with state and federal film policy
- how they accessed funding for their films
- their insights into representation of cultural diversity in Australian films.

Firstly, from analysis of the interviewees' responses, the argument is presented that Australian films need more cultural diversity and the lack of diversity in films contrasts with the increased depictions of cultural diversity in Australian television series. Secondly, the interview participants' responses indicate a link between government cultural policy and its impact on film policy and the types of films produced, including films depicting cultural diversity. Thirdly, it is contended that there is a focus on Indigenous film-making and Aboriginal diversity in films, whereas there are a lack of film initiatives or film grants that are specifically aimed at other ethnic cultures are scarce.

5.2 Cultural policy incentives for the film industry

5.2.1 10BA tax incentive

In this section, the interview participants (described in Table 3.1) address the theme of key film policy incentives over the past 40 years relating to the AFC's (now Screen Australia) efforts to instil and embrace the Australian identity on screens with Australian voices, Australian stories and Australian characters.

One such policy incentive was Section 10BA, which was:

> … introduced in June 1981 and allowed investors to claim a 150 percent tax concession and to pay tax on only half of any income earned from the investment, but the high cost of the 10BA film policy resulted in the government progressively reducing the concessions to 100 percent. (Screen Australia 2018:n.p.)

The 10BA film policy was replaced with the Producer Offset in 2007. Both are government initiatives to increase the amount of money for Australian film production coming from private investors and to reduce the government's involvement with the funding and production aspects of the screen industry. The only difference is that the Producer Offset gave more control to the film-makers and producers. Unfortunately, the 10BA film policy was a type of tax rort. Film producer June explains:

> At one point it was a 150% tax deduction, and you just had to screen a film by the 30th of June and that on the 30th of June, people would just hire a cinema and put the reels on, screen it to nobody in the cinema, just to say it got screened. It was a massive corruption. (Interview December 2016)

Malcolm, film maker and former arts administrator, describes the 10BA film policy as initially a very attractive offer for film investors, but the creative control and financial mismanagement of film productions resulted in films being commercialised in the interests of tax accountants:

> Back in the 1980s and 1990s there was the 10BA policy which was a very lucrative tax concession, which at its height gave you a 155% write-off on investments and 55% write-off on any profits made from that investment. That meant that overnight, accountants became producers because it was one of the best tax write-off schemes in Australia. A lot of films got made and a lot of people took advantage of that. So around the mid-1990s, the 10BA tax concessions were reduced so it would no longer be attractive. (Interview January 2017)

The responses concerning the 10BA tax incentive demonstrated how keen the government was to offload and outsource funding and production of films to the private sector. The government realised that its tax concessions and tax incentives, introduced to bring the market into film production and film financing, were subject to rorting and was out of control, and replaced 10BA with the Producer Offset. Former

film funder and current film producer Heather recognised the advantages of the tax incentive, recalling how:

> … state governments also got into funding because they see benefits to their state, economically if they could bring productions in or have benefits in employment and prestige. People like to be associated with successful films. One of the best-known ones that came in under the 10BA regime was *Shine* and that sold internationally because it was a story that travelled. (Interview October 2016)

The interview participants' experience with the 10BA incentive was mixed. Recognising that there was more money made available from private investors, the producers in Australia increased collaboration with Hollywood, which made films in Australia and used American actors in Australian films. These films included Peter Weir's 1982 film *The Year of Living Dangerously* starring Mel Gibson alongside American actors Sigourney Weaver and Linda Hunt, and Peter Faiman's 1986 film *Crocodile Dundee*, starring Paul Hogan and American actor Linda Kozlowski. Both films become popular and internationally successful Australian films (Screen Australia 2010:n.p.).

Many other successful films depicting Australian voices, Australian stories and Australian characters were produced during the 1980s at the height of the 10BA film policy. Any Aboriginal, Asian or Middle Eastern characters in Australian films were often stereotyped or tokenistic, such as the depiction of the Turks and the Egyptian characters in Peter Weir's 1981 film *Gallipoli*. The interview participants agreed that other races were depicted predominantly stereotypically. Malcolm adds that:

> The majority in cultures dominate. In terms of cultural diversity we're getting a bit better but we're accused of having soft racism. I believe we do have soft racism. (Interview January 2017)

Malcolm's reference to "soft racism" in depictions of cultural diversity in films during the 10BA days is relevant to how Australians treat or react to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people or people from non-English speaking backgrounds in everyday situations. These everyday soft or casual racist depictions of Indigenous people or people of non-English speaking backgrounds are often reflected in Australian films, and this was particularly true during the days of the White Australia policy. 'Casual

racism' is an Australian term and 'soft racism' is American, but both terms share a core meaning.

In America, soft racism is the opposite of 'hard racism', which is an extreme form of racism. "Soft racism can usually be bridged by better communication, more co-operation and more information, whereas hard racism refers to holding the belief that one or more races are inferior to one or more [other] races" (Yedwab 2008:n.p.). In 2011, the Australian Human Rights Commission conducted a nationwide survey on racism and racial discrimination with 'casual racism' as a focus. One survey respondent summarised casual racism and how it affects people in the following way:

> In many cases people do not recognise their words and deeds are racist. It's simply seen as part of Australian culture to 'take the piss' out of people. I don't see that casual racism, via ignorant commentary or jokes, is acceptable. People who perceive they have the right and luxury to engage in racist practices do not understand that they are adding to a lifetime of injury for those of us who have had to navigate racism. (Quoted in Australian Human Rights Commission 2011:n.p.)

Although the government, at the time of the White Australia policy, attempted to create a single cultural identity for Australia, it would seem that using government cultural policy to guide and affect film industry practices is problematic, because Australia's national identity is composed of many cultures. Cultural diversity will be discussed further in Section 5.4, along with interview participants' responses to questions about the lack of cultural diversity in Australian films.

As Australia becomes more multicultural over time, there is a need to adjust to globalisation and increased competition in film production and film financing, and for Australia to be more outward-looking to reshape itself as a global participant in the screen industry. One attempt to reduce tax corruption and achieve greater representation of cultural diversity in films is the Producer Offset, which replaced the 10BA film policy in 2007 (Screen Australia 2010:n.p.).

5.2.2 Producer Offset

Screen Australia described the Producer Offset as "a refundable tax offset or rebate for producers of Australian feature films, television and other projects. Because it is

underpinned by income tax legislation, it represents a source of funds for producers of eligible Australian projects" (Screen Australia 2018:n.p.). This is a tax concession that gives film producers more control over the film's financing and production and thereby improves the quality of the films.

The interview participants responded quite favourably about the Producer Offset and recognised benefits of the incentive, but said that they would like to see a change in distribution rules for their films, particularly theatrical distribution. June notes that:

> … relaxing the rules around distribution would help because at the moment to get 40% offset you need theatrical distribution. Theatrical distribution is really for big films like *Hacksaw Ridge*, *The Dressmaker*, *Red Dog*. I think relaxing the rules and letting more distributors in would be good. (Interview December 2016)

Malcolm (film maker and former arts administrator) observes that distribution rules for film and television could be altered, as television is overtaking cinema in Australia in terms of viewership. Television series are using quality screen writing, adopting the high production values that are often seen in films.

> There's a lot of debate about television and documentary each only getting 20% offset whereas feature films get 40%. It's certainly a good argument that television should get 40%. In its early days, it had to be television drama, mini-series or documentary not light entertainment or variety shows. It had to be something with high production quality, and should still qualify as Australian film-making telling Australian stories. These days, television is king. Television drama here and around the world is taking over feature film space due to great writing. (Interview January 2017)

However, it is not only television that is competing with feature films for viewership numbers. Former film administrator and current film producer Kayla notes that competition from emerging players in the screen industry is intensifying as film-makers increasingly distribute films via their online presence in streaming and video on demand. As the Internet becomes more accessible and more affordable for consumers it is significantly changing the landscape for screening and distribution of film. Kayla places a focus on the audience and believes finding an audience for the film is important too.

> I think they need to remove the theatrical requirements for the 40% producer's offset so that as long as it's a feature film that is intended for that kind of audience, then it should be fine for the film to go out onto Netflix of Amazon and not end up having a mainstream theatrical release because that could sometimes damage a film if it's not really suited to a theatrical release. Some people might argue that a film like *Downunder* did really badly in the theatre but if that film went straight to Stan [online on demand streaming] which was its intention at one point, then that would have been better for *Downunder* because it would have been seen more favourably by audiences instead of now seeming like it failed. (Interview November 2016)

Kayla points out the need to include other forms of exhibition and distribution platforms such as online via streaming websites or video on demand sites, such as Netflix or Stan. The Producer Offset currently applies only to screenings in theatrical cinemas, the traditional way to reach large numbers of audiences, but with the technology in mobile devices and easy access to the Internet, film producers such as Kayla would benefit by reaching a targeted audience.

Film producer Kim thinks the Producer Offset could be used for more than just one particular film or television project, and could be useful in the long term for ongoing support for film producers and their film projects.

> I think it's interesting that it seems to be used more to put funding into the current project rather than as something film producers can use as leverage to develop ongoing Australian projects and build their business. I think that it currently often comes down to the expectations of distributors or broadcasters depending on whether they want to show them on TV as content. Often international investors work to put 40% investment into the film rather than what I think it was originally designed for which is to create long-term sustainability for producers and production companies. (Interview November 2016)

Kim also notes the benefit of the Producer Offset in encouraging collaboration with overseas investors:

> The Producers Offset helps to attract international finance as well so that aspect of it is definitely helpful. I don't know if the Producers Offset is enough but I think people should be making films that are commercial and do have the

> ability to be seen by audiences and we shouldn't just be relying on the government to give us money to make our film. (Interview November 2016)

Kim recognises that the Producer Offset can play a dual role, offering benefits other than financial. There is also an emphasis from government and film makers that films need to be commercially viable to ensure successful outcomes for film production. She agrees with other interview participants (e.g. Kayla 2016 and Malcolm 2017) that broadcast television and online streaming services are strong distribution spaces that appear to be weakening the powerful hold of cinema theatres as more consumers watch films in other ways.

5.3 Film funding

5.3.1 Government funding

Accessing film funding from the government is challenging, as the pool of money is small and the number of competitors is many. All the interview participants had accessed government funding at some stage and continue to do so. Their experiences in gaining government funding often depended on their level of experience at the time, the type of film they were seeking funds for, and their ability to be flexible with their film finance plan.

Kim advises that a successful and properly completed application form is key to getting government funding:

> it's always pretty challenging just because there is a limited amount of money available and many people competing for it. So it's generally about finding ways that will make them (funding bodies) want to fund you, whether that's the type of script, the type of project, the team involved, the research you've done, whether there's an audience for the project. It's different for every project. I've been lucky to be successful a few times for projects that I've pitched. It really comes down to the grant application and how successful you are in filling that out. (Interview November 2016)

Kim's advice raises the issue of inexperienced younger and emerging film-makers in South Australia who may be unsuccessful when applying for government funding simply because they incorrectly completed the application process. Accessing film resources and other supplies is also a challenge for emerging film-makers. Film

producer Ben commends smaller and independent film agencies that support and assist film-makers and producers by providing facilities and equipment at low costs. The Media Resource Centre was integral in the early stages of Ben's film career, opening up opportunities and avenues of getting funds elsewhere for film projects, such as from the youth arts organisation, Carclew. Ben supports government funding and sees it as necessary for the local and national screen industries in Australia.

> We're very fortunate in Australia to have government funding available for film-makers. In the early days, we did a lot of low budget projects and very quickly started to identify opportunities where they might exist through short film funding that became available from the state funding body or Media Resource Centre. Carclew was also an opportunity. So it was through our own initiative that we were able to get low cost facilities and equipment and free labour, coupled with government funding that was available and aimed at our level. (Interview December 2016)

Ben also mentions that although there are other avenues of getting funds or access to facilities and equipment, government funding is still a necessary part of their film financing plan:

> Our business still utilises government funding to finance our projects, that's a very big and integral part of how we do what we do. Obviously, as our projects have become bigger and our films have broader reach and aimed at wider audiences, we partner internationally and we look for other ways to bring in money to our projects. But government money still plays a big part". (Interview December 2016)

Ben supports the accessibility of government funding and emphasises experience as a key aspect in successfully applying for government funding:

> One of the reasons government funding theoretically is so great is that it's accessible to everybody. It means that people of any background, any gender, any ethnicity etc. can access that funding theoretically, as long as they have the experience. Experience is the key. (Interview December 2016)

Heather (film funder, film administration, film producer) also supports government film funding and sees the need to attract a more diverse style of film financing that includes other industries and even other countries:

> We're already fortunate in being well subsidised, the film industry funded at both the state level and federal level. Film-making particularly for feature films, we need to attract not just government funding but funding from other industries. The films that I make vary from 3 to 10 million dollars and that type of budget means you've got to find an audience, and often to start returning money to investors you will need to sell not only in Australia but to other countries as well. (Interview October 2016)

Combining funding from different state film bodies is another way film-makers access government funding. June feels lucky to have experienced a time when Screen Australia and SAFC had larger amounts of money available for film production. She now works with interstate film-makers to secure funding from interstate film funding bodies:

> Earlier there were more government funds available so there were more funds coming out of Screen Australia. I have had a very blessed career in that I have mostly been supported by both Screen Australia and the SAFC. Even Film Victoria actually, because I work with Melbourne directors as well. There is less money now, generally less government money. So the money has dropped all over federally. (Interview December 2016)

June notes the reduced amount of government film funding available due to federal budget funding cuts for the screen industry, creating an added challenge for film financing. The cuts place added pressure on the film-makers.

Kayla observes:

> More people are looking towards the international market because it's getting harder and harder to finance our films just using Australian sources. That then impacts the types of stories, the casting of those stories, the marketing of films, where you're going to go because your film has to work not just in Australia but other territories. (Interview November 2016)

She notes that the prospects of seeking funds internationally may affect the types of stories, casting and marketing of the films, and this may affect representation of cultural diversity in Australian films.

Another way to fund films that some of the interview participants have used is crowdfunding. This may also affect depictions of cultural diversity.

5.3.2 Crowdfunding

As government funds become increasingly limited, crowdfunding is a funding alternative for film producers, but only limited amount of funds can be raised and there is only a limited amount of time to raise a target amount. This method of film funding best suits short films or short documentaries or other smaller creative projects. The interview participants were mostly positive about crowdfunding as a good starting point for emerging and new film-makers, but felt that more experienced film-makers would most likely seek funds elsewhere.

Ben thinks that crowdfunding has benefits but it also has its limitations:

> It's a great way to build audiences and I think it's a great way to raise money for certain types of projects or certain parts of projects. I don't think we can fund every project that way because I think that you exhaust your community. (Interview December 2016)

Ben also emphasises the need to be transparent and responsible when raising money on crowdfunding platforms:

> My job as being a film producer is to make sure that I am very careful about what I ask people to sign and why and to make sure there is a good reason for it. I think at this stage of my career I'm looking to finance projects and they need to be commercially viable. (Interview December 2016)

Films funded entirely through crowdfunding may seem less likely to be commercially viable than if jointly funded using other funding sources. Kim explains the benefits of crowdfunding in audience-building, which can lead to further financing and collaboration with a national television broadcaster:

> We did a crowdfunding campaign for a project and that was not all of our funding that we needed to make the project. We were able to successfully raise $25,000 through that crowdfunding campaign and that helped to prove that there was an audience willing to pay for the project and we were able to access other finance after that. Two of my projects have been partially funded by the ABC because they were to be screened on the ABC iView platform. (Interview November 2016)

The crowdfunding site Pozible is a popular choice for seeking film finance. Malcolm notes that crowdfunding is flexible and able to suit different types of projects, but raises only limited amounts:

> I think Pozible is fantastic as a resource for anybody who wants to crowdfund. I think it would be very difficult to crowdfund anything that's large, just by the very nature of it. But for feature films it won't raise millions of dollars, but you would be able to raise a little bit of money to do one aspect of it such as a part of a marketing campaign. I think crowdfunding is great but it deals with a small component of the film-making not the business of the film industry. (Interview January 2017)

Malcolm observes that the type of person or film producer who is likely to access crowdfunding for projects depends on the type of project:

> Films being made with crowdfunding are produced with fewer resources, often by younger people and with concepts that excite them. You really have to be plugged into social media and you have to work at it. (Interview January 2017)

Kayla has not used crowdfunding:

> It's fine for certain types of projects where the project definitely has an audience but where it's just people's family and friends paying for their film then I am just not a fan of that funding model. (Interview November 2016)

June thinks crowdfunding would not be much use for the type of films she is making:

> I never used it and never had to. You never get money from one source. Never. Even years ago, we never did. So you get a little bit from government, you get a little bit from the market, and you might get a little bit of equity, or it could be your own investment. We've always had to get money from the market itself, they're the people selling our films internationally, and from distributors in Australia, so it's always like little bits of money constructed. (Interview December 2016)

Overall, most of the interview participants were not against crowdfunding but all mentioned its limitations. Mostly, it attracts fewer dollars than you can access from a mix of funding sources. Most have used crowdfunding, often earlier in their film career and for smaller film projects. It was also interesting to note that none of the interview

participants specifically linked crowdfunding to greater representation of cultural diversity. Malcolm mentioned issues that film producers are passionate about, but not cultural diversity specifically:

> I think Pozible works for projects that have a great and such a unique concept that it attracts people. Or they're about things which have a flow-on effect such as a political or social perspective which excites people. (Interview January 2017)

5.4 Cultural diversity and Australianness

One of the aims of this research is to find out if representation of Australian identity in Australian films has changed or remained the same as a consequence of film funding policies, and if there may be a cause for changing film funding policies to include greater representation of diverse cultures. When asked about cultural diversity, the participants discussed its representation in different media, such as film and television. They immediately referred to Indigenous film-makers and films and some also mentioned gender as part of the cultural diversity in film production and representation in films.

June has seen very little change in Australian cultural diversity in Australian films:

> [There's] probably not enough diversity. It's like in America. Although I think television has been better in Australia, even Channels 7, 9 and 10 are getting better. There's the mini-series with Jessica Mauboy, and *Love Child* with that beautiful Aboriginal female character played by Miranda Tapsell. They're not necessarily Aboriginal stories but it's great seeing inclusion. I know Tony Ayres from Matchbox Productions has done a lot of projects with Asian Australians which is great too. In feature films it's pretty much a white male–dominated industry at the moment. So there should be more diversity and we still keep trying to do that but we do face the problem of who's going to fund it. (Interview December 2016)

June observes that Aboriginal and Asian Australians have not been represented in the past but small changes are happening, with more Indigenous and Asian actors playing non-tokenistic roles in mainstream Australian television dramas. June also mentions that the commercial television networks are screening dramas that depict Indigenous

people in more prominent roles than they occupy in feature films. This further indicates how television is taking the lead in including greater representation of cultural diversity on Australian screens, but raises the issue of providing more funding for culturally diverse film projects.

Malcolm connects the lack of cultural diversity in Australian film and television with the organisations that own and control the media:

> No, there is not enough ethnic cultural diversity. Luckily we're seeing a lot more Indigenous stories and now a greater representation of our multicultural nation but the stories are still relatively white bread. It's a growing thing. Will we ever be at a stage where we can be equitable? I'm not sure we will be. The majority in cultures dominate. You just need to look at who controls television stations, who controls funding bodies, usually Anglo-Celtic or European. Most or half our television networks are run by Britons who've come from the BBC, Channel Four or ITV. So they bring their cultural perspectives to it. (Interview January 2017)

Malcolm's view reveals a need for a culturally diverse management or team in order to bring more culturally diverse content to film and television. There appears to be a push for more women in higher positions or roles in the screen industry, but less attention is placed on including greater ethnic diversity in higher ranks in many industries.

Ben notes that many South Australian film-makers are attempting to make more films with culturally diverse themes, actors and characters, and this is improving. He compares cultural diversity in film and television and highlights the need for continued government funding and support for the screen industry to make funding accessible to everybody:

> I think there is definitely a government push for gender diversity in terms of a lot more gender funding and initiatives around at the moment which is fantastic. It looks at gender diversity of people on screen as well as behind the camera. I think that ethnic diversity is something that we are not good at. I think Australian television can be pretty white bread but I know it is something there is a conversation about in the industry and is something we're trying to get better at. (Interview December 2016)

He mentions that more initiatives for gender diversity are being created. He refers to Screen Australia's Gender Matters' programme, which comprises a five-point plan to address the gender imbalance of women within the Australian screen industry. Gender Matters aims to encourage and engage more women to participate in all areas of screen production to "create sustainable and self-generating careers that will be used to support women to build a range and breadth of skills in this industry for the long term" (Screen Australia 2015:n.p.).

Disability is also mentioned as part of cultural diversity in Australian film and television. Kim notes the lack of diversity in disabilities and sexuality:

> I think ethnic diversity is something that people are trying to address at the moment. Screen Australia has just released a paper on diversity and that covers cultural diversity, disabilities, and gender. I think a lot of people seen on screen and a lot of the actors seen on screen are generally Caucasian, representing a flawed view of Australia. There should definitely be more cultural diversity on screens and I think government agencies are trying to address that right now. For example, there is an online web series called *Starting From Now* which is LGBT-themed [lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender]. (Interview November 2016)

The paper Kim refers to is Screen Australia's report on TV drama, 'Seeing ourselves: Reflections on diversity in Australian TV drama', which focusses on three aspects of diversity: cultural background, disability status and sexual orientation/gender identity (Screen Australia 2016:n.p.). This report supports Kim's view that television is ahead of films when depicting cultural diversity on Australian screens[8].

Kim observes that for there to be greater representation of cultural diversity and culturally diverse views and people, producers need to be on board to make the films and television content, using diverse digital platforms. Heather comments that there is

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[8] Screen Australia (2016). *Seeing ourselves: Reflections on diversity in Australian TV drama*. Viewed 3 March 2019, <https://www.screenaustralia.gov.au/fact-finders/reports-and-key-issues/reports-and-discussion-papers/seeing-ourselves>.

not enough cultural diversity on screen and behind the camera in Australian films and in higher ranks within the screen industry. She also believes there is no policy to directly address the perspective of women in the screen industry, and initiatives such as Gender Matters may not be enough:

> It's almost a reflection of what we are. But it's changing. I think that we're seeing diversity more on television than in films. People like Anh Do, he's a living treasure. You can't wave a magic wand with this stuff, and people expect more diversity and want to see it. Initiatives like the gender initiative is not enough. Even though at film school there are equal numbers of males and females, but the number of female directors is only 16%. Why is that? Maybe females don't like risk as much. I think it's risky and you have to thrive on risk and insecurity and it doesn't suit everybody. No policy will fix that. (Interview October 2016)

Heather notes the need for audiences to see diversity that reflects the Australian people in films. She mentions that television depicts more diversity than films, giving Anh Do, who hosts *Anh's Brush with Fame*, as an example. Anh Do is one of the few Asian Australians seen on Australian screens, and that is only on television, which adds to the pattern, from the interviewees' perspective, of Australian television displaying greater representation of cultural diversity than films. Interestingly, Heather sees willingness to take risk may relate to gender, with women less likely than men to take risks or to thrive on insecurity.

Ben notes that the focus on Screen Australia's cultural diversity film policy is aimed predominantly at Indigenous film-makers and Aboriginal stories:

> Screen Australia definitely has had a lot of success with its Indigenous unit funding for Indigenous film-makers and content. That's been fantastic but it's still predominantly white. It's a privileged industry, it's highly subsidised and not particularly commercially viable in Australia. I'm talking more about film than about television. I think partly it's reflected in a very upper-middle class type of industry and I think that's why I'm aware of it. It's changing but I don't think the class is changing but I think the voices that are being heard are changing. (Interview December 2016)

Malcolm wants to be optimistic but feels there is little chance of things changing towards greater representation of cultural diversity on Australian screens:

> No, there is not enough ethnic cultural diversity. Luckily we're seeing a lot more Indigenous stories and now a greater representation of our multicultural nation but the stories are still relatively white bread. It's a growing thing. (Interview January 2017)

Kayla observes that SBS and the ABC play a part in depicting cultural diversity on Australian television screens:

> I don't think there is enough ethnic diversity. I think there is much more of a push now and there's always been a push from SBS, but their viewing numbers are so small and SBS can only commission a few projects each year. The ABC is definitely having diversity as more of a focus now which is fantastic to see.

Kayla believes films should place the same importance on cultural diversity that television does:

> I still think that in feature films, diversity is not something people really think about and it's hard because you need to have a cast with recognisable names, and whether or not we have enough range in experienced actors who have the name recognition required to be able to finance a feature on the basis of their name. That's what makes it really hard to cast diversely and that's why you see some horrible things such as Scarlett Johansson being cast in *The Girl with the Pearl Earring*. Also isn't Matt Damon cast in a film as an Asian person at the moment? So I just think it's to do with how hard it is to get audiences into the cinema. (Interview November 2016)

Kayla points to audience support as an important factor in producing films depicting more cultural diversity and the difficulty in casting unknown performers of diverse cultures, who may not be able to draw in audiences to make the film commercially viable. Although Kayla mentions Scarlett Johansson and Matt Damon as examples of inauthentic casting, the films being made that feature those actors are not Australian films, were not filmed in Australia and have not received Australian Government financing. Australia's recognisable and popular actors such as Nicole Kidman, Hugh Jackman, Russell Crowe or Cate Blanchett are white, which would make it more of a challenge to produce culturally diverse Australian films for an international or local audience. Heather echoes Kayla's point on casting recognisable Australian talent:

> The market is risk-averse so there are only a few Australian actors who can bring money in when they star in it but we can't get them all the time. I certainly tried to get Australian actors first but there are so few of them that can trigger the money. (Interview October 2016)

Kayla refers to audiences' familiarity with actors as a factor in a film's commercial success, whereas Heather points to the market's ability to pay for the actors as a contributing factor in the film's financing plan.

5.5 Conclusion

Overall, the interview participants wanted to see greater representation of cultural diversity in Australian films and mentioned television as being more successful at this than film. As more players like Netflix and Amazon enter the film-making business, Australian film producers may have both more competitors and more collaborators for co-financing and co-producing films in Australia.

Notably, when asked about cultural diversity in Australian films, all the interview participants mentioned Indigenous film makers. I can only surmise that this focus derives from the interviewees' current and past experiences working within the industry and networking with particular groups of film-makers. These networks consist mainly of many white Australian and some Indigenous film-makers. The latter have produced some commercially successful Australian films. Rachel Perkins, for example, directed the films *Radiance* and *Bran Nue Dae* and Warwick Thornton directed *Samson and Delilah* and *Sweet Country*. I note from preliminary research for this thesis that very few Asian, Middle Eastern or African film-makers working in Australia move in the same industry circles as the interview participants and their works are not as well known to mainstream audiences.

The long history of Indigenous film-making in Australia and its support from Screen Australia in creating the Indigenous Film Unit in 1993 (Screen Australia 2018:n.p.) played a large role in placing Indigenous film-makers and their stories in the mainstream of the Australian film industry. According to Screen Australia's *The Black List* reference book, Indigenous Australians have been directing, producing, writing and working as cinematographers in films since 1970 and their participation in creative roles of film production has grown (Screen Australia 2014:n.p.). Participant June

comments, “You can make the Indigenous-themed films but now Indigenous film-makers are making their own films and that is exactly how it should be” (Interview December 2016). Malcolm, who has worked with Indigenous film producers and Aboriginal community groups says:

> There was quite a shift and part of that shift was as a documentary film-maker working with Indigenous Australians telling their own stories. I think they should be telling their own stories and I worked with a couple of Aboriginal media associations to do that. (Interview January 2017)

The participants observed that creating policy for greater representation of cultural diversity in Australian films is a challenge. June warns:

> It’s not up to the funding bodies to dictate that. I don’t think anyone can be that prescriptive, not in policy. They may like to see more Aboriginal films or films about women or more family films but they can’t go out there saying “We only want these films”. It’s not up to them, they’re not the creatives. They’re also not the market either. It’s really the market that dictates what kind of films get made. The government money is only a small part of the finance plan. (Interview December 2016)

June refers to film policy in this instance and not cultural policy, which is the level at which government bureaucrats engage and make policy. The interview participants support the initiatives and programmes that Screen Australia and the SAFC have provided to encourage and enable cultural diversity within Australia’s screen industry, however, the industry faces greater challenges ahead to match the level of cultural diversity seen in television dramas and mini-series.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

To provide insights into how film-makers access and raise funding for projects with greater representation of cultural diversity, this research focussed on three strands of film funding:

- government funding bodies (specifically SAFC and Screen Australia)
- crowdfunding
- the creatives (film producers who self-fund).

My research suggests that although successive governments have gradually reduced the funding provided by government bodies, the importance of maintaining and supporting a national cinema remains strong among government, industry, creatives and audiences. Interviews conducted with South Australian film producers, arts administrators and directors revealed that government cultural policy still has an impact on the types of films being made in Australia and that there is a need for governments to continue supporting the Australian film industry at state and national levels.

The interview participants supported the idea of including the film industry as part of, or as a response to, promotion of cultural diversity through government cultural policy. They recognised that film policies related to funding and to promoting cultural diversity may not be linked directly but are related in arbitrary ways. For example, films such as 1994's *The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert* depict themes of masculinity, sexuality and race, yet the funding for this film would have been greater than a film such as 1994's *The Sum of Us*, about a young gay man (played by Russell Crowe) who lives with his widowed father (Jack Thompson), who is anxious about his son finding Mr Right. The two films share the same themes, yet the funding would differ greatly owing to the government's criteria for commercial success at the box office. This does not mean that a film like *The Sum of Us* would not receive funding, but it may receive a smaller amount and may be more likely to miss out on funds than *Priscilla* if the producers miss out on the latest funding rounds from the government. The commercial viability of a film is a strong factor in granting funds to any project. As

film is a risky business, it would be common to see many films funded by SAFC or Screen Australia bomb at the box office, yet find a second life on DVD or online streaming services such as Netflix or Stan.

Government funders' small amount of available funding has led film producers to plan diverse financing methods for their films. The interview participants revealed they would always seek funds from as many sources as possible. These sources included crowdfunding and private donors in addition to government funding.

6.2 Alternative film funding

Crowdfunding is an alternative form of financing that film producers have used over the past decade to support the development of commercially viable projects and as a precursor to seeking funding from government agencies. Before the Internet era crowdfunding took the form of loans and donations from family, friends and associates; pledges from private investors. In the 20th century, when platforms such as Pozible and Kickstarter began enabling more people to help fund a film project from anywhere in the world, the trend away from government funding as a first option increased. This trend is supported by my interview participants Kim (Interview 2016) and Ben (Interview 2016) in Chapter 5, who noted that crowdfunding is a viable funding alternative depending on different aspects of the film or film production, and would be considered before government funding. Another trend that has arisen is the collaborative financing model, where film producers combine as many types of financing as possible at different stages of their film project. For example, crowdfunding can be used to gauge audience interest by creating the project on a small scale to showcase at film festivals until enough interest is shown from other investors to expand the small film into a feature film or documentary. The latter may be achieved using a combination of government and alternative funding. The following brief case studies are examples of this form of collaborative film funding model. The representation of cultural diversity will be compared between the films in relation to the funding and the commercial success for the two films.

6.2.1 Case study 1: *The Babadook*

On 28 August 2012, film maker Jennifer Kent and film producer Kristina Ceyton launched their film project for *The Babadook* on crowdfunding website Kickstarter.

Prior to her Kickstarter launch, Kent's film underwent more than two years of development and six weeks of pre-production (*Realise the vision*, 2012:n.p.), filming beginning within a week of her crowdfunding campaign launch. The initial plan was to raise $30,000 to screen the film at film festivals worldwide. They reached their goal within the time limit, with 259 crowdfunders. Next, Kent and her crew secured $40,000 funding from the SAFC for project development in early August 2012 and during pre-production stages, which assisted with other work-related expenses, including an additional $6000 for a Production Accountant in July 2012 (SAFC 2013:n.p.). *The Babadook* had its world premiere at the prestigious Sundance Film Festival in January 2014 and in May 2014, the official website for *The Babadook* was launched (*Realise the vision* 2014:n.p.). *The Babadook* was screened in various film festivals and won awards for the cast and crew that propelled the film to mainstream theatres in Australia, Europe and the USA.

The Babadook is only one of many examples of how crowdfunding can assist film-makers to overcome certain financial hurdles in the pre- or post-production stages of their creative projects. The combined financial support of government and crowdfunding can create a viable funding model for film-makers in tough financial climates and has the effect of including the audience as a financial stakeholder. Crowdfunding increases film- makers' chances of getting a film made, even if they have no intention of commercialising their work. The passion of crowdfunding lies in getting film-makers' work out to audiences that choose to fund it because they want to see the final product. As well, the crowdfunding model can contribute to greater cultural diversity in film-making.

Regarding the representation of cultural diversity in *The Babadook*, non-Anglo Celtic characters and non-European characters are not depicted. This may suggest diversity possibly was not a major consideration for the film-makers when seeking finances or the film-maker saw the film's narrative and characters as universal which anyone of any race or gender can relate to. As the genre of *The Babadook* is horror, the sense of fear, repulsiveness et cetera are emotions and feelings which are shared and understood by everyone, thus breaking cultural barriers.

6.2.2 Case study 2: *The Rover*

Filmed entirely in South Australia, *The Rover* was a co-production between the SAFC, Screen NSW and Screen Australia (Delaney 2013:n.p.). The film secured funding by complying with the film policies of SAFC and Screen Australia: filming on location in South Australia, employing local cast and crew members, and securing a distributor (SAFC n.d.)

The Rover depicted a majority male cast and a few female characters in minor roles. It used an international cast with Australian actors Guy Pearce and David Field, British actor Robert Pattinson, Zimbabwe-born New Zealand actor Tawanda Manyimo and American actor Scoot McNairy in main roles. The film featured many forms of diversity in a couple of scenes, including dwarf actor Jamie Fallon as a circus leader and Malaysian actor Samuel F. Lee as an acrobat (IMDb 2019:n.p.).

The Rover is an example of how cultural diversity is achievable with interstate and federal funding and co-production, however, it did not achieve the same level of success as *The Babadook*, which used an all-white cast. The film cost $12 million to produce and made $1.1 million domestically and $3.2 million internationally, whereas *The Babadook* cost $2 million to produce and made $964,416 domestically and $9.3 million internationally (SAFC 2019:n.p.; Box Office Mojo 2019:n.p.).

The Babadook and *The Rover* demonstrate how film policy can affect representations of cultural diversity in Australian films, yet the success of the films can depend largely on story narrative and film genre. The contrasting commercial success of the two films suggests that a large amount of traditional funding for films with more cultural diversity does not always attract an audience, whereas a crowdfunded film may not have the large funds but, with little to no cultural diversity, may attract the bigger audiences.

Another reason for the success of *The Babadook* is the universal appeal of its story. It could be set in any small town or suburban street with a mysterious monster as a main character. *The Rover*, on the other hand, is a story set in the Australian outback with an Australian as the lead character. In this instance, depictions of cultural diversity on the screen become less significant as audiences relate to the emotions and motives of the characters rather than to seeing their own cultures represented on the screen.

The two films were chosen to demonstrate the representation of cultural diversity in relation to the type and amount of funding received, taking film funding incentives into account. It appears that a film that has a popular genre and a strong and appealing narrative audiences can relate to would be key factors to consider ahead of casting for cultural diversity in Australian films.

6.3 Reflections

While researching this thesis, my views on film funding changed somewhat as I heard the experiences and insights of the film producers I interviewed. I began researching the thesis as a film fan with an academic interest in film but without much understanding about film production and how film-makers actually seek funding. Although I still support and enjoy crowdfunding small projects on the crowdfunding platform 'Pozible', I know the amount of money raised is not enough by itself to produce a film, and the style of fundraising used in crowdfunding would not suit some film producers.

The interviewees revealed some interesting experiences with crowdfunding that changed my mind about government collaboration with crowdfunding sites to fund culturally diverse films. My idea had been that every dollar the film-makers made through crowdfunding could or should be matched by the government in grant money. I also thought that crowdfunding could be included in government film funding strategy so that SAFC or Screen Australia would give some funds to smaller films for exhibition or marketing purposes only.

In hindsight, my ideas were highly optimistic and ambitious. Film-makers would possibly choose not to collaborate with crowdfunding sites on big projects like feature films, although for short documentaries and short animated films it would be ideal. Although the interview participants agreed that crowdfunding would increase the representation of cultural or ethnic diversity in films, it would still be 'preaching to the converted' and would not reach a mainstream audience.

When asked about cultural diversity in Australian films the participants mentioned Aboriginal film-makers and Indigenous films, which is an indication that more stories from Aboriginal perspectives need to be made by and star Indigenous actors. I received the impression that they did not mention representation of other ethnicities in

Australian films, such as Chinese or Italian or Greek, because such films would likely receive a limited theatrical release and would appeal to a very niche audience.

6.4 Findings and recommendations

> *Research question: To what extent does government cultural policy impact on its film policy by contributing to a difficult funding environment for South Australian film-makers to make the types of films they want to make, including films depicting cultural diversity?*

The research found that the impact of cultural policy on film funding initiatives would be more effective if, when financing and producing films, there was more focus on storytelling from diverse cultural perspectives.

Representation of cultural diversity in Australian films is significant as it reflects Australia's multicultural society and the diverse cultures within it. Australia's multicultural policy celebrates and encourages contributions from all diverse cultures to grow and strengthen its economy and social cohesion. This should be reflected in Australian films.

This research does not have any answers as to how best to ensure that as many culturally diverse films as possible can receive funding. However, it does offer the following recommendations to make it easier for film producers to raise funds by being more innovative, creative and competitive.

1. Collaborative funding can be used to obtain funds from various sources to support different stages of production. This can include a combination of crowdfunding, funds from film festivals, funds from private investors or donors, and some self-funding, as was used to produce the film *The Babadook*.

2. Collaborative funding can work with film funding initiatives to depict greater representation of cultural diversity in Australian films as occurred with production of the film *The Rover*. In this case, co-production met the requirements of state and federal film funding initiatives to depict cultural diversity.

6.5 Further research

This research contributes to the analysis of how cultural policy may affect film policy for South Australian film-makers seeking funds to make culturally diverse films in Australia. Future studies could be considered in a wider context. For example, research arising from this thesis might focus on the perspective of South Australian film audiences on the representation of cultural diversity in Australian films; the use of Australian films as a key contributor to overseas audiences' (e.g. USA or British) understanding of Australian cultural diversity; or how the South Australian film industry has contributed to Indigenous film-making and the evolution of the representation of Aboriginal Australians in films over a particular period of time. Future research could investigate particular cultural groups in South Australia and the film audiences' responses collected via surveys, focus groups and interviews.

Further research could examine the changing landscape of Australian film production and exhibition or distribution with new agents such as Netflix and Stan contributing to online streaming accessed by paying subscription fees, or freely available Australian film content such as on ABC iView. Such online film exhibition studies could use surveys, focus groups and interviews to examine the wider audience reach for Australian films, which is disrupting the traditional box office theatre model.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A:

Appendix A. Tables

Table A.1: Cultural diversity in SAFC-funded films (1975-2015)

YEAR	FILM TITLE	GENRE	DEPICTIONS OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY RELATING TO ETHNICITY / RACE	FILMING LOCATION	*FUNDING (A$)	AUSTRALIAN BOX-OFFICE TAKINGS ($A)
1975	*Sunday Too Far Away*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	300,000	1,356,000
1975	*Picnic at Hanging Rock*	Mystery drama	Minimal appearances and number of characters of non-Anglo-Celtic; only one Aboriginal character seen in the film in one or two short scenes.	SA and VIC	443,000	5,120,000
1976	*The Fourth Wish*	Drama	• There are no depictions of non-Anglo Celtic characters.	SA	240,000	Not available
1976	*Storm Boy*	Drama	Substantial amount of appearances with one Indigenous character in a supporting role.	SA	260,000	2,645,000
1976	*The Last Wave*	Drama	• Substantial amount of appearances with two Indigenous characters in	SA and NSW	818,000	1,258,000

			supporting roles and many scenes.			
1976	*The Irishman*	Drama	• Substantial amount of appearances of Anglo-Celtic characters yet no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	QLD	840,000 (over budget)	622,000
1978	*Weekend of Shadows*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	500,000	61,000
1978	*Blue Fin*	Drama	• There are no depictions of non-Anglo-Celtic characters.	SA	750,000	703,000
1979	*Dawn!*	Drama	• Minimal appearances of Japanese characters in very few and short scenes.	SA, VIC, NSW, QLD and Japan	641,000	Not available
1979	*Money Movers*	Crime drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; a European Australian character named Dino plays a prominent supporting role.	SA and NSW	536,861	330,000
1979	*The Plumber*	Drama	• Substantial amount of cultural diversity of non-Anglo-Celtic and non-Europeans depicted in many scenes: Dr. Matsu- an African character; Dr. Japari- an Indian character; work colleague Anna- a	SA	150,000	Not available

			Chinese character; an Italian singer in the Italian restaurant scene.			
1980	*Breaker Morant*	Historical drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; South African characters seen in one or two short scenes and have no speaking roles.	SA	800,000	4,735,000
1980	*The Club*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; no other ethnicities depicted.	VIC	700,000	899,000
1981	*Pacific Banana*	Sex comedy	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; no other ethnicities depicted.	SA, VIC and French Polynesia	100,000; 230,000 from other investors	Not available
1981	*The Survivor*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	350,000	Not available
1982	*Freedom*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic characters; only one short scene (in a CES/Centrelink office) with other ethnicities depicted.	SA	Not available	157,000
1987	*Initiation*	Crime drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; minimal depiction of other	SA	3,000,000 SAFC co-funded with other investors	Not available

			ethnicities in one or two short scenes.			
1990	*Call Me Mr. Brown*	Crime drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no other ethnicities depicted.	SA	953,000	Not available
1990	*Struck by Lightning*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no other ethnicities depicted. Some actors with Down's Syndrome are depicted in many scenes.	SA	2,600,000; SAFC more than $500,000 and FFC $900,000	Not available
1995	*The Life of Harry Dare*	Drama	• Dominated by Indigenous characters with two Indigenous actors in lead roles; Anglo-Celtic and European characters depicted in supporting roles in some scenes.	SA	1,250,000	Not available
1996	*Zone 39*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; one Indigenous character depicted in some scenes.	SA and VIC	4,000,000 SAFC co-funded with FFC and Film Victoria	21,976
1999	*In a Savage Land*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; other ethnicities depicted in a few short scenes.	SA and Papua New Guinea	12,000,000 SAFC co-funded with other investors	314, 549

2000	*Cut*	Horror	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; other ethnicities depicted in one or two short scenes.	SA	Not available	501, 979
2000	*Sample People*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; other ethnicities depicted in one or two short scenes.	SA and NSW	2,000,000	47,252
2001	*One Night the Moon*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; three Indigenous characters depicted- two females in fewer than five scenes and one male in numerous scenes as a main character.	SA	Not available	276,270
2001	*Bodyjackers*	Sci-fi comedy	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	Not available	Not available
2001	*Moloch*	Supernatural drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	Not available	Not available
2002	*Rabbit-Proof Fence*	Biographical drama	Three Indigenous female characters depicted in the majority of the film in lead roles with other Indigenous	SA, WA and NSW	6,000,000 SAFC co-funded with other investors	6,199,600

			characters in one or two short scenes; Anglo-Celtic and European characters depicted in lead and supporting roles.			
2002	*Tempe Tip*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; other ethnicities depicted in one or two short scenes.	SA	Not available	Not available
2002	*Black and White*	Legal drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; one Indigenous character in a lead role depicted in many scenes.	SA	SAFC co-funded with FFC.	177,866
2003	*Paradise Found*	Drama	• Dominated by European characters; other non-European ethnicities depicted in one or two short scenes.	QLD and Czech Republic	Not available	4,590
2005	*I Told You I Was Ill: The Life and Legacy of Spike Milligan*	Biographical documentary	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European people; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	Ireland, NSW, UK	SAFC co-funded with FFC.	Not available
2006	*Modern Love*	Supernatural drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	Not available	549

2006	*Caterpillar Wish*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	SAFC 238,258; 1,400,000: SAFC co-funded with AFC	456,018
2006	*Elephant Tales*	Drama	• Dominated by real animals in lead roles for the majority of the film; Anglo-Celtic, European and non-Anglo-Celtic character voices for the animal characters for the entire film.	South Africa	7,430,136 SAFC co-funded with FFC and other investors	33,785
2007	*Dr. Plonk*	Silent, black and white film drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; several Indigenous characters depicted in one or two scenes.	SA and some scenes in NT	SAFC 265,802; SAFC co-funded with FFC	83,450
2007	*December Boys*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA and some scenes in VIC	385,528	50,715
2007	*Lucky Miles*	Drama	• Dominated by non-Anglo-Celtic and non-European characters (Cambodian, Indonesian, Iraqi); several Anglo-Celtic and European characters depicted in a several short scenes.	SA and Cambodia	SAFC 367,401; SAFC co-funded with other investors	678,110

2008	*Ten Empty*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic, non-European characters depicted.	SA	SAFC 185,698; 1,400,000 SAFC co-funded with AFC :	49,015
2008	*Hey Hey it's Esther Burger*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; other ethnicities (Asian, Maori) depicted in one or two short scenes.	SA and NSW	SAFC 343,315; 6,000,000 SAFC co-funded with other investors	863,950
2008	*Disgrace*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; Indigenous characters (black South Africans) in lead roles and other minor roles depicted in many scenes.	NSW, South Africa	165,976	69,705*
2009	*My Year Without Sex*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic, non-European characters depicted.	VIC	SAFC 126,914; SAFC co-funded with Adelaide Film Festival Fund, FFC, Screen Australia and other investors: 315,000 (VIC) 4,000,000	1,125,871
2009	*Closed for Winter*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-Anglo-Celtic, non-	SA	Not available	53,370

			European characters depicted.			
2009	*Beautiful Kate*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	SAFC 203,294: 4,300,000 SAFC co-funded with NSW Film and TV, FFC	1,065,656
2009	*The Boys Are Back*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters (black African) depicted in one or two scenes.	SA	620,079	2,117,064
2009	*Last Ride*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; one Indigenous character depicted in a short scene.	SA	SAFC 233, 476; SAFC co-funded with FFC	388,722
2009	*Lucky Country (aka Dark Frontier)*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.		2,050,000 SAFC co-funded with Screen Australia and Adelaide Film Festival Fund	28,000
2010	*Oranges and Sunshine*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA and UK	SAFC 250,000; 4,500,000 SAFC co-funded with Screen Australia, Screen NSW and other investors	143,480

2011	*Red Dog*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; minimal depictions of non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic (Indigenous, Chinese) characters in one or two scenes.	SA, WA, VIC and Japan	SAFC 414,676; 8,500,000 SAFC co-funded with other investors	14,013,831
2011	*Snowtown*	True crime drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	32,000	8,452
2011	*Shut Up Little Man! An Audio Misadventure*	Documentary drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	USA	SAFC 582,000; SAFC co-funded with FilmLab, Screen Australia, Adelaide Film Festival Fund and other investors	Not available
2012	*100 Bloody Acres*	Horror drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	SAFC 838,800; SAFC co-funded with Screen Australia, Film Victoria and Melbourne International Film Festival Fund	6,388
2012	*The King is Dead!*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	SAFC 626,000; SAFC co-funded with Screen Australia and other investors	Not available

2013	*52 Tuesdays*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; depiction of non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters in one or two scenes.	SA	SAFC 599,500; SAFC co-funded with Adelaide Film Festival Fund	
2014	*The Babadook*	Supernatural drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA	SAFC 310,000; 2,000,000 SAFC co-funded with Screen Australia	964,416
2015	*The Pack*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; no non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters depicted.	SA, NSW, WA, QLD	1,034,000	Not available
2015	*A Month of Sundays*	Drama	• Dominated by Anglo-Celtic and European characters; minimal depictions of non-European and non-Anglo-Celtic characters in one or two scenes.	SA	737,111	Not available

*All figures only show SAFC funding contribution unless otherwise stated.