## INCLUSION or INVISIBILITY? Comprehensive Annenberg Report on Diversity in Entertainment

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with assistance from
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## MEDIA, DIVERSITY, \& SOCIAL CHANGE INITIATIVE

Institute for
Diversity and
Empowerment at
Annenberg (IDEA)

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Dear Friends, Colleagues, Industry Employees, and Activists,
We are proud to reveal the first Comprehensive Annenberg Report on Diversity in Entertainment (CARD). This report is the result of over a year of data collection and analysis by the scholars and students at the Media, Diversity, \& Social Change Initiative (MDSC) at USC’s Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism. With over 100 research assistants working in our lab per year, we engage in and tackle issues surrounding inclusion in entertainment.

As academics, we are set apart by our solution-oriented approach - we seek out previous research and theory to discover empirical answers to complex social problems. Ultimately, our goal is to accelerate the advancement of a media environment that represents the world we inhabit-- where the voices and visions of a diverse population are valued and visible. The financial support of the Institute for Diversity and Empowerment at Annenberg (IDEA) has allowed us to take a bold new step in pursuit of this goal.

## CARD: An Industry First

For the past 10 years, we have quantified disturbing patterns around the lack of media representation concerning females and people of color in film. Despite elevated awareness around this issue, the numbers have not budged.

We are often asked two questions following the release of our film studies: "but aren't things better in television?" and "how are different companies performing?" This report is our public answer to both of these questions. And, for the first time, we have ranked companies on their level of inclusivity on screen and behind the camera. This is also the first time our research team has looked from CEO to every speaking character across film, television, and digital content.

We believe that evaluating company output is a crucial aspect of pushing the conversation on media inclusion forward to create real change. Accountability and awareness can only take us so far, though. This report is not about shame or punishment. Rather, our aim is to help companies align their products with the values they hold.

Our location on a University campus means we are no strangers to evaluation. It is a hallmark of the academy and one of our most important undertakings. The Inclusion Indices in this report are designed to serve as an evaluation tool for organizations. The Indices offer companies a metric to understand their scores in two specific ways. First, their performance relative to entertainment industry norms. Second, their performance relative to proportional representation in the U.S. population. Armed with information, media businesses can take steps to improve casting and hiring practices in the months and years to come.

Shifting from invisibility to inclusion is no easy task. Companies have the opportunity to dismantle the structures and systems that have guided decades of exclusionary decision-making. Yet, these organizations do not face this task alone. We at the MDSC Initiative are available to
develop and implement concrete solutions, monitor progress, and celebrate success with you.
There is more to do, and we look forward to continuing the conversation. Our work to foster inclusion in storytelling will continue until the landscape of media characters and creators is as varied as the audience it serves.

Onward,


Dr. Stacy L. Smith


Marc Choueiti


Dr. Katherine Peeper

# Inclusion or Invisibility? Comprehensive Annenberg Report on Diversity in Entertainment 

Dr. Stacy L. Smith, Marc Choueiti, \& Dr. Katherine Pieper<br>with assistance from<br>Ariana Case \& Artur Tofan<br>Media, Diversity, \& Social Change Initiative USC Annenberg

The Comprehensive Annenberg Report on Diversity (CARD) assesses inclusion on screen and behind the camera in fictional films, TV shows, and digital series distributed by 10 major media companies ( $21^{\text {st }}$ Century Fox, CBS, Comcast NBC Universal, Sony, The Walt Disney Company, Time Warner, Viacom, Amazon, Hulu, and Netflix).

Movies theatrically released in 2014 by the major studios or their art house divisions were included in the sample, provided they met a certain threshold of domestic box office performance (see Appendix A). Prime-time first run scripted series as well as digital offerings airing from September $1^{\text {st }} 2014$ to August $31^{\text {st }} 2015$ were sampled on broadcast, popular basic cable, premium channels or streaming services associated with the companies listed above (see Figure 1). In total, the sample included 414 stories or 109 motion pictures and 305 broadcast, cable, and digital series.

## Key Findings

## Females are Underrepresented On Screen Across the Entertainment Ecosystem

- Female characters fill only $28.7 \%$ of all speaking roles in film.
- For scripted series, less than $40 \%$ of all speaking characters were girls and women (broadcast=36.4\%, cable=37.3\%, streaming=38.1\%).
- Only $18 \%$ of stories evaluated were gender balanced, with film (8\%) the least likely to depict balance and cable the most likely (23\%).
- A full $42 \%$ of series regulars were girls/women. Streaming featured the most females in the principal cast (44.2\%), followed by broadcast (41.6\%) and cable (41\%).
- $35 \%$ of all characters were 40 years of age or older. Men fill $74.3 \%$ of these roles and women $25.7 \%$. Film (21.4\%) was less likely than broadcast (26.9\%) or cable (29.4\%) to show women 40 years of age or older. Streaming was the most likely, with females filling 33.1\% of roles for middle age and elderly characters.
- Females were more likely than males to be shown in sexy attire (Females=34.3\% vs. Males=7.6\%), with some nudity (Females=33.4\% vs. Males=10.8\%) and physically attractive (Females=11.6\% vs. Males=3.5\%).


## Females Face Erasure Behind the Camera, Particularly in Film

- A total of 4,284 directors were assessed for gender across all episodes of 305 scripted series and 109 motion pictures. A full $84.8 \%$ of directors were male $(n=3,632)$ and $15.2 \%$
were female ( $n=652$ ). This translates into a gender ratio of 5.6 males to every one female behind the camera in popular media.
- Only $3.4 \%$ of all film directors were female ( $n=4$ ). Among TV and digital series, broadcast had the highest percentage of directors (17.1\%) and streaming the lowest (11.8\%). 15.1\% of directors were female across cable shows.
- Across 6,421 writers, a full $71.1 \%$ were male and $28.9 \%$ were female. This means that for every one female screenwriter there were 2.5 male screenwriters.
- When compared to streaming ( $25.2 \%$ ), females were the least likely to have screenwriting credits in film (10.8\%) and the most likely in broadcast (31.6\%). Females comprised $28.5 \%$ of writers on cable shows.
- A total of 487 creators were credited across the sample of TV/digital offerings. Almost a quarter of these creators were women (22.6\%) and $77.4 \%$ were men. Of these show creators, $22 \%$ were female on the broadcast networks, $22.3 \%$ on cable channels, and $25 \%$ on streaming series.
- Stories with a female director attached had $5.4 \%$ more girls/women on screen than those stories without female direction ( $38.5 \%$ vs. $33.1 \%$ ). For writers and creators, the relationship was more pronounced ( $10.7 \%$ and $12.6 \%$ increase, respectively).
- Across the 10 companies evaluated, women represent roughly $20 \%$ of corporate boards, chief executives, and executive management teams.
- As power increases, female presence decreases. In film, television, and streaming executive ranks, $46.7 \%$ of Senior Vice President-level executives are female. In television, near gender parity has been reached at the Executive Vice President tier.


## Racial/Ethnic Groups Still Face Invisibility in the Entertainment Ecology

- $28.3 \%$ of all speaking characters were from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups, which is below ( $-9.6 \%$ ) the proportion in the U.S. population (37.9\%).
- Only 22 stories depicted proportional representation with U.S. population on the broadcast networks (19\%), 18 on cable (13\%), 1 on streaming (2\%), and 8 in film (7\%).
- At least half or more (52\%) of all cinematic, television, or streaming stories fail to portray one speaking or named Asian or Asian American on screen. And, 22\% of shows and movies evaluated fail to depict on screen one Black or African American speaking character.
- Out of the 407 directors evaluated, $87 \%$ were White and $13 \%$ were from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups. Only two of the 53 underrepresented directors in film and television/digital series were Black women.
- Cable shows ( $16.8 \%$ of directors) tended to attach an underrepresented director to their season premiere episodes more than broadcast ( $9.6 \%$ of directors) or streaming ( $11.4 \%$ of directors) shows. Film held an intermediate position across media, with $12.7 \%$ of all directors across 109 motion pictures from underrepresented groups.
- The percentage of on screen underrepresented characters increases $17.5 \%$ when an underrepresented director is at the helm of a scripted episode or film. Only $26.2 \%$ of characters were underrepresented when directors were White whereas $43.7 \%$ were underrepresented when directors were from racial/ethnic minority groups.


## Equity in Portrayals is Not Existent for the LGBT Community

- $2 \%$ of all speaking characters across the 414 movies, television shows, and digital series evaluated were coded LGB.
- Only seven transgender characters appeared across 414 stories evaluated.
- Almost a third of the 229 LGBT characters appeared in cable shows ( $31.4 \%, n=72$ ), 28.8\% ( $n=66$ ) in film, $24 \%(n=55)$ in broadcast, and $15.7 \%(n=36)$ in streaming. Over half of the portrayals (58\%) in movies were accounted for by two films.
- Of all LGBT characters, nearly three quarters (72.1\%) were male and $27.9 \%$ were female. The vast majority of LGBT characters were White (78.9\%) and only $21.1 \%$ were from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups.
- Few LGBT characters were shown as parents or caregivers, with females (24\%) slightly more likely to be shown in this light than males (16.4\%).


## Key Differences Exist between Film and Television/Digital Inclusion Profiles

- Of the 30 tests conducted for film companies, 24 or 80\% yielded a Not Inclusive ranking. On a standard academic scale with $100 \%$ a perfect score, no film distributor earned a final inclusion grade above $25 \%$ across all tests. As such, every film company evaluated earned a Failing score on inclusivity.
- Of the 50 tests conducted, seven Fully Inclusive and nine Largely Inclusive scores were awarded across the 10 companies evaluated on their TV/digital content.
- The Walt Disney Company and The CW Network are the top performers when it comes to inclusion in television/digital series. Disney succeeds in representing women and underrepresented characters on screen. Both companies evidence hiring practices behind the camera for writers and show creators that approach balance.
- Hulu and Amazon performed strongly due to their inclusivity of women. Amazon was the only company rated Fully Inclusive for hiring female directors.


## Introduction

Public discourse on issues of equality and diversity has reached a fever pitch. In 2015, the conversation ranged from news coverage of violent protests to online hashtags, from celebrations outside the Supreme Court to essays and acceptance speeches. As the volume around this topic has escalated across industries, Hollywood has found itself at the center-both as a target of protest and a site of unrest. It is easy to see why.

Diversity in the U.S. population is well represented across the film and television audience. U.S. Census data demonstrate that minority representation in the population rose to $37.9 \%$ in $2014 .{ }^{1}$ Among children 0 to 5 years of age, $50.2 \%$ are from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups. ${ }^{2}$ Box office attendance mirrors these figures. For films, $46 \%$ of ticket buyers come from an underrepresented racial/ethnic group and $50 \%$ are female. ${ }^{3}$

Beyond film, Americans devote a great deal of time to television. Adults spend an average of 4 hours per day with television, with the most usage occurring during prime time. ${ }^{4}$ These programs find a diverse audience. Nielsen estimates that $86 \%$ of U.S. households have some form of access to cable television, including a majority of Black (85\%), Hispanic (81\%), and AsianAmerican (77\%) households. ${ }^{5}$ Viewers not only rely on broadcast and cable, but have turned to online providers for content. Netflix numbers its international subscribers at more than 75 million, ${ }^{6}$ and original series across the streaming service as well as its competitors (i.e., Amazon, Hulu) have achieved critical acclaim and awards recognition.

Clearly, the multiplatform environment reaches a diverse audience. Yet, do ticket buyers and viewers find a reflection of themselves on screens large and small? Amidst controversy over the Academy Awards ${ }^{\circledR}$ nominations in 2015 and 2016, it becomes increasingly important to examine more than just niche or specialty content. The landscape of media must be assessed to understand whether inclusion or invisibility is occurring on a large scale. Ultimately, is Hollywood delivering a product that bears little resemblance to those who are viewing it?

To date, a few studies on inclusion have circulated in the popular press and entertainment trade publications. Using online databases and without watching content, the UCLA landscape study examines the first eight characters in television shows, digital series, and movies using listings from industry databases. ${ }^{7}$ This approach is limited in that many stories have more than eight speaking characters (e.g., Game of Thrones, Transformers: Age of Extinction). Further, little knowledge is gained about the way in which characters are portrayed when content is not actually viewed.

Other research (e.g., SDSU) investigates the gender of some -- but not all -- independent speaking characters in movies. The SDSU research also fails to report on the frequency and nature of LGBT characters and only briefly covers racial/ethnic portrayals in TV, film, and streaming content. ${ }^{8}$ Or, studies may provide detailed information on LGBT (e.g., GLAAD) depictions or the Latino community without documenting the entire population of speaking characters in film, TV, or digital series. ${ }^{9}$ All these approaches are informative and make contributions to our knowledge base. But, they are also limited, as they do not allow consumers,
activists, and even industry insiders to understand the level of intersectionality across groups shown in media.

To fill in these gaps, the Comprehensive Annenberg Report on Diversity (CARD) assesses the prevalence and context of gender roles, race/ethnicity, and LGBT portrayals across every speaking character shown in theatrically-released films, scripted prime-time television, or original narrative series depicted on digital platforms. In addition, we take a look at who is calling the shots behind the camera by assessing the gender of directors, creators, and writers across media platforms. For some measures, the race/ethnicity of those working behind the camera is also examined (i.e., film, season premiere episode of TV/digital series).

In addition to reporting trends by type of storytelling platform (i.e., film, broadcast, cable, digital), the report also looks at inclusion at the company level. For instance, The Walt Disney Company not only has film distribution divisions but also multiple channels where the organization airs first-run shows during prime-time hours (e.g., ABC, Freeform, Disney Channel). We aggregate the data at the company level and compare diversity profiles on screen and behind the camera across film and TV divisions. Consistent with this focus, the gender of executives and those with decision-making authority over content is also assessed. This way, the report provides a current overview of content, content creators, and executives that is missing from the larger conversation on diversity in entertainment.

The report is structured as follows. First, the study methodology is briefly reviewed. Many of the decisions regarding how the investigation was completed are featured in the footnotes of the report. Second, industry wide trends pertaining to inclusion on screen (gender, race/ethnicity, LGBT status) and behind the camera are illuminated. This section details how media diversity differs substantially by distribution platform. Companies are analyzed in the third section of the report. For certain measures, the diversity of content provided on television, film, and/or streaming sites is highlighted across 10 major media organizations ( $21^{\text {st }}$ Century Fox, CBS, Comcast NBCUniversal, Sony, The Walt Disney Company, Time Warner, Viacom, Amazon, Hulu, Netflix). The final section concludes with a summary of our findings as well as a series of recommendations to increase media inclusion as well as the hiring of diverse content creators and executives.

It must be noted that there are a few things this report does not do. We do not focus on reality programming, news, sports, or financial series. Consistent with this approach, documentaries were not evaluated. This decision was made because we are uniquely interested in how inequality manifests itself and is perpetuated in the hiring, writing, and casting of fictional stories. Further, our other research has highlighted behind the camera and on screen patterns of diversity in reality shows and documentaries. That work can be found on our Media, Diversity, \& Social Change website (http://annenberg.usc.edu/pages/DrStacyLSmithMDSCI).

We also do not focus on any other time slot besides prime time. While television channels air first run content at multiple times of day, we chose to focus on stories capturing the largest audience on the most popular channels. For digital series, however, all fictional narratives were evaluated. Finally, we do not assess any syndicated content. Only first-run original series were
captured by the sampling procedure. This way, our focus reveals the values companies place on diversity in high profile, potentially lucrative content in a recent media cycle.

## Study Methodology

The sample involved analyzing content distributed by major media companies. As such, the companies dictated the films, television shows, and digital series evaluated. The 10 major media companies assessed in this report were: 21st Century Fox, CBS, Comcast NBC Universal, Sony, The Walt Disney Company, Time Warner, Viacom, Amazon, Hulu, and Netflix. See Figure 1 for a list of the companies examined and their channel subsidiaries. See Appendix A for a list of films in the sample.

Figure 1
List of Channels by Company

| 21 $^{\text {st }}$ Century Fox | Warner Bros. \& CBS | Viacom |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| FOX | The CW | BET |
| FX |  | Comedy Central |
| FXX | The Walt Disney Company | MTV |
|  | ABC | Nickelodeon/Nick at Nite |
| CBS Corporation | Disney Channel | Spike |
| CBS | Disney Junior | Teen Nick |
| Showtime | Freeform | TV Land |
| NBC Universal | Time Warner | VH-1 |
| Bravo | Adult Swim | Amazon |
| E! | Cinemax |  |
| NBC | HBO | Hulu |
| SyFy | TBS | Netflix |
| USA | TNT |  |

All fictional films theatrically released in 2014 by the major studios or their art house divisions were included in the sample. ${ }^{10}$ We stipulated, however, that movies had to make at least $\$ 7.5$ million theatrically if distributed by a major studio or $\$ 1$ million if released by an art house division at the same company. Prime-time first run scripted series airing from September $1^{\text {st }}$ 2014 to August $31^{\text {st }} 2015$ were sampled on broadcast, popular basic cable, or premium channels associated with the companies listed above. ${ }^{11}$ Scripted series airing on Amazon, Hulu, and Netflix within the sample time frame were also assessed. ${ }^{12}$ In total, the sample included 414 stories or 109 motion pictures and 305 broadcast, cable, and digital series. ${ }^{13}$

Every film and first episode of the scripted series sampled was content analyzed for gender roles, race/ethnicity of the cast, and LGBT depictions. The major unit of analysis was the speaking or named character. ${ }^{14}$ A speaking character is defined as uttering one or more independent and discernible words on screen. Each speaking or named character was assessed for role (e.g., lead/co lead of film, series regular in TV/digital shows), demographics (e.g., sex, race/ethnicity, age), domesticity (e.g., parental/relational status), hypersexualization (e.g., sexually revealing
clothing, nudity, attractiveness), and LGBT-related variables. ${ }^{15}$ Episodes and films were also evaluated at the story level for information including, but not limited to, genre and rating.

Three research assistants independently evaluated each movie or scripted episode and disagreements were resolved through discussion with one member of the MDSC leadership team. A fourth researcher "quality checked" all of the judgments post discussion. After this process, the finalized file was entered into our database for analysis. To the best of our knowledge, this is the most rigorous approach applied to analyzing on screen media content.

Turning to behind the camera, the gender of every director and writer of each episode within the sampled series was evaluated using industry databases (i.e., Variety Insight, IMDbPro, Studio System) and publicly available information. Race/ethnicity was only assessed for a subsection of content creators in film (i.e., directors) and scripted series (i.e., first episode director). ${ }^{16} \mathrm{By}$ looking at the gender and underrepresented status of content creators, we can examine whether or not diversity behind the camera is related to on screen inclusivity.

Across the 10 companies, executives also were evaluated. ${ }^{17}$ Here, the gender composition of the CEOs, members of executive suite and board of directors, and employees at the Executive Vice President or Senior Vice President level or above in film, TV, or streaming divisions were scrutinized. In this way, the pipeline from the C-suite to the delivery of media content to consumers can be illuminated.

As with many of our reports, we stipulate that only significant ( $p<.05$ ) and meaningful (5\% or greater between percentages) differences are reported below. Some of our analyses are qualitative or do not require statistical tests. When this occurs, we report differences based on the $5 \%$ rule. By using this approach, we do not emphasize non trivial (1-2\%) differences in the report.

## Gender

## Prevalence On Screen

Across the 11,306 speaking characters, $66.5 \%$ were male and $33.5 \%$ were female. This calculates into a sample wide gender ratio of seeing 2 males to every 1 female on screen. Character gender differs significantly by distribution platform. ${ }^{18}$ As depicted in Table 1, female characters fill only 28.7\% of all speaking roles in film. For scripted series, less than $40 \%$ of all speaking characters were girls and women (broadcast=36.4\%, cable=37.3\%, streaming=38.1\%). These findings are surprising given that females represent fully half of the world's population.

Table 1
Gender of Speaking Characters by Media Platform

| Measures | Film | Broadcast | Cable | Streaming | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% of female speaking characters | $28.7 \%$ | $36.4 \%$ | $37.3 \%$ | $38.1 \%$ | $33.5 \%$ |
| \% of gender-balanced casts | $8 \%$ | $21 \%$ | $23 \%$ | $18 \%$ | $18 \%$ |
| Gender ratio of M's to F's | 2.5 to 1 | 1.7 to 1 | 1.7 to 1 | 1.6 to 1 | 2 to 1 |
| Total \# of characters | 4,853 | 2,472 | 2,860 | 1,121 | 11,306 |
| Total \# of stories evaluated | 109 | 116 | 138 | 51 | 414 |

The percentage of films and scripted series with "balanced casts" was also assessed. Balanced refers to a cast with girls and women in 45-54.9\% of all speaking or named roles on screen. Few films and scripted series accurately reflect females’ proportional representation in the U.S. population (see Table 1). Only 18\% of stories evaluated were gender balanced, with film (8\% of all movies) the least likely to put girls/women in roughly half of all speaking roles and cable the most likely ( $23 \%$ of all shows). Given the findings in Table 1, it is clear that females are still underrepresented on screen across the ecosystem of popular fictional content.

The previous analysis focused on all speaking or named characters. Now, the attention is turned to leading or prominent roles in media content. Across the 109 films in the sample, a total of 155 characters were coded as leads. Almost three-quarters of these leads were male (73.5\%) and $26.5 \%(n=41)$ were female. Fourteen (9\%) of the 155 lead actors were females from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups. Looking closely at the data, 9 of these actors appeared in three ensemble films: Think Like a Man Too, About Last Night, and The Purge: Anarchy. Only 5 underrepresented females were cast to play leads or co leads across 5 of the 109 movies in the sample. Cameron Diaz was cast in two of these films, leaving a total of 4 roles for underrepresented females.

Focusing on scripted television and streaming series, the gender of "series regulars" was assessed using Variety Insight. ${ }^{19}$ Series regulars are individuals performing the same role consistently across a season of episodes in a single series. ${ }^{20}$ Also included in this category were actors that repeatedly voice talent in animated shows. Series regulars do not have to appear in every episode, however.

Matter of fact, $9.6 \%$ of all series regulars did not appear in the season premiere of the show. When an actor with this distinction was not in the season premiere episode content analyzed, his/her gender and race/ethnicity was noted from industry databases. Thus, our analyses are not limited to only the first episode but rather the continuing cast across the entire series.

Table 2
Gender of Series Regulars in Scripted TV/Digital Episodes by Media Platform

| Gender of Series Regulars | Broadcast | Cable | Streaming | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% of male series regulars | $58.4 \%$ | $59 \%$ | $55.8 \%$ | $58.2 \%$ |
| \% of female series regulars | $41.6 \%$ | $41 \%$ | $44.2 \%$ | $41.8 \%$ |
| Total \# of stories evaluated | 116 | 138 | 51 | 305 |

A full $42 \%$ of series regulars were girls/women. This percentage did not differ by platform (see Table 2). ${ }^{21}$ Streaming featured the most females in the principal cast (44.2\%), followed by broadcast (41.6\%) and cable (41\%).

In sum, the findings on gender prevalence reveal two major trends. First, scripted content is far more inclusive of girls and women on screen than cinematic storytelling. Second, few scripted shows or movies analyzed were "gender balanced" or featured females in roughly half of all roles. These latter findings are troubling, as they illuminate a bias toward casting male actors in small parts.

## Portrayal On Screen

Three characteristics associated with gender stereotyping were evaluated. The first pertains to domestic roles as parents (no, yes) and/or relational partners (no, yes). Studies show that exposure to gender stereotyping in the media can contribute to and/or reinforce traditional perceptions and beliefs about roles for males and females in society. ${ }^{22}$ Thus, it is important to assess whether media are still portraying gender-linked ideals pertaining to the heart and home.

Table 3
Characters Depicted as Parents by Gender within Media Platform

| Media Platform |  | Parents |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Females |  |
| Film | $40.8 \%$ | $53.8 \%$ |  |
| Broadcast | $40.7 \%$ | $43.3 \%$ |  |
| Cable | $36.3 \%$ | $41.2 \%$ |  |
| Streaming | $29.3 \%$ | $33.8 \%$ |  |

Note: Characters were evaluated for parental status (no, yes) only when there were enough cues available in the plot. The cells reflect the percentage of characters within gender that were shown as parents. Subtracting a particular cell from $100 \%$ will reflect the percentage of characters within gender that were not shown as parents.

As shown in Tables 3 and 4, character gender was only related to domestic roles in film. ${ }^{23}$ In movies, females were more likely to be shown as mothers and romantic partners than were males. No other differences of $5 \%$ or greater on these measures emerged by gender in broadcast, cable, or streaming series. Not only were television and digital series more equitable on screen but they were also less likely to show females in a traditional or domesticated light.

Table 4
Characters Depicted in a Romantic Relationship by Gender within Media Platform

| Media Platform |  | Relational Partners |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Females |  |
| Film | $48.9 \%$ | $59.2 \%$ |  |
| Broadcast | $54.4 \%$ | $58.7 \%$ |  |
| Cable | $51 \%$ | $50 \%$ |  |
| Streaming | $43.7 \%$ | $46.5 \%$ |  |

Note: Characters were evaluated for the presence of a romantic relationship (no, yes) only when there were enough cues available in the plot. The cells reflect the percentage of characters within gender that were shown as relational partners. Subtracting a particular cell from $100 \%$ will reflect the percentage of characters within gender that are not shown as relational partners.

Besides traditional roles, the age of characters was examined. One of the most politicized areas in Hollywood pertains to casting women 40 years of age or older. Our findings show that $35 \%$ of all characters with a discernible age were in this age bracket. The vast majority of these parts go to males, however. As shown in Table 5, men fill 74.3\% of these roles and women 25.7\%. Film was less likely than broadcast or cable to show women 40 years of age or older. ${ }^{24}$ Streaming was the most likely, with females filling 33.1\% of roles for middle age and elderly characters.

Table 5
Characters 40 Years of Age and Older by Gender within Media Platform

| Characters 40+ yrs of age | Film | Broadcast | Cable | Streaming | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% of males | $78.6 \%$ | $73.1 \%$ | $70.6 \%$ | $66.9 \%$ | $74.3 \%$ |
| \% of females | $21.4 \%$ | $26.9 \%$ | $29.4 \%$ | $33.1 \%$ | $25.7 \%$ |

The sexualization of characters shown on screen also was assessed (see Figure 2). Females were more likely than males to be shown in sexy attire (Females=34.3\% vs. Males=7.6\%) or with some nudity (Females=33.4\% vs. Males=10.8\%). ${ }^{25}$ Differences also emerged with verbal and nonverbal references to physical attractiveness. Females (11.6\%) were more likely to be depicted as physically desirous than were males (3.5\%).

Figure 2
Character Sexualization by Gender


Given these pronounced gender differences, we only examined female sexualization by media type (see Footnote 26 for male sexualization by platform). ${ }^{26}$ As shown in Table 6, female characters were more likely to be shown scantily clad in broadcast, cable, and streaming content than female characters in films. Females were most likely to be shown partially or fully naked in cable shows and least likely in movies. No differences emerged in references to physical attractiveness by platform.

Table 6
Female Character Sexualization by Media Platform

| Sexualization Measures | Film | Broadcast | Cable | Streaming |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% shown in sexually revealing clothing | $28.6 \%$ | $36.4 \%$ | $39.6 \%$ | $34.7 \%$ |
| \% shown w/partial or full nudity | $27.5 \%$ | $35.3 \%$ | $39.6 \%$ | $32.5 \%$ |
| \% referenced as physically attractive | $13.9 \%$ | $10.2 \%$ | $10.8 \%$ | $9.6 \%$ |

These sexualization findings are troubling for multiple reasons. Theory suggests and research supports that exposure to objectifying content may contribute to and/or reinforce negative effects such as self objectification, body shame, and/or appearance anxiety among some female viewers. ${ }^{27}$ Thus, exposure to scripted content may pose heightened risk among some body conscious female viewers. The results also reveal a potential unintended consequence of populating media content with more females on screen. Specifically, the increase of female characters in television, cable, and streaming stories was associated with greater sexualization of girls and women. Clearly, it is not enough to simply advocate for proportional representation of males and females in the media. The nature or context of the portrayal must also be taken into consideration.

Overall, a few major conclusions can be drawn regarding the nature of portrayals involving males and females across media. Antiquated storytelling with females in domesticated roles
(parents, partners) is a pattern in film -- not television or digital series. Older females continue to be marginalized across all media studied, with cinematic storytelling the worst offender. Finally, female characters were more likely to be sexualized than male characters. This was particularly problematic in television and digital content, suggesting that with a higher incidence of females on screen a higher prevalence of sexualization follows. Given these trends, it becomes important to examine the gender of content creators responsible for the way in which male and female characters were presented on screen.

## Behind the Camera

Gender composition was examined in two key behind the camera positions in film and scripted series: director and writer. We assessed every film as well as each episode of all the series sampled on broadcast, cable, and streaming platforms. This approach was taken to allow for a broader view of employment patterns behind the camera in television and digital series beyond the season premiere.

A total of 4,284 directors were assessed for gender across all episodes of 305 scripted series and 109 motion pictures. A full $84.8 \%$ of directors were male ( $n=3,632$ ) and $15.2 \%$ were female ( $n=652$ ). This translates into a gender ratio of 5.6 males to every one female behind the camera in popular media. Director gender and media platform were related. ${ }^{28}$ As shown in Table 7, only 3.4\% of all film directors were female (n=4). Among TV and digital series, broadcast had the highest percentage of directors (17.1\%) and streaming the lowest (11.8\%).

The Directors Guild of America (DGA) indicates that 23\% of its members are women, which includes directors and members of the directorial team (e.g., Unit Production Managers, Assistant Directors, Associate Directors, etc.). ${ }^{29}$ Clearly, no platform is hiring female directors at proportional representation based on the DGA standard.

Table 7
Director Gender by Media Platform

| Director Gender | Film | Broadcast | Cable | Streaming | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% of male directors | $96.6 \%$ | $82.9 \%$ | $84.9 \%$ | $88.2 \%$ | $84.8 \%$ |
| \% of female directors | $3.4 \%$ | $17.1 \%$ | $15.1 \%$ | $11.8 \%$ | $15.2 \%$ |
| Gender Ratio | 28.5 to 1 | 4.8 to 1 | 5.6 to 1 | 7.5 to 1 | 5.6 to 1 |
| Total Number | 118 | 1,886 | 1,677 | 603 | 4,284 |

A similar analysis was conducted for writer gender. Here, only those artists receiving credit associated with writing the screenplay, story, or teleplay were included. Creator, developed by, or source material credits (e.g., novel, book, characters, poem) did not count in this analysis. ${ }^{30}$ Across 6,421 writers, a full $71.1 \%$ were male and $28.9 \%$ were female. This means that for every one female screenwriter there were 2.5 male screenwriters. Writer gender varied by media platform, as demonstrated in Table 8. ${ }^{31}$ When compared to streaming (25.2\%), females were the least likely to have screenwriting credits in film (10.8\%) and the most likely in broadcast (31.6\%).

Table 8
Writer Gender by Media Platform

| Writer Gender | Film | Broadcast | Cable | Streaming | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% of male writers | $89.2 \%$ | $68.4 \%$ | $71.5 \%$ | $74.8 \%$ | $71.1 \%$ |
| \% of female writers | $10.8 \%$ | $31.6 \%$ | $28.5 \%$ | $25.2 \%$ | $28.9 \%$ |
| Gender Ratio | 8.3 to 1 | 2.2 to 1 | 2.5 to 1 | 3 to 1 | 2.5 to 1 |
| Total Number | 222 | 2,968 | 2,311 | 920 | 6,421 |

In addition to writing and directing, we examined the gender of series creators. A total of 487 creators were credited. Almost a quarter of these creators were women (22.6\%) and $77.4 \%$ were men. Show creator gender did not vary by platform. ${ }^{32}$ Of show creators, $22 \%$ were female on the broadcast networks, $22.3 \%$ on cable channels, and $25 \%$ on streaming series.

Table 9
Show Creator Gender by Media Platform

| Show Creator Gender | Broadcast | Cable | Streaming | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% of males | $78 \%$ | $77.7 \%$ | $75 \%$ | $77.4 \%$ |
| \% of females | $22 \%$ | $22.3 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $22.6 \%$ |
| Gender Ratio | 3.5 to 1 | 3.5 to 1 | 3 to 1 | 3.4 to 1 |
| Total Number | 186 | 229 | 72 | 487 |

Note: This analysis only applies to television and digital series. Creator or developed by credit determined "show creator." Creators of source material predating the development of the television or digital series were not included (i.e., characters created for a movie, novels turned into scripted shows).

Is having a female behind the camera associated with on screen patterns of representation in film, TV, and digital series? To answer this question, we combined our on screen and behind the camera data sets. For films and the season premiere episode coded, we bifurcated the sample into those stories with at least one female director vs. those stories without any female direction. The same process was completed with writers and creators by gender. Then, we examined the percentage of girls/women on screen in stories with and without females in gate-keeping positions.

As shown in Figure 3, the relationship between director gender and character gender was significant. ${ }^{33}$ Stories with a female director attached had $5.4 \%$ more girls/women on screen than those stories without female direction ( $38.5 \%$ vs. $33.1 \%$ ). For writers, the relationship was more pronounced. ${ }^{34}$ Films and TV/digital shows with at least one female screenwriter were more likely ( $10.7 \%$ increase) to feature female characters on screen than those without a female screenwriter attached ( $41.1 \%$ vs. $30.4 \%$ ). The relationship between show creator gender and character gender was also significant. ${ }^{35}$ In the absence of a female show creator on a television or digital series, only $33.5 \%$ of on screen speaking characters were girls and women. The percentage jumped to $46.1 \%$ (12.6\% increase) when a women was involved in the creation or development of a fictional show.

These findings suggest that one solution to on screen diversity is to hire more women behind the camera. It may also be the case, however, that executives feel more comfortable hiring women directors and screenwriters when the story pulls female. This latter explanation is problematic and limits the frequency and types of open directing/writing jobs available to women.

Figure 3
Percentage of Female Characters On Screen by Gender of Content Creator


Summing up, the prevalence and portrayal of women in media has been a topic of much interest to the press and the public recently. Based on the data presented in this section of the report, it is clear that this concern has rightfully emerged. Females are underrepresented both on screen and in key behind the camera roles. Additionally, the nature of female portrayal reveals a continued reliance on stereotypes and a focus on appearance. Including women behind the camera may be one antidote to the problem, though more research is needed on the effects of hiring women for on screen depictions. Across the media landscape, females face key disparities that must be addressed.

## Executives

In addition to on screen speaking characters and behind the camera roles, the gender of 1,558 executives at media companies was examined. ${ }^{36}$ This analysis catalogued the leadership profile at the parent companies and corporate divisions of film studios, television networks, and digital content organizations. Due to variability in the structure of each company, we attempted to standardize across 10 different organizations. This was done by using the titles that each company awards to its executives. Beginning with the Chief Executive, we examined each level of the corporate structure down to and including individuals with titles at the Senior Vice President (SVP) level.

Table 10
Top Corporate Executives by Gender and Position

| Position | Males | Females |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Board of Directors | $81 \%$ | $19 \%$ |
| C-Suite | $79 \%$ | $21 \%$ |
| Executive Management Team (if applicable) | $81 \%$ | $19 \%$ |

Note: Three companies had executive management teams that oversaw their media divisions: Comcast NBC Universal, Sony, and Amazon. In these cases, the C-suite designation includes the parent company and an additional line was created for individuals with governance over the media divisions of these corporations.

Across this span of titles, males hold 65\% of all executive positions while females fill 35\% of jobs at the SVP level and above. As shown in Table 10, women represent roughly $20 \%$ of corporate boards, chief executives, and executive management teams. ${ }^{37}$ Corporate boards consisted of elected or appointed officials, while chief executives oversee operations at the corporate level and have responsibility for all aspects of a media company, not solely film or television. In some cases, an intermediate team of executives (i.e., Amazon, Comcast NBC Universal, Sony) had responsibility for the media divisions of interest. Those were classified as the executive management team. At the pinnacle of some of the largest and most important media companies in the world, women are still roughly one-fifth of the decision-makers. In fact, not one of the corporate parent companies in our sample is led by a female CEO.

Looking at leadership in film, a total of $33.1 \%$ of all executives were female and $66.9 \%$ were male. However, gender varies by executive rank. Focusing on the senior-most position, Chairmen/CEOs, no major film group has a female in the top leadership role. Two female Chairs, however, do appear. Focusing more broadly on top executives (Chairs, Presidents), $25.6 \%$ are female. Moving down the corporate ladder, females fill 29\% of Executive Vice President (EVP) and comparable positions in film, and $40.4 \%$ of SVP and similar roles.

Turning to television, a slightly different pattern emerges. Overall, $45.1 \%$ of individuals working as executives in television are women. While $21.5 \%$ of the top executives are women, parity is reached at the EVP (45.3\%) and SVP (50.4\%) levels. Individuals ascending the corporate ranks, but still in the lower levels of executive leadership are embedded in a more egalitarian environment.

Finally, streaming companies were analyzed. ${ }^{38}$ On the whole, $67.1 \%$ of all streaming executives were men, and $32.9 \%$ were women. Females are still in few (20\%) top executive positions. At EVP-equivalent levels, women fill $18.7 \%$ of all jobs, which is the lowest across media platforms. However, gender parity is reached at SVP-level occupations (51.4\%) in these smaller organizations.

Table 11
Female Corporate Executives by Media Platform

| Position | Film | TV | Streaming | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% of Female Top Executives | $25.6 \%$ | $21.5 \%$ | $20 \%$ | $23.7 \%$ |
| \% of Female EVPs or equivalent | $29 \%$ | $45.3 \%$ | $18.7 \%$ | $35.9 \%$ |
| \% of Female SVPs or equivalent | $40.4 \%$ | $50.4 \%$ | $51.4 \%$ | $46.7 \%$ |
| Total | $33.1 \%$ | $45.1 \%$ | $32.9 \%$ | $39.1 \%$ |

Note: Top executives consisted of individuals at the head of movie studios or film groups (Chairs, Presidents). When titles at the EVP or SVP level co-occurred with "Chief Officer" titles, they were held to the EVP/SVP level.

Examining the executive ranks of major film and television companies reveals that women are not represented in positions of senior leadership in equal numbers to their male counterparts. Looking at intermediate tiers of media companies reveals a sizeable contingent of female decision-makers working as SVPs and EVPs. As power increases, the participation or representation of women in executive ranks decreases.

## Race/Ethnicity

In addition to gender, we examined the racial/ethnic background of characters on screen and individuals working in certain behind-the-camera positions. The next section outlines results related the prevalence, portrayal, and off-screen representation of individuals from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups.

## Prevalence On Screen

Of those speaking or named characters with enough cues to ascertain race/ethnicity ( $n=10,444$ ), 71.7\% were White, 12.2\% Black, 5.8\% Hispanic/Latino, 5.1\% Asian, 2.3\% Middle Eastern and 3.1\% Other. Thus, $28.3 \%$ of all speaking characters were from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups, which is below ( $-9.6 \%$ ) the proportion in the U.S. population (37.9\%). ${ }^{39}$ The percentage of underrepresented speaking characters did not meaningfully vary by media platform, as shown in Table 12. ${ }^{40}$

We also looked at the number of shows featuring "racial/ethnic balance." Balance was defined as shows with proportional representation to the U.S. Census percentage of $37.9 \%$. If a show featured underrepresented characters within $10 \%$ ( 3.79 points) of the U.S. Census statistic, it was considered balanced (range of 34.1-41.7\%). Few stories meet this criterion, with only 22 on the broadcast networks (19\%), 18 on cable (13\%), 1 on streaming ( $2 \%$ ), and 8 in film (7\%). Clearly, most stories fail to reflect or match the demographic composition of the U.S.

Table 12
Underrepresented Speaking Characters \& Balanced Casts by Platform

| Underrepresented Characters | Film | Broadcast | Cable | Streaming | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% of UR speaking characters | $26.7 \%$ | $29.7 \%$ | $29.2 \%$ | $29.4 \%$ | $28.3 \%$ |
| \% of shows w/UR balanced cast | $7 \%$ | $19 \%$ | $13 \%$ | $2 \%$ | $12 \%$ |
| Total \# of stories evaluated | 109 | 116 | 138 | 51 | 414 |

To gauge the level of invisibility in storytelling, we were interested in the number of shows and films that did not depict any speaking characters from two specific racial groups: Black/African American and Asian. Two trends are immediately apparent in Table 13. First, streaming stories were more exclusionary of actors from both groups than the other media platforms. Second, at least half or more of all cinematic, television, or streaming stories fail to portray one speaking or named Asian or Asian American on screen. Undoubtedly, there is a vast underrepresentation of racial/ethnic minority groups that still plagues entertainment content.

Table 13
Number of Shows Without Any Black or Asian Speaking Characters by Platform

| Racial/Ethnic Group | Film | Broadcast | Cable | Streaming |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \# of stories w/no Black speaking <br> characters | $18 \%$ <br> $(n=20)$ | $16 \%$ <br> $(n=19)$ | $23 \%$ <br> $(n=32)$ | $37 \%$ <br> $(n=19)$ |
| \# of stories w/no Asian speaking <br> characters | $50 \%$ <br> $(n=55)$ | $51 \%$ <br> $(n=59)$ | $51 \%$ <br> $(n=70)$ | $63 \%$ <br> $(n=32)$ |
| Total \# of stories evaluated | 109 | 116 | 138 | 51 |

Pivoting to leading characters in film, $21.8 \%$ were coded as underrepresented which is $16.1 \%$ below U.S. Census. The distribution of characters was gendered, with $65.6 \%$ of underrepresented characters male and $34.4 \%$ female. Focusing only on leads, the vast majority were Black ( $65.6 \%$ ). Only $12.5 \%$ of underrepresented leads were Latino and $6.3 \%$ were Asian. Roughly a sixth (15.6\%) of all underrepresented leads were from "other" races or ethnicities.

While the last analysis focused on leading characters of films, the next assesses series regulars or the recurring cast throughout the entire season (see Table 14). As with gender, this analysis only applies to television and digital series. No statistically significant difference was observed by media platform. ${ }^{41}$ Underrepresented series regulars were slightly more likely to occur in broadcast (27.6\%) and streaming stories (29.6\%) than in cable stories (24.6\%).

Table 14
Underrepresented Main Characters by Media Type

| UR Series Regulars | Broadcast | Cable | Streaming | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% of UR series regulars | $27.6 \%$ | $24.6 \%$ | $29.6 \%$ | $26.6 \%$ |
| Total \# of stories evaluated | 116 | 138 | 51 | 305 |

Overall, the landscape of media content is still largely whitewashed. Relative to the U.S. population, the industry is underperforming on racial/ethnic diversity of leads (film), series regulars (TV/digital), and all speaking characters. The number of shows missing two racial groups entirely is particularly problematic. The hashtag \#OscarsSoWhite should be changed to \#HollywoodSoWhite, as our findings show that an epidemic of invisibility runs throughout popular storytelling.

## Portrayal On Screen

Similar to our gender analysis, we were interested in how different racial/ethnic groups were presented on screen in terms of demography, domesticity, and hypersexuality. Prior to analysis, the race/ethnicity variable was collapsed into five levels: White, Latino, Black, Asian, and other. This was due to the fact that too few characters appeared on screen across the remaining racial/ethnic categories measured.

Table 15
Character Gender within Racial/Ethnic Groups

| Character Gender | White | Latino | Black | Asian | Other |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Male | $65.7 \%$ | $62.1 \%$ | $66.1 \%$ | $63.4 \%$ | $62.3 \%$ |
| Female | $34.3 \%$ | $37.9 \%$ | $33.9 \%$ | $36.6 \%$ | $37.7 \%$ |

In terms of demographics, the gender distribution within different racial/ethnic groups was assessed. No statistically significant differences emerged, however. ${ }^{42}$ As shown in Table 15, Latinas and females from "other" racial/ethnic groups tended to be shown more frequently than White or Black females. Turning to age, we examined the race/ethnicity of female characters 40 years of age or older. As noted earlier, only $25.7 \%$ of all middle age and elderly characters were female across the sample. Of these, the majority were White (77.8\%). Only 20.9\% were from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups. 1.3\% of female characters did not have a discernible race/ethnicity. Looking at the numbers, only 203 underrepresented females 40 and over were coded across the entire sample. This is less than $2 \%$ of all speaking characters. Surely, these findings reveal that underrepresented females are largely invisible after 40 years of age in film, television, and digital series.

In terms of domestic roles, there was no significant relationship between race/ethnicity and parental status ${ }^{43}$ or relational status ${ }^{44}$ for male or female characters. Turning to sexualization, we only report on female characters given the pronounced gender differences observed earlier in the report. For simplicity purposes we are only going to focus on the highs and lows in this analysis. Female characters from "other" racial/ethnic groups were more likely to be shown in sexualized
attire, with exposed skin, and referenced as attractive than were Black or Asian female characters (see Table 16 for complete distribution by race/ethnicity). ${ }^{45}$

Table 16
Female Character Sexualization by Race/Ethnicity

| Sexualization Measures | White | Latina | Black | Asian | Other |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% in sexualized attire | $34.8 \%$ | $39.5 \%$ | $29.5 \%$ | $28.9 \%$ | $41.6 \%$ |
| \% w/some nudity | $34.2 \%$ | $35.5 \%$ | $28.6 \%$ | $27.7 \%$ | $39.7 \%$ |
| \% referenced attractive | $12.6 \%$ | $11.4 \%$ | $7.9 \%$ | $7.7 \%$ | $15.3 \%$ |

In sum, the findings in this section reveal two major trends. First, few shows or movies actually depict proportional representation in overall speaking characters or leads. Perhaps most problematically, many stories still fail to depict African American or Asian American speaking characters on screen. In half or more stories evaluated, Asians are completely missing. Second, female sexualization varied by race/ethnicity, particularly for Asian females and those from "other" racial/ethnic groups.

## Behind the Camera

Focusing on behind the camera, the race/ethnicity of every film director as well as those helming the first episode of every television show and scripted series was assessed. ${ }^{46}$ All film directors were examined for race/ethnicity. However, only live action directors of television shows and digital series were included in the analysis. Out of the 407 directors evaluated, $87 \%$ were White and $13 \%$ were from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups. Only two of the 53 underrepresented directors in film and television/digital series were Black women: Amma Asante (Belle) and Ava DuVernay (Selma).

Table 17
Underrepresented Directors by Media Platform

| UR Director Status | Film | Broadcast | Cable | Streaming |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% of White Directors | $87.3 \%$ | $90.4 \%$ | $83.2 \%$ | $88.6 \%$ |
| \% of Underrepresented Directors | $12.7 \%$ | $9.6 \%$ | $16.8 \%$ | $11.4 \%$ |
| Ratio | 6.9 to 1 | 9.4 to 1 | 4.9 to 1 | 7.8 to 1 |

Note: This analysis only applies to the first episode of live action series $(n=280)$ and all films ( $n=109$; live action or animated) in the sample.

The relationship between underrepresented director (no, yes) by media platform was not significant. Cable shows (16.8\%) tended to attach an underrepresented director to their season premiere episodes more than broadcast (9.6\%) or streaming (11.4\%) shows. Film held an intermediate position across media, with $12.7 \%$ of all directors across 109 motion pictures from underrepresented groups. All percentages under index relative to the U.S. population norm of 37.9\%.

Next, the relationship between the presence/absence of an underrepresented director (no, yes) and underrepresented characters on screen was evaluated. ${ }^{47}$ As shown in Figure 4, the percentage of on screen underrepresented characters increases $17.5 \%$ when an underrepresented director is at the helm of a scripted episode or film. Only $26.2 \%$ of characters were underrepresented when directors were White whereas $43.7 \%$ were underrepresented when directors were from racial/ethnic minority groups.

Figure 4
Underrepresented Characters by Director Race/Ethnicity


As with gender, the race/ethnicity of the director seems to matter. However, the direction of influence is not entirely clear. Having an underrepresented director may have facilitated more underrepresented characters being cast on screen in film, television, and digital series. It may also be the case that underrepresented directors were more likely to be hired on to projects with more diversity on screen. Again, this latter explanation is problematic and suggests that hiring practices are affected by who is on screen rather than the talent of the storyteller.

The above analyses clearly reveal that underrepresented characters and directors are still absent across media stories. Focusing on who calls the shots, the findings show that only two Black women were directing across 109 movies and the season premiere of 280 TV and digital shows. Clearly, diversity behind the camera - particularly for women of color - is not valued in the entertainment industry.

Across our analysis of race/ethnicity on screen and behind the camera, it is clear that the entertainment industry lacks an ecosystem of inclusion. The overall percentages reveal a lack of characters from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups. However, more specific findings depict the need for increased representation on screen and behind the camera. At least half the films and episodes studied featured not one Asian speaking character. Women of color are nearly invisible behind the camera in film and initial episodes of television and digital series. The results of this
study reveal that the media landscape fails to represent the diversity in its viewing audience. These patterns are not limited to race/ethnicity, but occur with regard to the LGBT community, as we will see in the next section.

## LGBT

## Prevalence On Screen

Of the 11,194 characters that could be evaluated for apparent sexuality, a total of 224 were coded as Lesbian ( $n=49$ ), Gay ( $n=158$ ), or Bisexual ( $n=17$ ). Put differently, only $2 \%$ of all speaking characters across the 414 movies, television shows, and digital series evaluated were coded LGB. This point statistic is below U.S. population estimates. As reported by the Williams Institute at UCLA, $3.5 \%$ of the U.S. population identifies as Lesbian, Gay, or Bisexual. ${ }^{48}$

A separate measure assessed whether characters were transgender. Only seven speaking or named characters identified as transgender sample wide, which calculates to $<1 \%$. Four of the seven transgender characters appeared in one digital show. This show is co created by by Lana Wachowski, a transgender female director. All but one character appeared on streaming series.

The LGB and transgender measures were summed for the remaining analyses. The total of LGBT characters sample wide was 229. Almost a third of the 229 LGBT characters appeared in cable shows ( $31.4 \%, n=72$ ), $28.8 \%$ ( $n=66$ ) in film, $24 \%$ ( $n=55$ ) in broadcast, and $15.7 \%(n=36)$ in streaming. Over half of the portrayals (58\%) in movies were accounted for by two films: Pride and Love is Strange.

## Portrayal On Screen

Next, we were interested in the demographic profile of LGBT characters on screen. Nearly three quarters (72.1\%) were male and $27.9 \%$ were female. The majority of LGBT characters were White (78.9\%) and only $21.1 \%$ were from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups. Few characters were shown as parents or caregivers, with females (24\%) slightly more likely to be shown in this light than males (16.4\%). These percentages are much lower than what was observed sample wide, however.

Of those characters with enough cues to evaluate relationship status, a majority of LGBT males (55.6\%) and females (59.3\%) were shown in committed romantic partnerships. These last two measures -- parental status and relational standing -- tell a contradictory story. LGBT characters can be shown in domestic partnerships or marriage but depicting this community raising children on screen is largely avoided in media storytelling.

LGBT individuals are still underrepresented when it comes to film, television, and digital series. Beyond this invisibility, intersectionality is also a problem. The majority of LGBT characters are white males, excluding women and people of color who are part of the LGBT community. In contrast to all characters across film and television/digital storytelling, LGBT characters are less likely to be presented as parents than all characters in media. These findings tell the story of a group still fighting for inclusion in media.

## Company Inclusion

Up to this point, the report has presented on screen and behind the camera representation of gender, race/ethnicity, and LGBT status somewhat separately by media platform. The purpose of this section is to unite these three categories to evaluate the performance of the companies under investigation. Each company was scored with regard to multiple inclusion metrics. As with any report card, specific criteria were used to measure progress and draw attention to deficits. These indicators compare five aspects of on screen and behind the camera prevalence to a particular standard. Combining all five scores establishes an overall inclusion rating per company for both film and television/digital offerings.

On screen, two indicators focused on female and underrepresented characters. Companies were scored on the percentage of all speaking characters as well as series regulars (TV/digital) and leading characters (film) that were females or underrepresented. These percentages were combined and standardized to form on screen scores for gender and for underrepresented racial/ethnic groups. The results were judged against the proportion of each group in the U.S. population. For females, this was set to $50 \%{ }^{49}$ For underrepresented characters, the population standard for comparison was set at $35 \%$ rather than $37.9 \%$. This allowed for a margin of difference to account for actors cast in roles in which the racial/ethnic background of the character and actor differ. It allows for difference between coding judgments and real life race/ethnicity.

In film only, the percentage of LGBT characters on screen was used to set an LGBT inclusion score. As television/digital characters reveal information across a season, a single episode may be insufficient to reveal a character's sexuality. For this reason, LGBT inclusion scores were not used in the ratings for television/digital companies. ${ }^{50}$ The population standard for LGBT characters was set at $3.5 \%{ }^{51}$

Behind the camera, inclusion scores were computed for the percentage of female directors and writers hired to helm and craft films and every episode of television/digital series in our sample. Additionally, the percentage of female show creators was calculated for television/digital series only. As we are not aware of any academic study on the proportion of females enrolled in film school as production majors, other metrics had to be identified and used for comparison. Using data from one of our previous studies, ${ }^{52}$ the norm for directors was set at $30 \%$. Guided by the prevalence of writers and show creators across the sample, the standard for these categories was set at $50 \%$.

Table 18
Grading Scale for Company Scorecard

| Grade | Category Score | Proximity to Standard | Final Points |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Fully Inclusive | $90 \%$ or higher | within $10 \%$ | 4 |
| Largely Inclusive | $80-89 \%$ | within $20 \%$ | 3 |
| Partially Inclusive | $70-79 \%$ | within $30 \%$ | 2 |
| Barely Inclusive | $60-69 \%$ | within $40 \%$ | 1 |
| Not Inclusive | $59 \%$ or lower | $50 \%$ or less | 0 |

Similar to an academic scale, scores in each category were assigned a grade at intervals of $10 \%$ based on their proximity to the norm. Grades were awarded consistent with the scale outlined in Table 18. Each "grade" was further assigned points between 0 (Not Inclusive) and 4 (Fully Inclusive) and summed to establish an overall rating, calculated as a percentage out of 20 points possible. Results are discussed below, first for film and then for television/digital.

For film, six companies were evaluated across all five indicators. CBS was not included because it released only two movies in 2014 that met the sampling criteria (Pride, What If). Every film company earned a Failing score on inclusivity. No film distributor earned a final inclusion score above $30 \%$ across all tests. Of the 30 tests conducted, 24 or $80 \%$ yielded a Not Inclusive ranking. Across all 30 tests, only two merited a Fully Inclusive designation.

Sony and Viacom both achieved a Fully Inclusive score when it comes to underrepresented characters and leads. These companies took steps to match audience demographics for their movies. Ensemble films such as About Last Night and Think Like a Man Too contributed to Sony's score. Similarly, Paramount's movies Selma and Top Five were part of their 2014 slate. These films included underrepresented characters at the center and should be celebrated for increasing the overall inclusion scores at these companies. However, true inclusion not only involves films about a specific racial/ethnic group. Inclusion also requires integrating characters from multiple underrepresented backgrounds across an entire slate of films.

As Universal learned in 2015, investing in an inclusive slate can prove to be a lucrative endeavor for a film distributor. It also bolsters the awards pipeline for actors from underrepresented groups. While not on the chart, CBS was Fully Inclusive of LGBT characters. This was due mainly to one of their two films, Pride, which focuses on the LGBT movement in the UK during the 1980s.

While there is some inclusivity across race/ethnicity and LGBT indicators, film offers women little access to creative roles on screen or behind the camera. All conglomerates fail with regard to inclusivity of girls and women. On screen, no company earns more than Barely Inclusive when it comes to representing females. Behind the camera, scores are far below standards set in this study. Improving the percentage of females in directing and writing positions may influence the representation of girls and women on screen as well. This would require addressing exclusionary hiring practices for female directors in particular. These practices are related to gendered perceptions about the marketplace for film, beliefs about the number of qualified female directors, and even stereotypes about the masculine nature of the directing role. ${ }^{52}$

Table 19
Film Distributor Inclusion Index

| Companies | On screen Portrayals |  |  | Behind the Camera |  | Total <br> Company <br> Norm |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \% of <br> Female <br> Character <br> Inclusion | \% of UR <br> Character <br> Inclusion | \% of LGBT <br> Character <br> Inclusion | \% of <br> Female Directors | \% of Female Writers |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 21^{\text {st }} \text { Century } \\ & \text { Fox } \end{aligned}$ | $26 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ <br> (0) | $21 \%$ Barely Inclusive (1) | $<1 \%$ Not Inclusive <br> (0) | $4 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | $13 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | 5\% |
| NBC <br> Universal | $30 \%$ Barely Inclusive (1) | $23 \%$ <br> Barely Inclusive <br> (1) | $\begin{gathered} <1 \% \\ \text { Not Inclusive } \\ (0) \end{gathered}$ | $9 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \% \\ \text { Not Inclusive } \\ (0) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | 10\% |
| Sony | $29 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | $35 \%$ Fully Inclusive (4) | $1.3 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | $0 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | $13 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | 20\% |
| The Walt Disney Company | 25\% <br> Not Inclusive <br> (0) | 22\% <br> Barely Inclusive <br> (1) | $<1 \%$ <br> Not Inclusive <br> (0) | 0\% <br> Not Inclusive <br> (0) | 10\% <br> Not Inclusive <br> (0) | 5\% |
| Time Warner | $\begin{gathered} 28 \% \\ \text { Not Inclusive } \\ (0) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \% \\ \text { Not Inclusive } \\ (0) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.4 \% \\ \text { Not Inclusive } \\ (0) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0 \% \\ \text { Not Inclusive } \\ (0) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 13 \% \\ \text { Not Inclusive } \\ (0) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | 0 |
| Viacom | $\begin{gathered} 23 \% \\ \text { Not Inclusive } \\ (0) \end{gathered}$ | $\qquad$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline<1 \% \\ \text { Not Inclusive } \\ (0) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $9 \%$$9 \%$ <br> Not Inclusive <br> $(0)$ | $0 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | 20\% |

Note: A total of 109 movies were evaluated based on theatrical releases in 2014. Smaller divisions (e.g., art house, niche) were included from the following companies: $21^{\text {st }}$ Century Fox (Fox Searchlight), NBC Universal (Focus Features), Sony (TriStar, Screen Gems, Sony Pictures Classics), Time Warner (New Line Cinema).

While companies failed on their film scores, the television/digital scorecard paints a vastly different picture. Ten organizations were rated on television/digital inclusivity. Of the 50 tests conducted, seven Fully Inclusive and nine Largely Inclusive scores were awarded. Companies earned 16 Not Inclusive scores across all tests. Although these overall grades reveal that there is still room for improvement across these indicators, there are a few very bright spots.

The Walt Disney Company and The CW are the top performers (70\%) when it comes to inclusion in television. Disney succeeds in representing women and underrepresented characters on screen. Both companies evidence hiring practices behind the camera for writers and show creators that approach balance. Given that women fill a greater share of the writing roles on programs distributed by these companies, it is not surprising that more females appear on screen. For instance, creators such as Lizzy Weiss (Switched at Birth), Susanna Fogel and Joni Lefkowitz (Chasing Life), Jennie Snyder Urman (Jane the Virgin), or Leila Gerstein (Hart of Dixie) may be one reason these networks feature more girls and women. Additionally, notable show creators like Shonda Rhimes (Grey’s Anatomy), Kenya Barris (Blackish), and Nahnatchka Khan (Fresh Off the Boat) on ABC may contribute to the percentage of characters from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups and Disney's Largely Inclusive rating on this indicator.

Table 20
Television \& Digital Distributor Inclusion Index

| Company | On screen Portrayals |  | Behind the Camera |  |  | Norm |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \% of Female Character Inclusion | \% of UR Character Inclusion | \% of Female Creators | \% of Female Writers | \% of Female Directors |  |
| $21^{\text {st }}$ Century <br> Fox | $36 \%$ Partially Inclusive <br> (2) | $26 \%$ Partially Inclusive <br> (2) | $7 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | $25 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | $13 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | 20\% |
| CBS/ <br> Showtime | $38 \%$ Partially Inclusive <br> (2) | $25 \%$ Partially Inclusive <br> (2) | $22 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | $26 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | $15 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | 20\% |
| NBC <br> Universal | $39 \%$ Partially Inclusive (2) | $28 \%$ Largely Inclusive (3) | $14 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | $29 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | $13 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | 25\% |
| The CW | $\begin{gathered} 40 \% \\ \text { Largely Inclusive } \\ \text { (3) } \end{gathered}$ <br> (3) | $\begin{gathered} 26 \% \\ \text { Partially Inclusive } \end{gathered}$ (2) | 43\% Largely Inclusive <br> (3) | $45 \%$ Fully Inclusive (4) <br> (4) | $21 \%$ Partially Inclusive <br> (2) | 70\% |
| The Walt Disney Co. | $47 \%$ Fully Inclusive (4) | $\begin{gathered} \hline 30 \% \\ \text { Largely Inclusive } \\ \text { (3) } \end{gathered}$ | $40 \%$ Largely Inclusive (3) | $\begin{gathered} 40 \% \\ \text { Largely Inclusive } \\ \text { (3) } \end{gathered}$ | $19 \%$ Barely Inclusive (1) | 70\% |
| Time Warner | $33 \%$ <br> 3 Barely Inclusive <br> (1) | $25 \%$ Partially Inclusive <br> (2) | $6 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | $17 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | $13 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | 15\% |
| Viacom | $\begin{gathered} 40 \% \\ \text { Largely Inclusive } \\ \text { (3) } \end{gathered}$ | $35 \%$ Fully Inclusive (4) <br> (4) | $32 \%$ Barely Inclusive (1) | $32 \%$ Barely Inclusive (1) | $18 \%$ Barely Inclusive (1) | 50\% |
| Amazon | $47 \%$ Fully Inclusive (4) | $27 \%$ <br> Partially Inclusive <br> (2) | $\begin{gathered} 31 \% \\ \text { Barley Inclusive } \\ \text { (1) } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 38 \% \\ \text { Partially Inclusive } \\ \text { (2) } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\qquad$ | 65\% |
| Hulu | $50 \%$ Fully Inclusive (4) | $34 \%$ Fully Inclusive (4) | $39 \%$ Partially Inclusive (2) <br> (2) | 44\% Largely Inclusive <br> (3) | $5 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | 65\% |
| Netflix | $\begin{gathered} 37 \% \\ \text { Partially Inclusive } \\ \text { (2) } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $28 \%$ Largely Inclusive (3) | $17 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | $18 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | $10 \%$ Not Inclusive $(0)$ | 25\% |

Note: The networks included per company are as follows: $21^{\text {st }}$ Century Fox (Fox, FX, FXX); CBS (CBS, Showtime); NBC Universal (NBC, USA, Bravo, Syfy, E!); The CW; The Walt Disney Company (ABC, Freeform, Disney, Disney Jr.); Time Warner (HBO, Cinemax, TBS, TNT, Adult Swim); Viacom (BET, Comedy Central, MTV, Nickelodeon/Nick at Nite, Teen Nick, TV Land, Spike, VH-1), Amazon, Hulu, and Netflix. Across these channels and platforms, 305 prime time and digital shows were evaluated.

Hulu and Amazon performed strongly (65\%) due to their inclusivity of women. Amazon was also the only company rated Fully Inclusive for hiring female directors. Here, the influence of Jill Soloway (creator and director on Transparent) is not the sole explanation for this score. The animated series Wishenpoof! hired a female director across multiple episodes, and other series featured female directors as well. Hulu was Largely Inclusive of female writers and Fully Inclusive of underrepresented characters. Clearly these streaming services understand the diversity of their audiences.

Viacom earned high marks for inclusion of female and underrepresented characters. This is due to more than just Viacom's ownership of BET. Other networks across the Viacom family (i.e., Comedy Central, TV Land, MTV, VH-1, Nickelodeon/Nick at Nite) also feature women (Another Period, Barely Famous, Finding Carter, Review) and people of color (Bella and the Bulldogs, Broad City, Instant Mom, Soul Man) prominently across their programming. Having a network focused on particular underrepresented audiences is important, but not solely responsible for all gains in inclusion for this company.

Time Warner, $21^{\text {st }}$ Century Fox, and CBS all failed to receive a Largely Inclusive or Fully Inclusive grade on any of the five indicators, resulting in total scores that fell at $25 \%$ or below. Across these companies, it is clear that while a single salient example of an inclusive series (Girls, Empire) is important, it may create a misperception that representation is better than the data reveal. For these companies, inclusivity must be implemented across all properties as series and programs are developed, cast, and aired.

Evaluating inclusivity by company offers a unique perspective on where the entertainment industry is succeeding and failing. This analysis provides consumers and activists with the ability to ascertain which organizations need to improve. Comparing film scores to television/digital yields a clear picture of where the industry as a whole has fallen behind. What this also reveals is that film is not beyond hope. While each film distributor failed on inclusion, several corresponding television/digital divisions reveal that improved performance is possible. These companies must be challenged to focus their efforts on film as well as television/digital, utilizing similar strategies-where appropriate-to boost their level of inclusivity across all divisions.

## Conclusion

The purpose of the CARD study was to assess the landscape of media content distributed by major entertainment companies in 2014-15. We evaluated 414 stories distributed by 10 companies across film, television, and digital platforms. In excess of 11,000 characters and over 10,000 individuals working behind the scenes were included. More than 1,500 employees were analyzed. Across each of these indicators, the evidence points to the reality that has drawn public notice and vocal response: Hollywood has a diversity problem.

To close our analysis, we briefly review the major conclusions that emerged across the report. Then, we offer solutions to address inequities across the media landscape. Finally, we note the limitations of this investigation and present ideas for future research.

## Major Findings

The film industry still functions as a straight, White, boy's club when it comes to issues of representation. Females are less than one-third of all speaking characters, $10.8 \%$ of all writers, and $3.4 \%$ of all directors of the major studio and art house releases of 2014. Across television/digital series, smaller screens come closer to balance as girls and women comprise $37.1 \%$ of characters and $42 \%$ of series regulars. Women also work more frequently behind the camera as directors and writers.

However, female characters are also still sexualized compared to their male counterparts, especially in television/digital shows. This suggests that while increasing the prevalence of female characters is important, it must be done with an eye toward balancing the portrayal of girls and women as well. In corporate ranks, women still fill a small portion of the top leadership roles in television, film, and digital companies. However, they are much better represented at the center of media companies in SVP and EVP roles. Thus, as power increases, female presence decreases. If these female executives are able to move up the corporate ladder, it will be important to ascertain the role they play in supporting content featuring more girls and women on screen.

Characters from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups face similar disparities in prevalence across mediated storytelling. However, certain groups face erasure on screen. Over 50\% of stories featured no Asian speaking characters, and 22\% featured no Black or African American characters. The complete absence of individuals from these backgrounds is a symptom of a diversity strategy that relies on tokenistic inclusion rather than integration. Further, only two underrepresented female directors worked out of the 407 directors of the first episode of live action series and all films sampled. This reveals the near-invisibility of women of color behind the camera and indicates that these females face unique barriers in the entertainment industry. Remedies are needed in order to see leading characters, casts, and directors from underrepresented groups across an array of programming.

LGBT characters also appear infrequently in entertainment. Just 2\% of speaking characters were LGBT-identified, falling below the percentage of individuals in the U.S. population (3.5\%). Just seven transgender characters appeared in the sample of content-four of whom were in the same series. Moreover, LGBT characters were predominantly White and male. Viewers will see underrepresented LGBT characters very rarely when spending time with television, digital series, and film. In terms of portrayals, while over half of LGBT characters were depicted in committed romantic partnerships, less than one-quarter were shown as parents or caregivers. This latter finding is problematic given recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions and the gains made for LGBT families in the U.S. There is still more to do to ensure that on screen families are as varied and diverse as those throughout the country.

The company scorecard illustrates that film distributors are failing when it comes to representing their audience on screen and in their behind the camera hires. In film, only two companies managed Full inclusivity on any indicators-both due to their portrayal of underrepresented characters. Continuing to observe trends in film on a yearly basis is crucial. Historical stability in the representation of women and people of color does not typically inspire even cautious optimism. However, 2015 may be one indicator of approaching disruption. Last year, Universal was lauded for a slate featuring diverse leading characters and ensemble casts (Fifty Shades of Grey, Pitch Perfect 2, Furious 7, Straight Outta Compton). Year to year changes for other companies must be tracked as well, to understand how the long arc of production may influence inclusion.

Turning to television and streaming, certain indicators demonstrate that companies can reach inclusivity, even those that fail in film. One top performer in television is The Walt Disney Company. This organization has created an on screen environment fully representative of
females and largely inclusive of individuals from underrepresented groups. Moreover, behind the camera, female writers and show creators comprise roughly $40 \%$ of individuals in those roles. Additionally, over half of the EVPs and SVPs at Disney's television companies are female suggesting a commitment to diversity within the organization, though this has not translated to parity at the highest echelons of power.

The CW is a close second when it comes to inclusion on television. This network is Fully Inclusive of female writers and Largely Inclusive of female creators. The presence of females behind the scenes provides one explanation for why the network also achieved a Largely Inclusive rating for the presence of female characters. Additionally, while the network has recently broadened its viewing audience, it previously counted strong viewership among females. ${ }^{53}$ While executives at The CW are predominantly male, these decision-makers clearly manage to put women in positions of authority in creative roles.

For streaming series, Hulu achieves distinction as a top performer. This service features women and people of color at proportional representation on screen. Moreover, women comprise 44\% of writers of their original series. Though only a few original series aired on Hulu, the service appears to have privileged content and creative professionals that reflect their audience. Few females fill senior executive positions at Hulu, indicating that this may be an area for improvement.

Amazon is also a top performer when streaming companies are considered. As noted above, the company was the only one to achieve Full Inclusion where female directors are concerned. Given the low frequency with which women appear throughout the sample as directors, the commitment of show creators and executives to hire or support women in this creative role is commendable. While improvement could be made in other arenas (i.e., underrepresented groups, female writers, female creators), the streaming service succeeds in its portrayal of women. In front of the camera, Amazon's content is Fully Inclusive of female characters. Though its top executive ranks are not female-heavy, individuals in positions of authority clearly value female stories and storytelling.

Several companies are falling behind when it comes to inclusion on screen and behind the camera. Those organizations (e.g., $21^{\text {st }}$ Century Fox, CBS Corporation, NBC Universal, Time Warner, Viacom Netflix) vary in their overall inclusion levels. Viacom, for instance, is successful with on screen representation, but struggles to fill content creation roles with women. NBC Universal and Netflix were awarded a Largely Inclusive score regarding underrepresented characters. For these networks, understanding how inclusion was achieved and utilizing similar strategies to improve behind the camera representation is important. In the following section, we discuss solutions to inequality in media that may be little known or understood outside academic circles.

## Solutions to Inequality

To achieve inclusion, companies need to embrace new approaches. These strategies must involve more than simply "checking a box" when casting a film, series, or episode, or go beyond making a "diversity hire" behind the camera or in the executive suite. Inclusivity requires creating an
ecosystem in which different perspectives hold value and stories represent the world in which we live. Yet, the state of inequality requires creating change in more than one way, as different problems require different solutions. We have identified specific actions for film, television, and streaming companies to take to begin to create this ecosystem.

Counter Implicit Bias. Implicit biases, or quickly activated unconscious associations between gender or race/ethnicity and stereotypical attributes, can influence individuals' behavior, even when an individual believes they are egalitarian. ${ }^{54}$ Implicit biases are not impervious to change. In Hollywood, implicit biases may influence who is hired, created, or cast in film, television, and digital content. Devising specific strategies that allow decision-makers and creatives to think carefully rather than process automatically are important.

The consideration, interview, or hiring process for helmers to lead a TV show or movie can fall prey to implicit bias. Industry decision-makers may "think director, think male" when putting together lists of potential directors. ${ }^{55}$ In other words, the qualifications believed to serve the director role may overlap with masculine characteristics that females are not perceived to possess. This bias may restrict who is identified for a job or hired to fill the directing role. To counter this bias, development executives can formulate lists of potential directors with the intention to fill $50 \%$ of the spots with females and $38 \%$ with individuals from underrepresented groups. When calling agencies or management companies for names, that intention should be specific and salient to ensure the goal is met. Additionally, executives should guard against assuming that female or underrepresented directors have certain ambitions, a topic we will return to shortly.

Writers may be influenced by implicit bias in the creative process. As they conceive of characters, they may rely on shortcuts guided by having little time or energy to concoct detailed descriptions, especially related to occupations. Unconscious associations between men and careers and females and domestic roles may lead to making choices that align with occupational or relational stereotypes (e.g., police officer, doctor, firefighter, mother, relational partner). To correct for this bias, screenwriters may need to pause while crafting storylines or dialogue to consider how occupation dictates the gender or race/ethnicity of the character they just created. Or, individuals could review a draft of a screenplay or TV episode upon completion to count the number of female and underrepresented characters, and make corrections when imbalance occurs.

Casting is another arena vulnerable to implicit biases. Breakdowns may be quickly devised or rely on writers' default characterizations. Or, casting directors may not have the time or freedom to question the assumptions made about a character’s gender or race. Individuals may also have difficulty overcoming implicit biases to imagine counter-stereotypical individuals in certain roles. Similar to writers, casting directors can review scripts for gender and racial/ethnic balance in addition to using breakdowns. When possible, casting directors may also be able to encourage counter-stereotypical casting.

Two specific action items can help companies deal with implicit bias. First, commit to careful processing that allows decision-makers to override stereotypes related to hiring, writing, and casting and make these steps easy to implement. Second, utilize the strategies outlined above to
recognize and alter stereotypical thinking and imagine counter-stereotypical examples before making a decision or finalizing a script. These tactics represent specific means of overcoming the influence of implicit bias by carefully processing hiring and casting decisions.

Commit to Inclusive Hiring. Companies must commit to inclusive hiring practices and structure decision-making contexts to eliminate bias. As mentioned earlier, one important step companies can take is to diversify hiring lists. Evidence exists that when the applicant pool includes few women ( $25 \%$ or fewer), perceptions of female candidates may be affected. ${ }^{56}$ Bolstering the number of women and people of color considered for directing and writing positions is crucial to improving overall inclusion. However, previous MDSC Initiative research reveals that industry leaders believe there is a small pool of female directors who can be hired to helm a movie. ${ }^{57}$ These same individuals named, on average, only three females who might appear on consideration lists. Yet 45 female directors have helmed a top-grossing film from 2002 to 2014 and 110 women have directed a feature film that played at the Sundance Film Festival in that time. ${ }^{58}$ Committing to diversifying lists also means pledging to educate executives on the existing diversity in the candidate pool.

Dealing with implicit biases-especially the "think director, think male" association-is necessary to attaining a commitment to inclusion. As the phrase suggests, the attributes that industry decision-makers assign to successful directors align more closely with stereotypically masculine traits than stereotypically feminine ones. Evaluating individuals based on personal information (e.g., track record, education) rather than a group-based stereotype is one means of overcoming this bias. Envisioning successful female or underrepresented directors who counter the director stereotype (i.e., Elizabeth Banks, Ava DuVernay, Jill Soloway, Patricia Riggen, Jessica Yu, Sanaa Hamri) is important to broaden the range of individuals considered as well.

Industry leaders must also confront the consequences of the "think director, think male" bias by understanding how this association influences assumptions about female directors. Female filmmakers are perceived to lack the ambition to direct large budget, action or blockbuster films. Yet in a previous MDSC Initiative study, $44 \%$ of female directors interviewed said they would be interested in a job of this kind. ${ }^{59}$ Again, development executives should ask agents for women who can work as directors and writers without assuming these individuals will shy away from counter-stereotypical opportunities. This may involve procuring new names, and persisting with requests for diverse lists if initially denied. Or, companies might seek out other sources of information, such as the MDSC Initiative's lists of female directors and writers.

Finally, decision-makers must uncouple the relationship between lead characters and content creators. As we have seen, women and people of color in creative roles are associated with more female and underrepresented characters on screen. This relationship may be due to the tendency to pair directors with content that matches their identity group. Even if a white male character is in the leading role, a woman and/or person of color should be considered for the directing and/or writing job. This type of pigeonholing limits the career opportunities available to females and underrepresented content creators.

Several action steps can be taken with regard to inclusive hiring. First, companies must decide upon a goal they will target. Recently, Ryan Murphy ${ }^{60}$ declared his intention to hire
underrepresented directors (e.g., females, people of color, LGBT individuals) for half of the available spots in a television season. Lifetime pledged through its Broad Focus Initiative to hire the graduates of AFI's Directing Workshop for Women. ${ }^{61}$ Public and transparent goals allow for advocacy groups to assist companies and provide external accountability. Second, specific action steps should be outlined and implemented. Third, progress should be monitored. As with the CARD study, evaluation not only demonstrates where improvement is still needed, but where achievement has occurred.

Counter Mythologizing with Evidence. It is impossible to ignore the economic motive in the production and distribution of entertainment. However, explicit biases can be framed in economic terms and through language. This is especially true where leading characters and directors are concerned. It should be noted that film and television have a different economic structure. Given film's poor performance throughout the report, here we focus on this model with solutions for change. Our previous MDSC Initiative research demonstrates that industry leaders believe that masculine genres, male leads, and male directors are linked to what we have previously called "positive male market forces." ${ }^{62}$ Meanwhile, females are viewed as filling a less lucrative portion of the marketplace, or creating content that is niche or independent. ${ }^{63}$ When it comes to films with underrepresented characters, domestic and international distribution patterns may differ as a result of assumptions about what will sell and politicized market forces. ${ }^{64}$ Ultimately, legitimizing exclusion due to market "realities" limits the opportunities for marginalized individuals both on screen and behind-the-camera.

To avoid decision-making that relies on market perceptions, one solution is to improve the evidence available. Entertainment revenue is driven by complex economic relationships that require sophisticated data analysis before they can be understood. Anecdotes and overall box office figures may seem persuasive, but the nature of box office performance data makes traditional statistical analysis and use of averages imprudent. To begin, research should be conducted on the economic performance of inclusive films, with an eye toward leads and directors. One of our previous MDSC Initiative studies offers evidence that factors related to production and distribution are stronger and more consistent predictors of a film's success than the gender of its lead character. ${ }^{65}$ Additional research is needed-especially given the box office performance of films with female and underrepresented leads in 2015. Evidence is one way to refute economic arguments used to justify bias.

Two tactics can assist decision-makers in countering mythologizing. First, executives must overthrow the presumption that audiences consistently prefer and choose films with white male leads. This belief relies on the assumption that audiences have a choice in what they view. While this may be somewhat true for television or at-home streaming decisions, viewers have a finite set of choices at the multiplex. Individuals choose based on what is available-and what is advertised. To fairly compare performance of films with White male leads to those with women or underrepresented leads (or directors), companies must commit to spending on production budgets, print and advertising, and distribution that enables films to succeed. Marketing a female-driven film as niche content rather than general audience fare is equivalent to investing in the perception that female-led movies fail to sell.

Second, relying on experts who have access to data and evidence is paramount. If international sales agents broker distribution deals, are they relying on actual box office performance or international theater owners' perceptions of what sells? In either case, if films about women and people of color have not been advertised or supported to propel them to success these perceptions only tell half the story. Data that takes into account differential spending and marketing must be used to calibrate success rather than relying on anecdotes or processing that might fall prey to implicit bias. Leveling the playing field statistically may help neutralize perceptions based on insufficient evidence.

## Limitations

While the CARD study offers an important perspective, we would be remiss not to point out several limitations. First, we included all first-run fictional content, but did not examine other genres of programming, such as reality or talk shows. Future investigations should assess this content to update our knowledge. Additionally, only content in the first episode of the series was evaluated. This may have restricted the diversity profile we identified - especially of LGBT characters. We have previously found that first and second episodes are not significantly different in terms of gender of characters. ${ }^{66}$ However, studies should assess more than one episode of a series to determine if the inclusion profile remains consistent throughout.

Behind the camera, only the first episode of live action series was examined for director race/ethnicity. While it would be instructive to examine further episodes, access to evidence on helmers' race/ethnicity is limited. Although the Directors Guild of America provides some information via their yearly diversity reports, raw data on how directors classify their ethnic background is not easily accessible to researchers. Thus, until comprehensive and accurate information on director race/ethnicity is available, our ability to understand the full spectrum of inclusion will remain imperfect. Similarly, the CARD study does not include an analysis of producers. Again, industry databases do not provide consistent information regarding this position. To address this, one solution is for the Producers Guild to mirror their industry counterparts (DGA, WGA) and provide reports on demographics of producers in film, television, and new media. Finally, the CARD study focuses on distributors of content, but production companies may arguably play a more important role in hiring and casting. While the network level in television and distributor-focused look at film provide one way to think about diversity, examining the production of content may illuminate other pitfalls or pockets of progress for underrepresented groups.

Ultimately, the CARD study serves a crucial purpose in the midst of ongoing controversy surrounding diversity in Hollywood. With its focus on specific distributors, inclusion of crossplatform content, and examination of several different identity groups, it provides breadth and depth in its look at the state of the industry in 2014. The CARD study reveals that while Hollywood still struggles to create inclusive content, there are companies leading the charge. Continued evaluation, increased advocacy, and greater transparency are necessary to transform an industry that has profited from invisibility into one that can celebrate inclusivity.

## Footnotes

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10. Film distribution was determined via Box Office Mojo and confirmed via Studio System and/or IMDbPro.com. Documentaries and non-English language films that were subtitled were not included in the sample. Theatrically released films dubbed in English were included.
11. Scripted series were determined by the platform. For ad-supported content, all broadcast networks and "popular" basic channels were selected. A channel appearing on Nielsen's top 60 ranking of prime-time channels of $2014(12 / 30 / 2013$ to $12 / 23 / 2014)$ or $2015(12 / 29 / 2014-12 / 27 / 2015)$ determined popularity (see rankers: http://www.adweek.com/tvnewser/cable-network-ranker-2014/251092; http://www.adweek.com/tvnewser/cable-network-ranker-2015/280768). A traditional definition of prime time was used, with content airing between 8:00 pm and 11:00 pm Monday through Saturday and 7:00 pm to 11:00 pm on Sunday. Only two non ad supported basic channels were included in the sample: Disney Channel and Disney Jr. Premium cable included HBO, Showtime, and Cinemax. Only first run series on the flagship channels were included. Across all content, only shows airing from September $1^{\text {st }} 2014$ to August $31^{\text {st }} 2015$ in the U.S. were included in the sample.

Also, the aim of the study was to focus on distribution not production. As a result, it did not matter whether a company produced or acquired first run television, digital, or feature film content. The goal was to assess what appeared on screen and behind the camera when these companies distributed stories. Future research should explore the relationship between production companies and matters of on screen and behind the camera inclusion.

A few additional notes on sampling procedures are important. First, we only sampled one show per season within every network in our sample time frame. If a television or digital series aired two or more seasons (e.g., The Real

Husbands of Hollywood, The Game) on the same network, we randomly selected one season to analyze. Second, one show ended a season on one network and started a new season on another (i.e., American Dad!). Because both seasons were separate on two different networks, two episodes of the series were included in the study. Third, some shows break seasons into halves or thirds ( $a, b, c$ ). In these instances, we only sampled the first episode of the entire season. Fourth, if an episode(s) of a series extended beyond December 31 ${ }^{\text {st }}, 2015$, it was not included in our behind the scenes analysis.

Here is a breakdown of the total number of shows and channels per company: Time Warner ( $n=34$; HBO, Cinemax, TNT, TBS, Adult Swim); Walt Disney Company ( $n=47$; ABC, Freeform, Disney, Disney Jr.); NBC Universal ( $n=51$; NBC, USA, Syfy, Bravo, E!); CBS ( $n=38$; CBS, Showtime); 21st Century Fox ( $n=35$; Fox, FX, FXX); Viacom ( $n=35$; BET, Comedy Central, MTV, Nickelodeon/Nick at Nite, Spike, TeenNick, TV Land, VH1); The CW ( $n=14$ ); Netflix ( $n=32$ ); Amazon ( $n=8$ ); Hulu ( $n=11$ ). A list of shows/movies in the sample is available upon request.
12. All scripted fictional shows streaming on Netflix, Amazon, and Hulu were assessed provided that the entire series (not just the pilot) was made available during the study's sampling time frame on the U.S. version of the streaming service.
13. Eighty three of the 2014 films in our sample were included in our 100 top grossing analysis released in August of 2015. A total of 26 new motion pictures were evaluated in this investigation. We did not assess 2015 films as the box office has not yet closed and some of the movies (e.g., Star Wars, The Revenant) were not legally available to stream or purchase on DVD as of January 2016.
14. As noted earlier, an independent speaking character utters one or more discernible and overt words (of any language) on screen. Non verbal utterances are not considered words. Characters that are named are also considered speaking characters. Under rare circumstances, a group of nearly identical characters might speak at the exact same time or sequentially. Given their extreme homogeneous appearance, it is impossible to distinguish these characters from another. When this occurs, the coders are instructed to "group" the identical characters and code them as one unit. Only 7 groups appeared across the sample of cinematic, television, and digital stories evaluated. All groups were excluded prior to analysis.

One other caveat about speaking characters is important. There are times when characters change demographics over the course of the plot. This may occur because of a story features a flashback (Game of Thrones), a character transformation (e.g., Genie in Aladdin), or because a character is shown substantially aging (e.g., Benjamin Button) across a storyline. If a character changed type, sex, age grouping, or ethnicity, a new line was created. Only 366 characters were coded for a demographic change (3.2\%). Removing the demographic changes does not affect the overall distribution of gender across speaking characters ( $33.5 \%$ female without demographic changes; 33.5\% female with demographic changes). These results illuminate that the gender distribution of demographic changes ( $n=366,33.6 \%$ female, $66.4 \%$ male) mirror the overall pattern of character gender sample wide. It must be noted that no demographic changes are included in analyses involving lead characters.
15. Each speaking character was assessed for form (i.e., single, group), type (i.e., human, animal, supernatural creature, anthropomorphized supernatural creature, anthropomorphized animal), sex (i.e., male, female), age (i.e., young child, elementary school aged child, teen, young adult, middle age, elderly), race/ethnicity (i.e., White, Hispanic/Latino, Black, American Indian/Alaskan Native, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, Asian, Middle Eastern, Other/Mixed Race), and role (i.e., leading, supporting, inconsequential). Characters' parental status (i.e., non parent, single parent, co-parent, parent relational status unknown) and relational standing (i.e., single, married, committed unmarried, committed marital status unknown, divorced, widowed) was assessed. However, these latter two measures were only applicable when enough information was presented across the plot to render a judgment. For all measures, two additional levels were available for coding: can't tell and not applicable.

In terms of sexualization, three measures were evaluated. Adapted from Downs \& Smith (2010, p. 725), sexually revealing clothing assesses whether the character was shown in tight and/or alluring apparel (no, yes). Nudity captured the degree to which exposed skin on a character's body was shown (also adapted from Downs \& Smith, 2010, p. 725). There were three values: none, some (i.e., exposed skin in breast, midriff, or high upper thigh region) or full (i.e., females=exposure of breasts or genital region; males=exposure of genital region only). Exposure of the
buttocks constituted partial nudity. For both sexually revealing clothing and nudity, the character had to posses a human or human-like body to be applicable for these measures. Finally, a character's level of attractiveness was assessed. Attractiveness captures whether a character is verbally or nonverbally referenced as physically desirous by another character in the story. Each character was coded as receiving no references, one reference, or two or more references. All speaking characters were evaluated for their level of attractiveness.

Every speaking character was also assessed for apparent sexuality. Apparent sexuality captured characters' enduring physical attraction to other characters. Each character was coded as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or not. Characters were also assessed for whether or not they were transgender. Transgender characters are those who identify as the gender opposite of their biological sex.

All research assistants were trained in a classroom type environment prior to evaluating the sample of movies and scripted episodes. They received roughly 6 weeks of training and completed multiple reliability diagnostics on unitizing and variable coding. Once this training period was completed, the research assistants independently evaluated the sample. Because 83 movies in the sample are part of our yearly top-grossing film report, we do not include them in the reliability assessment below. Rather, the information on those top-grossing films can be found in Smith et al.'s (2015) Inequality in 700 Popular Films: Examining Portrayals of Gender, Race, and LGBT Status from 2007 to 2014. The entire approach used in this report is similar to what is found in Smith et al. (2015), save one difference. In the inequality report, the LGBT measures were assessed qualitatively whereas in this study they were quantitative in nature.

Reliability was assessed on 305 episodes as well as 26 films. Two types of reliability were calculated for each movie and scripted show: unitizing and variable. Unitizing reliability was defined as the number of characters seen by 2 out of 3 coders. As with all our reports, we delineate unitizing agreement by quartiles: Q1 ( 84 stories, 100\% unitizing agreement); Q2 ( 85 stories, 100-94.1\% unitizing agreement); Q3 ( 85 stories, $93.9 \%-88.6 \%$ ); and Q4 ( 84 stories, $88.5 \%-61.5 \%$ ). Only one story (Labor Day, film) fell below 70\%. A total of 16 stories had unitizing agreement less than $80 \%$ ( $79.2 \%-61.5 \%$ ). Clearly, unitizing agreement was very high across the sample.

In terms of variable reliability, the Potter \& Levine-Donnerstein (1999) calculation is used. For each variable, the sample wide median coefficient is reported as well as the mean and range: form=1.0 ( $M=1.0$, range $=1.0$ ), type $=1.0$ ( $M=.99$, range $=.64-1.0$ ), sex=1.0 ( $M=1.0$, range $=1.0$ ), age $=1.0(M=.94$, range $=.65-1.0)$, race/ethnicity $=1.0(M=.99$, range $=.66-1.0)$, role $=1.0(M=.95$, range $=.63-1.0)$, parental status $=1.0(M=.96$, range $=.43-1.0)$, relational standing $=$ 1.0 ( $M=.95$, range $=.65-1.0$ ), sexually revealing clothing $=1.0(M=.99$, range $=.61-1.0)$, nudity $=1.0(M=.99$, range $=.63-1.0)$, attractiveness $=1.0(M=1.0$, range $=.63-1.0)$, apparent sexuality $=1.0(M=1.0$, range $=.82-1.0)$, and transgender $=1.0(M=1.0$, range $=.81-1.0)$.
16. The behind the scenes analysis was conducted separately for film and television. Information on directors and writers across the sampled films was pulled from IMDbPro in January 2016. All credited directors and writers were assessed for biological sex.

For television and digital content, information for each sampled series was obtained from IMDbPro.com in Fall of 2015. This information was updated in January 2016. When seasons were split throughout the year, only the first half (or first portion) of the season was included. When series were cancelled, only the episodes that aired on television or cable networks (not online platforms) were analyzed.

Research assistants identified all credited directors and writers from IMDbPro.com for each episode of the sampled series, according to the season sampled. When IMDbPro.com failed to credit a writer or director for an episode, Studio System/inBaseline was used. This could occur when there were no individuals listed as writer or director or when no individual was given the solo "Writer" credit, or "Story/Story by" and "Teleplay" credits. Based on information from the Writers Guild of America West, the "Creator" or "Created by" credit was not sufficient to designate an individual as the writer of an episode. Occasionally, the Studio System database did not provide a reliable indication of writing or directing credits (e.g., crediting the same individuals across the entire season; missing information). In these cases, research assistants used screen shots from the episodes to determine who was awarded directing and writing credit. Screen shots were used for every episode of a series when information across IMDbPro.com and Studio System was not available or not reliable.

Creator judgments were made by examining listings in Variety Insight, IMDbPro.com, and Studio System for individuals designated as "Creator" or "Developed by." When sources disagreed, information was sought to confirm the creator of the series. This included watching opening or closing credits of a show. Individuals who were credited with the creation of source material (e.g., novels, comics, characters, ideas, inspiration) were not considered creators.

After directors, writers, and creators were identified, research assistants obtained information about the biological sex of all 10,705 credited individuals. Industry databases (IMDbPro, Variety Insight, Studio System), online networks (Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn), and general web searches were utilized. Individuals were coded as male or female based on pronoun use (he, she), photographs, or gender label (male, female). Two individuals were contacted directly or their representatives queried to identify their biological sex. Two individuals could not be publicly identified. In these cases, we utilized babynames.com to determine biological sex. When organizations or companies were listed in any credits, the gender was coded as "not applicable."
17. A list of executives for each company included in the sample was obtained in late fall 2015 and updated in January 2016. The names of each member of the Board of Directors at $21^{\text {st }}$ Century Fox, Amazon, CBS Corporation, Comcast NBC Universal, Netflix, Sony, Time Warner, Viacom, and The Walt Disney Company was obtained from each organization's corporate website. Neither Hulu nor The CW have a Board of Directors. Following this, the names and titles of the executive officers at each parent company were gathered from each organization's corporate website. For three companies (Comcast NBC Universal, Sony, and Amazon) the corporate suites included officers for non-entertainment businesses owned by each company. The executive teams in charge of the entertainment divisions of those companies were included and are the Executive Management Team. At the film and television level, we only examined those companies or divisions tied to the distribution businesses in our sample. Thus, no production companies (even those held by the parent company) were included in this process. However some businesses were completely intertwined with and unable to be divorced from the larger distribution company (i.e., film studio production; some cable network production). Television studios (e.g., ABC Studios, NBC Studios, Universal Cable Productions) were not included. Individuals working in production were found within these businesses and included in the overall analysis.

Information from each company's webpage and/or press site was used to identify the executive leadership. Additionally, information from Variety Insight was used to supplement information for each company/division. Organizational charts were printed from Variety Insight and lists of employees used when organizational charts were not available. For most companies/businesses we were able to gather the executives for film and television separately. Two companies (Warner Bros. Entertainment and Sony Pictures Entertainment) oversee both the film and television businesses. Executives involved in television divisions at those companies were excluded.

The unit of analysis was the executive and only individuals with specific titles at each company were included in the evaluation. Across the majority of companies websites, the lowest title included in senior leadership was Senior Vice President. Therefore, executives were only included in the analysis if they were ranked as Senior Vice President or higher (EVP, President, and synonymous titles) within each organization. Head/Co-Head was determined to be synonymous with SVP (based on co-occurrence and positioning within each organization). These individuals were included as well.

Biological sex was coded for each individual, using photos or online sources. For 8 individuals, information could not be obtained to determine biological sex. In these cases, babynames.com was used to assign a biological sex based on the individual's first name. Additionally, LinkedIn and Studio System/inBaseline were used to determine if executives had been promoted or left their position. If it was possible to confirm that individuals had left or changed their position prior to February 1, 2016, they were removed from analysis.
18. A chi-square revealed a significant relationship between character sex (male, female) and platform (broadcast, cable, streaming, film), $\mathrm{X}^{2}(3,11,306)=89.74, p<.01, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.09$. It must be noted that 12 characters across the entire sample were coded as "can't tell" for biological sex. These characters were not included in the analysis.
19. Series regulars were obtained for each show based on the season included in the sample. Variety Insight provides a list of actors who appear as series regulars for that season. All individuals listed were coded as series regulars. According to a representative for Variety Insight, "Series regulars are actors who are main cast or have an
ongoing or "regular" role on the show" (personal communication, 1/15/2016). Additionally, a representative from SAG-AFTRA indicated that series regulars were contract performers who were guaranteed a certain number of episodes throughout a season (personal communication, $1 / 15 / 2016$ ). Further confirmation was sought from Variety Insight that individuals designated as "voice talent" were considered series regulars for animated programs.
20. Variety Insight did not list series regulars or voice talent for $3.3 \%(n=10)$ of shows in our sample. In these instances, we turned to the following sources: Studio System ( $n=4$ ), opening credits of the show ( $n=3$ ), IMDbPro episode credits ( $n=2$ ), and lastly, a series bible ( $n=1$ ). We scrutinized every series regular listed for the particular season of each series we analyzed. Actors noted as guest stars or with recurring, not regular, roles were not included as series regulars in any analyses. If a series regular was not coded using our methodology above, they were added to our analyses (for actor gender and race/ethnicity using Variety Insight and other sources) if they were credited on at least one episode of the season. We used IMDbPro to ensure that a series regular listed on Variety Insight actually appeared during the season. For voice talent, characters that were specifically mentioned and/or appeared in the $50 \%$ or more of season's episodes (as determined by IMDbPro) were included as series regulars. Prior to the series regular analysis, all demographic changes were removed.
21. Chi-square analysis for series regular gender (male, female) by platform (broadcast, cable, streaming) was not significant, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(2,2,239)=1.25, p=.53, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.02$.
22. Oppliger, P.A. (2007). Effects of gender stereotyping on socialization. In R.W. Preiss, B.M. Gayle, N. Burrell, M. Allen, \& J. Bryant (Eds.), Mass Media Effects Research: Advances Through Meta-Analysis (p. 199-214). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. Mahwah, NJ.
23. Only characters with enough information available from the plot were evaluated for domesticity variables. Prior to analysis, the parental status variable was collapsed into two levels: parent (single parent, co-parent, parent relational status unknown) or not a parent. The chi-square for parental status and gender (male, female) was only significant for film, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(1,1,102)=18.11, p<.01$, $\mathrm{phi}^{*}=.13$.

Similar to parental status, relational standing had to be collapsed prior to analysis. The measure was bifurcated into two levels: relationship (married, committed unmarried, committed marital status unknown) and not in a relationship (single, divorced, widowed). This measure tapped both heterosexual and homosexual partnerships. Chi square analysis revealed a significant association between relational status (yes, no) and gender (male, female) for movies only, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(1,1,130)=11.63, p<.01$, phi*=. 10 .
24. The relationship between gender (male, female) and platform (broadcast, cable, streaming, film) for characters 40 years of age or older was significant, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(3,3,789)=34.10, p<.01, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.09$.
25. Chi-squares were significant for gender (male, female) and sexy attire (no, yes), $X^{2}(1,10,760)=1,236.32, p<.01$, phi=.34; nudity (no, yes), $\mathrm{X}^{2}(1,10,759)=821.37, p<.01$, $\mathrm{phi}=.28$; and attractiveness (no, yes), $\mathrm{X}^{2}(1,11,306)=290.06$, $p<.01$, phi=.16. Prior to analysis, the nudity variable was collapsed into two levels: no nudity, some nudity (some, full). Similarly, physical attractiveness was collapsed into a dichotomous measure at analysis: not attractive, attractive (one or more comments).
26. For females, the relationship between platform (broadcast, cable, streaming, film) and sexually revealing clothing (no, yes) was significant: $\mathrm{X}^{2}(3,3,676)=34.09, p<.01, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.10$. The association between media platform and nudity was also significant, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(3,3,675)=40.26, p<.01, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.11$. While the relationship between physical attractiveness and platform was significant ( $p<.05$ ), the difference failed to reach $5 \%$.

Though not detailed above in the report, we did analyze sexualization of male characters by platform. For male speaking characters, sexually revealing attire and nudity was associated with media platform, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(3,7,084)=10.09$, $p<.05, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.04$, and $\mathrm{X}^{2}(3,7,084)=13.03, p<.05, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.04$. The percentages did not differ by $5 \%$, however. The relationship between physical attractiveness and platform was not significant, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(3,7,518)=4.74, p=.19, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.03$.

## Male Character Sexualization by Media Platform

| Sexualization Measures | Film | Broadcast | Cable | Streaming |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% shown in sexually revealing clothing | $8.1 \%$ | $5.9 \%$ | $7.8 \%$ | $9.3 \%$ |
| \% shown w/partial or full nudity | $10 \%$ | $9.5 \%$ | $12.6 \%$ | $12.7 \%$ |
| \% referenced as physically attractive | $3.4 \%$ | $2.8 \%$ | $4.1 \%$ | $3.7 \%$ |

27. Fredrickson, B.L., \& Roberts, T.A. (1997). Objectification theory: Toward understanding women's lived experiences and mental health risks. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21,173-206. Roberts, T.A., \& Gettman, J.Y. (2004). Mere exposure: Gender differences in the negative effects of priming a state of self-objectification. Sex Roles, 51(1/2), 17-27. Aubrey, J.S. (2006). Effects of sexually objectifying media on self-objectification and body surveillance in undergraduates: Results of a 2-year panel study. Journal of Communication, 56, 366-386.
28. An analysis revealed a relationship between director gender (male, female) and platform (broadcast, cable, streaming, film), $\mathrm{X}^{2}(3,4,284)=23.67, p<.01, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.07$.
29. See DGA Diversity - Frequently Asked Questions. http://www.dga.org/The-Guild/Diversity-FAQ.aspx
30. Several sources from the Writers Guild of America West provided insight on writing credits for film and episodic television. These included the "Writing for Episodic TV" booklet (http://www.wga.org/subpage_writersresources.aspx?id=156), screen credits manual (http://www.wga.org/subpage_writersresources.aspx?id=167), and conversations with a credits representative (personal communication, $1 / 26 / 2015$ ). This guidance revealed that only individuals designated as "Writer/Written by," "Story/Story by," and "Teleplay/Teleplay by" should be credited as the writers for the episode.
31. The analysis revealed writer gender (male, female) and platform (broadcast, cable, streaming, film) were associated, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(3,6,421)=52.44, p<.01, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.09$.
32. Chi-square analysis revealed that show creator gender (male, female) and platform (broadcast, cable, streaming) were not related: $\mathrm{X}^{2}(2,487)=.28, p=.87, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.02$.
33. The relationship between director gender (female attached, no female attached) and character gender (male, female) was statistically significant, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(1,11,306)=9.91, p<.01$, phi $=.03$.
34. Chi-square analysis revealed a significant association for character gender (male, female) by writer gender (female attached, no female attached), $\mathrm{X}^{2}(1,11,306)=121.50, p<.01$, phi=.10.
35. The association between show creator gender (male, female) and character gender (male, female) was significant, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(1,6,453)=91.33, p<.01$, phi=.12.
36. Executives at the following companies were included in this analysis: $21^{\text {st }}$ Century Fox ( $20^{\text {th }}$ Century Fox Studios-Fox 2000 Pictures, Fox Searchlight; Fox Networks Group-20 Century Fox Television Group, Fox Broadcasting Company, FX, FXX), CBS Corporation (CBS Films, CBS Entertainment, Showtime Networks), Comcast NBC Universal (Universal Filmed Entertainment—Universal Pictures, Focus Features; NBC Entertainment; Bravo, E!, Syfy, USA Networks), Sony Pictures Entertainment (Sony Pictures Motion Picture Group-Columbia Pictures, Screen Gems, Sony Pictures Classics, TriStar Pictures), Time Warner (Warner Bros. Entertainment-Warner Bros. Pictures, New Line Cinema; Home Box Office; Turner Broadcasting Systems--TBS, TNT, Adult Swim), Viacom (Paramount Pictures; Viacom Media Networks-BET, Comedy Central, MTV, Nickelodeon, Spike, TeenNick, TVLand, VH1), and The Walt Disney Company (Walt Disney Studios Motion Pictures; Disney-ABC Television Group--ABC Entertainment, Freeform, Disney Channels Worldwide), The CW Network, Amazon, Hulu, Netflix.
37. Top film executives are Chairs, Chief Executive Officers, and Presidents at their respective film studios, of the film group, or the subsidiary company of which the film studio is part. For television, top executives consist of Chairs, Chief Executive Officers, and Presidents of television groups, networks, or the subsidiary company of which the television company is part. Executive Vice Presidents or Senior Vice Presidents whose titles also contained "Chief Officer" were constrained to the EVP or SVP level when these titles co-occurred. Individuals were not allowed to duplicate if they maintained their position across multiple companies in the analysis in television or film (e.g., A President of multiple cable networks was only counted once).
38. Amazon, Hulu, and Netflix were not directly comparable to the rest of the sample with regard to assigned executive titles. For these companies a strata specific to each organization was employed to separate those at highest level, second tier executives, and third tier employees. Top executives consisted of Presidents, Chief Officers, and Chief Counsel (similar to the rest of the sample). At Amazon, VPs and Heads were placed on the EVP level; Executives were placed on the SVP level. At Hulu, SVPs and Heads were placed on the EVP level; VPs and Senior Managers were placed on the SVP level. At Netflix, VPs were placed on the EVP level; Directors were placed on the SVP level. This brought the three companies in line with the rest of the companies sampled.
39. U.S. Census Bureau (2015, June 25).
40. The chi-square relationship between underrepresented character (no, yes) and media platform (film, broadcast, cable, streaming) was significant, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(3,10,444)=9.23, p<.05, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.03$.
41. The relationship between series regular gender (male, female) and platform (broadcast, cable, streaming) was not significant, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(2,2,175)=4.12, p=.13, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.04$.
42. Chi-square analysis for gender (male, female) by race/ethnicity (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, Other) was not significant, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(4,10,443)=6.61, p=.16, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.03$.
43. Parental status (no, yes) and race/ethnicity (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, Other) was not associated for males, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(4,1,640)=4.66, p=.32, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.05$ or females, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(4,1,489)=4.36, p=.36, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.05$.
44. The analysis for romantic relationship (no, yes) and race/ethnicity (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, Other) was not significant for males, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(4,1,752)=1.29, p=.86, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.03$ or females, $\mathrm{X}^{2}(4,1,478)=7.42, p=.11, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.07$.
45. For female characters, the chi-square analyses for race/ethnicity (White, Black, Latino, Asian, Other) by sexually revealing clothing $\left[\mathrm{X}^{2}(4,3,624)=14.70, p<.01, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.06\right]$; nudity $\left[\mathrm{X}^{2}(4,3,622)=12.18, p<.05, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.06\right]$, and attractiveness $\left[\mathrm{X}^{2}(4,3,627)=13.30, p<.05, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.06\right]$ were all significant.

For male characters, sexually revealing clothing $\left[\mathrm{X}^{2}(4,6,804)=9.07, p=.06, V^{*}=.04\right]$ and attractiveness $\left[\mathrm{X}^{2}(4\right.$, $6,816)=7.77, p=.10, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.03$ ] was not significantly related to race/ethnicity. The relationship between male characters' exposed skin (none, some) and race/ethnicity (White, Black, Latino, Asian, Other) was significant, however: $\mathrm{X}^{2}(4,6,802)=20.51, p<.01, \mathrm{~V}^{*}=.05$.

## Male Character Sexualization by Race/Ethnicity

| Sexualization Measures | White | Latino | Black | Asian | Other |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% in sexualized attire | $7.5 \%$ | $6.7 \%$ | $8.4 \%$ | $3.6 \%$ | $8.1 \%$ |
| \% w/some nudity | $11.3 \%$ | $8.3 \%$ | $9.1 \%$ | $5.3 \%$ | $13.9 \%$ |
| \% referenced attractive | $3.7 \%$ | $4 \%$ | $3.8 \%$ | $1.2 \%$ | $2.3 \%$ |

46. To categorize race/ethnicity, several sources of information were consulted: 1) Variety Insight's designation of race/ethnicity; 2) Studio System's designation of race/ethnicity; 3) other public sources of information (e.g., news articles); 4) phone/email contact with directors or their representatives; 5) Directors Guild of America directory
search for minority members. After each of these sources was utilized, the race/ethnicity of 9 directors of live action television programs and 2 directors of animated films could not be ascertained. In these cases, researchers utilized photographs as well as historical information about families and background to render a judgment of race/ethnicity.
47. The chi square analysis was significant between director race/ethnicity (underrepresented vs. not underrepresented) and character race/ethnicity (underrepresented vs. not underrepresented), $\mathrm{X}^{2}(1,10,035)=185.34$, $p<.01$, phi $=.14$.
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49. While the U.S. Census indicates that females comprised 50.8\% of the population in 2014 (http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/00000.html), for simplicity and data analytic purposes, we set the standard to an even $50 \%$.
50. In general, a character's sexuality may be revealed over the course of the story's plot. In films, the entire plot was captured in the sampled content. In television/digital series, the plot unfolds across a season rather than in a single episode. Thus, additional information revealed in episodes aired after the season premiere might alter the coding of characters' sexuality. As this information was not available in the episode sampled, the measure is not reported to allow for flexibility in scoring for television and streaming companies.
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## Appendix A: List of Films by Title

22 Jump Street
300: Rise of An Empire
A Million Ways to Die in the West
A Walk Among the Tombstones
About Last Night
Alexander and the Terrible, Horrible, No Good, Very Bad Day
Amazing Spider-Man 2, The
American Sniper
Annabelle
Annie
As Above, So Below
Bad Words
Belle
Big Hero 6
Birdman
Blended
Book of Life, The
Boxtrolls, The
Calvary
Captain America: The Winter Soldier
Dawn of the Planet of the Apes
Deliver Us From Evil
Devil's Due
Dolphin Tale 2
Dracula Untold
Drop, The
Dumb and Dumber To
Edge of Tomorrow
Endless Love
Equalizer, The
Exodus: Gods and Kings
Fault in our Stars, The
Foxcatcher
Fury

Gambler, The
Get On Up
Godzilla
Gone Girl
Grand Budapest Hotel, The
Guardians of the Galaxy
Heaven is for Real
Hercules
Hobbit: Battle of Five Armies
Horrible Bosses 2
How to Train Your Dragon 2
Hundred-Foot Journey, The
If I Stay
Inherent Vice
Interstellar
Into The Storm
Into the Woods
Jack Ryan: Shadow Recruit
Jersey Boys
Judge, The
Kill the Messenger
Labor Day
LEGO Movie, The
Let's Be Cops
Love is Strange
Lucy
Magic in the Moonlight
Maleficent
Maze Runner, The
Million Dollar Arm
Mom's Night Out
Monuments Men, The
Mr. Peabody \& Sherman
Mr. Turner
Muppets Most Wanted
Need for Speed
Neighbors
Night at the Museum: Secret of the Tomb

No Good Deed
Noah
Non-Stop
Only Lovers Left Alive
Other Woman, The
Ouija
Paranormal Activity: The Marked Ones
Penguins of Madagascar
Planes: Fire \& Rescue
Pompeii
Pride
Purge: Anarchy, The
Raid 2, The
Ride Along
Rio 2
RoboCop
Selma
Sex Tape
Son of God
Tammy
Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles
That Awkward Moment
Theory of Everything, The
Think Like a Man Too
Third Person
This is Where I Leave You
Top Five
Transcendence
Transformers: Age of
Extinction
Unbroken
What If
When the Game Stands Tall
Whiplash
Wild
Winter's Tale
Wish I Was Here
X-Men: Days of Future Past

